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COLUMBUS IN CHAINS.
THE WORKS

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The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus.—Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains.—A Tour on the Prairies.—Abbotsford.—
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PREFACE.

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 afterward set off for that capital, with an idea of undertaking, while there, the translation of the work.

Soon after my arrival, the publication of M. 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 muniments. 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 acceptable 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 unreserved manner 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 labors.

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 labors, 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 unceasing 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 are most of the papers of his deceased friend, the late historian Munoz, who was cut off in the midst of his valuable labors. 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 endeavored, 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; endeavoring 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 endeavoring 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.

P.S.—I have been surprised at finding myself accused by some American writer of not giving sufficient credit to Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete for the aid I had derived from his collection of documents. I had thought I had sufficiently shown, in the preceding preface, that his collection first prompted my work and subsequently furnished its principal materials; and that I had illustrated this by citations at the foot of almost every page. In preparing this revised edition, I have carefully and conscientiously examined into the matter, but find nothing to add to the acknowledgments already made.

To show the feelings and opinions of M. Navarrete himself with respect to my work and myself, I subjoin an extract from a letter received from that excellent man, and a passage from the introduction to the third volume of his collection.

Nothing but the desire to vindicate myself on this head would induce me to publish extracts so laudatory.

From a letter dated Madrid, April 1st, 1831.

I congratulate myself that the documents and notices which I published in my collection about the first occurrences in the history of America, have fallen into hands so able to appreciate their authenticity, to examine them critically, and to circulate them in all directions; establishing fundamental truths which hitherto have been adulterated by partial or systematic writers.

Yo me complazeo en que los documentos y noticias que pongo en mi coleccion sobre los primeros acontecimientos de la historia de America, hayan recaido en manos tan habiles para apreciar su autenticidad, para examinarlas con critica y propagarlas por todos los partes echando los fundamentos de la verdad que hasta ahora ha sido tan adulterada por los escri tores parciales ó sistemáticos.

In the introduction to the third volume of his Collection of Spanish Voyages, Mr. Navarrete cites various testimonials he has received since the publication of his two first volumes of the utility of his work to the republic of letters.

"A signal proof of this," he continues, "is just given us by Mr. Washington Irving in the History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, which he has published with a success as general as it is well merited. 'We said in our introduction that we did not propose to write the history of the admiral, but to publish notes and materials that it might be written with veracity; and it is fortunate that the first person to profit by them should be a literary man, judicious and erudite, already known in his own country and in Europe by other works of merit. Resident in Madrid, exempt from the rivalries which have influenced some European natives with respect to Columbus and his discoveries; having an opportunity to examine excellent books and precious manuscripts; to converse with persons instructed in these matters, and having always at hand the authentic documents which we had just published, he has been enabled to give to his history that fulness, impartiality, and exactness, which make it much superior to those of the writers who preceded him. To this he adds his regular method, and convenient distribution; his style animated, pure, and elegant; the notice of various personalities who mingled in the concerns of Columbus; and the examination of various questions, in which always shine sound criticism, erudition, and good taste."
Insigne prueba de esto mismo acaba de darnos el Señor Washington Irving en la Historia de la Vida y de los Viages de Cristóbal Colon que ha publicado con una aceptación tan general como bien merecida. Díganos en nuestra introducción (pág. 36) que no nos proponíamos escribir la historia de aquel almirante, sino publicar noticias y materiales para que se escribiese con veracidad, y es una fortuna que el primero que se haya aprovechado de ellas sea un literato juicioso y erudito, conocido ya en su patria y en Europa por otras obras apreciables. Colocado en Madrid, exento de las rivalidades que han dominado entre algunas naciones Europeas sobre Colon y sus descubrimientos; con la proporción de examinar excelentes libros y preciosos manuscritos, de tratar á personas instruidas en estas materias, y teniendo siempre á la mano los auténticos documentos que acabamos de publicar, ha logrado dar á su historia aquella extensión imparcialidad y exactitud que la hacen muy superior á las de los escritores que le precedieron. Agrégase a esto su metódico arreglo y conveniente distribución: su estilo animado, puro y elegante; la noticia de varios personajes que intervenieron en los sucesos de Colon, y el examen de varias cuestiones en que luce siempre la más sana crítica, la erudición y buen gusto.—Prologo al tomo 5.
THE

LIFE AND VOYAGES

of

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

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 Atalantis 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 toward the close of the fifteenth century. A wandering 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 has 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 geophysical 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 Edrisi, 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 anything 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 in Appendix at the end of this work, article "Scandinavian Discoveries."

* Description of Spain, by Xerif al Edrisi: Conde’s Spanish translation. Madrid, 1799.
In tracing the early history of a man like Columbus, whose actions have had a vast effect on human affairs, it is interesting to notice how much has been owing to external influences, how much to an inborn propensity of his own, and how much to the latter part of his life, when, impressed with the sublime events brought about through his agency, Columbus looked back upon his career with a solemn and superstitious feeling; he attributed it all to the irresistible influence of the sea, and his passion for geographical studies, to an impulse from the Deity preparing him for the high decrees he was chosen to accomplish. *

The nautical propensity, however, evinced by Columbus in early life, is common to boys of enterprising spirit and lively imagination brought up in maritime cities; to whom the sea is the high road to adventure and the region of romance. Genoa, too, well in and straitened 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 to the waves, as their propitiuous element. Many, too, were induced to emigrate to the countries which raged within the bosom of the city, and often dyed their streets with blood. A historian of Genoa laments this prouneness of its youth to wander. They go, he says, with the intention of returning when they shall have become worthy men, of living comfortably and honorably in their native place; but we know from long experience, that of twenty who thus depart scarce two return; either dying abroad, or taking to themselves foreign wives, or being lost to expose themselves to the tempest of civil discord which distracts the republic.†

The strong passion for geographical knowledge, also, felt by Columbus in early life, and which inspired his after career, was incident to the age in which he lived. Geographical discovery was the brilliant path of light which was forever to distinguish the fifteen century. During a long night of monkish bigotry and false learning, geography, with the other sciences, had been lost to the European nations. Fortunately it was not now 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 Senara, 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 who 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 Chrysoloras, a noble and learned Greek, and had thus become familiar to the Italian students. Another translation had followed, by James Angel de Scarpia, of which fair and beautiful copies became com-

* Letter to the Castilian Sovereign, 1501.
† Foglieta, Historia de Genova, lib. ii.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS, as has been observed, commenced his nautical career when about fourteen years of age. His first voyages were made with a distant relative named Colombo, a hardy veteran of the seas, who had risen to some distinction by his bravery, and is occasionally mentioned in old chronicles; sometimes as commanding a squadron of his own, sometimes as an admiral in the Genoese service. He appears to have been bold and adventurous; ready to fight in any cause, and to seek adventure wherever it might lawfully be found.

The seafaring life of the Mediterranean in those days was hazardous and daring. A commercial expedition resembled a warlike cruise, and the maritime merchant often had to fight his way from port to port. Piracy was almost legalized. The bootlegging trade between the Italian states; the cruises 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 moving ships ravished 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 waged against the Mahometan powers, reflected the fairest deeds, to which navigation was principally contributed, scenes of hardly 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 amid its stern adversities. 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.

The first voyage in which we have an account of his being engaged was a naval expedition, which carried out in 1493 a desire to find a water route to the East. Columbus was appointed a governor of the expedition, and the Duke of Calabria, to make a descent upon Naples, in the hope of recovering that kingdom for his father King Reinel, or Renato, otherwise called René, Count of Provence.

The republic of Genoa aided him with ships and men. The brave nature of the enterprise attracted the attention of daring and restless spirits. The chivalrous nobleman, the soldier of fortune, the hardy corsair, the desperate adventurer, the mercenary partisan, all hastened to enlist under the banner of Anjou. The veteran Columbus took a part in this expedition, either with galleys of his own, or as a commander of the Genoese squadron, and with him embarked his youthful relative, the future discoverer.

The struggle of John of Anjou for the crown of Naples lasted about four years, with varied fortune, but was finally unsuccessful. The naval part of the expedition, in which Columbus was engaged, signalized itself by acts of Intrepidity; and at one time, when the Duke was reduced to take refuge in the island of Sicilia, a handful of galleys scoured and controlled the bay of Naples.*

In the course of this gallant but ill-fated enterprise, Columbus was detached on a perilous cruise, to cut out a galley from the harbor of Tunis. This is directly mentioned by himself in a letter written many years afterward. It happened to me, he says, that King Reinel (whom God has taken to himself) sent me to Tunis, to capture the galley Ferrandina, and when I arrived off the island of St. Pedro, in Sardinia, I was informed that there were two ships and a carrack with the galley; by which intelligence my crew were so troubled that they determined to proceed no further, but to return to Marseilles for another vessel and more people; as I could not by any means compel them, I asserted a pretention 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 Carthageana, while all were firmly of opinion that they were sailing toward Marseilles.†

We have no further record of this bold cruise into the harbor of Tunis; but in the foregoing particulars we behold early indications of that resolute and persevering spirit which insured him

* Colomneio, Istoria de Nap., lib. vii., cap. 17.
† Letter of Columbus to the Catholic sovereigns, vide Hist. del Almirante, cap. 4.

* Andreis, Hist. B. Let., lib. iii., cap. 2.
success in his more important undertakings. His expedition to beguile a discontented crew into a
continuation of the enterprise, by deceiving them with respect to the ship's return, will be found
in union with a stratagem of altering the reckoning,
to which he had recourse in his first voyage of
discovery.
During an interval of many years we have but
our scattered and shadowy traces of Columbus. He is
supposed to have been principally engaged on
the Mediterranean and up the Levant; sometimes in
commercial voyages; sometimes in the warlike
contests between the Italian states; sometimes in
pally attributed expeditions against the Infids.
Historians have made him in 1474 captain
of several Genoese ships, in the service of Louis
XI. of France, and endangering the peace between
that country and Spain by running down and
capturing Spanish vessels at sea, on his own re-
sponsibility, as a reprisal for an irruption of the
Spaniards into Rousillon.† Again, in 1475, he
is represented as brushing with his Genoese
squadron in ruffling bravado by a Venetian fleet
stationed off the island of Cyprus, shouting
Viva S. Georgio! the old vicary of Genoa, thus
endeavoring to pique the jealous pride of the
Venetians and provoke a combat, though the rival
republics were at peace at the time.
These transactions, however, have been errone-
ously attributed to Columbus. They were the
deeds, or misdeeds, either of his relative the old
Genoese admiral, or of a nephew of the same, of
kindled spirit, called Colombo the Younger, to
distinguish him from his uncle. They both
appear to have been fond of rough encounters, and
not very scrupulous as to the mode of bringing them
about. Fernando Columbus describes this Colombo
the Younger as a famous corsair, so terrible for his
deeds against the Infids, that the Moorish mothers
used to frighten their unruly children with his
name. Columbus sailed with him occasionally,
as he had done with his uncle, and, according to
Fernando's account, commanded a vessel in his
squadron on an eventful occasion.
Colombo the Younger, having heard that four
Venetian galleys richly laden were on their return
voyage from Flanders, laid in wait for them 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 grappling irons, and could
not be separated; both were involved in one
confusion, 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, says his son Fernando, to give him strength,
that he might preserve him for greater
advantages. After recovering from his exhaustion he repaired
to Lisbon, where he found many of his Genoese coun-
trymen, 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; but on
examining various histories of the times, the bat-
tle here described appears to have happened sev-
eral years after the date of the arrival of Columbus
in that country. That he was engaged in the con-
test is not improbable; but he had previously re-
sided on some time in Portugal, and
referring to the history of that kingdom, we shall
find, in the great maritime enterprises in which it
was at that time engaged, ample attractions for a
person of his inclinations and pursuits; and we
shall be led to conclude, that his first visit to LIS-
bon was not the fortuitous result of a desperate
adventure, but was undertaken in a spirit of lib-
curiosity, and in the pursuit of honorable
fortune.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY UNDER PRINCE HENRY
OF PORTUGAL.

The career of modern discovery had commen-
teced shortly before the time of Columbus, and at
the period of which we are treating was prose-
cuted with great activity by Portugal. Some have
attributed its origin to a romantic incident in the
fourteenth century. An Englishman of the name
of Macham, flying to France, with a lady of whom
he was enamored, 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 afterward called Madeira.† Others
have treated this account as a fable, and have
pronounced the Canaries to be the first fruits
of modern discovery. This famous group, the
Fortune Islands of the ancients, in which they
placed their garden of the Hesperides, and 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 the Arab, Norman,
or Genoese adventurer; but all this was in-
volved in uncertainty, and led to no beneficial
result. It was not until the fourteenth century that
they were effectually rediscovered, and restored
to the true nations that had for ages been
visually 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
Averger, and Philippa, of Lancaster, sister of
Henry the Fourth of England. The character of
this illustrious man, from whose enterprises the
vastness of Columbus took excitement, deserves
particular mention.

Having accompanied his father into Africa, in
an expedition against the Moors at Ceuta he re-
ceived much information concerning the coast of
Guinea, and other regions in the interior, hitherto
unknown to Europeans, and conceived an idea

* Chaupelle Suppl. to Bayle, vol. ii.; article
"Columbus."
† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 5. See Illustrations at
the end of this work, article "Capture of the Veneti-
ian Galleys."
‡ See Illustrations, article "Discovery of Ma-
deira."
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 from the tumult of a court to a country retreat in the Algesiras, near Tangier, in full view of the ocean, 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, he found what he considered abundant proofs that Africa was circumnavigable. Eudoxus of Cynicus was said to have sailed from the Red Sea into the ocean, and to have continued on to Gibraltar; and Hanno the Carthaginian, 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, who considered each sea shut up and land-bound in its peculiar basin; and after wandering all at an unknown and barbarous coast, with beautiful forests, and Madeira.* Others, too, as a rule, and have to be the first fruits of a numerous group, the Fortunates, in which they are desirous of deserts, and whence the limit of the longitude, had been considered.

There are vague accounts of receiving casual news of the obscure ages, of some Arabian, North African; but all this was in the sixteenth century that discovered, and restored; and the occasional navigators of various profane productions produced by their accidental expeditions made no efforts to venture far upon the sea, in search of new countries, in search of new lands; but the coast of Italy, 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 opulence and power in consequence of this trade. They had factories in the most remote parts, even in the frozen regions of Moscow and Norway. Their merchants emulated the magnificence of princes. All Europe was tributary to their commerce. Yet this trade had to pass through various intermediate hands, subject to the delays and changes of fortune, and the tedious and uncertain journeys of the caravan. For a long time the merchandise of India was conveyed by the Gulf of Persia, the Euphrates, the Indus, and the Oxus, to the Caspian and Mediterranean seas; thence to take a new destination for the various marts of Europe. After the Sodan 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 and the Persian Gulf to the mouths of the Nile, whence they were transported to Egypt to meet the Italian merchants.

Thus, while the opulent traffic of the East was enriched by these adventurous monopolists, the price of every article was enhanced by the great expense of transportation.

In the reign of Prince Henry, by circumnavigating Africa to open a direct and easy route to the source of this commerce, to turn it in a golden tide upon his country. He was, however, before the age in thought, and had to counteract ignorance and prejudice, and to endure the delays entailed, and the want of men, which had been subjected, from the tardy co-operations of the dully and the doubtful. The navigation of the Atlantic was yet in its infancy. Mariners looked with distrust upon a boisterous expanse, which appeared to have no opposite shore, and feared to venture out of sight of the landmarks. Every bold headland, 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 was long the limit of their daring; they hesitated to double its rocky point, beset by rains and waves, and threatening to thrust them forth upon the raging deep.

But the faith of some, they had others, sanctioned by philosophy itself. 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 impervious heat. They fancied Cape Bojador the utmost boundary of secure enterprise, and had a superstitious belief that whoever doubled it would never return.* They looked with dismay upon the rapid currents of its neighboring shores, and the furious surf which beats upon its arid coast. They imagined that beyond it lay the frightful region of the torrid zone, scorched by a scorching sun; a region of fire, where the very waves, which beat upon the shores, boiled under the intolerable fervor of the heavens.

To dispel these errors, and to give a scope to navigation, equal to the grandeur of his designs, Prince Henry established a naval college, and erected an observatory at Sagres, and he invited thither the most eminent professors of the nautical sciences. In 1497 there was sent to the Portuguese coast, on the coast of Africa, a man learned in navigation, and skillful 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 increase took place in maps. The compass was also brought into more general use, especially among the Portuguese, rendering the mariner more bold and venturous, by enabling him to navigate in the most distant quarter of the world, without the dark night. Encouraged by these advantages, and stimulated 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 divided by its lowest ter-
tion 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 all their possessions; 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, 1472, without accomplishing the great object of his ambition. It was not until many years afterward that Vasco 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 straitest of a cabinet, but by the wisdom of a college. It was the great achievement of a prince, who had well been described "full of themselves, active, and acts of a generous spirit:" one who bore for his device the magnanimous motto, "The talent to do good," the only talent worthy of 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 enterprises. 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. Everything 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 knowledge; imagination went hand in hand with discovery, and as the latter groped its slow and cautious way, the former pressed all beyond the wondrous. The fame of the Portuguese discoveries, and of the expeditions continually setting out, drew the attention of the world. Strangers from all parts, the learned, the curious, and the adventurous, resorted to Lisbon to inquire into the particulars, or to participate in the advantages of these enterprises. Among these was Christopher Columbus, whether thrown there, as has been asserted, by the fortuitous result of a desperate adventure, or drawn thither by liberal curiosity and the pursuit of honorable 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 vigor of manhood, and of an engaging presence. Minute

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* Vasconcelos, Hist. de Juan II.
† Lafitau, Conquêtes des Portugais, tom. i. lib. i.
§ Herrera, decal. i. lib. i.

** Hist. del Almirante, cap. 3. Las Casas, Hist. Ind. lib. i. cap. 2. MS.
†† Ilescas, Hist. Pontificæ, lib. vi.
‡‡ Oviedo, Cronica de las Indias, lib. ii. cap. 2.
§§ Ibid.
‖ Muñoz Hist. del, N. Mundo. **. IL.
person by his son and others of his con-
these accounts, he per
and of an ele-
His visage was not rude; his countenance was stiff and
worthy to be ruddy; his nose was rather high, his
kindle; his whole manner indicated his
and the superiority of his maps and charts
that oratory among men of science.
We accordingly find him, at an early period of his
residence in Lisbon, in correspondence with Paolo
Torella, a Spanish navigator, and with the
men of the day, whose communications had great
influence in inspiring him to his subsequent
 undertakings.
While his geographical labors thus elevated him
to a communion with the learned, they were pe-
cularly calculated to foster a train of thoughts
favorable to nautical enterprise. From constantly
comparing maps and charts, and noting the pro-
gress and direction of discovery, he was led to per-
ceive how much of the world remained unknown,
and to meditate on the means of exploring it.
His domestic concerns, and the connections he
formed by marriage, were all in unison with this
vein of speculation. He resided for some
time at the residence of the island of Porto
Santo and his wife had inherited the
erty, 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
Corrêa, a navigator of note, who had at one time
been governor of Porto Santo. Being frequently
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 honor,
and voyaging in the very tracks of its recent
triumphs, the ardent mind of Columbus kindled up
to an unbridled ardor and passion, and
excitations of a kind 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 vast regions, and thus led them to
think of the boundless wastes of the
Atlantic. The opinions and fancies of the an-
cients on the subject were again put in circu-
ation. The story of Antilla, a great island in the
ocean, discovered by the Carthaginians, was
frequently cited, and Plato's imaginary Atlantis once
more found firm believers. Many thought that
the Canaries and Azores were but wrecks of
this submerged paradise; 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
period was the prevalence of rumors respecting
islands casually seen in the ocean. Many of these
were mere fables, fabricated to feed the predo-
mant humor of the public: many had their origin
in the heated imaginations of voyagers, beholding
islands in those summer clouds which lie along the
horizon, and often beguile the sailor with the
idea of distant lands.
On such airy, eternally, most probably, was the
story told to Columbus by one Antonio Leone,
an inhabitant of Madeira, who affirmed that sail-
ing thence 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, for many years, continued to bring
home in their vessels, reports of great islands
which, 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 our pure, transparent
atmosphere. The island, it is true, was only seen
at intervals; while at other times, and in the
clearer weather, not a vestige of it was to be
seen.
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 island. Many said it to be the island
that was projected into the waters by Poseidon
when he killed Polyphemus; or that it was the
island of the Phaeacians, which was 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
landed by the sea on some
unknown island in the ocean, found 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. Brandy had
landed, in the sixth century. This last legend
passed into current belief. The fancied island
was called by the name of St. Brandy, or St.
Brandan, and long continued to be actually laid
down in maps far to the west of the Canaries.*

* The importance which began to be attached to
cosmographical knowledge is evident from the dis-
tinction which Mauro, an Italian friar, obtained from
having projected an universal map, esteemed the most
accurate at the time. A facsimile of this map, upon
the same scale as the original, is now deposited in the
British Museum, and it has been published, with a
geographical commentary, by the learned Zaria.
The Venetians struck a medal in honor of him, on which
they denominated him Cosmographus Incomparabilis
(Cap. x., l. 1. 1. c. 15. Dorotheo por Toled. Intro. p. 25.)
** See illustrations, article "Island of St. Brandy."
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. Brandon, of Antilla, and of
the Seven Cities, have long since proved to be fab-
ulous tales or atmospheric delusions. Yet the
rumors concerning them derive interest, from
showing the state of public thought with respect
to the Atlantic, while its western regions were yet
unknown. They were all noted down with curi-
sous 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 dis-
covered by the moderns, relative to geography. His
own voyages enabled him to correct many of
their errors, and appreciate many of their theo-
ries. His genius having thus taken its decided
bent, it is interesting to notice from what a mass
of acknowledged facts, rational hypotheses, fanci-
ful narrations, and popular rumors, his grand
project of discovery was wrought out by the strong
workings of his vigorous mind.

CHAPTER V.

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

It has been attempted, in the preceding chaps-
ters, to show how Columbus was gradually kind-
dled 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 discov-
y 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 induced the great navigator to undertake
that perilous 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 par-
cular mention. In this memorandum he arranged
the foundation of his father's theory under three
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 funda-
mental principle that the earth was a terraqueous
sphere or globe, which might be traveled 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 fifteen hun-
dred hours of fifteen degrees each, making three
hundred and sixty degrees. Of these he imagined,
comparing the globe of Ptolemy with the tonnary
map of Marinus of Tyre, that fifteen hours had
been known to the ancients, extending from the
Strait of Gibraltar, or rather from the Canary
Islands, to the city of Thine in Asia, a place set

down as at the eastern limits of the known world.
The Portuguese had advanced the western frontier
one hundred leagues beyond the Cape of Good
Straits, the Dutch had explored the Cape of
Great Eastern, and had already reached the Cape
de Verde Islands. There remained, then,
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 coun-
tries, he observes, would be less than might at
first be supposed, if the opinion of Alfraganus, the
Arabian, were admitted, who, by diminishing
the size of the degrees, gave to the earth a smaller
circumference than did other cosmographers; a
theory to which Columbus seems at times to have
given faith. Granting these premises, it was
proved that, by pursuing a direct course from
east to west, a navigator would arrive at the ex-
tremity of Asia, and discover any intervening land.

Under the second head are named the authors
whose writings had weight in corroborating him
that the interminable ocean could be but of small
extent, 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 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 unex-
plored space, the narratives are cited of Marco
Polo and John Manville. These travellers had
visited, in the thirteenth and fourteenth cen-
turies, 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 voy-
age to the west, of no long duration, would bring
him to its shores, or to the extensive and wealthy
islands which it adjoins. The information con-
cerning Marco Polo is probably derived from
Paulo Toscanelli, a celebrated doctor of Florence,
already mentioned, with whom Columbus corre-
sponded in 1474, and who transmitted to him
a copy of a letter which had previously written
to Fernando Martinez, a learned canon of Lisbon.
This letter maintains the facility of arriving at In-
dia by a western course, asserting the distance to
be out thousand miles, in a direct line from
Lisbon to the province of Manja, near Cathay,
since determined to be the northwestern coast of
China. Of this country he gives a magnificent
description, drawn from the work of Marco
Polo. He adds, that in the direct lay the islands
of Antilla and Cipango, distant from each other
the distance of one thousand leagues, and twenty-five leagues,
abounding in riches, 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

down as to the shores of the known world. It is curious
to observe, when once the mind of Colum-
bus had become heated in the inquiry, it attracted
it to every corroborating circumstance, however
vague and trivial. He appears to have been par-

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 6, 7, 8.

* Strab. Cos. lib. 1. ii.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

It is singular how much of 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 yet such as, after the studies and wanderings of a whole lifetime, he ventured upon his enterprise. As to the idea of finding land by sailing directly to the west, it is at once so familiar to our minds, and by some measure to diminish the merits of the first conception, and the hardiness of the first attempt; but in those days, it had not been observed, that with the circumference of the earth was yet unknown; no one could tell whether the ocean was 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, also from the difference in matters of mere speculation, but the simplest things imaginable when they have once been ascertained.

When Columbus had formed his theory, he became fixed in his mind with singular firmness, and influenced his entire character and conduct. He never, who could or have been disposed to discount the as much as certainty as if his eyes had beheld the promised land. No trial nor disappointment could 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 to be brought together, and all nations and tongues and languages united under the banners of the Redeemer. This was to be the triumphant consummation of his enterprise, bringing the remote and unknown regions of the earth into communion with Christian Europe; carrying the light of the true faith into benighted and pagan lands, and gathering their countless nations under the only true God.

The enthusiastic nature of his conceptions gave an elevation to his spirit, and a dignity and loftiness to his whole demeanor. He confered with sovereigns almost with a feeling of equality. His views were princely and unbounded; his proposed discoveries were of empires; his conditions were proportionately magnificent; nor would he ever, even after long delays, repeated disappointments, and under the pressure of actual penury, abate what appeared to be extravagant demands for a mere possible success.

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 the 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. Brandon, which a Portuguese captain, returning from Guinea, landed he beheld beyond Madeira and its tierra firme the coast of Africa and Europe, with a moderate space of ocean between them, in which were placed 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 marvelous accounts of the riches of the realms of Cathay and Mangi, or Mangu, since ascertained to be Northern and Southern China, and 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 sovereigns of these countries, the Great Khan of Tartary, and the splendor and magnitude of his capitals of Cambalu and Quinsai, and the wonders of the island of Cipango or Ziepang, supposed to be Japan, and the 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 riddled with plates of gold instead of lead. The narrations of this traveller were by many considered fabulous; but though full of what appear to be splendid exaggerations, they have since been found 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 applications 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 inquiry in all his voyages; and in his crusadings 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 Ipolony, 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."+

* This map, by which Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery, Las Cases (lib. I, 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 among the chaotic lumber of the Spanish archives. Few documents of like curiosity would be more precious.

+ A more particular account of Marco Polo and his writings is given among the illustrations.

† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 4.
The terrestrial globe, of which a segment is given above, was made at Nuremberg in the year 1492, the very year on which Columbus departed on his first voyage of discovery. Martin Behem, the inventor, was one of the most learned cosmographers of the time, and, having resided at Lisbon in the employ of the king of Portugal, he had probably seen the map of Toscanelli, and the documents submitted by Columbus to the consideration of the Portuguese government. His globe may, therefore, be presumed illustrative of the idea entertained by Columbus of the islands in the ocean near the extremity of Asia, at the time he undertook his discovery.
The island thus mentioned is generally sup-
posed 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, and was an island of
levy upon Portugal, but as yet they had been
great glory upon Portugal, but as yet they had been
expensive rather than profitable. The accomplish-
ment of the route to India, however, it was ex-
pected would repay all cost and expense, as a
source of incalculable wealth to the nation. The
project of Prince Henry, which had now been
tardily prosecuted for half a century, had excited
a curiosity about the remote parts of Asia, and
revived all the accounts, true and fabulous, of
travellers.

Besides the work of Marco Polo, already men-
tioned, there was the narrative of Rabbi Benjamin
ben Jonah, of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, who set
out from Saragossa in 1173, to visit the scattered
remnants of the Hebrew tribes. Wandering with
unwearyed zeal on this pious errand, over most
parts of the known world, he penetrated China,
and passed thence to the southern islands of
Asia.* There were also the narratives of Carpin,
and Ascelini, two friars, dispatched, the one in
1246, the other in 1247, by Pope Innocent IV.,
as apostolic ambassadors, for the purpose of convert-
ing the Grand Khan of Tartary; and the journal
of William Rubruquis (or Ruysbroeck), a cele-
brated Cordellier. The pullman spirit, also,
was not prepared for so perilous an under-
taking. Notwithstanding the many recent voy-
ages to the coast of Africa and the adjacent
islands, and the introduction of the compass into
Europe, every navigator was still shackled with
impediments, and the mariner rarely ven-
tured 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 project of a voyage directly westward, into
the midst of that boundless waste, to seek some
visionary land, appeared as extravagant as it
would be at the present day to launch forth in a
balloon into the regions of space in quest of some
istant star.

The time, however, was at hand, that was to
extend the sphere 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
deas and discoveries. It drew forth learning
from libraries and convents, and brought it fam-
iliarly 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
poor artist, were now in every hand. There
was henceforth to be no retrogression in knowl-
edge, nor any pause in its career. Every step in
advance, was immediately, and simultaneously,
and widely promulgated, recorded in a thousand
forms, and fixed forever. There could never
again be a dark age; nations might snub their
eyes to the light, and sit in wilful darkness, but
they could not trample it out; it would still shin-
g, dispersed to happier parts of the world, by
the diffusive powers of the press.

At this juncture, in 1481, a monarch ascended
the throne of Portugal, of different ambition from
his grand-uncle, Prince Henry, and with his
ignor all its activity revived. His first care was
build a fort at St. George de la Mina, on the
coast of Guinea, to protect the trade carried on
in that neighborhood for gold dust, ivory, and
slaves.

The African discoveries had conferred great

* Bergeron, Voyages en Asie, tom. 1. The work of Benjamin of Tudela, originally written in Hebrew,
was so much in repute, that the translation wen through sixteen editions. Andres, Hist. B. Let., ii.
cap. 6.
† See Illustrations, article "Prester John."
certain 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 at once from its long bondage to the land, and set it free to roam the deep. The mariner now, instead of coasting the shores like the ancient navigators, driven from the land, groaning his way back in doubt and apprehension by the uncertain guidance of the stars, might adventure boldly into unknown seas, confident of being able to trace his course by means of the compass and the astrolabe.

It was shortly after this event, which had prepared the way for discovery across the trackless ocean, that Columbus made the first attempt, of which we have any clear and indisputable record, to procure royal patronage for his enterprise. This conjuncture, of a character which we learn, had shown extraordinary liberality in rewarding nautical discovery. Most of those who had succeeded in their service had been appointed to the government of the islands and countries 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, and proposed, in case the king would furnish him with ships and men, to undertake a shorter and more direct route than that along the coast of Africa. 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, 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 disappointed from engaging in any new scheme of the kind, regretting the money and trouble already entailed 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 honorable titles and rewards, to the end, says Fernando, that he might leave behind him a name and family worthy of his deeds and merits.

On the other hand, attributes the seeming acquiescence of the king, merely to the importance of Columbus. He considered him, says the historian, a vainglorious man, fond of displaying his abilities, and given to fantastic fancies, such as that respecting the island of Cipango. 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 produced an effect on the mind of the monarch, since it is certain that he referred the proposition to a learned junta charged with all matters relating to maritime discovery.

This junta was composed of two able cosmographers, masters Rodierigo 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 Vasconcelos, he consulted his council, composed of 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 commenced.

It may not be deemed superfluous to notice briefly the discussion of the council on this great question. Vasconcelos reports a speech of the Bishop of Ceuta, in which he not only objected to the proposal of the Portuguese, but did not even disencumber any further prosecution of the African discoveries. “They tended,” he said, “to distract the attention, drain the resources, and divide the power of the nation, already too much weakened by recent war and pestilence. While their efforts were thus scattered abroad on remote and improvable expeditions, they exposed themselves to attack from the active enemy of the King of Castille. The greatness of monarchs,” he continued, “did not arise so much from the extent of their dominions, as from the wisdom and ability with which they governed. 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 valor of the nation, the war in which he was engaged against the Moors of Barbary was sufficient, wherein his triumphs were of solid advantage, and, moreover, engaged him with neighboring foes, who had proved themselves so dangerous when possessed of power.”

This cool and cautious speech of the Bishop of Ceuta, directed against enterprises which were the glory of the Portuguese, touched the national pride of Don Pedro de Meneses, Count of Villareal, 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 discovery. 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 by commerce, fortified themselves by alliance, and acquired empires by conquest. The views of a nation could not always be the same; they ex-
tended 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 valor 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 ill-will engendered it a long interval of peace—illness, that source of vice, that silent file, which, little by little, wore away the strength and vigor of a nation. It was an advantage, he added, to the Portuguese name to manifest it with imaginary perils, when it had proved itself so intrepid in encountering those which were most certain and tremendous. Great souls were formed for great enterprises. He must have been prepared, said the prelate, that a priest, 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; reflecting glory on the Portuguese nation, and yielding empire and lasting fame to its princes. He concluded by declaring that, although a 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. The warm and generous eloquence of the count overpowered the cold-spirited reasonings of the bishop as far as the project of circumnavigating Africa was concerned, which was prosecuted with new ardor and triumphant success: the proposition of Columbus, however, was generally condemned by the council.

Seeing that King John still manifested an inclination for the enterprise, it was suggested to him by the Bishop of Ceuta that Columbus might be kept in suspense while a vessel secretly dispatched in the direction he should point out might ascertain whether there were any foundation for his theory. By this means all its advantages might be secured, without committing the dignity of the crown by formal negotiations about what might prove a mere chimera. But King John, in an evil hour, had the weakness to permit a stratagem so inconsistent with his usual justice and magnanimity. Columbus was required to furnish for the consideration of the council a detailed plan of his proposed voyage, with the charts and documents according to which he intended to shape his course. These being procured, a caravel was dispatched with the ostensible design of carrying provisions to the Cape de Verde Islands, but with private instructions to pursue the destined route. Departing from those islands the caravel stood westward for several days, until it appeared the weather became stormy; when the pilots, seeing nothing but an immeasurable waste of wild, tossing waves still extending before them, lost all courage and put back, ridiculing the project of Columbus as extravagant and irrational.

This unworthy attempt to defraud him of his enterprise roused the indignation of Columbus, and he declined all offers of King John to renew the negotiation. The death of his wife, which had occurred some time previously, had dissolved the domestic tie which bound him to Portugal; he determined, therefore, to abandon a country where he had been treated with so little faith, and to seek elsewhere for patronage. Before his departure, he engaged his brother Bartholomew to carry proposals to the King of England, though he does not appear to have entertained great hope from that quarter; England by no means possessing so to attack the spirit of national enterprise which has since distinguished her. The great reliance of Columbus was on his own personal enterprises.

It was toward the end of 1487 that he left Lisbon, taking with him his son Diego. His departure had to be conducted with secrecy, lest, as some assert, it should be prevented by King John; but lest, as others surmise, it should be prevented by his creditors. Like many other great projectors, while engaged upon schemes of vast benefit to mankind, he had suffered his own affairs to go to ruin, and was reduced to struggle hard with poverty; nor is it one of the least interesting circumstances in his eventful life, that he had, in a manner, to bring his way to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world.
merely traditional, and unsupported by documentary evidence. The first firm and indisputable trace we have of Columbus after leaving Portugal is in the south of Spain, in 1485, where we find him seeking his fortune among the Spanish nobles, several of whom had vast possessions, and exercised almost independent sovereignty in their domains.

Foremost among these were the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, who had estates like municipalities lying along the sea-coast, with ports and shipping and hosts of retainers at their command. They served the crown in its Moorish wars more as allied princes than as vassals, bringing armies into the field led by themselves, or by captains of their own appointment. Their domestic establishments were on a large scale; their palaces were filled with persons of merit, and young cavaliers of noble birth, to be reared under their auspices, in the exercise of arms and arms.

Columbus had many interviews with the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who was tempted for a time by the splendid prospects held out; but their very splendor threw a coloring of improbability over the enterprise, and he then rejected it as the dream of an Italian visionary.

The Duke of Medina Celi was likewise favorable at the outset. He entertained Columbus for some time in his house, and was actually on the point of granting him leave and freedom, which lay ready for sea in his harbor of Port St. Mary, opposite Cadiz, when suddenly changed his mind, deterred by the consideration that the enterprise, if successful, would involve discoveries too important to be grasped by any but a sovereign power, and that the Spanish government might be displeased at his undertaking it on his own account. Finding, however, that Columbus intended to make his next application to the King of France, and loath that an enterprise of such importance should be lost to Spain, the duke wrote to Queen Isabella recommending it strongly to her attention. The queen made a favorable reply, and requested that Columbus might be sent to her. He accordingly had leave to set sail, and when he arrived at Cordova, bearing a letter to the queen from the duke, soliciting that, in case the expedition should be carried into effect, he might have a share in it, and the fitting out of the armament from his port of St. Mary, as a recompense for having waived the enterprise in favor of the crown.

The time when Columbus thus sought his fortunes at the court of 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 insured the domination of the Moslems.


N.B.—In the previous editions of this work, the first trace we have of Columbus in Spain is at the gate of the convent of La Rabida, in Andalusia. Subsequent investigations have induced me to conform to the opinion of the indefatigable and accurate Navarrete, given in his third volume of documents, that the first trace of Columbus in Spain was his application to the crown of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, and that his visit to the convent of La Rabida was some few years subsequent.

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 limits 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 sovereignties, the petty kingdoms of Spain began to feel and act as one nation, both in war and in peace, as well as arms. Ferdinand and Isabella, it is 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 union of purpose and of action. All acts of sovereignty were executed in both their names; all public enterprises were subsisted under 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 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, were white; his eyes were clear and animated; his complexion was somewhat ruddy and powdered by the toils of war; his mouth moderate, well formed, and graceless in its expression. He was a tall, white, small and regular; 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, equal in his temper, devout in his religion, and indefatigable in business; that it was said, he seemed to repose himself by working. The wise and judicious judge of men, and unapproachable in the science of the cabinet. Such is the picture given of him by the Spanish historians of his time. It has been added, however, that he had a pride higher than religion: that his ambition was craving rather than magnanimous: that he made war less like a prince than a prince, less for glory than for mere domination; 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 pernicious.† He certainly was one of the most subtle statesmen, but one of the most thorough egotists that ever sat upon a throne.

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 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.

* Voltaire, Essai sur les Moeurs, etc.
† Ibid., ch. 14.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

CHAPTER II.

COLUMBUS AT THE COURT OF SPAIN.

When Columbus arrived at Cordova he was given in charge to Alonso de Quirarte, comptroller of the treasury of Castile, but was appointed in his expectation of receiving immediate audience from the queen. He found the city all the hustle of military preparation. It was a critical juncture of the war. The rival kings of Granada, Muley Ismail the uncle, and Mohammed Boabdil the nephew, had just formed a coalition, and their league called for prompt and vigorous measures.

All the chivalry of Spain had been summoned to the field; the streets of Cordova echoed to the tramp of steel and sound of trumpet, as day by day the nobles arrived with their retainers, vying with each other in the number of their troops and the splendor of their appointments. The court was like a military camp: the king and queen were surrounded by the flower of Spanish chivalry; by those veteran cavaliers who had distinguished themselves in so many hardy conflicts with the Moors, and by the prelims and friars who mingled in martial council, and took deep interest and agency in this war of the Faith.

This was an unpropitious moment to urge a suit like that of Columbus. In fact the sovereigns had not a moment of leisure throughout this eventful year. Early in the spring they were off to lay siege to the Moorish city of Loja; 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 Molin, and both sovereigns remained for some time in the Vega of Granada, prosecuting the war with unremitting vigor. They had hardly returned to Cordova to celebrate their victories by public rejoicings.

* Pedro Salazar di Mendoza, Monarq. de Esp. lib. iii. cap. 5. (Madrid, 1770, tom. i. p. 402.)
* Gonzalo de Ucles, Historia. Pontif., lib. vi. cap. 23, § 3.
* Several suits of armor cop. a pie, worn by Isabella, and still preserved in the royal arsenal at Madrid, show that she was exposed to personal danger in her campaigns.
jolings, when they were obliged to set out for Galicia, to suppress a rebellion of the Count of Lemos. Thence they repaired to Salamanca for the winter.

During the summer and autumn of this year Columbus remained at Cordova, a guest in the house of Alonzo de Quintanilla, who proved a warm advocate of his theory. Through his means he became acquainted with Antonio Geraldini, the pope's nuncio, and his brother Alexander Geraldini, preceptor to the younger children of F. Alonzo and Isabella; both valuable friends about court. Wherever he obtained a candid hearing from intelligent auditors, the dignity of his manner, his earnest sincerity, the elevation of his views, and the practical shrewdness of his demonstrations, commanded respect even where they failed to produce conviction.

While thus lingering in idle suspense at Cordova, he became attached to a lady of the city, Beatrix Uiego, by name, of a noble family, though in reduced circumstances. Their connection was not sanctioned by marriage; yet he cherished sentiments of respect and tenderness for her to his dying day. She was the mother of an only son, Fernando, born in the following year (1489), whom he always treated on terms of perfect equality with his legitimate son Diego, and who, after his death, became his historian.

In the winter Columbus followed the court to Salamanca. Here his zealous friend, Alonzo de Quintanilla, exerted his influence to obtain for him the countenance of the celebrated Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, and Grand Cardinal of Spain. This was the most important personage about the court; and was facetiously called by Peter Martyr, the "third king of Spain." The king and queen had him always by 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 a man of sound judgment and quick intellect, eloquent in conversation, and able in the dispatch of business. His appearance was lofty and venerable; he was simple yet curiously nice in his apparel, and of graceful and gentle deportment. Though an elegant scholar, yet, like many learned men of his day, he was but little skilled in cosmography. When the theory of Columbus was first mentioned to him, he struck him as involving heretical 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 irreverent in attempting to extend the bounds of human knowledge, and to ascertain the works of creation; his scruples once removed, he permitted Columbus to be introduced to him, and gave him a courteous reception. The latter knew the importance of his auditor, and that a conference with the grand cardinal was almost equivalent to a communication with the throne; he exerted himself to the utmost, therefore, to explain and demonstrate his proposition. The clear-headed cardinal listened with profound attention. He was pleased with the noble and earnest manner of Columbus, which showed him to be no common schemer; he felt the grandeur, and, at the same time, the simplicity of his theory, and the force of many of the arguments by which it was supported. He determined that it was a matter highly worthy of the consideration of the sovereigns, and through his representations Columbus at length obtained admission to the royal presence.++

We have but scanty particulars of this audience, nor can we ascertain whether Queen Isabella was present on the occasion; the contrary seems to be most probably the case. Columbus appeared in the royal presence with modesty, yet self-possession, neither dazzled nor daunted by the splendor of the court or the awful majesty of the throne. He unfolded his plan with eloquence and zeal, for he felt himself as an advocate who, when he left the court, was determined, kindled as with a fire from on high, and considered himself the agent chosen by Heaven to accomplish its grand designs.†

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 wide, and visionary his views, his scheme had scientific and practical foundation. His ambition was excited by the possibility of discovery to such an extent that he was ready to sacrifice himself to the enterprise of this sublime and grasping monarch, that, if successful, it would enable him to forestall that strange rivalry of his elder brother. It was a struggle, and by opening a direct course to India across the ocean, to bear off from them the monopoly of oriental commerce.

Still as usual, Ferdinand was cool and wary, and would not trust his own judgment in a matter that involved so many principles of science. He determined to take the opinion of the most learned men in the kingdom, and to be guided by their decision. Fernando de Talavera, prior of the monastery of Prado and confessor of the queen, one of the most erudite men of Spain, and high in the royal confidence, was commanded to assemble the most learned astronomers and cosmographers for the purpose of holding a conference with Columbus, and examining him as to the grounds on which he founded his proposition. After they had informed themselves fully on the subject, they were to consult together and make a report to the sovereigns of their collective opinion.‡

CHAPTER III.
COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AT SALAMANCA.

[1486.]

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 he was lodged and entertained with great hospitality during the course of the examination.++

Religion and science were at that time, and more especially in that country, closely associated. The treasures of learning were immersed in monasteries, and the professors' chairs were exclusively filled by ecclesiastics. The domination of the clergy extended as far as the state and church, and posts of honor and influence at court, with the exception of hereditary nobles, were almost entirely confined to ecclesiastics. It was

* Oviedo, lib. ii. cap. 4.
+ Salazar, Cron. G. Cardinal, lib. i. cap. 62.
† Letter to the Sovereigns in 1501.
‡ Hist. del Almirante, cap. xli.
§ Hist. de Chiapa por Remesal, lib. ii. cap. 37.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

By nature common to find cardinals and bishops in andROSUL in the head of armies; for the crozier had been occasionally thrown by for the
fame, 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 fervor of her devotion. The Inquisition had just been established in that
kingdom, and every opinion that savored of heresy made its owner ominous 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 astrology,
physics, mathematics, and other sciences, and consisted of the leading men of letters and
theological authority. Before this erudite assembly, Columbus presented himself to propound and defend his conclusions. Columbus had been scourged at as a visionary by the vulgar and the learned; but he was convinced that he
only required a body of enlightened men to listen dispassionately to his reasons, to inspire triumphant conviction.

The greatest part of this learned juncto, of which he was prepossessed against him, as men in place and dignity are apt to be against poor practitioners. There is always a proneness to consider a man under examination as a kind of delinquent, or impostor, whose facts and errors are to be detected and exposed. Columbus, too, appeared in a most unfavorable light before a academic body: an obscure navigator, a member of no learned institution, destitute of all the trapping and circumstance which sometimes give
peculiar authority to dullness, and depending upon the mere force of natural genius. Some of the juncto entertained the popular notion that he was an adventurer, or at best a visionary; and others, that his most licentious and cosmographical confessions were made in a fit of passion. After they had heard the proposition, they were to decide and write a report to the juncto.

At that time, an adverse juncto was assembled, and had been so frequently charged with the domination of
the court, that it was not only the influence at court, but the nobles, that were
the chief object of its enmity. It was

Cron. G. Cardi-

Il. cap. 27.
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 human mind to the earth, and the gospel to the water of the earth, which they then inferred must be the

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 admired the globular form of the earth, and the possibility of an opposite and habitable hemisphere; but they brought up the chimera of the ancients, and maintained that it would be impossible to arrive there, in consequence of the insuperable 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 Euphrates, that admitting the earth to be spherical, it was only inhabited in the northern hemisphere, and in that section only was canopied by the heavens; that the opposite half was a chaos, a gulf, 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 must turn 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 favorable wind.*

Such are specimens of the errors and prejudices, the mingled ignorance and crudity, and the partial bigotry, with which Columbus had to contend throughout the examination of his theory. We can wonder at the difficulties and delays which he experienced at court, 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 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.

The chief 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 commentators of the fathers treated with deference as pious homilies, but not as philosophical propositions which it was necessary either to admit or refuse. 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 those 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 in Mina in Guinée, almost under the equator. Thus he had shown 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 gentry of the place, extended over the whole earth, which they thence inferred must be flat.

He had but 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 demeanor, his air of authority, his kindling eye, and the persuasive intonations of his voice. How they must 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 announcements of the sublime discovery which he proposed.

Among the number who were convinced by the reasoning, and warned by the eloquence of Columbus, was Diego de Deza, a worthy and learned friar of the order of St. Dominick, that at that time professed a number of St. Francis, but who became afterward 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 truths of wisdom with an unclouded eye. 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, he thought, should only refer it as a delusion. He was the most enlightened of those sages have been astonished, had any one apprised them that the man, Cupernicus, was then in existence, whose solar system should reverse the grand theory of Ptolemy, and himself the earth in the centre of the universe.

Notwithstanding every exertion, however, there was a preponderating mass of inert bigotry and learned pride in this erudite body, which refused to yield to the demonstrations of an obscure foreigner, without fortune or connections, or any academic honors. "It was requisite," says Las Casas, "before Columbus could make his solutions and reasons 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 igno- rant, or what is worse, the prejudiced, remained obstinate in their opposition. In their composition, the perseveration 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 views of Columbus, gave way to the delicious vision, full of probability and promise, and one which never could be realized. Fernando de

* Remesz, Hist. de Chilpa, lib. xi. cap. 7.

Talavera de la Reina, a trusty, ancient, and very honorific city, much overgrown with the trees of the convent; in the immediate vicinity of the town, the soil is generally rich and fertile, which, in comparison with the surrounding plains, is more exposed to the influence of the storms and rain of the north.
Chapter IV.

Further Applications at Court of Castile—Columbus Follows the Court in Its Campaigns.

The Castilian court departed from Salamanca early in the spring of 1489 and repaired to Cordoa, to prepare for the memorable campaign against Malaga. Fernando de Tapalvera, new bishop of Avila, the queen's confessor, and as one of her spiritual counsellors in the concerns of the war. The consultations of the council were interrupted by this event, before that learned body could come to a decision, and for a long time Columbus was kept in suspense, vainly awaiting the report that was to decide the fate of his application.

It has generally been supposed that the several years which elapsed between his first application and the second, were spent in the drowsy and monotonous attendance of antechambers; but it appears, on the contrary, that they were often passed amid scenes of peril and adventure, and that in following up his suit, he never lost sight of one of the most striking situations of this wild, rugged, and mountainous war. Several times he was summoned to attend conferences in the vicinity of the sovereigns, when besieging cities in the heart of the Moorish dominions; but the tempest of warlike affairs which hurried the court from place to place, and gave it the bustle and confusion of a camp, prevented those conferences from taking place, and swept away all concerns that were not immediately connected with the war. Whenever the court had assembled together, there would again be manifested a disposition to consider his proposal, but the hurry and tempest would again return and the question be swept away.

The extraordinary campaign of 1487, which took place shortly after the conference at Salamanca, was full of incident and peril. King Ferdinand had nearly been surprised and cut off by the Moors, and the queen and all the court at Cordova were for a time in an agony of terror and suspense until assured of his safety.

When the sovereigns were subsequently encamped before the city of Malaga, pressing its memorable siege, Columbus was summoned to the court. He found it drawn up in its silken pavilions on a rising ground, commanding the fertile valley of Malaga; the encampments of the warlike nobility of Spain extended in a semicircle on each side, to the shores of the sea, strongly fortified, glittering with the martial pomp of that chivalrous age and nation, and closely investing that important city.

The siege was protracted for several months, but the vigorous defense of the Moors, their numerous stratagems, and fierce and frequent battles, allowed but little leisure in the camp. In the course of this siege, the application of Columbus to the sovereigns was nearly brought to a violent close; a fanatic Moor having attempted to assassinate Ferdinand and Isabella. Mistaking one of the gorgeous pavilions of the nobility for the royal tent, he attacked Don Alvaro de Portugal, and Don Beatriz de Bobadilla, the queen, instead of the king and queen. After wounding Don Alvaro dangerously, he was foiled in a blow aimed at the marchioness, and instantly cut to pieces by the attendants.

The lady's house was the scene of extraordinary merit and force of character. She quietly took a great interest in the suit of Columbus, though Fernando de Tapalvera, the bishop of Avila, was present, as appears by his entering the captured city in solemn and religious triumph. The campaign being ended, the court returned to Cordoa, but was almost immediately driven from that city by the pestilence.

For upward of a year the court was in a state of continual migration; part of the time in Saragossa, part of the time in the Moorish territories by the way of Murcia, and part of the time in Valadolid and Medina del Campo. Columbus attended it in some of its movements, but it was vain to seek a quiet and unmolested retreat from a court surrounded by the din of arms and continually on the march. Wearied and discouraged by these delays, he began to think of applying elsewhere for patronage, and appears to have commenced negotiations for a return to Portugal. He wrote to the monach on the subject, and received a letter in reply dated 20th of 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. He received also a letter from Henry VII. of England, inviting him to that country, and holding out promises of encouragement.

There must have been strong hopes, authorized about this time by the conduct of the Spanish sovereigns, to induce Columbus to neglect these invitations; and we find ground for such a supposition in a memorandum of a sum of money paid to him by the treasurer Gonzalez, to enable him to comply with a summons to attend the Castilian court. By the date of this memorandum, the payment must have been made immediately after Columbus had received the letter of the King of Portugal. It would seem to have been the aim of King Ferdinand, to prevent his carrying his proposition to another and a rival monarch, and to keep the matter in suspense, until he should have leisure to examine it; and, if advisable, to carry it into operation.

In the spring of 1489 the long-adjourned investigation appeared to be on the eve of taking place. Columbus was summoned to attend a conference of learned men, to be held in the city of Seville; a royal order was issued for lodgings to be provided for him there; and the magistrates of all cities and towns through which he might pass, on his way, were commanded to furnish accommodations gratis for himself and his attendants. A provision of the kind was necessary in those days, when every present wretched establishments, called paia, on the road for the reception of travellers, were scarcely known.

The city of Seville complied with the royal

* Pulgar, Cronica, cap. 57. P. Martyr.
† Retrato del Buen Vassallo, lib. ii. cap. 16.
command, but as usual the appointed conference was postponed, being interrupted by the opening of a campaign, "in which," says an old chroni-

cler of the place, "the same Columbus was found fighting, giving proofs of the distinguished valor which accompanied his wisdom and his lofty de-

The campaign in which Columbus is here said to have borne so honorable a part was one of the most glorious of the war of Granada. Queen Is-

Isabella attended with all her court, including as usual a stately train of prelates and friars, among whom is particularly mentioned the procrastinating arbor of the pretenders of Columbus, Fer-

nando de Talavera. Much of the success of the campaign is ascribed to the presence and counsel of Isabella. The city of Baza, which was closely besieged and had resisted valiantly for upward of six months, surrendered soon after her arrival; and on the 23d of December, Columbus beheld Muley Isabell, 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 Solomonistic spirit of Columbus. Two reverend friars arrived one day at the Spanish camp, and requested admission to the sovereigns on business of great moment. They were two of the brethren of the convent established at the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. They brought a message from the Grand Soldan of Egypt, threatening to put to death all the Chris-

tians in his dominions, to lay waste their convents and churches, 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 in gold, for the support of the monks who had charge of the sepulchre; and sent a veil embroi-

dered with her own hands to be hung up at its shrine.

The representations of these friars of the suffer-

ings and indignities to which Christians were subjected in the Holy Land, together with the pious ardor of the Soldan, roused the pious indignation of the Spanish cavaliers, and many burned with ardent zeal once more to revive the contests of the faith on the sacred plains of Pal-

estine. It was probably from conversation with these friars, and from the piou and chivalrous zeal thus awakened in the warrior throng around him, that Columbus first conceived an enthusiasti-

cic idea, or rather made a kind of mental vow, which remained more or less present to his mind until the very day of his death. He determined that, should his projected enterprise be success-

ful, he would devote the profits arising from his anticipated discoveries to a crusade for the rescue of the holy sepulchre from the power of the infidels.

If the bustle and turmoil of this campaign pre-

vented the intended conference, the concerns of Columbus fared no better during the subsequent rejoicings. Ferdinand and Isabella entered Sev-

ville in February, 1490, with great pomp and tri-

umph. There were then preparations made for

the marriage of their eldest daughter, the Princess

Isabella, with the Prince Don Alphonso, heir appar-

ent of Portugal. The nuptials were celebrated in

the month of April, with extraordinary splendor.

Throughout the whole winter and spring the court was in a continual tumult of parade and pleasure, and nothing was to be seen at Seville but feasts, tournaments, and torchlight processions. What chance had Columbus of being heard amid these alternate uprisings of war and festivity?

During this long course of solicitation he supported himself, in part, by making maps and charts, and was occasionally assisted by the purse of the worthy friar Diego de Deza. It is due to the sovereigns to say, also, that whenever he was summoned to follow the movements of the court, or to attend any appointed consultation, he was attached to the royal suite, and lodgings were provided for him and sums issued to defray his expenses. Memorandum of several of these

sums still exist in the book of accounts of the royal treasurer, Francisco Gonzalez, of Seville, which has lately been found in the archives of Simancas; and it is from these minutes that we have been enabled, in some degree, to follow the movements of Columbus, and ascertain his attendance upon this rambling and warlike court.

During all this time he was exposed to continual scoffs and indignities, being ridiculed by the light and ignorant as a mere dreamer, and stigmatized as a credulous adventurer. It is said, pointed to their foreheads as he passed, being taught to regard him as a kind of madman.

The summer of 1490 passed away, but still Col-

bus was kept in tantalizing and tormenting suspense. The subsequent winter was not more propitious. He was lingering at Cordova in a state of irritating anxiety, when he learnt that the sovereigns were preparing to depart on a cam-
paign in the Vega of Granada, with a determina-
tion never to raise their camp from before that city until their victorious banners should float upon its towers.

Columbus was aware that when once the camp was opened and the sovereigns were in the field, the enterprise was doomed, and that the soldan might call up all his forces to his suit. He was wearied, if not incensed, at the repeated postponements he had experienced, by which several years had been consumed. He now pressed with a decisive reply with an earnestness that would not admit of evasion. For Fernando de Talavera, therefore, was called upon by the sovereigns to hold a definite conference with the scientific men to whom the project had been referred, and to make a report of their decision. The bishop tardily complied, and at length reported to their majesties, as the general opinion of the Junto, that the proposed scheme 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.

Notwithstanding this unfavorable report, the sovereigns were unwilling to close the door upon a project which might be productive of such important advantages. Many of the learned mem-

bers of the Junto also were in their favor, particu-

larly Fray Diego de Deza, tutor to Prince Juan, who from his situation and clerical character had access to the royal ear, and exerted himself strenuously in counteracting the decision of the board.

† Or 1423 dollars, equivalent to 2629 dollars in our time.
‡ Garabay, Compend. Hist. lib. xviii. cap. 36.
* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 2.
A degree of consideration, also, had gradually grown up at court for the enterprise, and many men, distinguished for rank and merit, had become its advocates. Fernando de Talavera, therefore, was commissioned to inform Columbus, who was still at Coruña, that the great cares and expenses of the wars rendered it impossible for the sovereigns to engage in any new enterprise; but that when the war was concluded they would have both time and inclination to treat with him about what he proposed.*

This was but a starred reply to receive after so many days of weariness, anxiety, expectation, and deferred hope; Columbus was unwilling to receive it at second hand, and repaired to the court at Seville to learn his fate from the lips of the sovereigns. Their reply was virtually the same, declining to engage in the enterprise for the present, but holding out hopes of patronage when relieved from the cares and expenses of the war.

Columbus looked upon this indefinite postponement as a mere courtly mode of evading his importance, and supposed that the favorable dispositions of the sovereigns would be counteracted by the objections of the ignorant and bigoted. Renouncing all the promises of the place, therefore, in vague promises, which had so often led to disappointment, and giving up all hopes of countenance to the throne, he turned his back upon Seville, indignant at the thoughts of having been beguiled out of so many precious years of waning existence.

**CHAPTER V.**

COLUMBUS AT THE CONVENT OF LA RABIDA.

About half a league from the little seaport of Palos de Moguer in Andalusia there stood, and continues to stand at the present day, an ancient convent of Franciscan friars, dedicated to Santa María de la Rabida. One day a stranger on foot, in humble guise but of a distinguished air, accompanied by a small boy, stopped 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, 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 learned the particulars of his story. That stranger was Columbus.† He was on his way to the neighboring 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 project, and with the splendor of the monotonous life of the cloister, to have a man of such singular character, intent on so extraordinary an enterprise, applying for bread and water at the gate of his convent.

When he found, however, that the voyager was on the point of abandoning Spain to seek patronage in France, and that so important an enterprise was about to be lost forever to the country, the patriotism of the good friar took the alarm. He detained Columbus as his guest, and, diffident of his own judgment, sent for a scientific friend to converse with him. That friend was García Fernandez, a physician resident in Palos, the same who furnished this interesting testimony.

Fernandez was equally struck with the appearance and conversation of the stranger; several conferences took place at the convent, at which several of the veteran mariners of Palos were present. Among these was Martín Alonso Pinzon, the head of a family of wealthy and experienced navigators of the place. Columbus was entertained with all the honors which had been sought in vain among the sages and philosophers of the court, Martín Alonso Pinzon especially was so convinced of its feasibility that he offered 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 those learned and practical councilors. 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. The latter was easily persuaded, for so it pleased the queen, and Columbus was again abandoning his home. He was also reluctant to renew, in another court, the vexations and disappointments experienced in Spain and Portugal.

The little council at the convent of La Rabida now cast round their eyes for an ambassador to depart upon this momentous business. They chose one Sebastian Rodriguez, a pilot of Lepe, one of the most shrewd and important personages in this maritime neighborhood. The queen, who had been brought by the enterprise of the friars to the time of this enterprise, had always been favorably disposed to the proposition of Columbus. 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 backed back by the pilot at the end of fourteen days, and spread great joy in the little junto at the convent,

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 2.
† Lo dicho Almirante Colon veniendo a la Rabida, que es un monasterio de frailes en esta villa, el cual demandó a la portería que le diesen agua y pan, dice el historiador, que era niño, pan y agua que bebiese. El testimonio de García Fernandez existe en manuscrito anotando todos los escritos de los Pinto y otros escritores, que son preservados en Sevilla. He made use of an authenticated extract, copied for the late historian, Juan Baut. Muñoz.
‡ Puertos de Indias, ya antes del enteramiento de dicho entonado, de donde había recibido información de tierra de la señora en Puerto Santo.
He journeyed through the conquered countries of the Moors, and rode into the newly-erected city of Santa Fé, where the sovereigns were superintendent the cortege for their capital at Granada.

The sacred office of Juan Pérez 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 course. He pleaded the cause of Columbus with characteristic enthusiasm, speaking from actual knowledge of his honorable motives, his professional knowledge and experience, and his perfect capacity to fulfill 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 Pérez, which were warmly seconded by her favorite, the Marchioness of Moya, who entered into the affair with a woman's disinterested enthusiasm. The queen requested that Columbus might be again sent to her, and, with the kind consideration which characterized her, bethinking herself of his poverty, and his humble plight, ordered that twenty thousand maravedis in ducats 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 ransom, so 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 García Fernández, who delivered them to Columbus. The latter complied with the instructions conveyed in the epistle. He exchanged his threadbare garb for one more suitable to the sphere of a court, and, purchasing a mule, set out once more, reanimated by hopes, for the camp before Granada.

CHAPTER VI.

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

[1492.]

When Columbus arrived at the court, he experienced a favorable reception, and was given in hospitable charge to his steady friend Alonso de Quintanilla, 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 Bochill, the last of the Moorish kings, sally forth from the Alhambra, and yield up the keys of that favorite 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 in Spanish history. After near eight hundred years of chivalry, sovereignty, and foreign domination, at last down, the cross existed in its place, and the standard of Spain was seen floating on the highest tower of the Alhambra. The whole court and army were abandoned to jubilation. 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 all the illustrious that of warlike country, and stirring era; by the flower of its nobility, by the most dignified of its prelates, by lords and ministers, 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, shorn of all factions and dispute applicants, feeding his imagination in the corners of antechambers with the pomposous 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 monarchs stood pledged to attend to his proposals. The war with the Moors was at an end, Spain was delivered from its intruders, and its sovereignty might securely turn its 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 a cardinal 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 newly adventurer, aspiring to rank and dignity 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 honor 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 an eighth of the profits. To do this, he had no doubt calculated on the proffered assistance of Martin Alonso Pinzon, the wealthy navigator of Palos.

His terms, however, were pronounced inadmissible. Fernando de Talavera had always considered

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* Retrato del Buen Vassallo, lib. ii. cap. 16.
† Or 72 dollars, and equivalent to 216 dollars of the time.
‡ Of the particulars of this visit of Columbus to the convent of La Rabida are from the testimony rendered by García Fernández in the lawsuit between Diego, the son of Columbus and the crown.

* Mariana, Hist. de España, lib. xxv. cap. 13.
† Cleemencia, Elogio de la Reina Católica, p. 20.
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Columbus a dreaming speculator, or a needy applicant for bread; but to see this man, who had for years been an indigent and threadbare solicitor or invalid, and from the highest quarters of the whole court and of this king, and that his claim was not accepted and an office that approached to the awful dignity of the throne, excited the astonishment of the Reign, as well as the indignation of the pretender. He represented to Isabella that it would be degrading to the dignity of so illustrious a crown to bestow such distinguished honors upon a nameless stranger. Such terms, 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 daunting favor. 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 honorable and advantageous. It was all in vain: he would not cede one of his points, and the negotiation was broken off.

It is impossible to admire the grand confluence of motive 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 Paulo 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, that poverty, privations, and disappointments had not 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 for empire.

Though so large a portion of his life had been spent in fruitless soliciting; though there was no certainty that the same weary career was not to be entered upon at any other court; yet so indigent was he at the repeated disappointments he had experienced in Spain, that he determined to advance a new plan of services to the demands of his friends. Taking leave of his friends, therefore, he mounted his mule, and sailed forth from Santa Fe in the beginning of February, 1492, on his way to Cordova, 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 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. Determined if possible to avert the evil, he obtained an immediate audience of the queen, accompanied by Alonzo de Quintanilla. The exigency of the moment gave him courage and eloquence. He did not content himself with entreaties, but almost mingled reproaches, expressing astonishment that a nation which had evinced the spirit to undertake so many great and perilous enterprises, should hesitate at one more, the result of which would make the gain impossible. 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 obtained by their discoveries; here was an opportunity to surpass them all.

He entreated 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 of two vessels and about three thousand crowns.

These and many more arguments were urged with that persuasive power which honest zeal imparts, and it is said the Marchioness of Moya, who was present, exalted her eloquence 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 crown 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 the necessary funds." This was the proudest moment in the life of Isabella; it stamped her renown forever as the patroness of the discovery of the New World.

St. Angel, eager to secure this noble impulse, assured her majesty that there would be no need of pledging her jewels, as he was ready to advance the necessary funds himself. The funds really came from the coffers of Aragon; seventeen thousand florins were advanced by the ambassador of St. Angel out of the treasury of King Ferrand. This prudent monarch, however, took care to have his kingdom indemnified some few years afterward; for in reparation 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 Saragossa, in Arragon, anciently the Aljaferia, or abode of the Moorish kings.®

Columbus had pursued his lonely journey across the Vegu and reached the bridge of Pinos, about two leagues from Granada, at the foot of the mountain of Elvira, a pass famous in the Moorish wars for many a desperate encounter between the Christians and infidels. Here he was over- taken by a courier from the queen, spurring in all speed, who summoned him to return to Santa Fe. He hesitated for a moment; but then, seeing 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

® Argensola Anales de Aragon, lib. i. cap. 10.

xxv. cap. 18.
Catolica, p. 20.
the queen, and the positive promise she had given to undertake it, he no longer felt a doubt, but, turning the reins of his mule, hastened back, with joyful alacrity to Santa Fé confiding in the noble probity of that princess.

CHAPTER VII.

ARRANGEMENT WITH THE SPANISH SOVEREIGNS—PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXPEDITION AT THE PORT OF PALOS.

[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. Through deference to the zeal she thus suddenly displayed, the king yielded his tardy concurrence, but Isabella was the soul of this grand enterprise. She was prompted by lofty and generous enthusiasm, while the king proved cold and calculating in this as in all his other undertakings.

A perfect understanding being thus effected with 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 forever, the office of admiral in all the lands and countries which he might discover or acquire in the ocean, with similar honors and prerogatives to those enjoyed by the high admiral of Castile in his district.

2. That he should be vicerey and governor-general over all the said lands and countries, 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 the Chirch, 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 ignominious proffer, on being reproached with demanding ample emoluments while incurring no portion of the charge. He fulfilled this engagement, through the assistance of the Pinzones 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 Fe, 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 not resistent 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, but which has since lost all value, from being universally used in this.

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

The port of Palos de Moguer was fixed upon as the place where the armament should be fitted out, Columbus calculating, no doubt, on the cooperation of Martin Alonso Pinzon, resident there, and on the assistance of his zealous friend the prior of the convent of La Rabida. Before going into the business details of this great enterprise, it is due to the character of the illustrious man who conducted it, most specially to notice the elevated, even though visionary spirit by which he was actuated. One of his principal objects was undoubtedly the propagation of the Christian faith. He expected to arrive at the extremity of Asia, and to open a direct and easy communication with the vast and magnificent empire of the Grand Khan. The conversion of that heathen potentate had, in former times, been a favorite aim of various pontiffs and pious sovereigns, and various missions had been sent to the remote regions of the East for that purpose. Columbus now considered himself about to effect this great work: to spread the light of revelation to the very ends of the earth, and thus to be the instrument of accomplishing one of the sublime predictions of Holy Writ. Ferdinand listened with complacency to these enthusiastic anticipations. With him, however, religion was subservient to interest; and he 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 truth of Christianity, was fit spoil for a Christian invader; and the king believed that Castile and was more stimulated by the accounts given of the wealth of Mongol, 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 acceded with the views of Columbus in this particular, and when he afterward departed on his voyage, letters were actually given him for the Grand Khan of Tartary.

The ardent enthusiasm of Columbus did not stop here. Anticipating boundless wealth from his discoveries, 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 the imagination, but expressed themselves well pleased with it, and assured him that even without the funds he anticipated, they should be well disposed to that holy

† Charlevoix, Hist. S. Domingo, lib. i. p. 79.
in form, and in the spirit of Granada, for Granada.

In this, the age, the king and government were remote; and he and his court lived in the fastness of those turbulent times, though it held together, not so much from rallying universally as from fear. On this occasion, Ferdinand and Isabella, the last of Castile demised her life, few were permitted to express their sentiments. Their ruling passion was fixed upon as the one to be fit for the light, on the court, the residence, the principal, the miscreant, the tears, the tears.

Before going to the enterprise, it was a praiseworthy man who could not be the most especially to the life of the visionary spirit of Columbus. The ambition of the enterprise, the desire at the excesses, the indirect and easy of the event, the insignificant eminence of their times, the times, the times, has been a lusin pious service; and pious service has been sent to the king in that purpose.

Columbus, the light of the light of revelation, was in a way thus to be the representative of the sublime line of Ferdinand and Isabella, for the means of the enterprise was subsered for the light of the light, in the recent enterprise of the day of the enterprise, the light of the light that refused to be comprehended, was fair and true, and it is probable that he was not satisfied by the acceptance of the light for any vessel. Columbus had the light for the Grand Khan, and the possession of him and the light.

Columbus: she was filled with thoughts of such a different motives, which was accorded with the king, with the particular, and the enterprise; his voyage, letters, and the light for the Grand Khan of the light.

Columbus did not enjoy the consequence from wealth from those treasures that were related to the pious service of the light for Jerusalem. The sovereigns of his imagination, but he was surrounded with it, and he was in the funds he anticipated from 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 all, he subsequently considered it the main work for which he was chosen by heaven as an agent, and that his great discovery was but a preparatory dispensation of Providence to furnish means for its accomplishment.

A home-felt mark of favor, characteristic of the kind and considerate heart of Isabella, was accorded to Columbus before his departure from the court. An alms, 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 honor granted only to the persons of honorable rank.

Thus gratified in his dearest wishes, after a course of delays and disappointments sufficient to have rendered any ordinary man to despair, Columbus proceeded to the court of the 14th of May, and was enabled to carry it into effect; that the greater part of that time was passed in almost hopeless solicitation, amid poverty, neglect, and a tasking 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 VIII.

COLUMBUS AT THE PORT OF PALOS—PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

On arriving at Palos, Columbus repaired immediately to the neighboring convent of La Rabida, where he was received with open arms by the worthy friar of the order of the port of Palos, for some misdemeanor, had been condemned by the royal council to serve the crown for one year with two armed caravels; and these were destined to form part of the armament of Columbus, who was furnished with the necessary papers and vouchers to enforce obedience in all matters necessary for his expedition.

On the following morning, the 23rd of May, Columbus, accompanied by Fray Juan Perez, whose character and station gave him great importance in the neighborhood, proceeded to the church of St. George in Palos, where the alcate, the regidor, and many of the inhabitants of the place had been notified to attend. Here, in presence of them all, in the porch of the church, a royal order was read by a notary public, commanding

* Proseña a vuestras Altezas que toda la magnificencia desta empresa se gastase en la ciudad de Jerusalen, y vuestras Altezas se rieron, y dieron les plazca, y que sin este tenian aquella pana. Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, tom. i. p. 177.

† Navarrete, Collec. de Viages, Tom. ii. doc. 11.

‡ Oviedo, Cronica de las Indias, lib. ii. cap. 5.

the authorities of Palos to have two caravels ready for sea within ten days after 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 these were to be furnished with the ordinary equipment of the seamen employed in armed vessels, and to be paid four months in advance. They were to sail in such direction 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 or Min, on the coast of Guinea, nor any other of the newly discovered possessions of Portugal. A certificate of their good conduct, signed by Columbus, was to be the discharge of their obligation to the crown.*

Orders were likewise read, addressed to the public authorities, and the people of all ranks and conditions, in the maritime borders of Andalusia, commanding them to furnish supplies and assistance necessary for the enterprise.

With these orders the authorities promised implicit compliance; but when the nature of the intended expedition came to be known, astonishment and dismay fell upon the little community. The ships and crews demanded for such a desperate service were regarded in the light of sacrifices. The owners of vessels refused to furnish them; the boldest seamen shrank from such a wild and chimerical cruise into the wilderness of the ocean. All kinds of frightful tales and falsehoods were conjured up concerning the unknown regions of the deep; and nothing can be a stronger evidence of the boldness of this undertaking than the extreme dread of it in a community composed of some of the most adventurous navigators of the age.

Weeks elapsed without a vessel being procured, or anything else being done in fulfillment of the royal orders. Further mandates were therefore issued by the sovereigns, ordering the magistrates of the coast of Andalusia to press into the service of the enterprise as many ships and seamen as they could muster from the 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 Peñafolas, an officer of the royal household, was sent to see that this order was properly complied with, receiving two hundred maravedis a day as long as he was occupied in the business, which sum, together with other penalties expressed in the mandate, was to be exacted from the owners of vessels that should be disposed of by Columbus in Palos and the neighboring town of Moguer, but apparently with as little success as the preceding.

The communities of those places were thrown into complete confusion; tumults took place, but nothing of consequence was effected. At length Martin Alonzo Pinzon stepped forward, with his brother Vicente Yanez Pinzon, both navigators of great courage and ability, owners of vessels, and having seamen in their employ. They were
related, also, to many of the seafaring inhabitants of Palos and Moguer, and had great influence throughout the neighborhood. They engaged to sail on the expedition, and furnished one of the vessels required. Others, with their owners and crews, were 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. During the equipment of the vessels, troubles and difficulties arose among the seamen who had been compelled to embark. These were fomented and kept up by Gomez Rascon and Cristoval Quizeto, owners of the Pinto, one of the ships pressed into the service. All kinds of obstacles were thrown in the way, by these people and their friends, to retard or defeat the voyage. The sailors employed upon the vessels did their work in a careless and imperfect manner, and on being commanded to do it over again absconded. 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. The influence and example of the Pinzones had a great effect in arraying this opposition, and inducing many of their friends and relatives to embark. It is supposed that they had furnished Columbus with funds to pay the eighth part of the expense which he was bound to advance. It is also said that Martin Alonso Pinzon was to divide with him his share of the profits. As no immediate profit, however, resulted from this expedition, no claim of the kind was ever brought forward. It is certain, however, that the assistance of the Pinzones was all-important, if not indispensable, in fitting out and launching the expedition.†

After the great difficulties made by various courts in patronizing this enterprise, it is surprising how insignificant 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 barks, 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.‡

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind. lib. i. cap. 77, ms.
† These facts concerning the Pinzones are mostly taken from the testimony given, many years afterward, in a suit between Don Diego, the son of Columbus, and the crown.
‡ See illustrations, article "Ships of Columbus."

They are delineated as open, and without deck in the centre, but built 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. 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 harbors. In his third voyage, when coasting the Gulf of Paria, he complained of the size of his ship, being nearly a hundred tons burden. But that such long and perilous expeditions, into unknown seas, should be undertaken 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.

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 lateen sails, and was commanded by the third of the brothers, Vicente Yanez Pinzon. There were three other pilots, Sancho Ruiz, Peter Alonso Niño, and Bartolome Roldan. Roderigo Sanchez of Segovia was inspector-general of the armament, and Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, chief alguazil. Roderigo de Espinobar went as a royal navar, an officer always sent in the armaments of the crown, to take official notices 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.*

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 sacrament 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 ceremonies, committing themselves to the especial guidance and protection of Heaven. A deep gloom was spread over the entire community of Palos when they embarked. For, at all time, they were still more cast down at the afflicting 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.


DEPARTURE.

When the voyage began, it was a cheering sight to see the three ships setting forth together, raising the standard of their ships, a white flag bearing the arms of the Spanish crown, and, as was then the custom among Christian nations, the monarchs of the world, and of the church, promulgated the commission of the squadron, and the lords of the kingdom of Castile, of Aragon, and of Navarre, had put the crown on the king's head, and kissed the royal hand. The king then pronounced the blessing, and the expedition sailed in the sound of Fanteria, and of the fortress of El Morro. The squadron were crowned king sally; and the sovereigns, speaking to the admiral in a solemn voice, earnestly kissed the royal hand. In an equally touching manner, the queen, who had a large share in the enterprise, said to the admiral: "Manolo, the holy father, to God and to the lords of the Christian faith, and to the holy father of the emperor of the Romans, and to all the Christian kings, princes, lords, and of all the people of God and of all Christendom, we will send thee, Manolo, with God's grace and the good will of God, into India, and land upon the holy ground of the holy Mount Zion, the place of the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, to which it is our duty to go, and to which we do now set sail." Therefore, upon the admiral's return from the voyage, the said See illustrations, article "Ships of Columbus."
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE.

[1492]

When Columbus set sail on this memorable voyage, he commenced a regular journal, intended for the inspection of the Spanish sovereigns. Like all his other transactions, it evinces how deeply he was impressed with the grandeur and solemnity of his enterprise. He proposed to keep it, as he afterward observed, in the manner of the Commentaries of Cæsar. It opened with a stately prologue, wherein, in the following words, were set forth the motives and views which led to his action.

"In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi. Whereas most Christian, most high, most excellent and most powerful princes, king and queen of the Spaniards, 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 day of January, of the present year, I saw the royal banners of your highnesses placed by force of arms on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of that city, and beheld the Moorish king set 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 consequence 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 had never provided him with them, and thus so many people were lost, believing in idolatry, and imbibing doctrines of perdition; therefore your highnesses, as Catholic Christians and princes, lovers and promoters of the holy Christian faith, and enemies of all idolatries and heresies, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of the Indies, to see the said princes, 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 cast, by which 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 what nations have passed. Your highnesses, therefore, after having expelled all the Jews from your kingdoms and territories, commanded me, in the same month of January, to proceed with a sufficient armament to the said parts of India; and for this purpose bestowed great favours upon me, ennobling 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 seaport, where I armed three ships, well calculated for such service, and sailed from that port well furnished with provisions and with a many seamen, on Friday, the 31st 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 commanded. 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 well hereafter be seen. Also, my sovereign princes, besides 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 labor."*

Thus are formally and expressly stated by Columbus the objects of this extraordinary voyage. The material facts, such as will be found incorporated in the present work.

It was on Friday, the 31st of August, 1492, early in the morning, that Columbus set sail from the bar of Saltes, a small island formed by the arms of the Ós, in front of the town of Palos, steer in a south-western direction for the Canary Islands, whence it was his intention to strike due west. As a guide by which to sail, he had prepared a map or chart, upon that sent him by Paulo 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 land of Guiney, 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

† 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 in 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 description of Isabella by Andros Bernales, curate of Los Palacios, and the Letters and Decades of the Ocean Sea, by Peter Martyr; all of whom, with the exception of Herrera, were contemporaries and contemporaries of Columbus. These are the principal authorities which have been consulted, though scattered lights have occasionally been obtained from other sources.
Japan, which, according to Marco Polo, lay fifteen hundred miles at least off the coast. In his last computations Columbus advanced this island about a thousand leagues too much to the east, supposing it to be about the situation of Florida; and at this island he hoped first to arrive.

The exultation of Columbus at finding himself, according to his dilated hope, 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 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 signal of distress; her rudder was discovered to be broken and unthonged. This Columbus surprised 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, as he had 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 disorder through his ships, and entirely defeat 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 Pinta, and being an adroit and able seaman, 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 leave 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 9th.

They were detained upward of three weeks among these islands, seeking in vain another vessel. They were obliged, therefore, to make a new rudder for the Pinta, and repair her for the voyage. The lateine sails of the Nina 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, the crew were terrified at beholding the lofty peak of Tenerife sending forth volumes of flame and smoke, 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, and to show that 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 or Gran Canaria, they arrived from Ferro, which reported that three Portuguese caravels had been seen hovering off that island, with the intention, it was said, of capturing Columbus. The admiral suspected some hostile stratagem on the part of the King 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.

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CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE—FIRST NOTICE OF THE VARIATION OF THE NEEDLE.

[1492.]

Early in the morning of the 6th of September Columbus set sail from the island of Gran Canaria, 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. In these early days, however, a profound calm kept the vessels loitering with flagging sails, within a short distance of the land. This was a tantalising delay to Columbus, who was impatient to find himself out of sight of either land or sail; which, in the pure atmosphere 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 whence the Portuguese caravels had been seen; he was therefore in the very neighborhood of danger. Fortunately, a breeze sprung up with the sun, their sails were once more filled, and in the course of the day the heights of Ferro gradually failed from the horizon.

On losing sight of this last trace of land, the hearts of the crew failed them. They seemed literally to have taken leave of the world. Behind them was the last hope of the land man; country, family, friends, life itself: before them everything was chaos, mystery, and peril. In the perturbation of the moment, they despaired of ever more seeing their homes. Many of the seamen shed tears, and 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 regions of Mangi and Cathay, with their cities of unrivalled wealth and splendor. He promised them land and riches, and everything that could arouse their cupidity or inflame their imaginations, nor were these promises made for purposes of mere deception; he certainly believed that he should realize them all.

He now issued 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 daylight, as at 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 fore-
and provisions arrived from a Portuguese caravel island, with which Columbus
invented a stratagem on his voyage for the revenge of Spain; he
to sea, anxious to get out of the track of the thing might occur

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Juan Perez pleading the cause of Columbus before the Queen.
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 harbinger of land. A heron, and a tropical bird called the Rabo de Junco,* neither of which are supposed to venture far to sea, hovered about the ships. 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 mighty changes, occurring 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, 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 favorable, 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 ocean. With this propitious breeze directly aft, they were wafted gently but speedily over a trackless ocean, so that for many days they did not shift a sail. Columbus perpetually recurs to the bland and temperate serenity of the northern, which, in this tract of the ocean is soft and refreshing without being cool. In his artless 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 nightingale to complete the illusion. "He had reason to say," observes the venerable Las Casas; "for it is marvellous the savour which we experience when half-way toward these Indies; and, 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."†

They now began to see large patches of herbs and weeds 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 reseeded.

* The water-wagtail.
† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. I. cap. 36, ms.

* It has been erroneously stated that Columbus kept two journals. It was merely in the reckoning, or log-book, that he deceived the crew. His journal was entirely private, and intended for his own use and the permis 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 Caesar, which he intended to submit to his holiness.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. I. cap. 6.
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 Nina. 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 part of the ocean covered with vast fields of weeds, resembling sunken islands, 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 yet any idea of 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* since leaving the Canary Islands, and he placed the main land of India much farther north.

On the 13th of September the same weather continued; a soft steady, from the east filled every sail, while, to use the words of Columbus, the wind was as calm as the Guadalupe at St. Domingo. He fancied that the wind grew fresher, and noticed this as a proof of the superior sweetness and purity of the air.†

The crews were all in high spirits; each ship strove to get in the advance, and every seaman was eager on the look-out; for the sovereigns had promised a pension of ten thousand maravedis to him who should first discover land. Martin Alonso Pinzon crowded all canvas, and, as the Pinta was a fast sailer, he generally kept the lead. In the afternoon he hailed the admiral and informed him that, from the flight of a great number of birds and from the appearance of the northern horizon, he thought there was land in that direction.

There was in fact a cloudiness in the north, such as oftentimes 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 realized with the utmost confidence his hopes in this part of the ocean, as it has been before stated. Every one who has made a sea voyage must have witnessed the deceptions caused by clouds resting upon the horizon, especially about sunrise and sunset; which, however, the Brazilians, assisting by the eye, might have seen themselves, and had they taken the case in the north of the tropics, when the clouds at sunset assume the most singular appearances.

On the following day there were dazzling showers, unaccompanied by wind, which Columbus considered favorable signs; two bodies also flew on board the ships, birds which, he observed, seldom fly twenty leagues from land. He supposed, therefore, with a line of two hundred fathoms, but found no bottom. He supposed he might be passing between islands lying to the north and south, but was unwilling to waste the present favorable breeze by going in search of them; besides, he had confidently affirmed that land was to be found by keeping steadily 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 afterward, if advisable, to seek these islands on his return.*

Notwithstanding his precaution 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 a little beyond the reach of succor, 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 bland and gentle breeze, uniformly aft, was now conjured by their imaginations into a cause of alarm; for they began to imagine that the wind in these seas, might always prevail from the east, and if so, would never permit their return to the West Indies.

Columbus endeavored to dispel those gloomy presages, and at the same time he was kept in readiness for every possible event, by his own extreme caution and prudence; 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.† Several birds also visited the ships; three, of a small kind, which keep groves and orchards, came singing in the morning, and flew away again in the evening. Their song cheered 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 waves of a mere marshy appearance. 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, however, the Brazilians, assisted by the eye, might have seen themselves, and had they kept the case in the north of the tropics, when the clouds at sunset assume the most singular appearances. These fields of weeds were at first regarded with great satisfaction, but at length they became so dense and matted as in some degree to impede the sailing of the ships, which must have been under very little headway. The crews now called to mind some tale about the frozen ocean, where ships were said to be sometimes fixed immovable. They endeavored, therefore, to avoid as much as possible these floating masses, lest some disaster of the kind might happen to themselves.§ Others considered these weeds as proof that the sea was growing shallower, and

* Of twenty to the degree of latitude, the utility of distance used throughout this work.
† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 56.
‡ Humboldt, Personal Narrative, book i. cap. 1.
§ Hist. del Almirante, cap. 18.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 20. Extracts from Journal of Colum. Navarrete, t. i. p. 16.
† Muchos me fue necesario este viaje contrario, porque mi gente andaban muy estresados y tanto cabían que no preferían estos vientos marinos para volver a España. Primer Viaje de Colon. Navarrete, tom. i. p. 12.
‡ Hist. del Almirante, cap. 18.
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 favorable signs which increased his confidence, were 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 their labors. They beheld themselves with dismay still awaiting onward, over the houndless wastes of what appeared to them a mere watery desert, surrounding the habitable world. What was to become of their provisions 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 expense behind them, how should they ever be able to return, having no intervening port where they might victual and refit.

In this way they led each other's discontent, gathering together in sullen knots, and fomenting a spirit of mutinous opposition; and when we consider the natural fire of the Spanish temper and its imperative of control - and that a great part of these men were sailing on compulsion, we can understand the danger of their breaking forth into open rebellion and compelling Columbus to turn back. In their secret conferences they expected against him as a desperate, bent, a mad phantasy, upon doing something extravagant to render himself notorious. What were their sufferings and dangers to one evidently content to sacrifice his own life for the chance of distinction? What obligations bound them to continue on with him; or were the terms of their agreement to be considered as fulfilled? They had already penetrated unknown seas, untraversed by a sail, far beyond where man had ever before ventured. They had done enough to gain themselves a character for courage and hardihood in undertaking such an enterprise, yet how far were they in quest of a merely conjectural land? Were they to sail on until they perished, or until all return became impossible? In such case they would be the authors of their own destruction.

On the other hand, should they consult their safety, and turn back before too late, who would blame them? Any complaints made by Columbus would be of no weight; he was a foreigner, without friends or influence; his schemes had been condemned by the learned, and disapproved by people of all ranks. He had no party to uphold him, and a host of opponents whose pride of opinion would be gratified by his failure. Or, as an effectual means of preventing his complaints, they might throw him into the sea, and give out that he had fallen overboard while busy with his instruments contemplating the stars; a report which no one would have either the inclination or the means to controvert.*


Columbus continued with admirable patience to reason with these fancies; observing that the calmness of the sea must undoubtedly be caused by the vicinity of land in the quarter whence the wind rose, and that the surface of the sea, which maintained a sluggish calm like a lake of dead water. Everything differed, they said, in these strange regions from the world to which they had been accustomed. The only winds which prevailed with any consistency and force were the violent storms, and they had no power to change the torpid stillness of the ocean; therefore, either of perishing amid the impenetrable seas, or of being preserved, contrary winds, from ever returning to their native country.

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Columbus was not ignorant of the mutinous disposition of his crew, but he still maintained a serene and commanding air; soothing some with gentle words; endeavoring to stimulate the pride or avarice of others, and openly menacing the refractory with signal punishment, should they do anything to impede the voyage.

On the 25th of September the wind again became favorable, and they were able to resume their course directly to the west. The air was light and the sea calm, the vessels sailed near to each other, and Columbus had much conversation with Martin Alonzo Pinzon on the subject of a chart which the former had sent three days before on board the Pinta. Pinzon thought that, according to the indications of the map, they ought to be in the neighborhood 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 should be returned, and Pinzon tying it at the end of a cord, flung it on board to him. While Columbus, his pilot, and several of his experienced mariners were studying the map, and endeavoring to make out from it their actual position, they beheld the Pinta, as looking up, beheld Martin Alonzo Pinzon mounted on the stern of his vessel crying "Land! land! Señor, I claim my reward!" He pointed at the same time to the west-south-west, where there was indeed an appearance of land, at about twenty-five leagues distance. Upon this Columbus threw himself on his knees and returned thanks to God; and Martin Alonzo repeated the Gloria in excelsis, in which he was joined by his own crew and that of the admiral.

The seamen now mounted to the mastshead or climbed about the rigging, straining their eyes in the direction pointed out. The conviction became so general of land in that quarter, and the joy of the people so unbreakable, that Columbus found it necessary to vary 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 rising sun. With dejected hearts they once more resumed their western course, from which Columbus would have never varied, but in compliance with their clamorous wishes.

For several days 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 crew, 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 and steady countenance; nothing some with gentle words; endeavoring to stimulate the pride or avarice of others, and openly menacing the refractory with signal punishment, should they do anything to impede the voyage.

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encouraging were the signs of land. Flights of small birds of various colors, some of them such as singing in the fields, came flying about the ships, and then continued toward the south-west, and others were heard also flying by in the night. Tunny fish played about the smooth sea, and a heavy rain, and a duck were seen, all bound in the same direction. The herbage which floated by was fresh and green, and as if from recently and the air, Columbus observes, was sweet and fragrant as April breezes in Seville.

All this, however, we were ready to tell the crew 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 turbulent clamor. They declaimed against this obstinacy in tempting fate by continuing on into a boundless sea. They insisted upon turning homeward, and abandoning the voyage as hopeless. Columbus endeavored to pacify them by gentle words and promises of large rewards; but finding that they only increased in number, he assumed a decided tone. He told them it was useless to murmuring, 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.*


It has been asserted by various historians, that Columbus, a day or two previous to coming in sight of the New World, was tempted 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 Las Palacios, both contemporaries and acquaintances of Columbus, and who could scarcely have failed to mention such a fact, if it had been true.

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 Heredia, who had accompanied the Admiral to the Indies. In the manuscript process of the memorable lawsuit between Don Diego, son of the admiral, and the fiscal of the crown, is the evidence of one Pedro de Bilo, who was a pilot and captain of one of the ships, and states that some of the pilots and sailors 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 Bilo ha dicho muchas veces que algunos pilotos y marineros querían volverse sino fuera al Almirante que les prometió dones, los rogó esperasen dos o tres días que antes del término descubriese 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 lawsuit, that Columbus, after having proceeded some few hundred leagues without finding land, lost confidence and wished to turn back; but was persuaded and again piqued to continue by the Pinzones. This assertion carries little weight here. 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 Pinzones, and to depreciate that of Columbus. Fortunately, the extracts from the journal of the late

Columbus was now at open defiance with his crew, and his situation became desperate. Fortunately the manifestations of the vicinity of land were such on the following day as no longer to admit a doubt. Besides a quantity of fresh weeds, such as grow in rivers, they saw a green fish of a kind kept as a delicacy; then in the morning, and a duck horn with berries 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 hopes of being the first to discover the long-sought-for land.

In the evening, when, according to the 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 soft and favoring breezes, and with clear and calm ocean, cheering them in 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 they, 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 forecastle, promising to whomsoever should make the discovery, a doublet of velvets, in addition to the pension to be given by the sovereigns.*

The breeze had been fresh all day, with more sea than usual, and they had made great progress. At sunset they 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, ranging his eye along the dusky horizon, and maintaining an intense and unremitting watch. About ten o'clock he thought he beheld a light glimmering in the airs, and seeing this distant light, he added; as his eager hopes might deceive him, he called to Pedro Gutierrez, gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and inquired whether he saw such a light; the latter replied in the affirmative. Doubtful whether it might not yet be land, or a more fanciful, Columbus 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 afterward in sudden and passing gleams; as 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; but Columbus, however, considered them as certain signs of 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 signal, written from day to day, with guileless simplicity and all the air of truth, dispel 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.
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 victims of fortune, and gave themselves up to the most unbounded joy. They thronged around the admiral with overflowing zeal, some embracing him, others kissing his hands. Those who had been most mutinous and turbulent during the voyage, were now devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favors of him, as if he had already wealth and honors in his gift. Many abject spirits, who had outraged him by their insouciance, now crouched at his feet, begging pardon for all the trouble they had caused him, and promising the blindest obedience for the future.

The natives of the island, when, at the dawn of day, they beheld the ships hovering on their coast, had supposed them monsters which had issued from the deep during the night. They crowded to the beach and watched their movements with awful anxiety. Their tearing about, apparently without effort, and the shifting and furrowing 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 painted in various colors, landing upon the beach, they fled in alarm to the 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 cere-
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monies of taking possession, they remained gas-
ing in timid admiration at the complexion, the
beards, the shining armor, and splendid dress of
the Spaniards. The admiral particularly atten-
ded their attention from his commanding height,
his air of authority, his dress of scarlet, and the
deference which was paid him by his compan-
ions; all which pointed him out to be the com-
mander.* 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
was pleased with their gentleness, and confiding
simplicity, and suffered their scrutiny with per-
fect good nature, which was the greatest shock to
some of the other nations. What was this, and what
some strange imagination was excited upon some
remote and unacquainted minds as to this supposed
island of gold? Was this the famed Eldorado,
or golden fountains? What kind must have
been the anxious crews, the voyages, the travels,
and expeditions, that were intended to reveal a savage
people, and glit-
ter: their whole
groves, and gilt-
tering windmills,
and all the splen-
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people, and glit-
ter: their whole
groves, and gilt-
tering windmills,
and all the splen-
ds, and the

* Las Casas, ubi sup.
† The idea that the white men came from heaven
was universally entertained by the inhabitants of the
Indies. When the curious Spaniards went
ages the Spaniards conversed with the cacique Nica-
ragea, he inquired how they came down from the
skies, whether flying or whether they descended on
clouds. Herrera, decad. iii. lib. iv. cap. 5.

+ 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.

† Acosta, Hist. Ind., lib. iv. cap. 17.
on the part of Columbus; for he was under a spell of the imagination, which gave its own shapes and colors to every object. He was persuaded that he had arrived among the islands described by Marco Polo as lying opposite Cathay, in the Chinese sea, and he construed everything 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 main-land 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 palace, covered with plates of gold, had been extolled in such splendid terms by Marco Polo.

The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the New World, was called by the natives Guanahane. 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, lying a league to the east. San Salvador is one of the great cluster of the Lucayos, 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 daybreak 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 harbor 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 shore, throwing themselves on the ground, lifting up their hands and eyes, either giving thanks to heaven, or meeting the Spaniards as superior natural 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 threw themselves into the sea and swam after them, and others followed in canoes. The admiral received them all with kindness, 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 came from the skies.

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

Having taken in supply of wood and water, they left the island of San Salvador the same evening, the admiral being impatient to arrive at the wealthy country to the south, which he flattered himself would prove the famous island of Cipango.

CHAPTER II.
CRUISE AMONG THE BAHAMA ISLANDS.
[1492.]

On leaving San Salvador Columbus was at a loss which way to direct his course. A great number of islands, green and level and fertile, invited him in different directions. The Indians on board of his vessel intimates by signs that they were innumerable, and at war with one another. They mentioned the names of several of them, and Columbus now had no longer a doubt that he was among the islands described by Marco Polo as studding the vast sea of Chin, or China, and lying at a great distance from the main-land. These, the Venetian, amounted to between seven and eight thousand, and abounded with drugs and spices and odoriferous trees, together with gold and silver and many other precious objects of commerce.*

Animated by the idea of exploring this opulent archipelago, he selected the largest island in sight for his next visit; it appeared to be about five leagues' distance, and he understood from his Indians that 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 these unknown islands, and he feared to venture upon a strange coast in the dark. In the morning they again made sail, but meeting with adverse counter-currents and a south-sound that sunset, they hove to. The next morning they went on shore, and Columbus sent some of his men, and he visited the island, the name of Santa Maria de la Concepcion. The same scene occurred with the Indians, the canoe of those 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.

Returning on board, he prepared to make sail, when one of the Indians of San Salvador, who was on board of the Nina, plunged into the sea, and swam to a large canoe filled with natives. The boat of the canoe put off in pursuit, but the Indians managed in their light bark with too much velocity to be overtaken, and, reaching the land, fled to the woods. The sailors put prize, and returned on board the canoe. Shortly afterward a small canoe approached one of the ships from a different part of the island, —

* Some dispute having recently arisen as to the identity of this island, it is supposed that the reader is referred to a discussion of this question to the illustrations of the work, article "First Landing of Columbus."
† Primer Viaje de Colón. Navarrete, tom. i.

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* Marco Polo, book iii. chap. 4; Eng. translation by W. Maresden.
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 learned to enter to 100, he pressed himself into the sea and took him prisoner.

Columbus having seen all that passed from his station on the high poop of the vessel, ordered the captive to be brought to him; he came trembling with fear, and breathlessly offered his ball of cotton as a gift. The admiral received him with the utmost benignity, and declining his offering, put a colored 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 canoe, also, which had been seized and was fastened to the Nîza, should be cast loose, to be regained by its proprietors. When the Indian reached the shore, his countrymen thronged round him, examining and admiring his finery, and listening to his account of the kind treatment he experienced.

Such were the gentle and sage precautions continually taken by Columbus to impress the natives favorably. Another instance of the kind occurred after leaving the island of Concepcion, when the caravels stood for the larger island, several leagues to the west. Midway between the two isles, on a lofty point, there was a beautiful bay.

He had a mere morsel of cassava bread and a calabash of water for stores, and a little red paint, like dragons' blood, for personal decoration when he should land. A string of glass beads, such as the natives possessed, and a native sailor, showed that he had come 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 weather being very calm, they did not reach the island until dark to anchor, through fear of cutting their cables with rocks. The sea about these islands was so transparent that in the daytime they could see the bottom and their gowns. In the darkness, but not at gunpoint, 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 ashore, to prepare the natives for their arrival, while the ships lay to until morning.

This kindness had the desired effect. The natives surrounded the ships in their canoes during the night, bringing fruits and roots, and drinking the water of their springs. Columbus distributed trilling presents among them, and to those who came on board he gave sugar and honey.

Landing in the next morning, he gave to this island the name of Fernandina, in honor of the king; it is the same at present called Exuma. The inhabitants were similar in every respect to those of the preceding islands, respecting that they appeared more ingenious and intelligent. Some of the women wore mantles and aprons of cotton, but for the most part they were entirely naked. Their habitations were constructed in the form of a palisade. Their gardens, trees, of reeds, and palm leaves. They were kept very clean and neat, and sheltered under spreading trees. For beds they had nets of cotton extended from two posts, which they called kunae, a name since in universal use among seamen.
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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 midday; a gentle wind then sprung up, and, as he observed, began to blow most amply. Every sail was spread, and he continued in this 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 Indian islands, and having crossed the Bahamas bank and channel, he arrived, on the morning of the 28th of October, in sight 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, of transparent clearness, free from rocks and shoals, its banks overhung with trees. Here, landing, and taking possession of the island, he gave it the name of Juan, in honor of Prince Juan, and to the river the name of San Salvador.

On the arrival of the ships, two canoes put off from the shore, but fled on seeing the boat approach to sound the river for anchorage. The admiral visited two cabins abandoned by their inhabitants. They contained but a few nets made of the fibres of the palm-tree, hooks and harpoons of bone, and some other fishing implements, and one of the kind of dogs he had met with on the smaller islands, which never bark. He ordered that nothing should be taken away or deranged.

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

The continual eulogies of Columbus on the beauty of the country were warranted by the


kind of scenery he was beholding. There is a wonderful splendor, variety, and luxuriance in the vegetation of those quick and ardent climates. The red or brownish leaves of the almond trees, flowers and blossoms derive a vividness from the transparency 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, hoarded peacocks, and humming-birds, fly amidst the verdure of the grove, and humming-birds, too, are seen sometimes through an opening of a forest in a distant savanna, have the appearance of soldiers drawn up in battle, 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 peeping every plant, and displaying brilliant coats of mail, which sparkle like precious gems.

Such is the splendor of animal and vegetable creation in those tropical climates, where an ardent sun imports its 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 detected himself in fancying that he heard the voice of the nightingale, a bird unknown in these countries. Certainly, in his account, he wrote as a tourist, and not as a naturalist. His heart was full to overflowing, for he was enjoying the fulness of his hopes, and the hard-earned but glorious reward of his toils and perils. Everything round him was beheld in the enameled and exulting eye of a discoverer, where triumph mingled with admiration; and it is difficult to conceive the rapacious state of his feelings, while thus exploring the charms of a virgin world, won by his enterprise and valor.

From his continual remarks on the beauty of scenery, and from his evident delight in rural sounds and objects, he appears to have been extremely open to those happy influences, exercised over some spirits, by the graces and pleasures of nature. He told his crew that he had found the tropics full of characteristic enthusiasm, and at the same time with the artlessness and simplicity of diction of children. When speaking of some lovely scene among the groves, or along the flowery shores of these favored islands, he says, "once 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 crickets sang all night long. Indeed there is a beauty in a tropical night, in the depth of the dark blue sky, the tamarind purity of the stars, and the resplendent clearness of the moon, that spreads over the rich landscape and the balmy groves a charm more captivating than the splendor of the day.

In the sweet smell of the woods and the odor of the flowers 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; the grass was not cut off, never lashing the shores 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. It was little suspicion of the occasional bursts of fury to which they are liable. Charlevoix, speaking from actual observation, remarks, "The sea of these islands is commonly more tranquil than ours; but, like certain people who are excited with difficulty, whose transports of passion are as violent as they are rare, so when the sea becomes agitated, it is terrible. It breaks all bonds, overflows the countries, 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 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 favored land. It would seem as if the elements were charmed into gentleness as they approach 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 strange and delusive reports of his sailors. He had conclusive proofs, as he thought, that Cuba possessed mines of gold, and groves of spices, and that its shores abounded with pearls. He no longer doubted that it was the island of Cipango, and weighing anchor, coasted along the 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 Mayas. The houses were built of branches of palm-trees in the shape of pavilions; not laid out in regular streets, but scattered hither and thither, among the groves, and under the shade of broad spreading trees, like tents erected in a field as are 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 extremely clean. He found them in 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 wolves, which proved that there were cattle in the island; though these are supposed to have been supplied by the natives of Spain and those of Cuba by the natives he had encountered on some distant island.
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tance. Columbus came in sight of a great head-land, to which, from the groves with which it was covered, he gave the name of the Cape of Palms, and which he thought to be that to which the priests of the island of Cipango, and of the dominions described by Marco Polo.* 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.

This tisue of errors and misconceptions he immediately communicated to Columbus. It put an end to the delusion in which the admiral had lutherto indulged, that this was the island of Cipango; but it substituted another no less agreeable to his wishes, that it had been the main-land of Asia, or as he termed it, India, and if so, he could not be any great distance from Mangi and Cathay, the ultimate destination of his voyage. The prince in question, who reigned over this new empire, must be some oriental potentate of consequence; he resolved, therefore, to seek the river beyond the Cape of Palms, and dispatch 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 Grand 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 the Rio de los Mares.

On the 1st of November, at sunrise, he sent the boats to the sea, several hours, but the inhabitants fled to the woods. He supposed that they must mistake his armament for 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, who was instructed to assure the people of the peaceable and beneficent intentions of the Spaniards, and that they had no connection with the Grand Khan. After the Indian had proclaimed this, the boat to the savages upon 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 other simple articles of traffic. 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; all were decorated with 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 dispatched to give him tidings of the arrival of the strangers upon the coast; and he 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 everything into a uniform web of deceit. 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 borders of Cathay, and about one hun-
dred leagues from the capital of the Grand Khan. Anxious to arrive there, and to delay as little as possible in the territories of an inferior prince, he determined not to await the arrival of the messengers and merchants, but to dispatch two envoys to seek the neighboring monarch at his residence.

For this mission he chose two Spaniards, Rod- rico 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 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, in his infancy, a mariner on the bank of the river. The ambassadors were furnished with strings of beads and other trinkets for travelling expenses. Instructions were given to them to inform the king that Columbus had been sent by the Grand Khan, a bearer of letters, a present, which he was to deliver personally, for the purpose of establishing an amicable intercourse between the powers. They were likewise 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 articles of the kind were traded 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 island of the Grand Khan, and who 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 deluding 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, and employed himself in collecting information concerning the country. On the day after their departure, he ascended the river in the boats for the distance of two leagues, and came to fresh water. Here landing, he climbed a hill to obtain a view of the interior. His view, however, was shut in by thick and lofty forests, of which he thought these were the mountains. He saw the trees were such as he considered lime trees; many were odoriferous, and he doubted not possessed valuable aromatic qualities. There was a general eagerness among the voyagers to find the precious articles of commerce which grow in the

* Las Casas, lib. 1. cap. 44. 52.
tavored 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; but on examination they all proved fallacious. They found a species or two of these and various other spices and drugs, and understood from them that those articles abounded to the south-east. He showed them gold and pearls also, and several old Indians spoke of a country where the natives were ornaments of them round their necks, arms, and ankles. They repeatedly mentioned the word Bohio, 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 extravagances 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 fabricated to please the admiral, tended to keep up the opinion that he was among the valuable coasts and islands of the East. He continued his course to the eastward, that he might discover the treasures by which he was supposed to have been sent with the Grand Khan.

On the 1st day as little as the admiral was expected, he spied the coast of Japan, and a full of the messengers in his train were sent with presents to the Emperor, and this intimation of a friendly reception was the cause of the admiral's proceeding with little ceremony, but as if on a visit to a king, and to take his liberty.

They had sent letters and a personal ambassador by name from one of the coast of Japan to the admiral, expressing his desire to receive him with proper them whether they were the inhabitants of the kind of the coast or not. These provisions were sent for, and after the departure of six weeks, the ship returned. Many circumstances were observed by this embassy to a king, and the emperor of the islands of Cuba, in the first and in the second voyage, but such was the simplicity of those times, and the accommodation was ministred to, they were interpreted by the Spaniards.

The islanders, in their first Embassy, found his Hebrides, the Middle, and the Arcadian of the world, and the Lucayan interpreter had to be the interpreter of the people of the world. They were accustomed to be carried on horseback, and to be heard by their own inhabitants, until they were conducted by the admiral, and to hear them. His view, the nature of the country, the climate, and the forests, were among the first to be considered. It was the nature of the country, and the climate, and the forests, that the Spaniards were accustomed to hear, and to hear them.

There was a vogue for the islanders to find the islands, which grow in the

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

CHAPTER V.
SEARCH AFTER THE SUPPOSED ISLAND OF BA-BEQUE—DESERTION OF THE PINTA.

[1492—1493]

On the 12th of November, Columbus turned his course to the east-south-east, to follow back the direction of the coast. This may he considered another great 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 Spain; 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 bends 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 a new world. His golden regions were reserved to give splendor to succeeding enterprisers.

He now ran along the coast for two or three days without stopping to explore it, as no populous towns or cities were to be seen. Passing by the islands of the Bahama, where he might have been tempted to disembark, he struck eastward in search of Baboche, but on the 14th a head wind and boisterous sea obliged him to put back and anchor in a deep and secure harbor, to which he gave the name of Puerto del Principe. Here he erected a cross on a neighboring height, in token of possession. A few days were passed in exploring with his boats an anchorage of small but beautiful islands in the vicinity, since known as El Jardín de Rey, or the king's garden. The gulf, surrounded by 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 harbors of this archipelago. These islands were covered with noble trees, among which the Spaniards thought they discovered mastic and aloes.

On the 19th Columbus again put to sea, and for two days made ineffectual attempts, against head winds, to reach an island directly east, about forty leagues distant.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

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sixty miles distant, which he supposed to be Barque. The wind continuing obstinately adverse and in a westerly direction, and the evening of the 20th, making signals for the other vessels to follow him. His signals were unattended to by the Pinta, which was considerably to the eastward. Columbus repeated the signals, but they were still unattended to. Night coming on, he shortened sail and hoisted signal lights to the masthead, thinking Pinzon would yet join him, which he could easily do, having the wind astern; but when the morning dawned the Pinta was no longer seen.

Columbus was disquieted by this circumstance. Pinzon was a veteran navigator, accustomed to hold a high rank among his nautical associates. The squadron had in a great measure been managed and fitted out through his influence and exertions; he could ill brook subordination there-fore to Columbus, whom he perhaps did not consider his superior in skill and knowledge, and who had been benefitted by his purse. Several misunderstandings and disputes had accordingly occurred, and when Columbus saw Pinzon thus parting company, without any appointed rendezvous, he suspected either that he intended to take upon himself a separate command and prosecute the enterprise in his own name, or hasten back to Spain and bear off the glory of the discovery. To attempt to seek him, however, was fruitless; he was far out of sight; his vessel was a superior sailer, and it was impossible to suppose that he had returned. Columbus stood back, therefore, for Cuba, to finish the exploring of its coast; but he no longer possessed his usual security of mind and unity of purpose, and was embarrassed in the prosecution of his discoveries by doubts of the designs of Pinzon.

On the 24th of November he regained Point Cuba, and anchored in a fine harbor formed by the mouth of a river, to which he gave the name of St. Catherine. It was bordered by rich meadows; the neighboring mountains were well wooded, having pines tall enough to make masts for the finest ships, and noble oaks. In the bed of the river were found stones veined with gold.

Columbus continued for several days coasting the residue of Cuba, extolling the magnificence, freshness, and verdure of the scenery, the purity of the rivers, and the number and uncommonness of the harbors. Speaking in his letters to the sovereigns of one place, to which he gave the name of Puerto Santo, he says, in his artless and enthusiastic language, "The amenity of this river, and the clearness of the water, through which the sand and bottom may be seen; the multitude of palm-trees and various forms of 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 princes, 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 endeavor to give a complete account of it to your majesties, my tongue cannot express the whole truth; nor can 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."

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 neighborhood of some of these islands, that in still weather the bottom may be seen, which is made apparent by the many shell-fishes, and other shell-fishes, which are visible from the surface. The delicate air and pure waters of these islands are among their greatest charms.

As a proof of the gigantic vegetation, 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, which he took to present to the Castilian sovereigns, "for where there is wax," said he, "there must be a thousand other good things." It is since supposed to have been brought from Yucatan, as the inhabitants of Cuba were not accustomed to gather wax.

On the 5th of December he reached the eastern end of Cuba, which he supposed to be the eastern extremity of Asia; he gave it, therefore, the name of Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. He was now greatly perplexed what course to take. If he kept along the coast as he went to the south-west, it might bring him to the more civilized and opulent parts of India; but if he took this course, he must abandon all hope of finding the island of Barque, 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 before the choice of the explorer, where 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-]

While Columbus was steering at large beyond the eastern extremity of Cuba, undetermined by the course to take, he descried land to the south-east, gradually increasing 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 Pabia, the name by which Columbus understood them to designate some country which abounded in gold. When they saw him standing 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 unfavorable, 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 described 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, Cordova Island, to the eye as they approached. Its mountains were higher and more rocky than those of the other islands, but the rocks rose from among rich forests. The mountains swept down into luxuriant plains and green savannas; while the appearance of cultivated fields, of numerous fires at night, and columns of smoke by day, showed it to be populous. It rose before them in all the splendor 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 harbor 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 harbor 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 various parts, there were evidently large villages in the neighborhood, but the natives had fled with terror at sight of the ships.

Leaving the harbor of St. Nicholas on the 7th, the ship entered a bay on 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 harbor 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 leaped 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. The notes of the birds, which the interpreter described, and of several others to which they were accustomed, reminded them strongly of the groves of their distant Andalusia. They fancied the features of the surrounding country resembled those of the most beautiful regions of Spain, and, in consequence, the admiral named the island Hispaniola.

Desirous of establishing some intercourse with the natives, who had abandoned the coast on his arrival, he dispatched 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 clothed 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 of Spain, in the times of Moorish war, to give the alarm when there was any invasion of the seashore.

On the 12th of December Columbus with great solemnity erected a cross on a commanding eminence, at the entrance of the harbor, in sign of having taken possession of the island. This was a remembrance of the victory they beheld a large number of the natives, who immediately took flight; but the sailors pursued them, and captured a young female, whom they brought to the ships. She was perfectly naked, and men as regard the civilization of the island, but an ornament of gold in the nose gave hope of the precious metal. The admiral soon soothed her terror by his kindness, and by presents of beads, brass rings, hawks' bells, and other trinkets, and, having had her clothed, sent her on shore accompanied by several of the crew and three of the Indian interpreters. So well pleased was she with her finery, and with the kind treatment she had experienced, that she would gladly have remained with the Indian women whom she found on board. The party sent with her returned on board late in the night, without venturing to her village, which was far inland. Confident of the favorable impression which the report given by the woman must produce, the admiral on the following day dispatched nine stout-hearted, well-armed men, to seek the village, accompanied by a native of Cuba as an interpreter. They found it about four and a half leagues to the north of the valley, on the banks of a beautiful river. It contained one thousand houses, but the inhabitants fled as they approached. The interpreter overtook them, and assured them of the goodness of these strangers, who had come with the kind intentions of 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 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 islands. While the Spaniards were conversing with them by means of their interpreter, and the admiral was conversing, headed by the husband of the female captive. 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 now conducted the Spaniards to their houses, and set before them cassava bread, fish, roots, and fruits of various kinds. They brought also great numbers of domesticated parrots, and indeed offered freely whatever they possessed. The great river flowing 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 night. The Spaniards had not learned, 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 coun-

* Now known by the name of Bay of Moustique.

Note.—The author has received very obliging and interesting letters, dated in 1847, from T. S. Heneken, Esq., many years a resident of St. Domingo, giving names, localities, and other particulars connected with the transactions of Columbus in that island. These will be thankfully made use of and duly cited in the course of the work.

* This village was formerly known by the name of Gros Morne, site of the port and river of "Trois Rivieres," which empties itself half a mile west of Port de Paix. Navarrete, tom. i.

† Las Casas, lib. i. cap. 53, ms.
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try, 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. Crans, observes of the natives, that 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 anything was asked of them, they never said no, but rather gave it cheerfully, and she had as much amity as if they gave their very hearts; 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, the women are all one is, 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 some cases a country has never rather superfluous than scarcity; so that they seem to live in the golden world, without toil, living in open gardens; not intertrenched 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 overcolored 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 favorable, 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 harbor of Conception, to which, from its abound- ing in turtle, he gave the name of Tortugas.* The natives had fled to the rocks and forests, and alarm fires blazed along the heights. The country was so beautiful that he gave to one of the valleys the name of Valle de Paraizo, 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.†

Setting sail on the 20th of December, he, at midnight, Columbus steered again for Hispaniola. When half way 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 sagacity 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 at 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 favorable accounts given by this Indian, and by those with whom the Spaniards had communicated in their previous landings, dispelled the fears of the islanders. A friendly intercourse soon took place, and the Indians were visited by a cacique of the neighborhood. 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 afterward made of the place, nor do any appear that he 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 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 ornaments of gold, which they readily gave away or exchanged for any thing. The country was finely diversified with lofty mountains and green 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 pastureage.

* This island in after times became the headquar- ters of the famous Buccaneers.
† Letter of Columbus to Luis de St. Angel. Navarrete, tom. i. p. 167.
‡ P. Martyr, decad. l. lib. iii. Transl. of Richard Eden, 1555.

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While detained at this harbor by contrary winds, Columbus was visited by a young cacique, who came borne by four men on a sort of litter, and attended by two attendants 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 ceremony. Only two old men entered with him, who appeared to be his counsellors, and who seated themselves at his feet. If anything 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 spied but not 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 beads, colored shoes, and a flask of orange-flower water; he showed him a Spanish coin, on which were the likenesses of the king and queen, and endeavored to explain to him the power and grandeur of those sovereigns; he displayed also the royal banners and the standard of the cross; but 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 honor of him. He departed in the state in which he had come, carried on a litter, accompanied by a great number of his subjects, and 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 triumphantly before a number of people.

They procured but little gold in this place, though whatever ornaments the natives possessed they readily gave away. The region of promise lay still further on, and one of the old counsellors of the cacique, with whom the admiral was well acquainted, 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 20th of December they made sail before daylight, but with an unfavorable wind, and on the evening of the 20th they anchored in a fine harbor, to which Columbus gave the name of St. Thomas, supposed to be what at present is called the Bay of Acapulco. It was surrounded by a beautiful and well-peopled country. The inhabitants came off, some in canoes, some swimming, bearing fruits of various unknown kinds, of great fragrance and flavor. 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 everything with spontaneous liberality. Columbus permitted his people, however, to take advantage of this free disposition, but ordered that something should always be given in exchange. Several of the neighboring 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 Guanacagari, who commanded all that part of the island. A principal servant of the cacique came in the canoe, bringing the admiral a present of a broad belt, wrought ingeniously with colored beads and horses, and a wooden mask, the eyes, nose, and tongue of which were of gold. He delivered also a message from the cacique, who told the admiral that he had come opposite to his residence, which was on the coast a little farther 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 Grande River. 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 honor, 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 anything were given appearing to treat 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 copper, and a piece of gold for the admiral, and they were attended to their boats by a crowd of the natives, carrying the presents for them, and łyng with each in rendering them service.

During their absence the admiral had been visited by a great number of caciques and several inferior caciques: all assured him that the island abounded with wealth; they talked, especially, of Cihao, a region in the interior, farther to the cast, the cacique of which, as far as they could be understood, was extremely rich in gold. Columbus, deceiving himself as usual, fancied that this name Cihao must be a corruption of Cipango, and that this cacique 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 St. Thomas before sunrise, and steered to the eastward, with an intention of anchoring at the harbor of the cacique Guanacagari. The wind was from the land, but so light that 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 half mile of the residence of the cacique; and Columbus, who had hitherto kept watch and dinner, seeing the ship had been standing in the general,狂风吹来, the sails were unfurled, and the vessel was driven by the gale. The weather was very unfavorable, and if the ship had not been in such a dangerous situation, it might have gone on without the necessary repairs. The admiral and his armament were immured cacique Guanacagari, who was the governor of the island, and who was in the time of the year that might have been expected. The ship was not in a condition to be repaired, and he felt that he must not delay the前进 of the squadron. The precious time that had been lost there was the more lamentable.

No sooner had the admiral given the order to sail and went on board of an invisible ship, and by a kind of helm, was pointed to the rest of the squadron. The wind was favoring the little vessel, and the men were swayed along the deck, but with little or no idea of the fact. The admiral, having made a right-hand league, was in the habit of striking when the men were least attentive. But he was careful that the wind should not be unfavorable, and the crew, being well acquainted with the wind, knew that they should take the opportunity to warp the ship, which sprang into action, being able to be a fine vessel, and instead of fighting, they rowed to the nearest village to trade.

In the morning they were attacked by a caravel, and they engaged with it, while they were in the caravel, the relief of the master, Columbus, who was in charge of the vessel, being the master. It was too late for the ship to spring into action, being a fine vessel, and instead of fighting, they rowed to the nearest village to trade.

LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

CHAPTER IX.
TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES.

[1492.]

On the 26th of December Guanacagari came on board of the caravel Niña to visit the admiral, and observing him to be very much dejected was moved to tears. He repeated the message which he had sent, entreating Columbus not to be cast down by his misfortune, and offering everything 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 performed to the rattling of a stick. On one occasion, accompanied by the sound of a kind of drum, made from the trunk of a tree, and the rattling of hollow bits

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 32. Las Casas, lib. 1 cap. 9.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

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, asked what they wanted in exchange, and Columbus 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, and promised to procure it thence as much as he desired. The place to which he alluded, and which he called Cibao, was in fact a mountainous region afterward 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 to visit his residence. Here he had prepared a collation, and set before him as plain and simple means afforded, consisting of utias, or cayes, fish, rice, roots, and various fruits. He did everything in his power to honor his guest, and cheer him under his misfortune, showing a warmth of sympathy yet delicacy of dexterity. His primness have been expected from his savage state. Indeed there was a degree of innate dignity and refinement displayed in his manners, that often surprised the Spaniards. He was remarkably nice and decorous in his motions, yet 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 toward 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 lineages.†

In fact, the sovereignty of the people of this island was hereditary, and they had a simple but sagacious mode of governing, in some degree, the verity of descent. On the death of a cacique without children, his authority passed to those of his brothers, in preference to those of his sisters, being considered most likely to be of his blood; for they observed, that a brother's reputed children may 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 the religion of their subjects. They had few laws, and ruled according to their judgment and 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 collision, Guacanagari conducted Columbus to the beautiful groves which surrounded his residence. They were attended by upward of a thousand of the natives, all perfectly naked, who performed several 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 set on board the caravel for a Moorish how 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 pleased with 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 they dared not hope for defence. In proof of this, he ordered a Lombard or heavy cannon, and an arquebus, to be discharged.

On hearing the report the Indians fell to the ground, as though they had been struck by a thunderbolt. They sat upon the grass, and held their hands before their eyes, in apparent exaltation, considering themselves under the protection of the sons of heaven, who would come from the skies armed with thunder and lightning.

The cacique now presented Columbus with a mask carved with faces, 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 dispensed presents also among the followers of the admiral; acquir- ing himself in all things an object of veneration that would have done honor to an accomplished prince in civilized life.

Whatever trifles Columbus gave in return were regarded with reverence and gratitude. The Indians, according to the ardent and enthusiastic language of Columbus, 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 accustomed, they smelled it and declared it turey, of excellent quality; giving in exchange pieces of the finest gold. Everything, in fact, from the hands of the Spaniards, even a rusty piece of iron, an end of a strap, or a head of a nail, had an occult and supernatural value, and smelt of turey. Hawks' bells, however, were sought by them 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 anties. On one occasion an Indian gave half a handful of gold dust in exchange for one of these toys, and no sooner was it in possession of it than he hurried away to the woods, looking often behind him, fearing the Spaniards might 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 they were so ready to exchange for trifles, and the information continually received of

* Primer Viage de Colon, Navarrete, tom. i. p. 114.
† Las Casas, lib. i. cap. 70, ss. Primer Viage de Colon Navarrete, tom. i. p. 114.
* Las Casas, lib. i. cap. 70, ss.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

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 materials to construct a fortress, which might be defended by her guns and supplied with her ammunition; and he could spare provisions enough to maintain a small garrison for a year. The people who thus remained on the island could procure 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.

In the mean time the admiral could 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 Guanagari was informed of the intention 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 at the idea of retaining these 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 toil and slavery.

The preparations for the fortress were scarcely commenced when certain Indians, arriving at the harbor, brought a report that a great vessel, like those of the admiral, had anchored in a river at the eastern end of the island. These tidings, for a time, dispelled a thousand uneasy conjectures which had harassed the mind of Columbus, for of course this vessel could be no other than the Pinta. He immediately procured a boat from Guanagari, with several Indians to navigate it, and dispatched a Spaniard with a letter to Pinzon, couched in amicable terms, making no complaints of his desertion, but urging him to join company immediately.

After three days' absence the canoe returned. The Spaniard reported that he had pursued the coast for twenty leagues, but had neither seen nor heard anything of the Pinta; he considered the report of Columbus an idle and fantastic story. However, they were immediately afterward circulately at the harbor of this large vessel to the eastward; but, on investigation, they appeared to Columbus to be equally unserviceable of credit. He relapsed into a state of doubt and anguish, and doubted so much would be crowded in a small caravel, and the admiral would allow his permission to remain in the island.

The grand object to which he had proposed that they should dedicate the fruits of this enterprise.

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. It was a great picture of the inscrutable decrees of Providence! The shipwreck, which Columbus conceived to be a divine favor, 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, and to involve him in a thousand perplexities, and to befoul 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 all completed, and was ready 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 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 prevent their wandering about, and committing acts of licentiousness among the natives.

The fortress being finished, he gave it the name of La Navidad, or the Nativity, in memorial of their having escaped from the shipwreck on Christmas day. Many volunteered to remain on the island, from whom he selected thirty-nine of the most able and exemplary, and among them a physician, ship-carpenter, caller, cooper, tailor, and gunner, all expert at their several callings. The command was given to Diego de Arana, a native of Cordova, and notary and alguazil to the armament, who was to retain all the powers vested in him by the Catholic sovereigns. In case of his death, Pedro Gutierrez was to command, and, he dying, Rodrigo de Escochedo. 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 for traffic, that they might procure as much gold as possible against the admiral's return.*

As the time drew near for his departure, Columbus assembled those who were to remain in the island, and made them an earnest address, charging them, in the name of the sovereigns, to be obedient to the officer left in command; to maintain the utmost respect and reverence for the cacique Guacanagari and his chieftains, recollecting

how deeply they were indebted to his goodness, and how important a continuance of it was to their welfare. To be circumspect in their intercourse with the natives, avoiding disputes, and treating them always with gentleness and justice; and, above all, being discreet in their conduct toward the Indian women, misconduct in this respect being 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, for mutual safety; and not to stray beyond the friendly territory of Guanacari. He enjoined it upon Arana, and the others in command, to acquire a knowledge of the productions and mines of the island, to procure gold and spices, and to seek along the coast a better situation for a settlement, the present harbor being inconvenient and dangerous, from the rocks and shoals which beset its entrance.

On the 2d of January, 1493, Columbus landed to take a farewell of the generous cacique and his chieftains, intending the next day to set sail. He gave them a parting feast at the house 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 any he or his people had yet seen. The worthy Guanacari showed great concern at the idea of his departure, and assured him that, as to those who remained, he should furnish 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 caused the crews to perform skirmishes and mock-fights, with swords, bucklers, lances, crossbows, arquebuses, and cannon. The Indians were astonished at the keenness of the swords, and at the deadly power of the cross-bows and arquebuses; but they were struck with awe when the heavy Lombards were discharged from the fortress, wrapping it in wreaths of smoke, shaking the forests with their report, and shivering the trees with the balls of stone used in artillery, in those times. As these tremendous powers, however, were all to be employed for their protection, they rejoiced while they trembled, since no Caribs would now have the place.

The festivities of the day being over, Columbus embraced the cacique and his principal chieftains, and took a farewell of them. Guanacari shed tears; for while he had been awed by the dignified demeanor of the admiral, and the idea of his superhuman nature, he had been completely won by the benignity of his manners. Indeed, the parting scene was sorrowful on all sides. The

* Primer Viaje de Colon. Navarrete, tom. i. p. 121.
CHAPTER I.

COASTING TOWARD THE EASTERN END OF HISPANIOLA—MEETING WITH PINZON—AFFAIR WITH THE NATIVES AT THE GULF OF SAMANA.

[1493—]

It was on the 4th of January that Columbus set sail from La Navidad on his return to Spain. The wind being light, it was necessary to tow the caravel out of the harbor, and clear of the reefs. They then stood eastward, toward a lofty promontory destitute of 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 Cristi, by which it is still known. The country in the immediate neighborhood was level, but farther inland rose a high range of mountains, 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 masthead to look out for rocks, cried out that he beheld the Pinta at a distance. The certainty of the fact gladdened the heart of the admiral, and had an animating effect throughout the ship; for it was a joyful event to the mariners once more to meet with their comrades, and to have a companion hark in their voyage through these lonely seas.

The Pinta came sweeping toward them, directly before the wind. The admiral was desirous of having a conversation with Martin Alonso Pinzon, and seeing that all attempt was fruitless from the obstinacy of the adverse wind, and that there was no safe anchorage in the neighborhood, he put back to the bar a little west of Monte Cristi, whither he was followed by the Pinta. On their first interview, Pinzon endeavored to excuse his desertion, alleging that he had been compelled to part company by stress of weather, and that he had ever since been seeking to rejoin the admiral. Columbus listened passively but dubiously to his apologies; and the suspicions he had conceived appeared to be warranted by subsequent information. He was told that Pinzon had been excited by accounts given him by one of the Indians on board of his vessel of a region to the eastward, abounding in gold. Taking advantage, therefore, of the superior sailing of his vessel, he had worked to windward, when the other ships had been obliged to put back, and had sought to be the first to discover and enjoy this golden region. After separating from his companions he had been entangled for several days among a cluster of small islands, supposed to have been the Caicos, but had at length been guided by the Indians to Hispaniola. Here he remained three weeks, trading with the natives in the river already mentioned, and collected a considerable quantity of gold, one half of which he retained as captain, the rest he divided among his men to secure their fidelity and secrecy.

Such were the particulars privately related to Columbus; who, however, repressed his indignation at this flagrant breach of duty, being unwilling to disturb the remainder of his voyage with any altercation with Pinzon, who had a powerful party of relatives and townspeople in the armament.

To such a degree, however, was his confidence in his confidential agents impaired, that he determined to return forthwith to Spain, though, under other circumstances, he would have been tempted to explore the coast in hopes of freighting his ships with treasure.*

The boats were accordingly dispatched to a large river in the neighborhood, to procure a supply of wood and water for the voyage. This river, called by the natives the Yaque, flows from the mountains of the interior and throws itself into the bay, receiving in its course the contributions of various minor streams. Many particles of gold were perceived among the sands at its mouth, and others were found scattered on the bed of the hoarse-walks. Columbus gave it, therefore, the name of Rio del Oro, or the Golden River; it is at present called the Santiago.

In this neighborhood 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 manatees or sea-cats, seen indistinctly and at a distance; and that the imagination of Columbus, disposed to give a wonderful character to everything in this new world, had identified these misshapen animals with the sirens of ancient story.

On the evening of the 6th 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 Martin Alonso.† The natives of this place complained that Pinzon, on his previous visit, had violently carried off four men and two girls. The admiral, finding they were retained on board of the Pinta to be carried to Spain and sold as maroons, ordered them to be immediately restored to their homes, with many presents, and well clothed, to atone for the wrong they had experienced. This restitution was made with great unwillingness and many high words on the part of Pinzon.

The wind being favorable, for in these regions the trade wind often came after winter and winter by north-westly breezes, they continued coasting the island until they came to a large and beautiful headland, to which they gave the name of Capo del Enamorado, or the Lovers'—

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 34.
† Las Casas suggests that these may have been particles of marcasite, which abounds in this river, and in the other streams which fall from the mountains of Cibao. Las Casas, Hist. Ind. Ind., cap. 76.
‡ It is now called Porto Caballo, but the surrounding plain is called the Savanna of Martin Alonso — T. S. HENRY.
Cape, but which at present is known as Cape Car- 
bron. A little beyond this they anchored in a 
bay, or rather gulf, three leagues in breadth, 
and they called it Grand Car- 
bron. Columbus at first 
supposed it an arm of the sea, separating Hispani- 
ola from some other land. On landing they found 
the natives quite different from the gentle and 
peaceful people hitherto met with on this island. 
They were of a ferocious aspect, and hideously 
painted. Their hair was long, tied behind, and 
decorated with the feathers of parrots and other 
hawks of gaudy plumage. Some were armed with 
war-clubs; others had bows of the length of those 
used by the English archers, with arrows of 
slender reeds, pointed with hard wood, or tipped 
with bone or the tooth of a fish. Their swords 
were of palm-wood, as hard and heavy as iron; 
not sharp, but broad, nearly of the thickness of 
two fingers, and capable, with one blow, of clear-
ning through a helmet to the very brains. * Though 
prepared to meet these, they made no attempt to 
 molested the Spaniards; on the contrary, they 
sold them two of their bows and several of their 
arrows, and one of them prevailed upon 
to go on board of the admiral's ship. 
Columbus was persuaded, from the ferocious 
looks and heavy, unmeaning manner of this wild 
warrior, that he and his companions were of the 
nation of Caribs, so much dreaded throughout 
these seas, and that the Gulf in which he was an-
chored must be a strait separating their island 
from Hispaniola. On inquiring of the Indian, how-
ever, he still pointed to the east as the quarter 
where lay the Cariboo Islands. He spoke also 
of an island, called Maimputo, which Columbus 
fancied him to say was peopled merely by women, 
who received the Caribs among them once 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 fe-
male 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, 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 Co-
lumbus, in speaking of the Caribs as a nation, 
interpreted the signs of the Indians to coincide 
with the descriptions of the Venetian. 

Having reached the warrior, and made him va-
rious presents, the admiral sent him on shore, in 
hope of his mediation, of opening a trade, 
and worthily entertaining his companions. As the boat 
approached the land, upward 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 adm-
iral, endeavored to purchase several of their 
weapons, to take as curiosities to Spain. They 
parted with two of their bows; but, suddenly con-
ceiving 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 cords, as if to bind the 
Spaniards. The latter immediately attacked 
them, wounded two, and cast to flight; but 
would have pursued them, but were restrained by 
the pilot who commanded the boat. This was 
the first contest with the Indians, and the first 
time that native blood was shed by the white men in 
the new world. Columbus at first determined 
to enforce his claims by his exertions to maintain an amicable intercourse 
with all the Indians he met; but he was so used to the 
war-like character, would be inspired with a 
spirit of ferocity and weapons of the white men, 
and left the little garrison of Fort Nativity. 
The fact was, that these were 
and several 
leagues along the coast, and several 
they differed in lan-
guage, look, and manners from the other natives of 
the island, and had the rude but independent and 
:rious character of mountaineers. 
Their frank and bold spirit was evinced on the 
day after the skirmish, when a multitude appear-
ing on the beach, the admiral sent a large party, 
well armed, on shore in the boat. The natives 
approached as freely and condescendingly as if nothing 
had happened; neither did they betray, through-
out their subsequent intercourse, any signs of 
lurking fear or enmity. The cacique who ruled 
over the neighboring country was on the shore. 
He sent to the boat a string of beads formed 
of small stones, or pebbles, to which the Spaniards 
were not accustomed, in token of the peace, held sacred among the 
Indians. 

The caciques of this island have long been 
reputed great men. 

As they again 
advanced to the 
adjacent, to which 
the Caribs were 
still 
were 
Lovers'
ribs, and that of Mantineo, the abode of the Amazonas; 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 strong south-west breeze sprung up for the voyage to Spain. He observed a gloomy gathering on the countenance 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 repeatedly evinced, the uncertainty of the good faith of Pinzon, and 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 banks, and all the records of his voyage forever 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—VI**. 

STORMS—ARRIVAL AT THE ZORBS.

[1493.]

The trade-winds which had been so propitious to Columbus on his outward voyage, were equally favorable to hint on his return. The favorable breeze soon died away, and throughout the remainder of January there was a prevalence of light winds from the eastward, which prevented any great progress. He was frequently detained, also by the bad sailing of the Pinta, the foremost of which was so defective that it could carry little sail.

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 water and swim about the ships. They saw many tunny 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 Agi peppers, which last 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 swept by the trade-winds, they had more favorable breezes, and were enabled to steer direct for Spain. From the frequent changes of their course, the pilots became perplexed in their reckonings, differing widely among themselves, and still more widely from the truth. Columbus, besides keeping a careful reckoning, was a vigilant observer of those indications furnished by the sea, the air, and the sky; 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, he noticed where the great banks of floating weeds commenced, and where they finished, from among them, 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 28th of February, the pilote Vasques Pinzon, and the pilots Ruiz and Bartolomeo Roldan, who were on board of the admiral's ship, examined the charts and compared their observations 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 the direction of the Azores. He suffered them, however, to remain in their error, and added even 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 12th of February, as they were flottering themselves with soon coming in sight of land, the wind came on to blow violently, with a heavy sea; they still kept their course to the westward with great labor and peril. On the following day, after sunset, the wind and swell increased; there were three flashes of lightning in the north-west, after exceeding Columbus as signals of an approaching tempest; they remained on deck 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 scull under bare poles. As the morning dawned of the 14th, there was a tempest, and they made a little sail; but the wind rose again from the south with redoubled vehemence, raging throughout the day, and increasing in fury in the night; while the vessels labored terrifically in the sea, the broken waves of which threatened at each moment to overwhelm them or dash them to pieces. For three hours they lay to, with just sail enough to keep them above the waves, but of the tempest still augmenting, they were obliged again to scull before the wind. The Pinta was soon lost sight of in the darkness of the night. The admiral kept as much as possible to the north-east, to approach the coast of Spain, and made signal lights at the masthead for the Pinta to do the same, and to keep in company.

The latter, however, from the weakness of her foresail, could not hold the wind, and was obliged to scull 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 scull all night, full of forebodings of the fate of his own vessel, and of tears 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 round anxiously for the Pinta, but she was nowhere to be seen. He now made a little sail to keep his vessel ahead 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:

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* Journal of Columb. Navarrete, tom. i. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 77. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 34, 35.

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 70.
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After these obstructions, which he arrived, appeared nothing so alarming as when he entered the harbor, for by his orders, a number of beaus, equal to the number of persons on board, were put in, and in emerging, himself to be in search of their ship, which he expected to do when he entered the harbor, and the admiral, Vicente Yagüe, and Bartolomé de las Casas, the admiral, ship, and their cattle, but could not be found. The leagues near them to be the true path of the coast, were to be taken by the return, to return to the port, to their reflection, and their concealment.

Here were flat or land, a heavy sea; but with a small day, after those who were the north, the ships, of an approach upon them and a crazy vessel, little fitted for their voyage, as the wind was a truant wind; but the tide with reddened day, and in the vessels, the broken waves were overwhelming. This three hours kept the all augmenting before the death of the deep in the weakness of the, and was still. The mind more and more nothing right, full of doubt, and of the day of the great battle, the little sail, was its huge rose, the, through:

dreary day the helpless bark was driven along by the fury of the tempest. Seeing all the ships were baulked and confounded, Columbus endeavored to propitiate heaven by solemn vows and acts of penance. By his orders, a number of beaus, equal to the number of persons on board, were put in, and in emerging, himself to be in search of their ship, which he expected to do when he entered the harbor, and the admiral, Vicente Yagüe, and Bartolomé de las Casas, the admiral, ship, and their cattle, but could not be found. The leagues near them to be the true path of the coast, were to be taken by the return, to return to the port, to their reflection, and their concealment.

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known, might have inclined your highnesses to befriend them. And although, on the one hand, I was comforted by faith that he 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 reflect upon his execution for which I might intend that I should be deprived of the glory which would redound to me in this world."

In the midst of these gloomy apprehensions, an expedient suggested itself, by which, though he and his ships should perish, the glory of his achievement 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 possession taken possession of the newly-found lands in the name of their Catholic majesties. This sealed and directed to the king and queen; superscribing a promise of a thousand ducats to whomsoever 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 he was performing some religious vow.

This idea appeared to be a noble one, for it was well done. He then, having a sufficient supply of provender, 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 on and survive.

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

On the morning of the 17th, at daybreak, the cry of land was given by Rui Garcia, a mariner in the mainstay. The transports of the crew, at once more gaining sight of the Old World, were almost equal to those experienced on first beholding the New. The land before the prow of the caravel; and the usual diversity of opinion concerning it arose among the pilots. One thought it the island of Madeira; another the rock of Cintra near Lisbon; the most part, deceived by their own tale, placed it in the Spain. Columbus, however, 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 encouraging themselves upon the assurance of speedily being in port, when 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 were never 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 as to cast anchor, but parting their cable, had to put to sea again, where they remained heaving 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, as scarcely to take food or repose. Although suffering greatly from a sanguine affection to which he

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 36.
was subject, yet he had maintained his watchful presence, to the pelting of the storm, and the drenching surges of the sea. It was not until the night of the 17th that he got a little sleep, more from the exhaustion of nature than from any tranquility of mind. Such were the difficulties and perils which attended his return to Europe; had one tenth part of them been his outward voyage, his timid and factious crew would have risen in arms against the enterprise, and he never would have discovered the New World.

CHAPTER III.

TRANSACTIONS AT THE ISLAND OF ST. MARY'S.

[1493.]

On reaching the island to St. Mary's, the most southern of the Azores, and a possession 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 unexampled fury; but when they heard from the boat's crew that this tempest-tossed vessel brought tidings of a strange country beyond the ocean, they were filled with wonder and curiosity. To their inquiries about a place where the caravel might anchor securely, they replied by pointing out a harbor in the vicinity, but prevailed on three of the mariners to remain on shore, and gratify them with further particulars of this unparalleled voyage.

In the evening three men of the island hailed the caravel, and a boat being sent for them, they brought on board bowls, bread, and various refreshments, from Juan de Castafieda, governor of the island, 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 the caravel the next morning, bringing further refreshments, and stating that he still kept with him to satisfy his extreme curiosity respecting the voyage. As there were no houses on the neighboring shore, the messengers remained on board all night.

The following morning Columbus reminded his people of their vow to perform a pious procession at the first place where they should land. On the neighboring shore, at no great distance from the sea, was a small hermitage or chapel dedicated to the Virgin, and he made immediate arrangements 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.

An ungenerous reception, however, awaited the poor tempest-tossed mariners on their first return to the abode of civilized men, far different from the simple and hospitable they had experienced among the savages of the New World. Scarcely had they begun their prayers and thanksgivings, when a 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 bid 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 surf-beaten rocks which bordered the island. Weighing anchor, therefore, he bore in a direction to command a view of the chapel and the adjacent shore; whence 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 toward himself and his enterprises 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 manner; 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 continued their approach. The indignation of Columbus now broke forth; he reproached the governor with his perfidy, and with the wrong he had done, not merely to the Spanish monarchs, but to his own sovereign, by such a dishonorable outrage. He informed him of his own rank and dignity; displayed his letters patent, the royal seal of Castile, and threatened him with the vengeance of his government. Castafieda replied in a vein of contempt and defiance, declaring that all he had done was in conformity to the command of the king his sovereign.

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 the Pilgrims were driven from their anchorage, and obliged to stand to sea toward the island of St. Michael. For two days the ship continued beating about in great peril, half of her crew being detained on shore, and the greater part of those on board being landmen and Indians, almost equally useless in difficult navigation. Fortunately, however, the waves ran high, there were none of those cross seas which had been foretold, otherwise they would have feebly manœuvred, the caravel could scarcely have lived through the storm.

On the evening of the 22d, the weather having moderated, Columbus returned to his anchorage near St. Mary's. Shortly after his arrival, the Pilgrims came off, bringing two priests and a notary. After a caustic parley and an assurance of safety, they came on board, and received a sight of the papers of Columbus, on the part of Castafieda, 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 supposed it a manoeuvre of Castafieda to cover a retreat from the anchor which he had assumed; restraining his indignation, however, and expressing his thanks for the friendly disposition of the governor, he showed his letters of commission, which satisfied the priests and the notary. On the following morning the boat and mariners were liberated. The latter, during the detention, however, had secured information from the inhabitants which elucidated the conduct of Castafieda.

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 found, with these views: in the first place, however, failing in that, he decided on finding some pretext to attack Columbus on his return from the New World, and having arranged for a large force, one of the ships was to have been transferred to the expedition.

ARRIVAL AT THE ISLAND OF COLUMBUS.

Columbus, the island of St. Mary's being found more than he could have wished, which brought him to the conclusion that the voyage was unnecessary, as he had reached the land to Spain, he sailed away from the bay in which he had taken refuge, and arrived at the port of Cape St. Mary's, which is afterwards to be described, on the 24th of May, having been in the open sea, and the island of St. Mary's, a little more than a month, during which period he had discovered the coast of the present state of New Spain, and the terrestriestic discoveries of the English and French nations.

After crossing the Atlantic and reaching the adverse winds and currents of the Gulf of Mexico, the 2d of May, the wind turned favorable, and Columbus, with his pilot, set sail towards the land of Spain. The voyage took him twelve days, and the harbor of the island of St. Mary's was entered under the name of Cueva in the island of Columbus. As the island was not recurred to by the writer, it is not necessary to go into the account of the part of his voyage; with this introduction, however, it should be observed that the island was the habitual residence of the governor of that island, under the name of Cueva in the island of Columbus.

Various are the opinions entertained respecting the date of the discovery of this island, which is of prime importance, as it is not known whether it was discovered by Columbus himself, or whether it was the home of some other person; some, however, believe that it was the home of a certain governor of the island, who was appointed by the Spanish government to reside there, and that the island was called Cueva in the island of Columbus.

The writer has endeavored to give as correct an account as possible of the events of this period, and to avoid the repetition of the same, however, in his remarks on the subject, he has endeavored to be as impartial as possible, and to state the facts as he has been able to gather them from the written records of the period.
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, in failing in that attempt, had intended to get him in his power by stratagem, but was deterred by finding him on guard. This 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 confounded upon his fellow-beings.

CHAPTER IV.

ARRIVAL AT PORTUGAL—VISIT TO THE COURT.

(1493)

COLUMBUS remained two days longer at the island of St. Mary’s, endeavoring 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 that sand, but favorable 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 encountered contrary gales and a boisterous sea. His fortitude was scarcely prod 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, air, the tranquil seas, and balmy weather which he supposed perpetually to prevail about the 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 struck by a squall of wind which rent all her sails, and, continuing to blow with resistless violence, obliged her to send up bare poles, threatening her 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 barefoot pilgrimage to the shrine of Santa Maria de la Cueva 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 any arrogation 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 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 hasten 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 seemed sinking in a yawning abyss. The wind at times fell in torrents, and the lightning flashed and thunder pealed from various parts of the heavens, in which he was to be requited throughout life, for one of the greatest benefits that ever man confounded upon his fellow-beings.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. I. cap. 73.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. I. cap. 73.
more excited had the vessel come fraught 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, awa* with the catalogue of the newly-discovered countries, and the route taken in the voyage; to which Columbus gave the fullest replies, endeavoring to show in the clearest manner that these regions were before undiscovered and unappropiated by any Christian power. Still the king was uneasy lest this vast and undeveloped discovery should in some way interfere with his own newly-acquired territories. He doubted whether Columbus had not made a short way to those very countries which were 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 Indies.

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; and the return of Columbus, covered with glory, 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, and his magnanimity was construed into an insulting triumph, and they accused him of assuming a haughty and vainglorious tone, when talking with the king of his discovery; as if he would revenge himself upon the monarch for having rejected his proposals. With the greatest eagerness, therefore, they sought to fos- ter the doubts which had sprung up in the royal mind. Some who had seen the nations brought in the caravel, declared that their color, hair, and manner 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 monarch was perturbed in spirit, some even went so far as to propose, as a means of imposing the prosecution of these enterprises, and animating them, that the king should be consulted; declaring that he desired 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 animadversion. It might be taken of his importunate to quell the pride, provoke him into an altercation, and then dispatch him as if in casual and honorable encounter.

It is difficult to believe that such wicked and clastarily counsel could have been proposed to a monarch so upright as John II., but the fact is ascertained by various historians, Portuguese as well as Spanish. His advice was not followed, for Columbus and the king returned to their courts, with the assurance of the king that he would take the greatest care, on his return, to vindicate the dignity of the crown of Portugal from personal injury.

Happily for Columbus and his country, they adopted the course of justice to redress his injured dignity. In his new capacity as admiral, to the discovery of a new country, and his own unhurt ambition, the king bestowed a reward upon him. They advised his return to Portugal to return to his ship, to entertain the sovereigns of Portugal, and to put into his eyes the power and authority of the king of Portugal. They desired that he should be returned to his ship, and provided for the accommodation of his household. To this the king assented, and ordered that the prince be returned to Portugal, and that his ship be provided for the accommodation of his household.

In the meantime, while Columbus was busy with business in his ship, and his courtiers were engaged in attending the pro- volved council, the king sent word to the pope, to whom the pope had sent a letter, that he had stopped a letter addressed to his ambassador in France. The king, however, sent in an earnest note to the pope, expressing his desire to see every ambassador of the pope. On the latter's arrival, the king despatched the ambassador to the pope, desiring to know if he had received the letter of the king of Portugal.

The ambassador, however, wrote in a friendly spirit, and the letters were exchanged between the two monarchs, and a truce was granted. The king of Portugal, however, did not accept the offer of the ambassador, and the matter continued in a state of negotiation until the king of Portugal was satisfied with the terms offered by the ambassador.
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 when they 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 honored 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 dispatched, 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 the armament upon it. Francisco de Almeida, one of the distinguished captains of the age, to command the expedition.

In the mean time, Columbus, after being treated with distinguished respect, was allowed to return to Spain, on board the caravel, of which he was the owner. He was permitted to bring with him on his return, his ship's company, and all the provisions necessary for his voyage. The king had given him a vessel, and all the necessaries for the voyage, and he had sailed from Palos on the 30th of October. He arrived at the isle of Saltes on the 11th of November, and at mid-day entered the harbor of Palos; whence he sailed on the 3rd of August in the preceding year, having taken not quite seven months and a half to accomplish this most momentous of all maritime enterprises.
tion 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, Panion had immediately written to the sovereigns, requesting 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 harbor, he beheld the vessel of the admiral riding at anchor, and learnt the enthusiasm with which he had been received, the heart of Paixon died within him. It is said that he feared to return to Columbus in this hour of his triumph, lest he should put him under arrest for his desertion on the coast of Cuba; but he was a man of too much resolution to indulge in such a fear. It is more probable that a consciousness of his misconduct made him unwilling to appear before the public in the midst of their enthusiasm for Columbus, and perhaps he shrank at the honors heaped upon a man whose superiority he had so long acknowledged. Getting into his vessel, therefore, he landed privately and kept out of sight until he heard of the admiral's departure. He then returned to his home, broken in health and deeply dejected, considering all the honors and eulogiums heaped upon Columbus as so many reproaches on himself. The reply of the sovereigns to his letter at length arrived. It was of a reproachful tenor, and forbade his appearance at court. This letter completed his humiliation; the anguish of his feelings gave virulence to his bodily malady, and in a few days he died, a victim to his chagrin.

Let no one, however, indulge in harsh censures over the grave of Paixon! His merits and services are entitled to the highest praise; his errors should be regarded with indulgence. One of the foremost in Spain to appreciate the project of Columbus, animating him by his concurrence and aiding him with his purse, when poor and unknown at Palos. He afterward enabled him to procure and fit out ships, when heaven was ready, equipped them, and finally embarked in the expedition with his brothers and his friends, stakes life, property, everything upon the event. He thus entitled himself to participate largely in the glory of this immortal enterprise; but he, forgetting for a moment the grandeur of the cause, and the implicit obedience of his commander, he yielded to the incitements of self-interest, and committed that act of insubordination which has cast a shade upon his name. In extenuation of his fault, however, may be alleged his habits of command, which rendered him impatient of control; his consciousness of having rendered great services to the expedition, and of possessing property in the ships. That he was a man of great professional merit is admitted by all his contemporaries; that he naturally possessed generous sentiments and an honorable ambition, is evident from the piagnance with which he felt the disgrace drawn on him by his misconduct. A man who would not have fallen a victim to self-upbuilding for having been convicted of 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.

CHAPTER VI.

RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS BY THE SPANISH COURT AT BARCELONA.

The letter of Columbus to the Spanish monarch, had produced the greatest sensation at court. The event he announced 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 favor for that triumph achieved in the cause of the true faith. The sovereigns themselves were for a time dazzled 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 any competitor. 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, the time favorable for a voyage, was approaching, 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, as to which was to be done on their part. This letter

* After a lapse of years, the descendants of the Pinzonos made strenuous representations to the crown of the merits and services of their family, endeavoring to prove, among other things, that but for the aid and encouragement of Martin Alonzo and his brothers, Columbus would never have made his discovery. Some of the testimony rendered on this and another occasion was rather extravagant and absurd, as will be shown in another place on this subject. As for Emperor Charles V., however, taking into consideration the real services of the brothers in the first voyage, and the subsequent expeditions and discoveries of that able and indefatigable navigator, Vindobe Vale, it is granted to the family the well-merited rank and privileges of Hidalguian, a degree of nobility which constituted them noble hidalgos, with the right of prefixing the title of Don to their names. A coat of arms was also given them, emblematical of their services as discoverers. These privileges and arms are carefully preserved by the family at the present day.

The Pinzonos at present reside principally in the little city of Moguez, about a league from Palos, and possess vineyards and estates about the neighborhood. They are in easy, if not plentiful circumstances, and inhabit the best houses in Mogquez. Here they have continued, from generation to generation, since the time of the discovery, filling places of public trust and dignity, enjoying the good opinion and good will of their fellow citizens, and flourishing in the same state in which they were found by Columbus, on his first visit to Palos. It is, indeed, to find a family, in this fluctuating world, so little changed by the revolutions of nearly three centuries and a half.

Whatever Palos may have been in the time of Columbus, it is now a palmy village of about four hundred inhabitants, who subsist chiefly by fishing in the fields and vineyards. The convent of La Rabida still exists, but is inhabited merely by two friars, with a novice and a lay brother. It is situated on a hill, surrounded by a scattered forest of pine trees, and overlooks the low sandy country on the coast, and the windings of the river by which Columbus sailed forth upon the ocean.

Vide Illustrations, article "Martin Alonzo Pinzon."
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 country poured forth its inhabitants, who lined the road and thronged the villages. The streets, windows, and balconies of the towns were filled with eager spectators, who met the air with acclamations. His journey was continually impeded by the multitude pressing to gain weight of him and of the Indians, who were regarded as much astonishment as if they had been natives of another planet. It was impossible to satisfy the craving curiosity which assailed him and his attendants as they met innumerable questions; popular rumor, as usual, had exaggerated the truth, and had filled the newly-found country with all kinds of wonders.

About the middle of April 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 general season and favored climate contributed to give splendor to this memorable ceremony. As he drew near the place, many of the youthfull courtiers and hidalgos, 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 placed the Indians, painted according to their savage fashion, and decorated with their national ornaments of gold. After these were borne various kinds of live animals such as tigers, leopards, 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 corsets, bracelets, and other decorations of gold, which might give an idea of the treasures 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 multitudes; 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 satisfied gazing on these trophies of an unknown world; or on the remarkable man by whom they had been discovered. There was a solemnity in this event that mingled a solemn feeling with the public joy. It was looked upon as a vast and signal demonstration 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 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, and the prince of the discovery, attended by the dignitaries of their court, and the principal nobility of Castile, Valantia, Catalonia, and Aragon, all impatient to behold the man who had conferred so inestimable a benefit upon the nation. At length Columbus entered the hall, surrounded by a brilliant crowd of cavaliers, among whom, says La Casas, he was conspicuous for his stately and commanding person, which with his countenance, rendered venerable by his gray 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 offered to kiss their hands; but there was some hesitation on their part to permit this act of homage. Raising him in the most gracious manner, they ordered him to seat himself in their presence; a rare honor in this proud and punctilious age. At their request, he now gave an account of the most striking events of his voyage, and a description of the islands discovered. He displayed specimens of unknown birds and other animals; rare plants of medicinal and aromatic virtues; native gold in dust, in crude masses, or fashioned into barbaric ornaments; and, above all, the natives of these islands, who were objects of intense and inexhaustible interest. All these he pronounced mere harbinger of greater discoveries yet to be made, which would add realms of inestimable wealth to the dominions of his majesty, and whole nations of proselytes to the true faith.

When he had finished, the sovereigns sank on their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, their eyes filled with tears of joy and gratitude, poured forth thanks and praises to God for so great a providence; all present followed their example; a deep and solemn silence was in a splendid assembly, and prevented all common acclamations of triumph. The anthem Te Deum laudamus, chanted by the choir of the royal chapel, with the accompaniment of instruments, rose in a body of sacred harmony; but even before it was, the feelings and thoughts of the auditors to heaven, "so that," 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 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 was surrounded by an adoring multitude. While his mind was reposing 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 not 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 wealth of 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-fulfillment. It is essential to a full comprehension of the character and motives of Columbus, that this 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 distant and far-reaching 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 feelings, which, in the time of the Crusades, had infused the thoughts and directed the enterprises of the bravest warriors and most illustrious princes.

CHAPTER VII.

Sojourn of Columbus at Barcelona—Attention Paid him by the Sovereigns and Courtiers.

The joy occasioned by the great discovery of Columbus was not confined to Spain; the tidings were spread far and wide by the communications of ambassadors, the correspondence of the learned, the negotiations of merchants, and the reports of travellers, and the whole civilized world was filled with wonder and delight. How gratifying would it have been, had the press at that time, as at present, poured forth its daily tide of speculation on every passing occurrence! What excitement would it have occasioned, if he had been recognized as the real discoverer of the New World, and the subject of an enthusiasm that would have been felt by all the people of Spain! But the mind of the age was not prepared to receive this new and startling information, and the universal wonder and admiration which it occasioned were long concealed under a veil of mystery.

Notwithstanding this universal enthusiasm, however, no one was aware of the real importance of the 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 the end of the Indus. 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 India, and it was expected that he would return with 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 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, appointed him 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."
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

The pension 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 sea cow left him, and was so incensed at being disappointed of what he conceived his merit rewarded, that he renounced his country and his faith, and went into Africa turned Mussulman; an anecdote which rests mostly on the authority of Oviedo, who is extremely incorrect in his narration of this voyage, and inserts many falsehoods told him by the enemies of the admiral.

It may at first sight appear 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 honor of being personally the discoverer of the land as well as projector of the enterprise.

Next to the countenance shown him by the king and queen may be mentioned that of Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, the Grand Cardinal of Spain, who was one of the most elevated character for piety, learning, and high prince-like qualities, gave signal value to his favors. He invited Columbus to a banquet, where he assigned him the most honorable place at table, and had him served with the ceremonies which in those pontifical times were observed toward sovereigns. At this repast is said to have occurred the well-known anecdote of the egg. A shallow courtier present, impatient of the honors paid to Columbus, and 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 in Spain 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 on one end. Every one attempted it, but in vain; whereupon he struck it upon the table so as to break the egg, and left it standing on the broken part, illustrating in this simple manner what he had once shown the way to the New World nothing was easier than to follow it.

The favor shown Columbus by the sovereigns inspired him for a time the cares of the nobility; but every one was delighted with his near in lavishing honours upon the man whom the king deigned to honor. Columbus bore all these cares 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 recognize in the individual thus made the companion of princes, and the theme of general wonder and admiration, the same obscure stranger who but a short time before had been a common scullion and jest in this very court, derided by some as an adventurer, and pointed at 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 adulation. Every one who had given him a little cold countenance, or a few curtly smiles, was now arrogated to himself the credit of having been a patron and of having promoted the discovery of the New World. Scarcely a great man about the court but has been enraptured 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 alter letters, as having been really zealous and effective, were those two worthy triumvirs, Diego de Dia and Juan Perez, the prior of the convent of La Rabida.

Thus honored by the sovereigns, courted by the great, idolized by the people, Columbus, for a time, drank the honeyed draught of popularity, before ennui and distraction had time to draw it with bitterness. His discovery burst with such sudden splendor upon the world as to dazzle its eyes, and to call forth the general acclamations of mankind for an epoch in human nature, could history, like romance, close with the consumption of the hero's wishes; we should then leave Columbus in the full fruition of his dreams and more merited prosperity. But his history is destined to future narrators; let us now be content with mentioning the good or evil he has done, the service or SERVICE, of the conscience of public favor, even when won by distinguished services. No greatness was ever acquired by more incontestable, unalloyed, and exalted benefits rendered to the human race, than that which Columbus has done. He has been the means of extending the dominion of Christ on the earth, and of bringing to the world a new people, to be the saviors of human nature, as he was the discoverer of a new world. His name has become a synonym for the world's discovery, and hisPersonas and places have been immortalized in the annals of human history.

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 would be a portion 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 Christian princes extremely favorable to their ambitious designs. According to this doctrine, 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 their 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 potentates as would engage to reduce them to the dominion of the church, and
to propagate the true faith among their enlightened 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 for the Catholic faith, 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, where 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 favorably disposed to Ferdinand; but in certain questions which had come before him, a bias of judgment not the most cordial toward the Catholic monarch. At all events, Ferdinand was well aware of his worldly and perfidious character, and endeavored to manage him accordingly. He dispatched ambassadors to the court of Rome, announcing the new discovery as an extraordinary triumph of the faith; and setting forth the great glory and gain which must redound to the church from the dissemination of Christianity throughout those vast and heathen lands. Corea 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 still greater achievement; it was the fulfilment of one of the sublime promises to the church; it was giving to it "the heathen for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession." No difficulty, therefore, was made in granting what was considered a modest request for so important a service; though it is probable that the acquiescence of the worldly monarchs was quickened by the insinuations of the politico monarch.

A bull was accordingly issued, dated May 24th, 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 misunderstanding, or to be; the direction of the proceedings, a communication was exchanged between the two powers, in the wide range of their respective missions, 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 before 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 Rome, the admiral of Portugal, under the fostering hand of the court of Lisbon, had obtained a declaration from the king of Portugal, that he would regard all lands discovered to the west of the aforesaid line, as belonging to the Portuguese crown. This was interpreted by the Portuguese sovereigns to mean, that, so far as their respective rights were concerned, all lands discovered to the west of the line drawn from the north to the south pole, between the said line and the west coast of Africa, were to be considered as belonging to the Portuguese crown, while the same lands to the east of the line were to be considered as belonging to the Spanish crown. It was a declaration which the pope was naturally anxious to prevent, but he was unable to do so. He had already issued a bull in favor of the Portuguese crown, and he had not yet time to issue another in favor of the Spanish crown. He was therefore compelled to acquiesce in the declaration of the Portuguese sovereigns, and to rely upon their good faith, and the justice of their cause, to secure the recognition of those who might be the first to discover any lands to the west of the line, drawn from the north to the south pole, between the aforesaid line and the west coast of Africa.

The most exalted of the sovereigns of Europe was at this time a most vigilant monarch. He employed in his dominions a large number of officers to trade or to engage in any other occupation, and to sing and to dance, and to spend their time in idleness, and to be in constant readiness to receive advice at any moment. The most exalted of the sovereigns of Europe was at this time a most vigilant monarch. He employed in his dominions a large number of officers to trade or to engage in any other occupation, and to sing and to dance, and to spend their time in idleness, and to be in constant readiness to receive advice at any moment. The most exalted of the sovereigns of Europe was at this time a most vigilant monarch. He employed in his dominions a large number of officers to trade or to engage in any other occupation, and to sing and to dance, and to spend their time in idleness, and to be in constant readiness to receive advice at any moment.
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 
Indiaman, which afterward rose to such great 
importance and power.

Juan and Lisle, in order to accompany 
the expedition. Among these was Bernardo 
Boyl or Boyle, a Benedictine monk, with 
talent and reputed sanctity, but one of 
the few to be found who had the 
characteristics and spirit which 
accompany the expedition. Among 
these was Bernardo Boyle, a Benedictine 
monk, often reputed as sanctified, but one of 
the few to have the qualities and spirit 
which accompany the expedition.

The most minute and rigorous account was 
taken of all expenses and proceeds, and the 
most vigilant care 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 sovereign, 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, 
who have been commended by historians, 
are here manifested; but it always more or less 
influenced the policy of Spain in her colonial 
relations.

Another instance of the despotic sway 
manifested by the sovereigns, was, that 
the keepers of provisions, and arms, 
and ammunition, from any place or vessel 
in which they might be bound, paying a fair price to 
the owners; and they might compel, not merely 
merchants, but any officer holding any rank or station 
whatever, whether they should deem necessary to 
endeavor to extract from them the pay and salary. 
The civil authorities, and all persons of rank and standing, 
were called upon to render all requisites in 
aiding the expedition, and warned against creating any 
impediments, under penalty of privation of office and 
confiscation of estates.

To provide for the expenses of the expedition 
the royal revenue arising from two thirds of 
the church-tithes was placed at the disposal of 
Pino, and other lands were drawn from a 
drain on the just and other valuables, 
the expropriated property of the unfortunate 
Jews, banished from the kingdom, according to a 
regulated order of the preceding year. As these 
resources were not sufficient, Pinelo was 
authorized to supply the deficiency by a loan. 
Requisitions were likewise made for provisions of all 
kind, as well as for artillery, powder, muskets, 
lances, crossbows, and cross-bows. This latter 
weapon, notwithstanding the introduction of 
fire-arms, was still preferred by many to the 
archers, and considered more formidable and destructive, 
the other having to be used with a matchlock, and 
being so heavy as to require an iron rest. The 
naval armament, which had the Moors of 
Granada furnished a great part of these supplies. 
Almost all the preceding orders were issued by the 23rd of May, while Co-
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which Columbus enjoyed the unbounded and well-merited confidence of his sovereigns, before his virtuous mind had dared to insinuate a doubt of his integrity. After receiving every mark of public honor 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 honors 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 II., had unfortunately among his counsellors certain politicians of craft, who made him take care for them. By adopting their perilous policy he had lost the New World when it was an object of honorable enterprise; in compliance with their advice, he now sought to retrieve it by a new act of their own. He had 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 full 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 westward from the Canary Islands, and his hope that the Castilian sovereigns would continue to enjoin a similar track on their navigators—all to the south of those islands being granted by papal bull of the said August 1493. 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 had himself dispatched Don Lope de Herrera to the Portuguese court, furnished with full 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 permitted from visiting those newly-discovered lands, in the same manner that the Spanish sovereigns had subjected their subjects from interfering with the African possessons of Portugal.

In case, however, the ambassador should find 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, and forbidding any enterprise of the kind.* A keen diplomatic game ensued between the two monarchs, perplexing to any spectator not acquainted with the secret of their play. Resende, in his history of King John II., informs us that the Portuguese monarch, by large presents, or rather bribes, held certain confidential members of the Castilian cabinet in his interest, who informed him of the most secret councils of their court. The roads were thronged 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 about which they were going to make returns. Frequently, when Ferdinand proposed a sudden and perplexing question to the envoys at his court, who would require fresh instructions from his sovereign. His tricks were not to be astonished by a prompt and positive reply; most of the questions which were intended to occur having, through secret information been foreseen and provided for. As a surmise of treachery in the cabinet, John II. might naturally arise, but King John, while he rewarded his agents in secret, endeavored to divert suspicions from them upon others, making rich presents of jewels to the Duke de Infantado and other Spanish grandees of incorruptible integrity.†

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 dishonorable 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 honorable 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 produce an apparent apprehension. He had already dispatched an extra envoy to the Spanish court to keep it in good humor, and he now appointed Doctor Pero Díaz 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 powers.‡

Ferdinand had now the vantage-ground; his object was to gain time for the preparation and departure of his first expedition. Don Garcia Guarrin, his ambassador to the court of Rome, was sent to Rome to propose a new treaty in the advance of it, and to lay the matter before the pontiff. The envoys of both countries, together with the ambassadors of the other Christian nations, were present, and a treaty was concluded by the parties, which was succeeded by a solemn promulgate.

King John, in the expectation of a friendly and enduring treaty, followed up the design which had been before put into practice. In the course of the year 1493, and the following one, no indication of fresh projects was given by the Spanish sovereigns. But in the year 1496, he gave notice of a new discovery, to which he immediately sent another ambassador to the Portuguese court, entreated to be informed of the Spanish proposals, and bore a grudging aspect, as one who felt his interests involved. Don Gaspar de Salazar, a Jew by religion, and a person of no little credit at the Portuguese court, was appointed his ambassador. Ferdinand, in the meantime, detached Don Ruy de Herrera and his son Don Pablo de Herrera, with a small ship, and a crew of five, to make observations on the western point of Africa, and to reconnoiter the coast of Brazil. The latter object was the principal one with which this expedition was furnished. In the year 1497, they arrived near the coast of Brazil, and returned to Lisbon with a full account of the land and its productions, with the discovery of the strait between the land and South America. The reports presented by these navigators proved the valley of Brazil to be so vast as to be capable of supporting a large population. This was a very material discovery, and one which the Portuguese court had long desired to make. It was the first step in the possession of the western coast of South America, and the means of creating another kingdom within the empire of the Spanish sovereigns of Portugal.

* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. lib. ii. Zarita, Anales de Aragon, lib. i. cap. 25.
‡ Resende, Vida del Rey Dom Joam II., cap. 157.
¶ Zarita, lib. i. cap. 25. Herrera, decad. i. lib. ii. cap. 5.
departure of Columbus, by entangling King John in long diplomatic negotiations. In reply to his proposals, he dispatched Don Pedro de Ayala and Don García Lopez de Carvajal on a solemn embassy to Portugal, in which they moved with becoming gracious and courteous manner, but for their want of ability, the whole purport of which was to propose the submission of 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 alter them contemptuously: "This embassy from our enemy is great but "wants both head and feet." He alluded to the character both of the mission and the envoy. Don García de Carvajal was vain and frivolous, and Don Pedro de Ayala was lame of one leg. In the midst of this hisban, King John is even said to have held out some vague show of hostile intentions; in order 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. 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 Pope Paul. Relations, 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. 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 XI.

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 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 harbors of Andalusia, and of the Castilian ports of Cadiz, Soria, and Soria, who had remained for a time at Barcelona; and with their united exertions, a fleet of seventeen vessels, large and small, was soon in a state of preparation. The best pilots were chosen for the service, and the crews were recruited 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 various plants, vines, sugar-canes, grafts, and saplings, were embanked, together with a great quantity of merchandise, consisting of trinkets, beans, hawks' bells, looking-glasses, and other showy trinkets, calabashes, and retablos, with the necessaries. There 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 the voyage in which the knights and the noble ships were to be embarked. 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 recollection of a dream, and it has been shown that Columbus himself had beheld everything through the most delusive medium. The vivacity of his descriptions, and the sanguine anticipations of his ardent spirit, while they roused the public to a wonderful degree of enthusiasm, prepared the way for bitter disappointment. The capricious 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 lothier kind. It was a romantic and stirring age, and the wars with the Moors being over, and Christianity established with much labor and cost, 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 adventures, according to the Spanish temperament of that period of its meridian fervor 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 splendor the chivalrous enterprises to the Holy Land. They pictured to themselves vast and beautiful islands of the ocean that period of its meridian fervor 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 splendor the chivalrous enterprises to the Holy Land. They pictured to themselves vast and beautiful islands of the ocean
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

prized, provided everything that might be necessary in various possible emergencies, the expenses of the outfit exceeded what had been anticipated. This gave occasion 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. The high price of victuals, and the severe reproaches 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 has appeared to have pampered 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 in the expedition were war-trained. In reply, the sovereigns, free of spirit, ordered that ten escuderos de a pie, or footmen, and twenty persons in other domestic capacities, and reminded Fonseca of their charge, that in both the nature and mode of his transactions with the admiral, he should study to give him content; observing that, as the whole armament was invested to his command, it was but reasonable that his wishes should be consulted, and no one embarrass him with punctilios and difficulties.

These trivial differences are worth of particular notice, from the effect they appear to have had on the mind of Fonseca, for from them we must date the rise of that singular hostility which he ever afterward manifested toward Columbus; which every year increased in rancor, and which he gratified in the most methodical manner, by secret-ly multiplying impediments and vexations in his path.

While the expedition was yet lingering in port, intelligence had set sail from Madeira and steered for the west. Suspicion was immediately awakened that she was bound for the lately-discovered lands. Columbus wrote an account of it to the sovereigns, and proposed to dispatch a part of his fleet in pursuit of her. His proposition was approved, but not carried into effect, and in removing this being made to the court of Lisbon, King John declared that the vessel sailed without his permission, and that he would send three 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 of 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 in his ship, 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


The departure of the fleet was either agreed on or the course of events led to it.

It may be anticipated, that the enterprise, after the melancholy and tragic fatalities of the Spanish sovereigns, would have been abandoned; but the public opinion, and the spirit of the Spanish nation, were roused, and the able and skillful enterprise of Fonseca, who had been second-in-command on the voyage to India, refused to resign his appointment. He ought to have been relieved, as he was not equal to the task, but he turned aside to other expeditions, and the public spirit of Spain was shown in the loss of the enterprise. Columbus was at first prohibited to proceed, but his arguments and the influence of his friends were allowed to prevail, and he, with great difficulty, was permitted to depart. The78
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 these, 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, the navigators could not venture more than a hundred leagues west of his possessions, and had no scope or 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, 1491, 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 each, should start from 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 Vasconcelos, 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 CARIBBEAN ISLANDS.

1493]

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, and fourteen caravels, loading with flapping sails, and a setting the signal to get under way. The harbor 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 un-known seas; the roving adventurer, seeking novelty and excitement; the keen, calculating speculator, eager to profit by the ignorance of savage tribes; and the pale missionary from the cloister, anxious to extend the dominion 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 on a dark and desperate enterprise, they were contemplated with envy, as favored mortals, bound to golden regions and happy climes, where nothing but wealth and wonder and delights awaited them. Columbus, conspicuous for his height and his commanding appearance, was attended by his two sons Diego and Fernando, the eldest but a stripling, who had come to witness his departure. Both were imbued 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 way; 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 for the coasts of Portugal, and of its islands, standing to the south-west of the Canaries, where he arrived on the 1st of October. After touching at the Grand Canary, he anchored on the 5th at Gomera, to take in a supply of wood and water. Here also he purchased calves, goats, etc.
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 suddenly 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, horehounds, melons, and various orchard fruits, which were thus first introduced into the islands of the west, from the Hesperides or Fortunate Islands of the Old World.

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 harbor of Nativity, the residence of the cacique Guanakanari. 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.

After making sail from Gomera, they were becalmed for a few days among the Canaries, until, on the 11th, a fair wind 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 finding with the islands of the Caribs, of which he had received such vague and wonderful accounts from the Indians. 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 seeing any of those fields of sea-weeds encountered within a much less distance on their first voyage. At that time their appearance was important, and almost providential, inspiring continual hope, and enticing them forward in their dubious enterprise. Now they needed no such signals, being 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.

Toward the latter part of October they had in the night a gust of heavy rain, accompanied by the severe thunder and lightning of the tropics. It rained for four hours, and they considered themselves in much peril, until they beheld several of those loud flames playing about the tops of the masts, and gliding along the rigging, which have always been objects of superstitious fancies among sailors. Fernando Columbus 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 chant litanies and orisons, holding it for certain, that in the tempest 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 Romans, mariners during tempests at sea, which they said were Cæsar and Pollius, of which likewise Seneca makes mention."*.

On the evening of Saturday, the 2d of November, Columbus was convinced, from the color 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 maintain a vigilant watch throughout the night. He had judged with his usual sagacity, in the morning a lofty island was descried to 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 onward, other islands rose to sight, covered with forests, while flights of parrots and other tropical birds passed 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 lands, inhabiting the Sabot Regiones and other nations. Such was the solemn manner in which Columbus celebrated all his discoveries, and which, in fact, was generally observed by the Spanish and Portuguese voyagers.

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 body and the Caribbean Sea.

During the first day that he entered this archipelago, Columbus saw no less than six islands of different magnitude. They were clothed in tropical vegetation, and the breezes from them were 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 the archipelago in the name of his sovereigns. The island appeared to be uninhabited; a rich and dense forest overspread it; some of the trees were in blossom, others laden with unknown fruits, others possessing spicy odors—which was one with the leaf of the laurel and the fragrance of the clove.

Hence they made sail for an island of larger size, with a remarkable mountain; one peak,

* Las Casas, Hist., Ind., lib. i, cap. 83.
† 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. Caldecott also supposed that the small bitter wild orange of native origin.—Humboldt, Essai Politique sur l’Isle de Cuba, tom. i. p. 68.
‡ Las Casas, M. Sup.
§ Letter of Dr. Chanca.

which proved an oracle, rose from the sea, gushing from three openings in the top, of a height that seemed to form a small sea. In its foam there was seen a tetragrammaton, a merely a star, surrounded by a circle of fire and smoke. He gave the name to this island which was so highly favored, and dedicated to the goddess of the heavens, and from thereon they sailed on, after their well-earned triumph.

Landing near the shore of Guadalupe, they were met with a delicious breeze, so fresh and cooling, and covered with a dense growth of cacao, plantains, and other palatable trees. They were also met with a couple of hogs and several species of fowls, which were of different colors. One was white, another black, each with a bluish tinge. They were of very ancient origin, as they had entirely forgotten the art of any kind of man, having been left alone for a long time. They were also met with a few species of conch shells and a few species of birds.

In another spot they met with a small island, which was said to be inhabited by a large number of people. They were met with a pleasant breeze, so fresh and cooling, and covered with a dense growth of cacao, plantains, and other palatable trees.
which proved afterward to be the crater of a volcano, rose to a great height, with streams of water gushing from it. As they approached within three leagues they beheld a cataract of such height that, to use the words of the narrator, it seemed to be falling from the sky. As it broke into foamy water the first believed it to be merely a stratum of white rock.

To this island, which was called by the Indians Turqueira, the admiral gave the name of Guadalupe, having promised the monks of our Lady of Guadalupe in Extremadura to cast some newly-discovered place after their convent.

Landing here on the 4th, they visited a village near the shore, the inhabitants of which fled, some even leaving their children behind in their terror and confusion. The Spaniards soothed with caresses, binding hawks' bells and other trinkets round their arms. This village, like most of those of the island, consisted of twenty or thirty houses, built round a public place or square. The houses were constructed of trunks and trees interwoven with reeds and branches, and thatched with palm-leaves. They were square, not circular like those of the other islands, and each had its portico or shelter from the sun. One of the porticos was decorated with images of serpents tolerating human forms. For the Spaniards wore hoes made of cotton net, and utensils formed of calabashes or earthenware, equal to the best of those of Hispaniola. There were large quantities of cotton; some in the wool, some in yarn, and some woven into cloth of very tolerable texture; and many haws and arrows, the latter tipped with sharp bones. Provisions seemed to abound. 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 guacamayaos. Here also the Spaniards first met with the anaconda, or pineapple, the flavor and fragrance of which astonished and delighted them. In one of the 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 supposed that it was formed of a certain kind of heavy stone found among those islands, which, when burnt, has the appearance of shining iron; or it might have been some of the iron brands from the Indians from Hispaniola. Certain it is, that no native iron was ever found among the people of these islands.

In another house was the stern-post of a vessel. How had these shores, which appeared never to have been visited by the ships of civilized man? Was it the wreck of some vessel from the more enlightened countries of Asia, which they supposed to lie somewhere in this direction? Or a part of a caravel which Columbus had lost at the island of Hispaniola during his return to Spain? Or a fragment of some 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 wrecks from the Old World to the New; and long before the discovery of Columbus the savages of the islands and the coasts may have gazed with wonder at fragments of European barks which have floated to their shores.

What struck the Spaniards with horror was the sight of human bones, vestiges, as they supposed, of unnatural reptiles; and skulls, apparently used as vases and other household utensils. These dismal objects convinced them that they were now in the abode of the spirits of the dead, or, at least, of those who, by their predatory expeditions and ruthless character rendered them the terror of these seas.

The boat having returned on board, Columbus proceeded upward of two leagues, until he anchored, late in the evening, off the coast. 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 small villages and hamlets, the inhabitants of which fled in affright. On the following day the boats landed, and succeeded in taking off a boy and several women. The information gathered from them confirmed Columbus in his idea that this was one of the islands of the Caribs. He learnt that the inhabitants were in league with two neighboring islands, but made war upon all the rest. They even went on predatory enterprises, in canoes made from the hollowed trunks of trees, to the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues. Their arms were bows and arrows, and they were armed with knives and shields, inhabited 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 accounts of the natives of this island, Columbus was extremely uneasy at finding, in the evening, that Diego Marque, a captain of one of the caravels, and eight men, were missing. They had landed early in the morning, without leave, and straying into the woods, had not since been seen or heard of. The night passed away without removing this doubt. On the following day 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 caraquebes on shore, but all to no purpose, and the parties returned in the evening, wearied with a fruitless search. In several hamlets they had met with proofs of the cannibal propensities of the natives. Human limbs were suspended to the beams of the houses, as if curing for provision; the head of a young man recently killed was yet bleeding; some parts of his body were roasting before the fire, others boiling with the flesh of geese and parrots.

Several of the natives, in the course of the day, had been seen on the shore, gazing with wonder at the boats, but when the boats approached, they fled to the woods and mountains. Several women came off to the boats, for rescue, but none natives from other islands. Columbus ordered that they should be decorated with hawks' bells and strings of beads and bells, and sent on shore, in hopes of enticing some of the men. They soon returned to the boats stripped of their ornaments, 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 cruise in quest of prisoners and booty. When the men went forth on these expeditions, the

* Letter of Dr. Chacona.
† Letter of Dr. Chacona. Peter Martyr calls it Canquela or Querqueruela, decad. 1. lib. ii.
‡ Il. n. del Almanzara, cap. 62.
women remained to defend their shores from invasion. They were expert archers, partaking of the warrior spirit of their husbands, and almost equaling them in force and endurance.

The continued absence of the wanderers perplexed Columbus extremely. He was impatient to arrive at Hispaniola, but unwilling to sail while there was a possibility of their being alive and being saved. In this emergency Alonso de Ojeda, the same young cavalier whose exploit on the tower of the cathedral at Seville has been mentioned, volunteered to scour the island with forty men in quest of them. He departed accordingly, and during his absence the ships took in wood and water, and part of the crews were permitted to land, wash their clothes, and recreate themselves.

Ojeda and his followers pushed far into the interior, straining archerbows and sounding trumpets in the valleys and from the summits of cliffs and precipices, but were only answered by their own echoes. The tropical luxuriance and density of the forests rendered them almost impenetrable, and it was necessary to wade a great many rivers, or probably to wind through the windings and doublings of the same stream. The island appeared to be naturally fertile in the extreme. The forests abounded with aromatic trees and shrubs, among which Ojeda fancied he perceived the odor of precious gums. He sometimes waded through trees and in the clefts of rocks; abundance of fruit also; for, according to Peter Martyr, the Caribs, in their predatory cruises, were accustomed to bring home the seeds and fruits of all kinds of plants from the distant islands and countries which they overran.

Ojeda returned without any tidings of the stragglers. Several days had now elapsed since their disappearance. They were given up for lost, and the fleet was about sailing when, to the universal joy, a signal was made by them from the shore. When they came on board their haggard and exhausted appearance bespoke what they had suffered. For several days they had been perplexed in trackless forests, 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 to get a sight of the stars, by which to govern their course; but the branching branches and thick undergrowth all shrouded the heavens. They were harassed with the fear that the admiral, thinking them dead, might set sail and leave them in this wilderness, cut off forever 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 it 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 other members 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 put the captain under arrest, and stopped part of the rations of the men, for having strayed away without permission, for in a service of such a critical nature it was necessary to punish every breach of discipline.†

* Peter Martyr, decad. iii. lib. ix.
† Dr. Chanc's Letter. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 47. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., cap. 85, ms. Letter of Dr. Chanc.
Pursuing his voyage, Columbus soon came in sight of a great cluster of islands, some verdant and covered with forests, but the greater part naked and sterile, rising into craggy mountains; with rocks of a bright azure color, and some of a greenish tint. These islands, or groups of islands, may be considered as but the cavities of the huge islands of the New World. The Indians lived between the rocks, as it were, and in some valley or cleft, which they had discovered, and to which they gave the name of the island, or part of the island, that they found it most convenient to visit for the sake of trade. They were of a peaceable disposition, and respected the first comers with the utmost kindness. The Spaniards, on the other hand, were anxious to obtain the name of the island, or part of the island, that they found it most convenient to visit for the sake of trade.

Continuing his course, he arrived one evening in sight of a great island covered with beautiful forests, and indented with fine harbors. It was called by the natives Boriquen, but he gave it the name of San Juan Bautista; it is the same since known by the name of Porto Rico. This island was the native land of the Caribs; it was the native land of the Caribs, and seemed to them the most fertile and populous. Their accounts said that it was fertile and populous, and that it was the home of the Caribs. They were subject to frequent invasions from the Caribs, who were always ready to defend their islands, and to their own preservation in case of war. They were always ready to defend their islands, and to their own preservation in case of war. The Caribs were brave and valiant, and always ready to defend their islands, and to their own preservation in case of war.

The first expeditions to this island were made by the Spaniards, who first discovered it. The Caribs were brave and valiant, and always ready to defend their islands, and to their own preservation in case of war. The Caribs were brave and valiant, and always ready to defend their islands, and to their own preservation in case of war.

After running for a whole day along the beautiful coast of this island, they anchored in bay at the west end, abounding in 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. A spacious road led thence to the seaside, having fences on each side, of interwoven reeds, inclosing fruitful gardens. At the end of the road was a kind of terrace, or lookout, constructed of reeds and earth, inclosing the water. The whole place had an air of prosperity. The natives were glad to have the Spaniards among them, 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 they remained at the place. The Spaniards had concealed themselves at the sight of the squadron. After remaining here two days, Columbus 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 greater 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 Lassus, annexes the fact withearnest solemnity. The stories of the Lestrigonians and of Polyphemus, who fed on human flesh, are no longer doubtful! Attend, but beware, lest thy bristle with horror!

That many of the pictures given us of this extraordinary race of people have been colored 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
To trace the footsteps of this roving tribe throughout its wide migrations from the Appalachian 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 Guaya and Amazonia to the remote coast of Brazil, would be one of the most important researches in the original history, and throw much light upon the mysterious question of the population of the New World.

CHAPTER IV.
ARRIVAL AT THE HARBOR OF LA NAVI
d—
Disaster of the Fortress.

[1493.]

On the 22d of November the fleet arrived off what was soon ascertained to be the eastern extremity of Hayti, or, as the admiral had named it, Hispaniola. The greatest excitement prevailed throughout the armada, at the thoughts of soon arriving at the end of their voyage. Those who had been here in the preceding voyage remembered the pleasant days they had passed among the groups of Hayti; and the redoubled eagerness which hovered around their persons, painted the captivating illusions of the golden age.

As the fleet swept with easy sail along the green shore, a boat was sent to land to bury aiscayan sailor, who had died of the wound of an arrow received in the late skirmish. 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 natives came off to the ship, with a message to the admiral from the cacique of the neighborhood, inviting him to land, and promising great quantities of gold; anxious, however, to arrive at La Navidad, Columbus dismissed them with promises and continued his course. Arriving at the gulf of Las Flechas, or, as it is now called, the gulf of San-mana, the place where, in his preceding voyage, a skirmish had occurred with the natives, 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 was, therefore, fine apparelled and loaded with trinkets, anticipating favorable effects from his accounts to his countrymen; the wonder of the gestures he had seen and the kind treatment he had experienced. The young Indian made many fair promises, but either forgot them all, or regaining his liberty and his native mountain, or fell a victim to envy caused by his wealth and finery. Nothing was seen or heard of him more.

* Herrera, Hist. Ind., deced. i. lib. ii. cap. 9.

On the 25th Columbus anchored in the harbor of San-christo; anxious to fix upon a place for a settlement in the neighborhood 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 wrist 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; but reviving the shades 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 of the inhabitants of these islands, had made him distrustful of the amiability of his visitors, 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 demeanor, in some measure allayed his suspicions; for it did not appear probable that they would venture thus confidently from the white men, with the consciousness of having recently shed the blood of their companions.

On the evening of the 27th, he arrived opposite the harbor of La Navidad, and cast anchor about a league from the land, the shore being here so dark on account of the dangerous reefs. It was too late 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 sign of life; all was darkness and death-like silence. Several hours were passed in dismal suspense, and every one longed for the morning light, to put an end to his uncertainty. About midnight a canoe approached 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, but would not venture on board till they saw Columbus. He waved himself at the side of his vessel, and a light being held up, his countenance and commanding presence sufficed. They then entered the ship without hesitation. One of them was a cousin of the cacique Guanagnarai, and brought a present from him of two masks ornamented with gold. Columbus inquired about the Spaniards who had remained on the island. The information which the native gave was somewhat confused, or perhaps 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 been taken prisoner, and others had been killed by the natives. Indeed, the admiral was not surprised at the news, for he had been informed that the inhabitants were formidable. He then learned that his shipmates had ascended the mountain where the old town of La Navidad had been erected, and had destroyed it with fire and sword. While in this ascent, and while on the march, they had lost several of their number, and had been pursued by the natives. Columbus was pleased with the information, as it seemed to confirm his ideas of the strength and power of the people of the island. He then asked the Indian what the country was like, and the Indian replied that it was a land of peril and danger, and that it would be well to be cautious in their proceedings. Columbus then asked the Indian what the country was like, and the Indian replied that it was a land of peril and danger, and that it would be well to be cautious in their proceedings.

† Dr. Chauncy's Letter. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 48. Herrera, Hist. Ind., deced. i. lib. i. cap. 9.
Melancholy as were these tidings, they relieved Columbus from the dark and dismal surmise. Whatever disasters had overwhelmed his garrison, it had not fallen a sacrifice to the peril of the natives. In good opinion of the gentleness and kindness of these people had no ‘seen misplaced; nor had their cajole forfeited the admiration inspired by his benevolent hospitality. Thus the most corolling care was dismissed from his mind, and it was not without reason to disheartening as to discover treachery where it has ensued 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 his arrival, and would hasten to join him, well qualified to give information of the interior.

Satisfied of the friendly disposition of the natives, the cheerfulness of the crews was 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 cajole Guacanguari. The mariners now awaited the dawn with a mix of exultation, expecting 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 cajole. Some apprehensions were now entertained that the Indians who had visited them the preceding night might be drowned, as they had taken freely of wine, and their small canoe was easy to be overthrown. There was a silence and an air of desertion about the whole neighborhood, which was distinctly conspicuous. On their preceding visit the harbor 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, not an Indian hailed 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 reconnoiter. On landing, the crew hastened and sought the fort. They found a ruin, the palisades were beaten down, and the whole appearance of the fort having been sacked, burnt, and destroyed. Here and there were broken stones, spoil articles, and the rags of the garments. Not a soul of the Indians 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 or finding themselves observed. Meeting no one to explain the melancholy scene before them, they returned with dejected hearts to the ship, 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 harbor, he went himself to shore on the following morning. Repairing to the ruins of the fortress, he found everything as it had been described, and searched in vain for the bodies of the dead. No traces of the garrison were to be seen, but 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 shore, or, having been carried into captivity, might have been murdered. Cannon and arquebuses were discharged, in hopes, if any of the survivors were hid among rocks and thickets, 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 Guacanguari was founded. Columbus was unwilling to indulge it. On looking further the village of that cajole was found a mere heap of burnt ruins, which showed that he had been involved in the disaster of the garrison.

Columbus had left orders with Araujo 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 neighborhood, 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 and a half he came to a hamlet, the inhabitants of which had fled, taking whatever they could with them and hiding the rest in the grass. In the houses were European articles, which evidently had not been procured by barter, such as bedclothes, pieces of cloth, an anchor of the caravel, which had been wrecked, and a beautiful Moorish robe, 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 made their appearance, appearing timidly at a distance. Their apprehensions were gradually dispelled 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 behind. 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 footprint of civilization in the New World. Those whom Columbus had left behind, says Oviedo, with the exception of the commander, Don Diego Araujo, 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 admiral departed, than all his counselors and commanders died away from their minds. Though a mere handful of men, surrounded by savage tribes and dependent upon their own presence and good conduct, and upon the goodwill of the natives, for very existence, yet they soon began to indulge in the most wanton abuses. Some were prompted by rapacious avarice, and sought to possess themselves, by all kinds of wrongful means, of the golden ornaments and other valuable property of the natives. Others were grossly sensual, and not content with two or three wives.
allowed to each by Guanacari, seduced the wives and daughters of the Indians.

Fierce brawls ensued among them about their ill-gotten spoils and the favors of the Indian women; and the natives believed with astonishing sentiment 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 might not have been very dangerous, and if of the injudicious, it is important to observe, maintained in houses in the neighborhood. In the dead of the night, when all were wrapped in slumber, Cuado and his warriors burst upon the place with frightful yells, got possession of the fortress before its 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. Eight of the Spaniards fled to the seaside pursued by the savages, and, rushing into the waves, were drowned; the rest were massacred, Guanacari and his subjects fought faithfulness in defence of their guests, but not being of a warlike character, were easily routed; the cacique was wounded by the hand of Cuado, 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 dimutive compass an epitome of the gross vices which degrade civilization, and the grand political errors which sometimes subvert the mightiest empires. The homicide, and being related to another by two aspiring demagogues, ambitious of the command of a petty fortress in a wilderness, and the supreme control of eight-and-thirty men.

* Herrera, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 9.

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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 subordinates, who had met his在家 of battle. It was evident from the scars that the wounds had been received from Indian weapons.

Columbus was readily satisfied of the good faith of Guanecanaperi. When he reflected on the many proofs of an open and generous nature, which they considered highly precious, and one hundred of gold, a golden crown, 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, such ornaments for a copper, which metal he seemed to prefer to gold.*

Guanecanaperi's leg had been violently bruised by a stone. At the request of Columbus, he permitted it to be examined by a surgeon who was present. While situation ap no in which the brother to the cacique was in the name where he and immediately his companion slain by lamens-num of seven of his subjects with regret at not related vari- of his wounded in that already with his accoun each of them.

Columbus repaired that impress him important. They found sati the stock of cotton

* Letter of Dr. Chanca. Navarrete, Col., tom. i.
† Letter of Dr. Curia de Palacios, cap.
¶ Hist. de los Almirantes, cap. 9.
§ Hist. de los Almirantes, cap. 99.
¶ Letter of Dr. Chanca.
† Hist. de los Almirantes, ubi sup.
Boyle, in particular, regarded him with an evil eye, and privately advised the admiral, now that he had him on board, to detain him prisoner; but Columbus rejected the counsel of the crafty friar, as contrary to sound policy and honorable faith. It is difficult, however, to conceal lurking ill-will. The cacique, accustomed in his former intercourse with the Spaniards, to meet with faces beaming with gratitude and friendship, could not but perceive their altered looks. Notwithstanding the frank and cordial hospitality of the admiral, therefore, he soon begged permission to return to land.*

The next morning there was a mysterious movement among the natives on shore. A messenger from the cacique inquired of the admiral how long he intended to remain at the harbor, and was informed that he should sail on the following day. In the evening the brother of Guacanagi 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 Guacanagi. After remaining some time on board, he returned to the shore. It would seem, from subsequent events, that the cacique had been touched by the situation of this Indian beauty, and captivated by her charms, and had undertaken to deliver her from bondage.

At midnight, when the crew were buried in their first sleep, Catalina awakened her companions. The ship was anchored full three miles from the shore, and the sea was rough; but they let themselves down from the side of the vessel, and swam bravely for the shore. With all their precautions they were observed by the watch, and the alarm was given. The boats were hastily manned, and gave chase in the direction of a light blazing on the shore, an evident beacon for the fugitives. Such was the vigor 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 Guacanagi 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 desiring 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 interiery. This sudden and mysterious desertion gave re-doubled force to the doubts heretofore entertained, and Guacanagi was generally stigmatized as a traitor to the white men, and the perfidious destroyer of the garrison.*

CHAPTER VI.

FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF ISABELLA—MALAYDIES OF THE SPANIARDS.

[1493.]

The misfortunes of the Spaniards both by sea and land, in the vicinity of this harbor, threw a gloom round the neighborhood. 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 no idea that treachery might be lurking in their shades. The silence and dreariness, also, caused by the desertion of the natives, gave a sinister air to the place that was now considered by the credulous mariners as under some baneful influence or malignant star. These were sufficient objections to discourage the founding of a settlement, but there were others of a more serious nature. The land 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 favorable situation.

No time was to be lost; the animals on board the ships were suffering from long confinement; and the multitude of persons, unaccustomed to the sea, and pent up in the fleet, languished for the refreshment of the land. The lighter ship, the San Antonio, was therefore urged in each direction, entering the rivers and harbors, in search of an advantageous site. They were instructed also to make inquiries after Guacanagi, of whom Columbus, notwithstanding every suspicious appearance, still retained a favorable opinion. The expeditions returned with 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 any natives were seen, they fled immediately to the woods. Melchor Maldonado had proceeded to the eastward, until he came to the dominions of a cacique, who at first issued forth at the head of his warriors, with menacing aspect, but was readily conciliated. From him he learned that Guacanagi had retired to the mountains. Another party discovered an Indian concealed near a hamlet, having been disabled by a wound received from a lance when fighting against Caonabo. His account of the destruction of the fortress agreed with that of the Indians at the harbor, and concurred to vindicate the cacique from the charge of treachery. Thus the Spaniards continued uncertain as to the real perpetrators of this dark and dismal tragedy.

Being informed at last that there was no place in this part of the island favorable for a settlement, Columbus weighed anchor on the 7th of December, with the intention of seeking the port of La Plata. In consequence of adverse weather, however, he was obliged to put into a harbor about ten leagues east of Monte Cristi; and on considering the place, was struck with its advantages.

The harbor 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 post for defense. 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 soon become familiarized with the temperature of this favored island, where the rigors of winter are unknown, where there is a perpetual succession, and even intermixture of rain and flower, and where smiling verdure reigns throughout the year.

* Peter Martyr, dec. i. lib. ii.
‡ Peter Martyr, dec. i. lib. ii. Letter of Dr. Chanca. Cura de los Palacios, cap. 120, Ms.

Another settlement in this part of the island, from the latitude of the mountains, was situation, parallel to what has been recorded, most favorable for the extension of the colony.

An animal was kept in the service, and they were broug. live stock, though of a long reared and a general a-fortm of home earth, wheat, corn, and barley, were introduced into the island, and in a short time the city of those fruits, after the name of the colonists.

Malacachit, the name of the cacique, was to be taken in erecting a confidant residence, and the name of the town, fort, and in a short time, to be the name of every one.

The Malacachit was a kind of wood, that was the wood, planed and well suited for the exigency of the time, when every other wood was scarce.

The name of the town was to be called Malacachit, or golden rock, because there were a great many others in the neighborhood, for gallon in the name of the colonists. What the colonists call, it is as it is, and the colonists are; and as the colonists are, so are the colonists.
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 harbor. It was determined, therefore, that there could not be a situation more favorable for their colony.

An animated scene now commenced. The troops and various persons belonging to the land-service, and the various laborers 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 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, 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 honor of his royal patroness.

A plan was formed, and streets and squares projected. 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.

Maladies, however, soon broke out. Many, unacustomed to the sea, had suffered greatly from confinement and sea-sickness, and from subsisting for a length of time on salt provisions much damaged, and moldy biscuit. They suffered great exposure on the land, also, before houses could be built for their reception; for the evolutions of a hot and moist climate, and a new, rank soil, the humid vapors from rivers, and the stagnant air of close forests, render the wilderness a place of severe trial to constitutions accustomed to old and highly-cultivated countries. The labor also of building houses, clearing fields, setting out orchards, and having all the work done with haste, bore hard upon men who, after toasting so long upon the ocean, stood in need of relaxation and repose.

The maladies of the mind mingled with those of the body. Many, as has been shown, had embarked in the expedition with 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 Asia and the west, with 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 impenetrable 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 labor. All these disappointments sank deep into their hearts; their spirits flagged as their golden dreams melted away, and the gloom of despondency seized 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 and his sovereigns, but to the world at large, had kept his mind in continual agitation. The cares of so large a sead-ron; the incessant vigilance required, not only against the lurking dangers of these unknown seas, but against the passions and follies of his followers; 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.*

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CHAPTER VII.

EXPEDITION OF ALONSO DE OJEDA TO EXPLORE THE INTERIOR OF THE ISLAND—DISPATCH OF THE SHIPS TO SPAIN.

[493]

The ships having discharged their cargoes, it was necessary to send the greater part of them back to Spain. Here new anxieties pressed upon Columbus. He had hoped to find treasures of gold and precious merchandise accumulated by the men left behind on the first voyage; or at least the sources of valuable traffic ascertained, by which speedily to freight his vessels. The destruction of the garrison had defeated all these 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. If it were really the island of Cipango, it must contain populous cities, existing 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 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 truth was that the mines were said to abound at a distance of two or three days' journey, directly in the 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.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 50. Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. i. lib. ii. cap. 10. Peter Martyr, dec. i. lib. ii. De or. Dr. Chana, etc.
† Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. i. lib. ii. cap. 10.
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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 harbor, 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 first two days the march was toilsome and difficult, through a country abandoned by its inhabitants; for terror of the Spaniards extended along the seacoast. 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 slept for the night at the summit. 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 hills, and enlivened by the shining waters of the Yagüey.

Descending into this plain, Ojeda and his companions boldly entered the Indian villages. The inhabitants, far from being hostile, overwhelmed them with gifts of pecans, in fact, invited them to stay and explore the country 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 Chia. 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 skillfully separate, and give to the Spaniards, without expecting a recompense. In some places they picked up diamonds, to be preserved 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 labor to bring them to light. As the object of his expedition was merely to explore the Spanish territory and the Christian faith, he determined to renege the dropping and desponding colonists, and induced Columbus to believe that it was only necessary to explore the ravines of the country for sources of riches. He determined, as soon as his health would permit, to repair in person to the moun-

* Peter Martyr, decad. 1. lib. ii.

The season was now propitious for the return of the fleet, and Columbus lost no time in dispatching 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 Chia, 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 Corralan, the last of whom returned to Spain in the fleet. He repeated his confident anticipations of soon being able to make abundant shipments of gold, of precious drugs, and spices; the search for them being delayed for the present by the sickness of himself and people, and the cares and labors required in building the capital city. He described the beauty and fertility of the island; its range of noble mountains; its wide, abundant plains, watered by beautiful rivers; the swift currents of the soil, even 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 labor absolutely essential to the subsistence of the colony, which consisted of about a thousand souls; and as they could not accustom themselves to the food 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 the colonists, in their infant state of health, suffered greatly from the want of their accustomed diet. There was an immediate necessity of medicines, clothing, and arms. Horses were required likewise for the public works, and for military service; being found of great effect in awing the natives, who had the utmost dread of those animals. He recommended 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 favor of the sovereigns, among whom was Pedro Margerite, an Arragonian cavalier of the order of St. Jago, who had a wife and children living in Spain. Columbus begged might be appointed to a command in the order in which he belonged. In like manner he entreated patronage for Juan Aguado, who was about to return in the fleet, having 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 Carribean 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 returned 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 missive was one of the most perilous tendency, written in that mistaken view of natural rights prevalent at the day, but fruitful of

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 50.
much wrong and misery in the world. Considering that the greater the 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 neighbors; 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 product 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 interest. 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 favorable accounts were corroborated by letters from Friar Boyle, Doctor Chanca, and other persons of creditibility, and by the personal reports of Corvalán. The sonluid calculations of petty spirits were as yet overruled by the enthusiasm of generous minds, captivated by the locality of the favorable wind; and it 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 peaceful dreams and reveals, 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 propagate our animals! Who of us shall now speak with wonder of Saturn, Ceres, and Triptolmus, travelling about the earth to spread new inventions among mankind? Of the Phoenicians who built Tyre or Sidon? 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, as we who 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 BERNARDO DÍAZ 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 trinkets. On the day of the Epiphany, the 6th of February, the church being sufficiently completed, high masses were 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 Chiao, when an unexpected disturbance in his little community for a time engaged his attention.

The sailing of the fleet for Spain had been a melancholy event to the few whose hopes of enlisting compelled them to remain on the island. Disappointed in their expectations of immediate wealth, disgusted with the labors imposed on them, and appalled by the maladies prevalent throughout the community, they began to look with horror upon the surrounding wilderness that was destined to be the grave of their hopes and of themselves. When the last sail disappeared, 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 Bernardo Diaz de Pisa, a man of some importance, 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 embark upon some or all of the five ships in the harbor, and return to them in Spain. It would be easy to justify their clandestine return, by preferring a complaint against the admiral, representing the falsity of his enterprise 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 Corvalan, that the rivers and mountains in the interior abounded with ore, yet even these daily proofs were falsified in their eyes. One Fermin Cedo, a wrong-headed and mischievous man, who had come on 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 insconsiderable quantities as not to repay the search. He declared that the large grains of virgin ore brought by the natives had been melted; that they had been the slow accumulation of many years, having remained a long time in the families of the Indians, and handed down from generation to generation; which in many instances was probably the case. Other specimens of a large size he pronounced of a very inferior quality, and debarred with brass by the natives. The words of this man outweighed the evidence of facts, and many joined him in the belief that the island was really destitute of gold. It was not until some time afterward that the real character of Fermin Cedo was ascertained, and the discovery made that his ignorance was at least equal to his obstinacy and presumption; qualities apt to enter largely into the compound of a meddlesome and mischievous man.*

Encouraged by such substantial co-operation, a number of turbulent spirits concerted to take immediate possession of the ships and make sail for Europe. The influence of Bernal Diaz de Pisa at court would obtain for them a favorable 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 favorites 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 bunks of one of the ships. It was in the handwriting 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; 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 most popular ringleaders were taken 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 the guns and naval munitions should be taken out of four of the ships, 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 the most prejudiced and illiberal. He had no natural friends to rally round him; whereas the mutineers had connections 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 events were some of a series of factions and mutinies which afterward disturbed the island.

CHAPTER IX.

EXpedITION OF COLUMBUS TO THE MOUNTAINS OF CHIBO.

[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 instructed the command of the city and the ships, during his absence, to his brother Don Diego, and commanded him to counsel and assist him. Don Diego was represented by Las Casas, who, as he himself personally, as a man of great merit and discretion, of a gentle and pacific disposition, and more characterized by simplicity than showbread. 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 redoubtable Caonabo; it was important, therefore, to take with him a force that should not only secure him against any warlike opposition, but should spread through the country a formidable idea of the power of the white men, and deter the Indians from any future violence, either toward communities or wandering individuals. Every healthy person, therefore, who could be spared from the settlement, was put in requisition to join, together with all the cavalry that could be mustered; and every arrangement was made to strike the savages with the display of military splendor.

On the 12th of March Columbus set out at the head of about four hundred armed men, well armed and equipped, with shining helmets and corselets; with

* Cura de los Palacios, cap. 120, 122, ms.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, cap. 92, ms.

arquebusiers, followed by the Indians. The army, with its array, without noise and tumult, marched across the plains, fortifying all on every hand and evening, in honor of the gods of a wild and ferocious race.

The ascent was formidable, but the Montes del Caonabo, as it was called, were but slowly ascended. There was no discernible path, no level surface; no inhabitants or dwellings and even no semblance of a true modification of the country. The humidity was such that the rain lasted continually. Of course, it was necessary to march through the mountains in advance of the roads, to avoid any possibility of being compelled by the inhabitants or the country to follow the forest paths, or those of the Indians, and to make the ascent by these paths, which were merely paths of brush. The excursion was made in the month of February, 1494, in the month of the Pasco de la Matanza. It was a difficult and perilous journey, much easier for the Spaniards to make than the Spaniards.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 50.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, cap. 59, ms.

Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. 1. lib. ii. cap. 11.

Extract of 'San Ingildo.'

* The route from Isabella to the sea was long and difficult.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, cap. 92, ms.

The route from Isabella to the sea was long and difficult. The road was by numerous and difficult mountains, among them the highest of the mountainous population, which is so celebrated as far as the eye can see to melt away into the sea. The Spaniards were sensible of the ideas of the people of Cibao, and struck with the grandeur of

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 50.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, cap. 59, ms.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

Having descended the rugged pass, the army issued upon the plain, in martial style, with great clanger of warlike instruments. When the Indians beheld this shinning band of warriors, glittering in steel, emerging from the mountains with prancing steeds and flanking 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 of his forces whenever he approached a populous village, placing the cavalry in front, for by degrees 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 horsemen 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 barriques should be scrupulously respected, and the inhabitants allowed to remain in their fancied security. By degrees their fears were allayed through the mediation of interpreters and the distribution of trilling presents. Their kindness and gratitude could not then be exceeded, and the march of the army was continually retarded by the friendly villages through which it passed. Such was the frank communism 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 the Spaniards, and seemed astonished when they met a repulse. This, it was probable, was the case merely with respect to articles of food; for it was told the Indians were careless in their notice 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 and exchange exist among them to the least tradition of its former name or importance.

The spring of cool and delightful water met with in the gorge, in a deep dark green overshadowed by palm and mahogany trees, near the outlet where the magnificent Vega breaks upon the view, still continues to quench the thirst of the weary traveller. When I drank from this lovely little fountain, I could hardly realize the fact that Columbus must likewise have partaken of its sparkling waters, when at the height of his glory, surrounded by cavaliers attired in the gorgeous costumes of individuals, and warriors recently from the Moorish wars.

Judging by the distance stated to have been traversed, Columbus must have crossed the Yaque de Oeste or at Ponton, which very likely he recorded in the vessels with which he crossed the river. Abundance of reeds grow along its banks, and the remains of an Indian village are still distinctly to be traced in the vicinity. By this route they avoided two large rivers, the Amina and the Mar, which discharge their waters into the Yaque opposite Esperanza.

The road from Ponton to the River Hanique passes through the defiles of Las Cuesta and Nigayagua.
have been introduced by the white men. The untutored savage in almost every part of the world seeks to make a traffic of hospitality.

After crossing five leagues across the plain, they arrived at the banks of a large and beautiful stream, called by the natives Yagui, but to which the admiral gave the name of the River of Reeds. He was not aware that it was the same stream, 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 it 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 River, from the verdure and freshness of its banks. Its Indian name was Nicayagua, which it still retains.† In the course of this march they passed through numerous villages, where they experienced generally the same reception. The inhabitants lashed at their approach, putting up their slight barricades of reeds, but, as before, they were easily won to familiarity, and tasked their limited means to enter 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, forming 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 beginning to grow rough and difficult, and the people being wayward, 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 afterward found to be of that light digestible kind suitable to the climate.

On the next day 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 presented 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 dry pines. The trees in this country also, instead of possessing the rich tufted foliage common to other parts of the island, were meager and drabish, 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 ravines among the mountains, watered by limpid rivulets, where the green herbage and strips of woodland were the more delightful to the eye from the neighboring sterility. But what consolled the Spaniards for the asperity of the soil, was to observe among the sands of those crystal streams glittering particles of gold, which, though scanty in quantity, were regarded as earnings of the wealth locked up in the mountains.

The natives having been previously visited by the exploring party under Ojeda, came forth to meet them with great alacrity, bringing food, and, above all, grains and particles of gold collected in the brooks and torrents. From the 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 source 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 farther into the country, and determined to establish a fortified post in this neighborhood, 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 colors, large masses of beautiful marble, and pieces of pure jasper. From the foot of the height extended one of those graceful and verdant plains, which was 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 just, reproof of the incredulity of Firmin Cedo and his doubting adherents, who obstinately refused to believe that the island produced gold and silver, until they beheld it with their eyes and touched it with their hands.†

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. I. cap. 90. MS.
† From the Letter of T. S. Hennery, Esq., 1847.

Traces of the old fortress of St. Thomas still exist, though, as has happened to the Puerta de los Hidalgos, all tradition concerning it has long been lost.

Having visited a small Spanish village known by the name of Hanique, situated on the banks of this river, the admiral was delighted with the country, and resolved to be met at this place by a Spanish boat. They accordingly landed at the Ponel, where the high bank of a large square lake formed a dwelling place, and the adjacent mounds, and the tall reeds that lay in the Vega, and neighboring ponds, make a most agreeable residence. The troops, however, were met on their arrival by a pontoon factory of the Indians, of which the Spaniards were very fond.
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, two men were sent with a harquebus 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 offered them 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 drachms, and declared, that in the country whence they got them, there were masses of ore as large as the head of a child. As usual, however, these golden tracts were the tracts of those regions called by Columbus, and yielding some magnificent and ruggioned 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.

While the admiral remained among the mountains, superintending the building of the fortress, he dispatched a young cavalier of Madrid, named curious, and I proceeded to the spot, a short distance up the river; yet nothing could be learned from the inhabitants; it was only by ranging the river's banks, through a dense and luxuriant forest, that I accident stumbled upon the site of the fortress.

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, a few days' absence, with rice and vegetables, 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 offered them 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 drachms, and declared, that in the country whence they got them, there were masses of ore as large as the head of a child. As usual, however, these golden tracts were the tracts of those regions called by Columbus, and yielding some magnificent and ruggioned 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.

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 favor of the sovereigns; and he 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 Nicaragua, 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 neighborhood, searching for the best fording place of the river, and establishing a route between the fortress and the harbor. During this time he resided in the Indian villages, endeavoring to accustom his people to the food of the natives, as well as to inspire the latter with a mingled feeling of good will and reverence for the white men.

From the report of Luxan, Columbus had discerned 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 afterward, in a crude dissertation, by a friar of the name of Roman; a poor hermit, as he styled himself, of the order of the Jeronimos, who was one of the colleagues of Father Boyle, 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 the 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 sea-shore to acquaint themselves with the use of arms. Some of the mountain tribes near the coast, particularly those on the side which looked toward the Caribbe Islands, were of a more hardy and warlike character than those of the plains. Caonabo, also, the Carib chief, had introduced the sotanimo of his own warrior spirit into the centre of the island. Yet, generally speaking, the habits of the people were mild and gentle. It was sometimes among them, they were of short duration, and accompanied by any great effusion of blood; and, in many cases, mingled amicably and hospitably with each other.

Columbus also had at first indulged in the error that the natives of Haiti 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 kindled by the passions, that is, to transform reflection as not to be impressed with the conviction of an overwhelming deity. A nation of atheists never existed. It was soon discovered that these islanders had their creed, though of a vague and barbarous character. They believed in one supreme being, inhabiting 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, but employed inferior deities, called Zemis, as messengers and mediators. Each cacique had his tutelary 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 or stone, or shaped of clay or cotton, and generally of some monstrous and hideous form. Each family and each individual had likewise a particular Zemi, or protecting genius, like the Lepes and Penates of the ancients. They were placed in every part of their houses, or carved on their furniture; some had a small size, and bound them about their foreheads when they went to battle. They believed their Zemis to be transferable, with all their powers, and to shift from one to another. When the Spaniards came among them, they often hid their idols, lest they should be taken away. They believed that these Zemis 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 Zemis. They practised rigorous fasts and abatements, and indulged in the delusion 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 Zemis revealed to them future events, or instructed them in the treatment of maladies. They were, in general, great herbalists, and well acquainted with the medicinal properties of trees and plants and vegetables. They kept the knowledge of their 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 mountains.

Their bodies were painted or tattooed with figures of the Zemis, 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 abjured by the former as necromancers. These Butios often assisted the caciques in practising deceits upon their subjects, speaking oracularly through the Zemis, by means of hollow tubes; aspiring the Indians to battle by pretending that their gods wished it; or employing their influences as might suit the purposes of the chiefman.

There is but one of their solemn religious ceremonies of any record of notice. The cacique proclaimed a day when a kind of festival was to be held in his honor. It is described as 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 Zemis. Arrived at the door, the cacique seated himself on a cushion, 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 Zemis, and distributed the portions to the heads of families, who preserved them throughout the year, as a preventive of all adverse accidents. This done, the females danced, at a given signal, singing in honor of the Zemis, or the songs of the heroic actions of their ancient caciques. The whole ceremony was the Zemis to watch over and protect the nation.*

Besides the Zemis, 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. 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 Haiti priority of existence over all others, and believed that the sun and moon originated out of a cavern in the island to give light to the world. This cavern still exists, about seven or eight leagues from Cape Francois, now Cape Hayven, and is known by the name of La Voute d’Anguinet. 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.
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 struck all rather than of nature. In the time of Charlevoix the figures of various Zemes were still to be seen cut in the rocks, and there were the remains of niches, as if to receive statues. This cavern was held in great estimation. It was painted, and adorned with green branches, and other simple decorations. There were in it two images or Zemes. When there was a want of rain, the natives made pilgrimages and processions to it, with songs and dances, bearing offerings of fruits and flowers.*

They believed that mankind issued from another cavern, the large men from a great aperture, the small men from a little crommy. 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 seals, so that it was impossible to hold them. At last the ruse of a cacique, who was very apt, was successed 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 too powerful for them. The caves were adorned with figures and emblems, and decorated with the principal events of the history of the island. At the principal entrance to the cave, they set up two columns, over the door, the one representing the sun, the other the moon. These columns were set up with loud proclamations, the cakes, fruits, and distilleries, which they had been a year, as they believed, awaiting. This done, they celebrated, singing the praises of the deities. The cacique and the Zemes to

1. Charlevoix, Hist. de St. Domingo, lib. i. p. 60.
3. Escritura de Fray Roman, pobre Heremito.

They had singular modes of treating the dying and the dead. When the life of a cacique was despaired of, they strangled him, 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 permitted them the distinction, 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 appearances 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 them merely against trees or rocks, which were 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 were carried after death, where they were reunited to the spirits of those they had 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 favorite 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 maruy, 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 reign on this consecrated fruit. The living were sparing, therefore, in eating it, lest the souls of the dead should suffer from want of their favorable nourishment.*

The dances to which the natives seemed so immediately addicted, and which had been at first considered by the Spaniards, mere idle pastimes, were found to be often ceremonials of a serious and mystic character. They form indeed a singular and important feature throughout the customs of the aborigines 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 of the prevalence of these dances among the natives of Haiti, 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 aretys; 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 still manufacture, and some have also of sand balls 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 eager to procure hawk's 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.

The earliest history of almost all nations has generally been preserved by rude heroines and ballads, and by the lays of the minstrels; and such was the case with the areyots of the Indians.

"When a cacique died," says Oviedo, "they sang of his life and actions, and all the good that he had done was recorded. Thus they preserved the ballads or areyots which constituted their history." Some of these ballads were of a sacred character, containing their traditional notions of theology, and the superstitions and labors 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.

Such are a few of the characteristics remaining on 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 more extensive travels among the mountains and their sojourn in the plain. The natives appeared to them a singularly idle and improvident race, different to most of the objects of human anxiety and toil. They were impatient of all kinds of labor, scarcely giving themselves the trouble to cultivate the yuca root, the maize, and the potato, which formed the main articles of subsistence. For the rest, their streams abounded with fish; they caught the utia or cory, 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 gossam in cotton which abounded in their forests. Thus they losted 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 powerful motives to toil, being free from most of those wants which doom mankind in civilized life, or in less genial climes, to incessant labor. 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 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 noiseless animal found in it, nor yet any ravaging four-footed beast; no lion, nor bear; no fierce tigers, nor crafty foxes, nor devouring wolves, but all things blessed and fortunate."

In the soft region of the Vega, the circling sea sons brought forth fruits, and seeds, and also 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 gathering up and anxiously providing for coming days, to men who lived in a perpetual harvest? What need there, too, of toilfully spinning or laboring in the loom, where a genial temperature prevailed throughout the year, and neither nature nor custom prescribed the necessity of clothing?

The hospitality which characterizes men in such a simple and easy mode of existence, was evident toward 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 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.

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 harbor, returning with his little army through the lofty and rugged gorge of the mountains called the Pass of the Hindalgus. As we accompany him in imagination over the rocky height, 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 desolated region. The dream of natural liberty, of ignorant content, and idling idleness, was as yet unbroken, but the last had gone forth; the white man had penetrated into the land; avarice, and pride, and ambition, and pinching care, and sorrid labor, and withering poverty, were soon to follow, and the indolent paradise of the Indian was about to disappear forever.

CHAPTER XI.

ARRIVAL OF COLUMBUS AT ISABELLA—SICKNESS OF THE COLONY.

1494.

On the 29th of March Columbus arrived at Isabella, highly satisfied with his expedition into

† Oviedo. Cron. de las Indias, lib. v. cap. 3.
* Peter Martyr, decd. lib. ix., translated by R. Eden. London, 1555
the interior. The appearance of everything in the vicinity of the harbor was calculated to increase his anticipations of prosperity. The plants and fruits of the Old World, which he was endeavoring to introduce into the tropics, had assumed a 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; a native vine, introduced and cultivated with skill, yielded grapes of tolerable flavor, 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, pomegranate, 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 quick and prolific fecundity which surprise the stranger, accustomed to less vigorous climates.

The admiral had scarcely returned to Isabella with the leading part; among those who accompanied him as commander was one who at the battle of 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 Columbus was assembling his warriors, and 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 exaggerated the natives by wringing from them their gold, and wringing their service with respect to their women. Columbus also had seen with impatience these detected 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 Margarita, 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 how weak and puny appeared their so-called power, and above all, how liable, in order to terrify the horses, which they regarded as ferocious beasts of prey, obedient to the Spaniards, but ready to devour their enemies. He contended himself, therefore, with sending Margarita a request that twenty men, with a supply of provvisions 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 defection 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 unburnt marshes, and a vast continuity of forest, and the action of a burning sun upon a roasting vegetable soil, produced intermittent fevers, and various other of the 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 brought from their native land, that is, theague, and supposed, of their licentious intercourse with the Indian females; but the origin of which, whether American or European, has been a subject of great dispute. Thus the greater part of the colonists were either confined by positive illness or reduced to great debility. The stock of medi-
suit 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 indolence, 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 the 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 of their departure from the 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 the fifty creole people.

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 neighborhood, declared they heard appalling voices issue from within its walls by day and night. The laborers became fearful, therefore, of cultivating the adjacent fields. 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 demeanor, heralds 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 cavaliers were of such high rank and appearance apparently inhabiting that desolate place, unknown to the people of the island. They saluted them, and inquired whence they came and when 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 assembly then vanished. So great was the astonishment and horror of the beholders, that they had nearly fallen dead, and remained stupefied for several days.*

The foregoing legend is curious, as illustrating the superstitious character of the age, and especially of the Indians, about whom Columbus had made no impression. 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 the Spaniards, by possessing in such manner his delusive promises, and sacrificed to his private interests.

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 92. Ms. Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. i. lib. ii. cap. 12.


CHAPTER XII.

** DISTRIBUTION OF THE SPANISH FORCES IN THE INTERIOR-PREPARATIONS FOR A VOYAGE TO CUBA.**

[1494]

The increasing discontent 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 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 men, and besides, four hundred and ten piqueros, 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 Catalanian, and a knight of the order of Santiago. Also he determined 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 Ciba, 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 not to be suffered 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 comprador. 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 breaches 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, lest they should be cut off by the natives; for though by all appearances reasonable, there were no people so apt to be pernicious and cruel as cowards.*

These just instructions might have been of the greatest advantage had the men of notice, all, and by the side of the colony, on the island,

In addition to the usual policy, the natives were rendered less likely to rise by the proposed visit, but Columbus was instructed to use the most stratagems and intrigue for the benefit of the colony.

The 9th of August is the anniversary from Isabella of the memorable event of nearly forty years before, the discovery of the Indies. The composition of the natives was a quite different one from that of the Andalusian, and consequently the legislation and the laws which were drawn up in those climes could not be cut off by the Spaniards, and then seized and applied in the pursuit of his design.

In the island of Cuba the Spaniards were by a near relation and all the merit of their discoveries. It was shown to Isabella and the Indies in no avail.

VOYAGE.
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, obliquity on the native 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 Caonabe and his brothers. The warlike character of that chiefman, 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.

The 9th of April, Alonso de Ojeda sailed 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 neighboring cacique had sent to assist them in finding where the treasure lay. 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 caught one of the thieves, he caused his ears to be cut off in the public square of the village; he then seized the cacique, his son, and nephew, and sent them in chains to the admiral, after which he pursued his march to the fortress.

In the mean time the prisoners arrived at Isabella in deep dejection. They were accompanied by a neighboring 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 punishment disproportioned to their own ideas of justice, for we are told that the crime of theft 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 re-embled, pleading 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 through 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, through the number of forty 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 insolence 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 tranquility 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 Joane, Pedro Fernandez Corone, Alonso Sanchez Caravajal, and Juan de Luxan, were councilors. He left his two largest ships in the harbor, being of too great a size and draught of water to explore unknown coasts and rivers, and he took with him three caravels, the Nina or Santa Clara, the San Juan, and the Cordera.

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BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE TO THE EAST END OF CUBA.

[1493-]

The expedition of Columbus, which we are now about to record, may appear of minor importance at the present day, leading as did it to no grand discovery, and merely extending along the coasts of islands with which the reader is sufficiently familiar. Some may feel impatient at the development of opinions and conjectures which have long since been proved to be fallacious, and the detail of exploring enterprises, undertaken in error, and which they know must end in disappointment. But to feel these voyages properly, we must, in a manner, divest ourselves occasionally of the information we possess, relative to the countries visited; we must transport ourselves to the time, and identify ourselves with Columbus, thus fearlessly launching into seas, where as yet civilized sail had never been unfurled. We must accompany him, step by step, in his cautious but bold advances along the bays and channels of an unknown coast, ignorant of the dangers which might lurk around or which might await him in the innumerable region of mystery that still kept breaking upon his view. We must, as it were, consult with him as to each new reach of shadowy land, and long line of promontory, that we see faintly emerging from the ocean and stretching along the distant horizon. We must watch with him each light canoe that comes skimming the billows, to gather from the looks, the ornaments, and the imperfect communications of its wandering crew, whether those unknown lands are also savage and uncultivated, whether they are islands in the ocean, un trodden as yet by civilized man, or tracts of the old continent of Asia, and wild frontiers of its populous and splendid empires. We must enter into his very thoughts and fancies, find out the data that assisted his judgment, and the hints that excited his conjectures, and for a time clothe the regions through which we are accompanying him with the gorgeous coloring of his own imagination. In this way we may delude ourselves into --

* Oviedo, Hist. Ind., lib. v. cap. 3
The Spaniards accustomed to late to slander fare, fell without ceremony on the 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. He observed to Peter Martyr, it was no more sinful to be peacocks and pheasants in Spain.*

After their repast, as the Spaniards were raving about the vicinity, they beheld a dozen of the natives on the top of a lofty rock, and looking 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 his apprehensions. He came to meet the interpreter, and being informed by the good intentions of the Spaniards, seemed to indicate the intelligence to his companions. 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 the 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 his neighboring chieftain, and that they offered 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.

Leaving this harbor on the 9th of May, the admiral continued to the westward, along the mountainous coast, over which he gave the name of Puerto Grande, at present called Guantanamo. The entrance was narrow and winding, though deep; the harbor expanded within 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, and there was no human being 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 neighborhood, and apparently interrupted the preparations for a rude but plentiful banquet. There were great quantities of fish, yams, and vegetables; some suspended to the branches of the trees, others roasting on wooden spits before the fires.

* Cura de los Palacios, cap. 123, ms.
† Peter Martyr, uti sup.
probable was the same at present called St. Jago de Cuba. Columbus anchored and passed a night, overawed, as usual, with the simple hospitality of the natives.

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 it abounded in a great island which lay in that direction. The admiral, in the course of his first voyage, had information of such an island, which some of his followers had thought might be Bacheque, the object of so much anxious search and chimerical expectation. He had left 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 turned his prow directly south, and abandoning for a time the coast of Cuba, steered out 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 a vast and lofty island at a great distance, began to rise like clouds above the horizon. It was two days and nights, however, before he reached its shores, filled with admiration, as he gradually drew near, at 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, sailed forth more than a league from the shore. They advanced in warlike array, uttering loud yells, and brandishing lances of painted wood. The mediation of the interpreter, and a few presents to the crew of one of these canoes, which ventured nearer than the rest, soothed this angry armada, and the squadron pursued its course unmolested. Columbus anchored in a harbor about the centre of the island, to which, from the great beauty of the surrounding country, he gave the name of Santa Gloria.

On the following morning he weighed anchor at daybreak, and coasted westward in search of a sheltered harbor, 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, burling their lances, but from such distance as to fall short of the Spanish vessels. Wishing to avoid 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 harbor. Immediately the whole beach was covered with Indians painted with a variety of colors, but chiefly black, some partly clothed with palm-leaves, and all wearing tufts and coronets of feathers. Unlike the hospitable islanders of Cuba and Hayti, they appeared

to partake of the warlike character of the Caribs, hurling their javelins at the ships, and making the vessels 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 dispatched 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 with their cross-bows, and letting loose upon them a dog, who pursued them with sanguinary fury. This is the first instance of the use of dogs against the natives, which were afterward 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 harbor, from its commodiousness, he called Puerto Bueno; it was in the form of a horse-shoe, and a river entered the sea in its interior.

During the rest of the day the neighborhood remained silent and deserted. On the following morning, however, before sunrise, six Indians were seen on the shore, making signs of anxiety. They proved to be envoys sent by the caciques with presents of peace and friendship. These were cordially returned by the admiral; presents of trinkets were sent to the chief men; and in a little while the harbor 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 harbor, the most amicable intercourse was kept up with the natives. They appeared to be more ingenuous, as well as more warlike, than their neighbors 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 of the trunks of single trees, often from a species of the mahogany. Columbus measured one, which was ninety-six feet long, and eight broad, 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 apparent 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 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 embossed, 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 anything 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 unfavorable 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 was terra firma or an island.* To the last place at which he touched in Jamaica, he gave the name of the Gulf of Buen- tiempo (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 the Señor to take him to their country. He was followed by his relatives and friends, who endeavored by the most affecting supplications to dissuade him from his purpose. For some time he was distracted between by his affection for his family, and an ardent desire to see the home of these wonderful strangers. Curiosity, and the youthful propensity to rove, prevailed; he took 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. Touching by this scene of natural affection, and pleased with the experiencing and confiding spirit of the youth, Columbus gave orders that he should be treated with especial kindness.†

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 amid the splendors 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 CURA—NAVIGATION AMONG THE ISLANDS CALLED THE QUEEN'S GARDENS,

[1494-]

Setting sail from the Gulf of Buen-tiempo, 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 Cruces, which 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 him 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

* Cura de los Palacios, cap. 126. † Keys, from Cayos, rocks which occasionally form small islands on the coast of America.
part melting in a shower, and part dispersing by a breeze which sprang up from the land.

There was much in the character of the surrounding scenery to favor the idea of Columbus, that he was beholding the paradise of the ancients. As the ships glided along the smooth and glassy canals which separated these verdant islands, the magnificence of their vegetation, the soft odors wafted from flowers, and blossoms, and aromatic shrubs, and the splendid plamage of the scarlet cranes, or rather 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 afterward found they fattened as an article of food. To this island the admiral gave the name of Cuba.

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. Lying a line of great length between the vessel and the canoe, and ordering it to swim, the fisherman attached the line to the fish, and 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 a fish or to the under shell of a tortoise, or did it relinquish its hold 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 have 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 fearless manner. They furnished the Spaniards with a supply of fish, and would cheerfully have given them everything they possessed. To the admiral's inquiries concerning 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 attention which distinguished the island. They invited him to Cuba, whom he extolled above all the other inhabitants 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, were stock-doves of uncommon size and flavor; perceiving something peculiar in their taste, Columbus ordered the crops of several newly killed to be opened, in which were found sweet spices.

While the crews of the boats were procuring water and provisions, Columbus sought to gather information concerning the wondrous canals, and several of the old men of the village. They told him that the name of their province was Ornolay; that further 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 interminable. They observed, however, that the admiral would receive more ample information from the inhabitants of Mangon, an adjacent province, which lay toward 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 province 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 certain naked tribes, kind as current among certain naked tribes of Asia, and told by them in ridicule of the garments of their civilized neighbors, which they could not 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 this region of Mangon to be the rich province of Mangi, and its people with tails and garments, the long-rooted 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, the dark blue color of which gave token of ample depth; to his right extended the richly-wooded province of Ornolay, gradually sweeping up into a range of interior mountains; and the verdant coast watered by innumerable streams, and studded with Indian villages. The appearance of the ships spread wonder and joy along the sea-coast. The natives hailed with acclamations the arrival of these wonderful beings 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 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 was the scene, after having passed through so many dangers, and we at last reached to Cuba, which was at present open to all pleasant influences, that he declared the night passed away as a single hour.

It is impossible to resist noticing the striking contrasts, which sometimes presented by the lapse of time. The coast here described, 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, to spend a few days in the cabin of a nightacker 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 scenes consists of as if I were in the cabin of a fisherman. From Batalhão to Trinidad, a distance of fifty leagues, there does not exist a village. Yet in the time of Columbus only the wind and tides ever moved along even the margin of the sea. When pits are dug 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 sailed along this open part of the coast, traversing the wide Gulf of Xagua. At length they came to a place 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 current. It spread a number of alarm changes, the ships, which was heightened by their soon finding themselves surrounded by banks and keys, and in shallow water. The farther they proceeded, the more perilous became their situation. They were in the middle of a bay, which turned to the left, and to heat 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 dispatched the smallest caravel to explore this new labyrinth of islands, and to penetrate to the mainland in quest of fresh water, of which the ships were in great need. The captured birds, as reported, 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 grow 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 points, gave signs of numerous inhabitants. Under the guidance of this caravel, Columbus now ventured to penetrate this little archipelago; working against the current and being pursued by the enemy, the land and the coast of Cuba, to which he gave the name of Point Serrano; with which the coast swept off to the coast, forming so deep a bay that he could not see the land at the bottom. To the north and south, however, there were mountains afar off, and the immediate 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 tawhs of water and on the following day anchored on a beautiful grove of palm-trees.

Here they spent a short time 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, a sight grew into the forest with his crossbow, and after searching in all directions without the land of a fisherman. From Batalhão to Trinidad, a distance of fifty leagues, there does not exist a village. Yet in the time of Columbus only the wind and tides ever moved along the margin of the sea. When pits are dug 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."

After having described the vegetation, as if the landscape was already familiar, and ascended theSierra de la Montaña, he continued: "Enthusiasm for the discoveries in the Indies cannot be concealed, and the communication between the two worlds cannot be concealed, and the communication between the two worlds cannot be concealed. They were to their home in the Indies, and to their home in the Indies, and to their home in the Indies. The interior of the Island of Cuba is well known to the inhabitants, and the interior of the Island of Cuba is well known to the inhabitants, and the interior of the Island of Cuba is well known to the inhabitants. The party penetrated through a belt of thick forests which girdled the shore, and from a great plain or savannah, 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 if it were a grove of creeping vegetation, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could penetrate the distance of 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 a different direction. They had
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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 griffon, but which were probably made by the alligators which abound in that vicinity. Many of the trees and shrubs were decked with those aromatic odors 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. Along every 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 inhospitable, but continually fertile. As a proof of its abundance, they brought great clusters of wild grapes, which Columbus afterward 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 Mangu, may have been startled in the course of his lonely wandering in the forest, by one of those flocks of cranes which seems abounded in the neighborhood. These birds, like the flamingoes, feed in company, with one stationed at a distance as sentinel. When seen through the openings of the woodlands, standing in rows along a smooth savanna, or in a glassy pool of water, their height and elegance 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 the mind of Columbus, who was predisposed to be deceived, and to believe everything that favored the illusion of his being in the vicinity of a civilized country.

After he had explored the deep bay to the east, and that he believed 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 that he could obtain from the natives was necessarily received through a great medium of signs and gestures. Deluded by his own favorite hypotheses, 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 that king, with a salutary 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 across the days’ journey, but whether it terminated there they did not know. They appeared but little informed of anything outside of their immediate neighborhood. Taking an Indian from this place as a guide, Columbus ordered for the discharge of theibs, which should 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 steered 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 capstan, 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, they found the coast bordered by drowsy 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 came to 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 neighborhood.

While thus cut off from all intercourse with the interior by a belt of swamp and forests, the country appeared to be well peopled. Communities 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 described hovering in the vicinity. 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

* Cardinal Pierre de Aliaie, a favorite author with Columbus, speaks repeatedly, in his Imago Mundi, of the Indians in India; and Clavatius, whose work, De Proprietatibus Renum, was familiar to Columbus, describing them as having the body and claws of a lion, the tail of an eagle, and as inhabiting the mountains which abounded with gold and precious stones, so as to render the access to them extremely perilous.—De Proprietat. Renum, lib. xvii. cap. 130.

* Que le Llamaban santo e que traia tunica blanca que le arastra por el suelo.—Cura de los Indios, cap. 125.

found that the coast took a general bend to the south-west. This accords 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 this coast, he thought, and he must surely arrive to the point where this range of coast terminated in the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients.

The ardent imagination of Columbus was always sallying in the advance, and suggesting some splendid track of enterprising discovery. 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.

Thence he might make his way by land to Jerusalem and the land of 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 choose to separate from his vessels, he might sail round the whole coast of Africa, pass the Isthmus by the Portuguese, in their midway graving along the shores of Guinea, and after having thus circumnavigated the globe, hurl his adventurous sails at the Pillars of Hercules, the ne plus ultra of the ancient world! Such was the soothing meditation of Columbus, as recorded by one of his intimate associates;† nor is there anything surprising in his ignorance of the real magnitude of our globe.

The mechanical admeasurement of a known part of his 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 shrink 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 seawater, which oozed in through innumerable leaks. The crews were worn out by incessant labor, 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 the doubts not that civil regions lay in the route, they were persuaded that their provisions might be exhausted, and their vessels disabled, before they could arrive at them.

Columbus, as his imagination cooled, was himself aware of the inadequacy of his vessels to the contemplated voyage; but felt it of importance to his fame and the regular course of commerce 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 it was impossible so vast a continent of land should belong to a mere island. The admiral was determined, however, that the fact should not rest on his own assertion merely, having had recent proofs of a disposition to gainsay his statements, and depreciate his discoveries. He sent, therefore, a public notary, Fernand Perez Luna, to each of the vessels, accompanied by four witnesses, who demanded formally of every person on board, from the captain to the ship-keeper, whether he had any occasion to return, and if there was any doubt in the continent, the beginning and end of the Indies, by which any one might return to overland, and by pursuing the course of which they could soon arrive among civilized people. If any one entertained a contrary opinion, he was to express it, that it might be removed. On board of the vessels, as has been observed, 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 entire coast, while the land continued to stretch forward interminably, hinging toward 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, an officer, should pay a penalty of ten thousand maravedies; if a ship-keeper or pen of like rank, should receive a hundred lashes, and have his tongue cut out. A formal statement was afterward made 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 Philiopia, by others of Cortes. At this very time, as has been remarked, a ship-boy from the mainhead might have overlooked the group of islands to the south, and beheld the open sea beyond.‡ Two or three days' further sail would have carried Columbus round the extremity of Cuba; would have dispossessed 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

* This calculation evidently includes all the courses of the ships in their various tracks 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 inflections of the coast.
‡ Narvarte, Cole, tom. II.

† The present peninsula of Malacca.
‡ Cura de los Palacios, cap. 123, ms.

coast, he followed the coast northward, then west, with mind only to reach the labyrinths of the Regions of the Evangel of St. John, of the Pines, and of the labyrinths of the island.

Here he found the water deep, the vessels returning for water, and the tooth-plate of land extreme extremities of Hispaniola. He followed the coast, and proceeded along it, which he considered to be a channel, or strait, which they called the Evangel of St. John, which they courted for the sake of its water, and which they called the Siguanas, or Simeon.

Observing his men to have fallen sick, he prayed and fasted. The water was not good, and he gave them with thanksgiving to the water. They followed the coast closely, past the water, and the water was clear and sweet. At this time they fell in with another island called the bank. On the coast to the south they found another island. They went to sea. The anchor was run into, and the ship was called the caravel, the same as the open sea. There was once more of the province of Cuba, with Irving beans and other vegetables.

Here Columbus conceived the idea of continuing his voyage, and of following the coast of the large land to the south, which he had already embarked upon, and which was a little island, and a small one.
coast, he stood to the south-east on the 13th 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 Cebries. 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 this island, hoping by turning its southeast end to find a more direct route westward 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.

Observing dismay painted on the faces of 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 perplexing maze by retracing his course along Cuba. Leaving the lagoon, therefore, he returned to his last anchorage, and having waited to the 25th of June to have navigated 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, perils, and toils which had beset him in his advance along the coast. The crews were alarmed by the frequent changes in the color 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 sandbank. 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 land, which they had departed the month before, with fragrant and honeyed airs wafted from the land. Among the mingled odors, the admiral fancied he could perceive that of storax proceeding from the smoke of fires blazing on the shores.

Here Columbus sought some convenient harbor where he might procure wood and water, and allow his crews to enjoy repose and the recreations of the land; for they were exceedingly enfeebled and emaciated by the toils and privations of the voyage. For nearly two months they had been struggling with perpetual fatigues, 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 ships' provisions, which was reduced to a pound of molasses 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 neighborhood, who reigned over an extensive territory, received the admiral with demonstrations of the highest respect, and his subjects came laden with whatever their country afforded—utias, birds of various kinds, particularly large pigeons, cassava bread, and fruits of a rich and aromatic flavor.

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 he disembarked for this purpose, he was met upon the shore by the cacique and his principal favorite, a venerable Indian, fourscore years of age, of grave and dignified deportment. The old man brought a string of beads, of a kind to which the Indians speak 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, accompanied by several natives, and no doubt for the celebration of the mass; a multitude of the natives followed. While mass was performing in this natural temple, the Indians looked on with awe and reverence, perceiving from the tones and gestures 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. While 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 subdued many countries, spreading great fear among the people; but he is not, therefore, vengeful. Know that, according to our belief, the souls of men have two journeys to perform after death—one to the place of peace, and the other to the place of fire, and the souls of those who are not just and true to their fellow men; the other pleasant and full of delight, for such as have promoted peace on earth. If, then, thou art mortal and dost not expect to die, and dost believe that each one shall be rewarded according to his deeds, beware that thou be not so cruel and unjust to thy fellow men."

The admiral, to whom this speech was explained by his Lucayan interpreter, Diego Colon, was greatly moved by the simple eloquence of this uncultivated 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, the cannibals. That, therefore, all innocent and peaceable men might look up to him with confidence, as an assured guide and protector.

* Humboldt (in his Essai Polit., tom. ii. p. 24.) speaks of the fragrance of flowers and honey which exhales from this same coast, and which is perceptible to a considerable distance at sea.

* Herrera, decad. i. lib. xi. cap. 14. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 57. Peter Martyr, decad. i. lib. iii. Cura de los Palacios, cap. 130.
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 splendor, and power of the Spanish monarchs, and of the wonderful things he had beheld on his visit to Spain. Finding himself listened to with eager curiosity by the 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 horse- men, 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. 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. The land they spoke of were not heaven, for it seemed to him impossible for earth could produce such wonderful beings.

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 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 a young Indian with him from this place, whom he afterward sent to the Spanish sovereigns. Leaving to the left the Queen's Gardens, he passed round, for the breadth of the 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 entangled 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, and, letting go their largest anchors, 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 succor from the natives that they had experienced on their former visit. The wind continuing contrary for the return to Hispaniola, Columbus, on the 22d 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 noon, to save the same vessel by the morning. The natives no longer manifested hostility, but followed the ships in their canoes, bringing supplies of provisions. Columbus was so well delighted with the verdure, freshness, and fertility of this noble island, that, had the state of the vessels and crews permitted, he would gladly have remained to explore the interior. He spoke with admiration of its frequent and excellent harbors, 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 refreshments, and manifested in his inquiries concerning the Spaniards, their ships, and the region whence they came. The admiral made his customary reply, setting forth the great power and the benign intentions of his sovereigns. The Lucayan interpreter again enlarged upon the wonders he had witnessed, in this instance, the abundance of provisions. He had seen the Spaniards, the countries they had visited and subjugated, and, above all, their having made descents on the islands of the Bay, and destroyed the inhabitants, and carried several of them into captivity. To these accounts the cacique and his followers listened with marvellous attention until the night was advanced. The next morning the ships were under way 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 were nubile, according to the custom of these islands, but were of modest demeanor. In the prow of the canoe stood the standard-bearer of the cacique clad in a 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 color, and their faces painted in a similar manner, beat upon tabor; two others, with hats curiously wrought of green feathers, held trumpets of a fine black wood, ingeniously carved; there were six others, in large hats of white feathers, who appeared to be guards to the cacique.

Having arrived alongside of the admiral's ship, the cacique entered on board with all his train. He appeared in full regalia. Around his head was a band of small stones of various colors, 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 very small green stones. To a necklace of white beads, of a

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 57.
† Peter Martyr, decad. I, lib. III.

Voyage

On the following morning, the admiral entered into the eastern extremity of the island, and gave the name of Portland Point to the bay. At this place he gave the following directions:

* Hilario de la Palmas, Ansiedad, p. 440. Palacios. Proceeding with a small party to many other islands, the admiral was in the highest kind of spirits when he returned to Spain.
Life and voyages of Columbus.

On the 16th of August Columbus lost sight of the eastern extremity of Jamaica, to which he gave the name of Cape Fariol. At present called Point Morant. Steering eastward, he behold, 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 southem side, a cacique came on the beach to greet 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 tedious days before them. The weather was boisterous, the wind contrary and capricious, and the ships 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 southwest from the centre of the island, to which he gave the name of Cape Ilena. At this rock, 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 reported that there were many birds, which were sleeping on the sand; they also knocked down many pigeons and other birds with sticks, and took others with the hand; in this unvisited 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, everything appeared to be going on well in the island. Encouraged by the tranquility 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 eight or ten days, 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 Higuey, the eastern province of Hispaniola. They were the most warlike of the island, having been inured to arms from the frequent descent 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 appeared to repose confidence. After leaving this place, the weather, which had been so long variable and adverse, assumed a threatening aspect. 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 dolphin. At this sight the admiral, and at the indications of the clouds and sky, Columbus anticipated an approaching storm, and sought for some secure harbor.‡ He found a channel opening between Hispaniola and a small island, called by the Indians Adamanyer, but to which he gave the name of Saona; here he took refuge, anchoring beside a key or inlet 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 fifty-two hours and twenty-five minutes.‡ This is upward of eighteen degrees more than the true longitude; an error which must have resulted from the incorrectness of his table of eclipses.‡

For eight days the admiral’s ship remained weather-bound in this channel, during which time he suffered great anxiety for the fate of the other vessels, which 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 Engaño. 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 Caribbean Islands, but his physical strength did

* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. lib. ii. cap. 15. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 59.
‡ Herrara, ubi sup. Hist. Almirante, ubi sup.
‡ For ships twenty-five minutes are equal to 80° 45'; whereas the true longitude of Saona is 62° 20' west of Cadiz.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER I.

ARRIVAL OF THE ADMIRAL AT ISABELLA—CHARACTER OF BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS.

[1494. Sept. 4.]

The sight of the little squadron of Columbus standing once more into the harbor 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 bedside his brother Bartholomew, the companion of his youth, his confidential confidant, and in a manner his second self, from whom he had been separated 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. Ferdinand 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 years elapsed before he made his application to the English monarch. Las Casas states that he did not immediately proceed to England, having found a memorandum in his handwriting, 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 voyage was discovered the Cape of Good Hope.*

* The memorandum cited by Las Casas (Hist. Ind.,

It is but necessary to say that while the admiral was actually made prior to his coming to Britain, in a search of the archives for, and first received by him, vessels were not overyears, and the ships, which did not return to the Spanish court until they had been to the admiral, were the people. The admiral, however, upon his first mention of the immediate of the event Diviner, who, under the expenses of the voyage to Seville just mentioned, 1487, and the voyage to the court of Portugal, in 1488, was the
It is but justice to the memory of Henry VII. to say that when the proposition was eventually made to him, he would have willingly assented to that declaration of independence 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 visited the royal presence, and there, on the discovery was already made; that his brother had returned to Spain in triumph, and was actually at the Spanish court, honored 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

lib. I, cap. 7) curious, though not conclusive. He says that he found it in an old book belonging to Christopher, which contains relieved in Pedro de Alaco. It was written in the margin of a treatise on the form of the globe, in the handwriting of Bartholomew Columbus, which was well known to Las Casas. It was a manuscript in a barbarous mixture of Latin and Spanish, and to the following effect:

In the year 1488, in December, arrived at Lisbon Bartholomew, 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, forty and fifty to the south, and one hundred and fifty north, to a cape, named by him the Cape of Good Hope; and that by the astrolabe he found the cape 45 degrees beyond the equinoctial line. This cape was 3100 leagues distant from Lisbon; the which the said captain says he set down, league by league, in a chart of navigation presented by him to the King of Portugal; in all which, adds the writer, I was present (in quibus omnis interius).

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 expedition. The inference may be made 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 first of January; and the expedition sailed about the end of August, 86, and returned in December, '87, after an absence of seventeen months.

Note.—Since publishing the first edition of this work, the author being in Seville, and making researches in the Bibliotheca Columbia, the library

given by Fernando Columbus to the cathedral of that city, he came accidentally upon the above-mentioned copy of the work of Pedro Alaco. He ascertained it to have been the original, upon making the memorandum written on the margin, at the eighth chapter of the tract called "Imago Mundii." It is an old volume in folio, bound in parchment, published soon after the death of the author, and containing a collection in Latin of astronomical and cosmographical tracts of Pedro (or Peter) de Alaco, Archbishop of Cambray and Cardinal, and of his disciple, John Gerson. Peruvian путешествник.

[376]"It was in 1416, according to others in 1425.

He was the author of many works, and one of the most to serve in quality of pages to Prince Juan."

He was received with a distinguished favor by the sovereigns; and he was an accomplished navigator, for he gave the command of three ships freighted with supplies for the colony, and sent them to the king's brother on 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 insuperable relief to Columbus, overwhelmed as he was by cares, and surrounded by strangers. The chief dependence for sympathy and assistance was here and there 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 instant 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 of sweetness and benignity which tempered the authoritative demeanor of the admiral. Indeed, there was a certain aspersion 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 all arrogance or meekness, 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 learned and scientific men of his day. Las Casas is of opinion that his writings had more effect in stimulating Columbus to his enterprises than those of any other author. "His work was so familiar to Columbus, that he had filled its whole margin with Latin notes in his handwriting; many things which he had read and gathered elsewhere. This book, which was very old," continues Las Casas, "I have many times in my hands; and I drew some things from it, written in Latin by the said admiral, Christopher Columbus, to verify certain points appertaining to his history, of which I before was in doubt."

(Hist. Ind., lib. I, cap. 11.)

It was a great satisfaction to the author, therefore, to discover this identical volume, this "Indiciae de Columbus, in a state of good preservation." [It is in the cathedral library, E—G, Tab. 179, No. 21.] The notes and citations mentioned by Las Casas are in Latin, with many abbreviations, written in a very small, but neat and distinct hand, and run throughout the volume; calling attention to the most striking passages, or to those which bear most upon the theories of Columbus; occasionally containing brief comments or citations of the other authors, ancient and modern, with either in support or criticism of the text. The memorandum particularly cited by Las Casas, mentioning the voyage of Bartholomew Diaz to the Cape of Good Hope, is to prove an opinion in the text, that the world contains a sea route to the coast of the Americas. The volume is a most curious and interesting document the only one that remains of Columbus prior to his discovery. It illustrates his researches and in a manner the current of his thoughts, while as yet his great enterprise existed but in idea, and while he was seeking means to convince the world of its practicability. It will be found also to contain the grounds of his opinions and speculations on a variety of subjects.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 60.
The first or most important domain comprised the middle part of the royal Vega. It was a rich, lovely country, cultivated after the improver 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 boundary, mingled with their sands. The name of the cacique was Guatíron, whose ancestors had long ruled over the province.

The second, called Marien, was under the sway of Guacanari, 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 Yaguajay, afterward called Monte Cristi, and including the whole of the northern part of the royal Vega, since called the plain of Cape Francois, now Cape Haytien.

The third bore the name of Magtiana. It extended along the southern coast from the river Ozama to the lakes, and comprised the chief part of the country between the center of the island and the eastern coast; it was the head of the mountains of Cibao, the mineral district of Hayti. It was under the dominion of the Carib cacique Caonabo, the most fierce and-puissant of the savage chieftains, and the inveterate enemy of the whites of the island for her beauty, was the favorite wife of the neighboring cacique Caonabo.

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 Tihurón, and extended far to the terminus of the island lying along the northern coast, in the vicinity of the island, the inhabitants were a most warlike people, the savage people of the island, who were the active and warlike people of the island, and had learned the use of bow and arrow from the Caribs, who made frequent descents upon their coasts; they were said to be most brutal, not only in their brutality, but also in their civilization, and were found eventually of little avail against the terror of European arms. They were governed by a cacique named Cotubanama.*

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 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 the spirit 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.

Margaret set forth on his expedition with the greatest power of the forces, leaving Alfonso de Ojeda in command of the coast and St. Thomas. Instead, however, of commencing by exploring the

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 29.
† Ibid., cap. 101.

* Charlevoix, Hist. St. Domingo, lib. i. p. 69.
rough mountains of Chiao, as he had been commanded, he descended into the fertile region of the Vega. Here he lingered among the populous and healthy inhabitants, forgetful of the object of his mission, and of the instructions left him by the admiral, and of the duty he owed to the admiral, but from duty himself is little calculated to enforce discipline. The sensual indulgences of Margarite were imitated by his followers, and his army soon became so dissipated that a crew of riotous marauders. The civilians, at the time, indulged the natives, with provisions and with hospital treatment, but the straggler stories of these abstruse and yet indigent 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. The Spaniards outraged the deepest 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 exercising the functions of the council, they became sordid and sensual oppressors.

Tidings of these excesses, and of the disgust and impatience they were awakening among the natives, soon reached Don Diego Columbus. With the concurrence of the council, he wrote to Margarite, reproving 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 reproach; he considered it easier to procure all that he could licit or illicit, in his own behalf and in that of his companions of the voyage, than to attend to the orders of the president and council, and be subjected to the perils of a military life or of a degree of temerity unbecoming of a valiant and endearing to the person of the admiral. He continued with his followers quartered in the Vega, persisting in a course of outrages and oppressions fatal to the public peace and security.

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 this proud punctilio so jealously guarded by a Spaniard. They could not help remembering the蛋白体conquest Columbus and his family as mere mercenaries and upstart foreigners, building up their own fortunes at the expense of the toils and sacrifices of the community, and the degradation of Spanish hidalgos and cavaliers.

In addition to these partisans, Margarite had a powerful ally in his own countryman, Friar Boyle, the head of the religious fraternity, one of the most distinguished of the clergy. He had the head of the Holy Friar to the admiral, who was never wanting in respect to the clergy. Various alterations, however, had taken place between them. Some say that the friar interfered in respect to the strict measures

**LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.**

**CHAPTER III.**

**TROUBLES WITH THE NATIVES—ALONSO DE OJEDA DESIGNED BY CAUAN.**

The departure of Pedro Margarite left the army without a head, and put to what little restraint or discipline remained. There is no rabble so licentious as soldiery left to their own device in a defenseless country. They now roved about in bands or singly, according to their caprice, scattering themselves among the Indian villages, indulging in all kinds of excesses, either as prompted by avarice or sensuality. The natives, indignant at having their hospitality thus violated, refused, or at least contemptuously dismissed 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 wild, abetted the Spaniards while they kept up any combined and disciplined force, yet they took sanguiinary vengeance on them whenever they met with small parties or scattered individuals, raving about in quest of food. Encouraged by these petty triumphs, and the factitious symptoms which seemed to attend their conduct, their hostilities grew more and more alarming. Guatiguana, cacique of a large town on the banks of the Grand River, in the dominions of Guarianos, sovereign of the Vega, put to death ten Spaniards, who had quartered themselves in his town and outraged the inhabitants by their licentiousness. He followed up this massacre by setting fire to a house in which forty-six Spaniards were lodged. Flushed by this success, he threatened to attack a small fortress erected with which he had recently been built in his neighborhood 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 Isabela.

The first formidable enemy of the Spaniards, however, was Cañabo, the Carib cacique of Macagua. With 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. He had always felt jealous of the intrusion of the white men into the island; but particularly exasperated by the establishment of the fortress of St. Thomas, erected in the very center of his dominions. As long as the army lay within call in the Vega he was deterred from any attack; but when, on the departure of Margarita, it 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 Carib cacique, however, had a different kind of enemy to deal with in the commander of St. Thomas. Alonzo de Ojeda had the Moorish warfare. He was versed in all kinds of feints, stratagems, lurking ambushes, and wild assaults. No man was more fitted, therefore, to cope with Indian warriors. He had a 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 precipitated by a rash and fiery spirit, and a love of adventure; yet he had never been wounded, nor lost a drop of blood. 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, 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 permitted, would take it out, fix it against a tree, and address his prayers to this military patroness. In a word, he swore by the Virgin, he invoked the Virgin, he flattered the Virgin, and in favor of the Virgin he was ready for any enterprise or adventure. Such was Alonzo 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 small of size, he was a prodigy of strength and prowess; and the chronicles of the early discoveries relate marvels of his valor and exploits.

Having reconnoitered the fortress, Cañabo assembled ten thousand armed men, atop of war clubs, bows and arrows, and lances hardened in the fire; and making his way secretly through the forests, came suddenly in the neighborhood, expecting to surprise the garrison in a state of careless security. He found Ojeda's forces, however, drawn up in war array on his tower, which, being built upon an almost insurmountable 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, Cañabo now hoped to reduce it by intrigue. For this purpose, he distributed his warriors 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, and reduced the garrison to great distress. There is an anecdote, which Oviedo relates of Pedro Margete, the former commander of this fortress, which may with more probability be ascribed to Alonzo 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 lingering men, "It is a pity," said he, "that here is not enough to give us all a meal; I cannot consent to lose the rest of you are starving!" So saying, he turned loose the pigeons from a window of the tower. During Ojeda's siege Oviedo described 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 saluted forth whenever the enemy appeared in any force, leading the van with that headlong valor for which he was noted; making great slaughter with his single arm, and, as usual, escaping unhurt from amiss showers of darts and arrows.

Cañabo saw many of his bravest warriors slain. His forces were diminished, his garrison unwieldy, and unused to any protracted operations of war, grew weary of this siege, and returned 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.

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* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decal. i. lib. viii. cap. 4.
† Pizarro Varonese Illustres, cap. 8.
‡ Oviedo, Cronica de las Indias, lib. iii. cap. 1.
Prowling in secret in the vicinity of Isabella, he noted the enfeebled state of the settlement. Many of the inhabitants were suffering under various maladies, and the principal food, corn, was short and of poor quality. He had thus disposed, he was gratified by a visit from Guacanagari, who manifested the greatest concern at his illness, for he appears to have been in the best of health. He always entertained an affectionate regard for the chief and the people he had formed relations with.

He again spoke with tears of the massacre of Fort Nativity, dwelling on the excitement of the Spaniards when they had formed the secret league among the caciques; of his opposition to it, and the consequent punishment 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 was rejoiced to have all suspicion of his good faith thus effectually dispelled. Their former amicable intercourse was renewed, with this difference, that the man whom Guacanagari had once relieved and succored as a shipwrecked stranger, 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 tranquility 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 warfare enterprise; his brother Diego was not of a military character, and Bartholomew was yet a stranger among the Spaniards, and regarded by the 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, 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 quarters 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.

He was tributary to Guacanagari, sovereign cacique of the Royal Vega. As this Indian reigned over a great and populous extent of country, his friendship was highly important for 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 his dominions. Columbus sent for him, therefore, and reproved him for these excesses, which had been in violation of his orders, and who desired to his good intentions toward the natives, who 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 cacique, but that the cacique Guacanagari was a man of quiet and

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 incision of the island, and in consequence of violating all his regulations. Margarite and Friar Boyle had hastened to make false representations of the miseries of the island. Had they remained faithfully at their posts, and discharged their trust confidently to them, those miseries might have been easily remedied, if not entirely prevented.
placable disposition, and whatever anger he might have felt was easily soothed. To link him in some
degree to the Spanish interest, Columbus pre-
valled on him to give his daughter in marriage to
the Indian interpreter Diego Colon.* As a
stronger precaution against any hostility on the
part of the cacique, and to insure 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 ca-
cique 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. His territories lay in the
central and mountainous parts of the island, rendered
difficult of access by rugged rocks, entangled for-
est, and frequent rivers. To make war upon this
subtle and ferocious chief, in the depths of his
wild woodland territory, and among the fastnesses
of his mountains, where at every turn there would
be danger of ambush, would be a work of time,
peril, and uncertain issue. In the meanwhile
the settlements would never be secure from his
daring enterprises, and the working of the mer-
mills would be subject to frequent interruption.
While the siege of these outposts was relieved by
an offer of Alonso de Ojeda, to take the Carib chief
to stratagem, and deliver him alive into his
hands. The project was wild, haz-
azardous, and romantic, characteristic of Ojeda,
who was bent on displaying to the world his own
extravagant exploits and feats of desperate bravery.

Choosing ten bold and hardly followers, well
armed and well mounted, and invoking the pro-
tection 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 into the wild territories of Caonabo,
whom he found in one of his most populous towns,
the same now called Maguana, near the town of
San Juan. Approaching the cacique with
great deference, as a sovereign prince, he pro-
sessed to come upon a friendly errand; and every
where he was received with a degree of chivalrous
courtesy, on which 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 adro-
itness 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 favori-
te 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 becom-
ing 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 it
ringing for the first time, they fancied it
with the idea of bestriding one of those tremendous ani-
mals so dreaded by his countrymen. He repaired
to the river, and having bathed, was assisted
to mount behind Ojeda, and the shackles were
adjusted. Ojeda made several circuits to gain
space, followed by his hand band of horsemen, the
Indians shrinking back 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 around him,
and drawing their swords, threatened Caonabo with
instant death if he made the least noise or resis-
tance. Binding him with cords to Ojeda to
prevent his falling or effecting an escape, they put
spurs to their horses, dashed across the river, and
made off through the woods with their prize.†

* P. Martyr, dec. I, lib. iv. Gio Battista Spor-
torno, in his Memoir of Columbus, has been led to
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.

garding with superstition all things connected
with the Spaniards, they looked upon this bell as
something supernatural, and in their usual phrase
it said he came from 'Turey,' or the skies.
Ojeda, for fear of the bell and his distance, in his
prolongings 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. He agreed, therefore, to set out
for Isabella; but when he came to depart Ojeda
beheld with surprise a powerful force of
warriors assembled and ready to
his subjects.

They had accumulated a great satis-
fection to travel, and there lay
off their capital, and to prevent his escape, they
confederate on all parts of the
region to accomplish this. He
suffered greatly from wish-
fulness; one day during
swimming through the various
learns and battles, ob-
bering over the
bella in triumph,
characteristic events
behind.

Columbus and his companions
were a great satisfaction to the
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brood to see that
he should receive a
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his house;
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therefore, he
The capti-
 subjects, for

* La Casa
† Las Casas
They had now fifty or sixty leagues of wilderness to traverse on their way homeward, with here and there a village or town. The savages, 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 towns 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 over the rugged barrier, and climbing over the high and rocky mountains. They accomplished all in safety, and Ojeda entered Isabella in triumph from this most daring and characteristic enterprise, with his wild Indian bound behind.

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 unalloyed air, declaring to conclude him by submission, or to deprive him of his freedom, and either death or clemency. He never bowed his spirit to captivity; on the contrary, though completely at the mercy of the Spaniards, he displayed that haughty independence which is a part of Indian heroism, and which the savage maintains toward his tormentors, even amid the agonies of the cay 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 reconnoitered Isabella, with an intention of wreaking upon it the same desolation.

Columbus, though struck with the heroism of the chief, considered him a dangerous enemy, whom, for the peace of the island, it was advisable to send to Spain; in the meantime he ordered that he should be treated with kindness and respect, and lodged him in a part of his own dwelling, where, however, he kept him a prisoner in chains. This precaution must have been necessary, from the insecurity of his prison; for Las Casas observes that the admiral’s house is not being spacious, nor having many chambers, the prisoner’s cell could not be seen from the portal.

Cauanabo always maintained a haughty deportment toward Columbus, while he never evinced the least animosity against Ojeda. He rather adored the latter, and as a conqueror, for having pounced upon him and borne him off in this hawk-like manner from the very midst of his fighting men.

When Columbus entered the apartment where Cauanabo 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, Cauanabo rose and saluted him with profound respect. On being asked the reason of this, Columbus being sus- picious, or greatly feared his enmity, and desiring to rouse 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 valor of Ojeda he was his prisoner; to Ojeda, therefore, he owed reverence, not to the admiral.

The captivity of Cauanabo was deeply felt by his subjects, for the natives of this island seem gen-

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL OF ANTONIO DE TORRES WITH FOUR SHIPS FROM SPAIN—HIS RETURN WITH INDIAN SLAVES.

The colony was still suffering greatly from want of provisions; the European stock was nearly exhausted, and such was the idleness and carelessness with which the Spaniards conducted their business, that it had been necessary to buy the provisions of which they had been deprived by the hostility of their adversaries, or such was their exclusive eagerness for 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, though in the midst of fertility.

At length they were relieved by the arrival of four ships commanded by Antonio Torres, which brought an ample supply of provisions. There were also a physician and an apothecary, whose skill was greatly needed in the sickly state of the colony; but above all, there were mechanics, millers, fishermen, gardeners, and husbandmen the true kind of population for a colony.

Torres brought letters from the sovereigns (dated August 16th, 1494) of the most gratifying kind, expressing the highest satisfaction at the accounts sent in by the admiral, and acknowledging that every thing 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 intelligence as to his situation, proposing that the vessels should sail each month from Isabella and Spain. They informed him that all differences with Portugal were amicably adjusted, and acquiesced with the conventional agreement with that power relative to a geographical line, separating their newly-discovered possessions; requesting

* La Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 102.
† Las Casas, ubi sup., cap. 102.

Oviedo, Cronica de los Indias, lib. iii. cap. 1.
In fact, the practice had been sanctioned by the church itself, and the most learned theologians had pronounced all barbarous and infidel nations, who shut their doors to the truths of Christianity, 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 _caza de guarniciones_, and had professed to do everything 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 _cavaleadas_, not merely of flocks and herds, but of human beings, and those not warriors taken with weapons in their hands, but quiet villagers, laboring 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 high born, and of all ages, many of them high born, and of all ages, were suddenly torn from their homes, severed from each other, and swept into mental slavery, even though half of their ransom had been paid. His effectual authority was 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 explaining 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 the practice, there 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 being a prisoner and in chains enraged the natives of Maguana, and the general sympathy manifested by other tribes of the island shows how widely that intelligent savage had extended his influence, and how greatly he was admired. He had still active and powerful relatives remaining, in attempt to rescue or revenge his fall. One of his brothers, Manrique by name, a Carl, bold and warlike as himself, succeeded to the sway over his subjects. His favorite wife also, Anacona, so famous for her charms, had great influence over her brother Behecho, cacique of the populous province of Xaragra. Through these and general hostility to the Spaniards was excited throughout the island, and the formidable league of the caciques, which Cuahabo...
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had in vain attempted to accomplish when at large, was produced by his captivity. Guanaca-gari, the cacique of Marien, alone remained friendly to the Spaniards, giving them timely information of the enemies offering so great a danger to take the field with them as a faithful ally.

The protracted illness of Columbus, the scantleness 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 the 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 to his own door.

The whole sound and effective force that could be assembled to counteract and repel the army of the colony, did not exceed two hundred infantry and twenty horse. They were armed with cross-bows, swords, lances, and espingardas, or heavy arquebuses, which, in those days were used with rests, and sometimes mounted on wheels. With these formidable weapons, a handful of European warriors, cas’d in steel and covered with bucklers, were able to cope with thousands of naked savages. They had at all of them, however, consisting of twenty bloodhounds, animals scarcely less terrible to the Spaniards than the horses, and infinitely more fatal. They were fearless and ferocious; nothing daunted them, nor when they had once seized upon their prey could anything compel them to relinquish their hold. The naked bodies of the Indians offered no 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 who had not met with so much success. The army, of which he was chief, consisted of his own mounted cavalry, and a few other followers. The army was composed of men from every quarter, their fellow-warriors to be laid low with thunder and lightning from the forests. While driven together and contending by these attacks, Alonso de Ojeda charged their main body impetuously with his troop of cavalry, cutting his way with lance and sabre. The horses bore down the terrified Indians, while their riders dealt their blows on all sides unopposed. The bloodhounds at the same time rushed 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 short duration.

The Indians fled in every direction with yells and howlings; some clambered to the top of rocks and precipices, whence they made pitiful supplications, and offers of complete submission; others 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 rout. He was not of a martial spirit, and his force 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.

[1494]

COLUMBUS followed up his victory by making a military tour through various parts of the island, reducing them to obedience. The natives made occasional attempts at opposition, but were easily checked. Ojeda's troop of cavalry was of greater efficacy from the quickness of its movements, the active intrepidity of its commander, and the 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 like a thunderbolt 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 overawed the 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 neighboring chieftains, he readily submitted to the dominion of the Spaniards. Manicoatez, the brother of Caonabo, was also obliged to sue for peace; and being the prime mover of the confederacy, the chief of his enemies, he submitted. Bellocho, 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. 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 beautiful Anaconda, wife of Caonabo, whom he cherished with fraternal affection under her misfortunes, which 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 assented to the right of a conqueror, and considered now 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, to satisfy the calculations of those who had gone home determined to make the most discouraging representations of his discoveries. He endeavored, therefore, to raise a large and immediate revenue 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. Manicoatez, 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, in three 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 suspend round his neck; those who were found without such documents were liable to arrest and punishment.

The taxes and tributes thus imposed bore heavily upon the spirit of the natives, accustomed to be lightly taxed by their caciques; and the caciques themselves found the actions intolerably grievous. Guarionex, the sovereign of the Royal Vega, represented to Columbus the difficulty he had in complying with the terms of 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 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 insure 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, he lowered the demand to the measure of one half of a hawk's-bell.

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 a garrison, assisted by the adventurers of his ships, and those who had been left to manage the affairs of Isabella, and of St. Thomas, in the mountains of Cibao, there were now the fortress of Magdalena, in the Royal Vega, near the site of the old town of Santiago, on the river Jalaqua, two leagues from the place where the new town was afterward built; another called Santa Catalina, the site of which is near the Estencia Yagui; another called Esperanza, on the banks of the river Yaque, facing the outlet of the mountain pass La Puerta de los Hidalgos, now the pass of Marney; 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 Esperanza, controlling the extensive and populous domains of Guarionex,‡

In this way was the yoke of servitude fixed upon

* A hawk's-bell, according to Las Casas (Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 105), contains about three castellanos' worth of gold dust, equal to five dollars; and in estimating the superficial value of gold in those days, he gives the equivalent of fifteen dollars 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.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 105.
‡ Las Casas, ubi sup., cap. 110.
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The island, and its thralldom effectually insured. Deep despair now fell upon the natives when they found this to be the case; for then, instead of being
forced at stated and frequently recurring periods.

Weak and indolent by nature, unused to labor 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. There was 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 noontide heat by the fountain or the stream, or under the spreading palm-tree; and the song, the dance, and the game in the evening on the hill, all thrown into their simple amusements by the rude Indian drum. They were now obliged to grope day by day, with hounding body and anxious eye, along the borders of their rivers, sitting the sands for the grander, gouty, and somewhat more elevated scents; or to labor in their fields beneath the fervor of a tropical sun, to raise food for their taskmasters, or to produce the vegetable tribute imposed upon them. They sank to sleep weary and exhausted at night, with the certainty that the next day would bring them to the same distress, 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 labor 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, as 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 island, to all their simplicity, they had repeatedly invited when they intended to return to Tucan or the heavens. They now beheld them taking root, as it were, in the island. They behold their vessels lying idle and rotting in the harbor, while the crews, scattered about the country, were building habitations and fortresses, the solid con-
struction of which, unlike their own slight cabins, gave evidence of permanent abode.

Finding how vain was all attempt to deliver themselves by warlike means from these invincible invaders, they now conceived 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 among themselves, therefore, not to cultivate the fruits, the roots, and maize, their chief articles of food, and to destroy those already growing; hoping, by producing a famine, to starve the strangers from the island, and then, either to return to the island, or to return to the mountains, where there were roots and herbs and abundance of utias for their subsistence. This measure did indeed produce much distress among the Spaniards, but they had foreign resources, and were enabled to endure it by hus-
banding the partial supplies brought by their ships; the most disastrous effects fell upon the natives themselves. The Spaniards stationed in the various forstesses, 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 labor. The Indians took refuge in the most sterile and dreary heights; flying from one wild re-
to another; toiling in their arms or at their hocks, and all worn out with toil 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 dank and desolate places, or in the recesses of the mountains, 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 unhonorable food. In this way many thousands of them perished miserably, through famine, fatigue, terror, and various con-
tagious maladies engendered by their sufferings.

All spirit of opposition was at length completely quelled. The surviving Indians returned in de-
spair 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 Guanacari, as he makes no other appearance in the course of this history. His friendship for the Spaniards had served him from his countrymen, but did not ex-
ce them honor from the general wows of the island. His territories, like those of the other chiefs, were subjected to a tribute, which his people, with the common repugnance to labor, 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 Guanacari, and his tribute was harshly exacted. He found himself overwhelmed with opprobrium from his countrymen at large, and assailed by the clamours and lamentations of his suffering subjects. The strangers who had succored 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-

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* No conociendo la propiedad de los Españoles, los cuales cuantas mas hambrientos, tanto mayor teson tienen y mas duros son de sufrir y para sufrir.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 106.

‡ Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. c. 106. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 60.
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 woe of his subjects, and the extortion 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 on his name. He appears to have always manifested toward 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 unapt, through the selfishness 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.

[1495-]

While Columbus was endeavoring to remedy the evils produced by the misconduct of Margarita, that recalcitrant commander and his political 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 them with tasking the community with excessive labor during a time of general sickness and debility; with stopping the rations of individuals on the most trifling pretense, to the great detriment of their health; 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 labor; nor of the idleness and profligacy which required coercion and chastisement; nor of the sedition and 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 in 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 foolhardy attempt to explore unknown seas and discover unprofitable lands.

These prejudiced and exaggerated representations derived much weight from the official situations of Margarita and Friar Boyle. They were supported by the testimony of many discontented and factious idlers, who had returned with them to Spain. Some of these persons had connections 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 savored 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 Indian affairs, to send 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 case of his absence, in presence of those in authority. He was, moreover, to collect information concerning the manner in which the island had been governed, the conduct of persons in office, the causes and authorities of existing grievances, and the measures they were taken to have collected such information, he was to return and make report to the sovereigns; but in case he should find the admiral at the island, everything was to remain subject to his control.

There was another measure adopted by the sovereigns about this time, which likewise shows the declining favor of Columbus. On the 10th of April, 1495, 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 account, 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 obtain, they were to retain one third for themselves, and pay two thirds to the crown. Of all other articles of merchandise, 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 duties paid into the hands of the king's receiver of land and sea.

Each ship sailing on private enterprise was to take one or two persons named by the officer of the crown 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 his own account with them.

* Charlevoix, Hist. de St. Domingo, lib. ii.
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was made in consequence of the earnest applications of Vincent Yññes Pinzon, and other able and intrepid navigators, more of whom had sailed with Columbus upon these hazardous enterprises at their own cost and hazard. The offer was tempting and well-timed. The government was poor, the expenditures of Columbus were expensive, yet their object was too important to be neglected. Here was a golden opportunity of attaining all the ends promised, not merely on spectator, 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 avarice 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. They had intelligence of the safe return of the master, Admiral Fonseca, 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 his voyage. No arrival could have been more timely. It at once removed all doubts respecting his safety, and obliterated the necessity of parting with the precautionary measures then on the point of being taken. The supposed discovery of the rich coast of Asia also threw a temporary splendor 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 favor 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 eager by 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 explana- tions, 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 obeyed the latter 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 and ingenious ways.

While the sovereigns thus endeavored to avoid any act which might give umbrage to Columbus, they took certain measures to provide for the tranquility 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 burdensome expense to the crown. To prevent further discontent 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 health 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 wrongheaded Firmin Celo. He was furnished with all the necessary engines and implements for refining, smelting, and purifying the precious metals, 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 was more and more the 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 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 converting 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, 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. Fortunately 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, and mutual distrust and rankling animosity had grown up between them, which no art exertions could eradicate.

* Letter of the Sovereigns to Fonseca. Navarrete, Collection de los Viages, i. 11, Doc. 92.
CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL OF AYAGO AT ISABELLA—HIS ARROGANT CONDUCT—TEMPEST IN THE HARBOR.

[1495.]

JUAN AYAGO set sail from Spain toward the end of August, with four caravels, well freighted with supplies of all kinds. Don Diego Columbus returned in this squadron to Hispaniola, and arrived at Isabella in the month of October, while the admiral was absent, occupied in reestablishing the tranquility of the interior. Ayago, as has already been shown, was under obligations to Columbus, who had distinguished him from among his companions, and had recommended him to the favor 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 the agent of the king, in the capacity of a humble and obedient servant, 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 Ayago 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 short but comprehensive, to the following purport: "Cavaliers, esquires, and other persons, who by our orders are in the Indies, I, Your servant Juan Ayago, 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 Ayago 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 wrath of the laws, was loud in his clamors 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, but all were ascribed to the misgovernment of the admiral. It was made responsible alike for the evils produced by others and for his own stern r tudes. All the old complaints were reiterated against him and his brothers, and the usual and illiberal cause given to their oppression, that they were foreigners, who made a theory to their own interest and aggrandizement, at the expense of the sufferers and the indignities of Spaniards.

Destitute of discrimination to perceive what was true and what false in these complaints, and anxious to place the Aguiado in evidence, he produced the following conclusive testimony of the culpability of Columbus. He intimated, and perhaps thought, that the admiral was keeping 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 description. The arrogant and boasting followers of Ayago, wherever they went, spread reports of the nature and extent of his commission; and they employed 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 one was to be put to death.

The news of the arrival and of the insolent conduct of Ayago reached Columbus in the interior of the island; he immediately hastened to Isabella to give him a meeting. Ayago, 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. Ayago also expected something from the letter of credence, which 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. It was an extraordinary situation; the dignity and imputation 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 Ayago; above all, he had a profound respect 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 Ayago, therefore, with grave and punctilious courtesy; and retorted upon him his own ostentatious ceremoniousness, ordering that the letter of credence should be again proclaimed by sound of trumpet in presence of the populace. He listened to it with solemn deference, and assured Ayago of his readiness to acquiesce in whatever might be the pleasure of his sovereigns.

This unexpected moderation, while it astonished the beholders, foilled and disappointed Ayago. He had come prepared for a scene of altercation, and had hoped that Columbus, in the heat of indignation, would have said or done something that might be construed into disrespect for the authority of the sovereigns. He endeavored, in fact, some months afterward, to procure from the public notaries present, a prejudicial statement of the interview; but the deference of the admiral for the formal letter of credence had been too marked to be disputed; and all the testimonial were highly in his favor.*

Ayago continued to intermeddle in public affairs, and the respect and forbearance which he was uniformly treated by Columbus, and the mildness of the latter in all his measures to appease the discontent of the colony, were regarded as proofs of his loss of moral courage. He was looked upon as a declining man, and Ayago hailed as the lord of the ascendant. Every dastard spirit who had any lurking ill-will, any real or imaginary cause of complaint, now hastened to give it utterance; perceiving that, in gratifying his malice, he was promoting his interest, and that in vilifying the admiral he was gaining the friends of Ayago.

The poor Indians, too, were raised by the domina-

* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. lib. ii. cap. 18.

When
tation 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 were so delighted by the result of the assault after their defeat in the Vega, now assembled at the house of Manicautes, the brother of Caonabo, near the river Yaguin, 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 insure the ruin of the admiral and his brothers, and he 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 gathering against him. He had active enemies, of standing and influence, who were seeking every occasion to throw discredit upon himself and his enterprises; and, 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 prosperity of his plans, which had been drawn up 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 this 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.

The ships were ready to depart, a terrible storm swept the island. It was one of those awful whirlwinds which come among the tropics, and were called by the Indians "furiances," or "uriancias," a name they still retain with trifling variation. About midday a furious wind sprang up from the east, driving before it dense volumes of cloud and vapor. 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 as an ignat cake; at another swept to the earth, filling the air with a bole darkness more dismal 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 unhinged and overturned, and cast to a great distance. Groves were rent from the mountain precipices, with vast masses of earth and rock, tumbling into the valleys with terrific noise, and chocking 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, rolled 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 harbor, it whirled the ships round as they lay at anchor, snapped their cables, and dashed them against the shore, and cast to a great distance.

Others were driven about, dashed against each other, and tossed mere wrecks by 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 they heard of such a tempest. They believed that the Deity had sent this fearful rain 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 had been destroyed, together with two others which were in the harbor. The only vessel which survived was the Nfita, 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 torn to pieces. When it 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.† A young Arragonian, 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 affair, or were personally attached to him. Wandering about the island, they 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 conceived a strong attachment for the young Arragonian. Diaz was not insensible to her tenderness; a connection 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 the cause, with the quick intelligence of female affection. Fearful that he would abandon her, and return to his countrymen, she endeavored to devise some means of drawing the Spaniards to that part of the island. Knowing that gold was their sovereign attraction, she informed Diaz of certain rich mines in the neighborhood, and urged him to persuade his countrymen to abandon the comparatively sterile and unhealthy vicinity of Isabella, and settle upon the fertile banks of the Ozema, promising they should be received with the utmost kindness and hospitality by her people.

Struck with the suggestion, Diaz made particular inquiries about the mines, and was convinced

† Oviedo, Cronica de los Indias, lib. ii. cap. 13.
that they abounded in gold. He noticed the superior fruitfulness and beauty of the country, the excellence of the rice, and the security of the harbor 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 wished to destroy was dead. He now presented himself boldly before the Adelantado, relying on the tidings he had received. 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 effective 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 island, 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, and 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 another beautiful plain, which was called Bonao. Proceeding hence for some distance, they came to a great river called Hamna, 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 Chiao. 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 laborer, with little trouble, might find the amount of three drachms in the course of a day.* 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 neighborhood received the white men with their primitive friendship, and in every respect the representations of Miguel Diaz were fully justified. He was not only pardoned, but received into great favor, 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 betrothed, being always mentioned by the Christian name of Catalina.*

When the Adelantado returned with this favorable report, and with specimens of ore, the anxious heart of the admiral was greatly elated. He gave orders that a fortress should be immediately erected on the banks of the stream on the island, 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 the Indians might be the ancient Ophir. He now flattered himself that he had discovered the identical islands wherein King Solomon had procured his gold for the building of the Temple of Jerusalem. He supposed that his ships must have sailed by the Gulf of Persia, and round Trapanon to this island,† 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 splendor about his enterprises, and to revive the languishing interest of the public. Granting, however, 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.

* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. lib. ii. cap. 18. Peter Martyr, decad. i. lib. iv.


‡ Peter Martyr, decad. i. lib. iv.

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I.

RETURN OF COLUMBUS TO SPAIN WITH AGUADO.

[1496.]

The new caravel, the Santa Cruz, being finished, and the Nina 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,

* Cura de las Indias, by Bolivar, lib. ii. p. 146.
† Hist. de Indias.
sick, the idle, the profligate, and the factious. 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 two redoubtable caciques 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 to them their country and their power, after he had taken them to visit the King and Queen of Castile. It is probable that by kind treatment and by a display of the wonders of his own country and of might of his sovereign, he hoped to conquer their enmity to the Spaniards, and convert them into important instruments toward obtaining a secure and peaceable domination 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 haughty air.

As being yet but little experienced in the navigation of these seas, Columbus, instead of working up to the northward, as to fall in with the tract 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 Caribbean 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 Mariguante, whence, on the following day, he made sail for Guadaloupe. It was customary 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 holy days. Anchoring off the island of Guadaloupe, the boat was sent on shore well armed. Before it could reach the land, a large number of 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 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 firearms drove them 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 sup-

poses 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 named, 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 found the arm of a male lightning, a spit before a fire; but these facts, so repugnant to humanity, require 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 demandings to the admiral.

While some of the people were getting wood and water, and making cassava bread, Columbus dispatched forty men, well armed, to explore the eastern coast. They returned the following day with ten women and three boys. The women were of large and powerful form, yet of great agility. They were naked, and wore their long hair flowing loose upon their shoulders; some decorated their heads with plumes of various colors. Among these he found the wife of a cacique, a woman of strong and piercing voice. 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, but 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; for which error, 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 island, and prepared three weeks' supply of bread, Columbus prepared to make sail. As Guadaloupe was the most important of the Caribbean 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, whom she was to guard, keeping with her also a young daughter. She had conceived a passion for Caonabo, having found out that he was a native of the Caribbean Islands. His character and story, gathered from the other Indians, had won the sympathy and admiration of this intrepid woman.

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. 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 pervaded the main-board by the almost daily arrivals to their situation.

There were several pilots in the caravels; but being chiefly accustomed to navigation of the Mediterranean, or the Atlantic coasts, they were utterly confounded, and lost all reckoning when traversing the broad ocean. Every one had his opinion, and it was decided that they shoud proceed to the island of Haiti. By the beginning of June there was an absolute famine on board 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 night, lest they should come upon the land in the dark, there was a general murmuring; 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 prophesied. From this time, he was regarded by the seamen as deeply versed in the mysteries of the ocean, and almost oracle in matters of navigation.*

On the 11th of June the vessels anchored in the Bay of Cadiz, after a weary voyage of about three 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 of little moment. Had his remains been treated with the respect of the last, for his death is principally ascribed to the morbid melancholy of a proud but broken spirit.† 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, and the dominant spirit of the populous island of Haiti. He was the only chieftain that appeared to have had Sagacity sufficient to foresee the fatal effects of Spanish ascendency, or military talent to combine any resistance to its impress. Had his warriors been of his own in trepid 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 impression was inflamed with rumors of a magnificent prince in the interior, the lord of the Golden House, the sovereign of the mines of Chao, who reigned in splendid state among the mountains; but a short time had elapsed, and this fancied potentate of the East, stripped of every luxury, 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 with in their misfortunes. All his importance vanished with his freedom; scarce knew he the name of a place, 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 too successful in undermining the popularity of Columbus. It is impossible to keep up a state of excitement for any length of time in 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 proliulty. It is then that the man who had been silenced by the general applause, puts in his insidious suggestion, detracts from the merit of the declining favorite, 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 the importance of his enterprises.

The circumstances which attended the present arrival of Columbus were little calculated to encourage him to propose a third voyage. The British Parliament was in session; the house was in a state of extreme prejudice against him. On the 1st of May, a bill was introduced for the dissolution of the house of Commons, and to be heard on the 1st of July. This was a new instance of the pernicious practice of posthumous legislation—after the death of a minister the whole council of state, ever since the time of Henry VII., had consisted of the crown and the sovereign; and the body politic being clad in a winged vulture, the color of engraving which some, I conceive, regard to be the symbol of the crown. This was the more frequentest of the last three months. Two were the principal voyages of the nation—first the generating, which was the most frequent; and when the national impulse had been once raised, they were renewed. On the other hand, however, it was a great misfortune for the safety of his own person, if the crown should tolerate the existence of this body of men, who had been so much injured in public esteem, and for this reason, he was required to have been conquered, would have been able to carry on the work. However, it was not the fate of the conqueror to have his own person injured, but the country. These were the circumstances which occasioned the dissolution of the house of Commons, and the establishment of the house of Commons. It was a singular inconstancy of the crown, that their franchise should have been established by the crown, and that they should be eligible to be elected by the crown. He could not thank the crown for the swiftness of the golden coin.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 63.
† Cura de los Patios, cap. 137. Peter Martyr, who have ascribed the Caonabo to be the son of Isabella during the hurricane, but the united testimony of the curate of Los Patios, Peter Martyr, and Fernando Columbus, proves that he sailed with the admiral in his return voyage.
In the harbor of Cadiz 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 spring had vanished in the western distant parts of the Peninsula. Having read the royal letters and dispatches of which Niño was the bearer, and been informed of the wishes of the sovereigns, as well as of the state of the public mind, Columbus wrote by this opportunity, urging the Adelantado to endeavor every means of bringing the island into a peaceful and productive state, appeasing all discontent 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 neighborhood, and a seaport founded. Pedro Alonso Niño set sail with the three caravels at once.

Tidings of the arrival of Columbus having reached the sovereigns, he received a gracious letter from them, dated at Almazan, 12th July, 1496; congratulating him on his safe return, and inviting him to court when he should have recovered from the fatigue of his trip. 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 favor with the sovereigns, and fallen into a despondency, which he himself had not been able to overcome. This was probably in fulfillment of some penitential vow 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 waters of public affairs. However indifferent Columbus might have been to his own personal appearance, he was anxious to keep alive the interest in his discoveries, fearing continually that the indifference awakening toward him might imperil his accomplishment. In this 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, anklets, 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 fill the vast expectations 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 whom 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 should be restored to safety in 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 Cadiz. The curate of Los Palacios, who entertained the discoveries, 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. 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.

The reception of Columbus by the sovereigns was different from what he had anticipated, for he was treated with distinguished favor, 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, excitement for the interest in the discoveries of Columbus, and the extraordinary difficulties of his situation, not to tolerate what they may have considered errors on his part.

Encouraged by the favorable countenance he experienced, and by the interest in his discoveries, 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 this purpose he asked eight ships: two to be dispatched 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 the request, which were probably sincere in their intentions to do so, but in the performance of their promise Columbus was doomed to meet with intolerable delay; partly in consequence of the operation of public affairs, partly in consequence of the royal children, who were now maturing in years. At this time arose that family alliance, which afterward consolidated such an immense empire under his grandson and successor, Charles V.

While a large army was maintained in Italy, under Cosimo de’ Medici, 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, which were menaced with a French invasion. 

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† Cura de los Palacios, cap. 131. Oviedo, lib. II. cap. 13.
‡ Cura de los Palacios, cap. 131.
invasion. Squadrons also had to be employed for the safeguard of the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of the Peninsula, while a magnificent armada of upward of a hundred ships, having on board twenty thousand persons, many of them in最inability, was dispatched to convey 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 homefelt nature pressing upon their minds, the distant enterprises of Columbus were easily neglected or postponed. They had hitherto been sources of expense instead of profit; and there were artful counsellors ever ready to whisper in the royal ear that they were likely to continue so. What, in the nonchalance 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 upward 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 were ordered to be advanced to Columbus for the 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 dispatches of the adelantado, he had gone to his seat at Huelva, taking the dispatches with him, and merely writing, in a vanquished style, that he had a great amount of gold on board of his ships.†

This was triumphant intelligence to Columbus, who immediately concluded that there was a mine in the Indies, and the treasures of Ophir about to be realized. The letter of Niño, however, was fatal 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 dispatches of the adelantado, that his hoard 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 ad

* Equivalent to $86,956 dollars of the present day;
† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. l. cap. 123. MS.
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LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS. 133
dealt rather than reap profit from the share he
had been permitted to take in them; he was re-
lieved, therefore, from his obligation to bear an
eighth part of the cost of the past enterprises,
excepting the sum which he had advanced toward
the first voyage; at the same time, however, he
was not to claim any share of what had hith-
eretwo to the island. For the 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 were to be resumed.

To gratify his honorable ambition also, and to
perpetuate in his family the distinction gained
by his illustrious deeds, he was allowed the right
of establishing a mayoral, or perpetual entail of
his estates, so that they might always descend with
his titles of nobility. This he shortly after exer-
cised in a solemn testament executed at Seville
in the early part of 1498, by which he devised his es-
tates 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 signa-
ture, and in signing, never to use any other title
than Admiral. His family was to have the
Bartolomeu. The title and privileges which he might be
given by the king, and used by him
on other occasions. Such was the noble pride
with which he valued this title of his real great-
ness.

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 mayoralgo 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 fe-
males 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 keep-
ing a domicil for the family there; and he
commanded whoever should inherit the mayoralgo,
to always do everything in his power for the honor,
prosperity, and increase of the city of Genoa, pro-
vide 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 favorite 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 conduct of his business. 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 authorize him to pursue it in
their name.

Besides this special undertaking for the Catholic
faith, he charges his heir in case there should
arise any schism in the church, or any violence
menacing its prosperity, to throw himself at the
foot of the pope, and devote his person and
property to defend the church from all insult and spon-
liation. Next to the service of God, he enjoys

loyalty to the throne; commanding him at all
times to serve the sovereigns and their heirs,
faithfully and sincerely, and everlastingly, and
estate. To insure 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 ful-
fillment 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 privileges, a royal edict was issued on the
2d 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 conven-
ton, privileges, and favors which we have granted
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 fur-
ther favors on him." Such, there is every reason
to believe, was the sincere intention of the mag-
nanimous Isabella; but the stream of her royal
bounty was poisoned or diverted by the base
channels through which it flowed.

The favor shown to Columbus was extended
likewise to his family. The titles and privileges
of Adelantado, with which he had invested his
brother Don Bartholomew, had at first awaken-
ed the displeasure of the king, who jealously re-
served all high dignities of the kind to be granted
exclusively by the crown. By a royal letter the
office was now conferred on Don Bartholomew,
as if through spontaneous favor 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. Permis-
sion was granted him to take out three hundred
and thirty persons in royal pay, of whom forty
were to be escueleros, or servants, one hundred
foot-soldiers, thirty ship's sailors, twenty
miners, fifty husbandmen, ten gardeners,
twenty mechanics of various kinds, and thirty fe-
males. 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 the gains of the crown. He
was likewise authorized to grant lands to all such
as were disposed to cultivate vineyards, orchards,
sugar plantations, or to form any other rural estab-
ishments, on condition that they should reside as
householders on the island for four years after
such grant, and that all the brazil-wood and pre-
cious metals found on their lands should be re-
served to the crown.

Nor were the interests of the unhappy natives
forgotten by the compassionate heart of Isabella.
Notwithstanding the sophisms by which their sub-
jection and servitude were made matters of civil
and divine right, and sanctioned by the politi-
cal 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 ut-
most solicitude was exerted to protect the unof-
fending part of this helpless and devoted race.
She ordered that the greatest care should be taken
of their religious instruction, and the greatest le-
niency shown in collecting the tributes imposed

* This testament is inserted at large in the Appen-
dix.
upon them, with all possible indulgence to defaul-
tors. In fact, the injunctions given with re-
spect to the treatment both of Indians and Span-
iards, are the only indications in the royal edicts
of any impression having been made by the com-
plaints against Columbus of severity in his govern-
mant. It was generally recommended by the sov-
ereigns that, whenever the public safety did not
require stern measures, there should be mani-
bested a disposition to lenity and easy rule.

When every intention was thus shown on the part
of the crown to dispatch the expedition to the
colonies, the misdeeds which 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 admiral
had been industriously thrown upon his enter-
prises; and his new-found world, instead of a re-

gion of wealth and delight, 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
attempts which had been made, 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 remunera-
tion, as would be just, was found in his mind rea-
sensible. To supply the want of voluntary recruits,
a measure was adopted at the suggestion of Co-
lumbus, which shows the despotism of which he was
reduced by the great reaction of public sentiment.
This was to commute the sen-
tences of criminals condemned to banishment, to
the galleys, or to the mines, into transportation
to the new settlements, where they were to labor in
the public service without pay. Those whose
sentence was banishment for life, to be transport-
ed for ten years; those banished for a specific
term, to be transported for half that time. A
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general pardon was published for all malefactors at
large, who within a certain time should surrender
themselves to the admirals and embark for the
colonies, who, upon their committing 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 indul-
gence who had committed heresy, treason, coin-
ring, or other species of crime. This pernicious
measure, calculated to poison the population of an
Indian community at its very source, was a fruitful
cause of trouble to Colum-
bus, and of 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 as unnatural for a
metropolis to cast forth its crimes and vices upon
its colonies, as it would be for a parent willingly
to engraft disease upon his children. In both in-
stances the obligation of nature is violated; nor
should it be matter of surprise, if the seeds of evil
thus sown should bring forth bitter retribution.

Notwithstanding all these violent expedients,
there was still a ruinous delay in fitting out the
expedition. This is partly accounted for by changes
which took place in the persons appointed to su-
perintend the affairs of the Indies. These con-

cerns 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 un-
reasonable demands on the part of Torres, he was
removed from office, and Juan Rodriguez de Fon-
seca, Bishop of Badajoz, reinstated. These papers
had, therefore, to be made out anew, and fresh
contracts formed. While these were being pre-
pared, the expedition was speedily attended to, the
queen was suddenly over-
welmed with affliction by the death of her only
son, Prince Juan, whose nuptials had been cele-
brated with such splendor in the Spring. It was
the first of a series of domestic calamities which
assailed her affectionate heart, and overwhelmed
her with affliction. In the midst of her distress,
however, she still looked forward to Columbus.
In consequence of his urgent
representations to the missey of which the
colony must be reduced, two ships were dispatch-
et in the beginning of 1498, under the command
of Pedro Fernandez Coronel, freighted with sup-
plies. The necessary funds were advanced by the
queen herself, out of the moneys intended to form
the endowment of her daughter Isabella, then be-
trothed to Enrique of Castile. An instance of her
kind feeling toward Columbus was also evinced in
the time of her affliction; his two sons, Diego 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 zeal on the part of the
queen, Columbus still met with the most in-

murous and discouraging delays in preparing the
six remaining vessels for his voyage. His cold-
blooded enemy Fonseca, having the superinten-
dence of Indian affairs, 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 minions of the bishop, and
knew that they were gratifying him in annoy-
ing 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 exer-
s. It seems almost incredible at the present day
that such important and glorious enterprises
should have been subject to such despicable mo-
lestations. Columbus bore them all with silent
patience and resignation. He is reported to have
said that the islands which he discovered were not
more valuable than the one he came to, and that
till the discoveries of his predecessors made
him regret his having discovered the
islands to which he had given his name. In

deed, the discovery of an unknown world
was of immense value to Columbus, and
the new route to the east which it
offered was a matter of great
importance. He
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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 very water's edge. Among the worthless hirelings who had annoyed him, the most noisy and presuming was one Ximeno Brevisca, 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 front 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 where 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, hither to repressed, suddenly burst forth; he struck the可用的 minion to the ground, and kicked him repeatedly, venting in this unbridled 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 afterward to the sovereigns, he endeavored to obliterate the injury it might do him in their opinion, through the exaggeration and false coloring of his enemies. His apprehensions were not ill-founded, for Las Casas attributes the humiliating measures shortly after adopted by the sovereigns toward Columbus, to the unfavorable 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 corroborative of the charges of cruelty and oppression sent from the colony. As Ximeno was a creature of the insidious Fonseca, the affair was represented to the sovereigns in the most odious point of view. Thus the generous intentions of princes, and the exulted services of their subjects, are apt to be defeated by the interference of cold and crafty men in place. By his implaceable hostility to Columbus, and the secret obstructions which he threw in the way of the most illustrious of human enterprises, Fonseca has insured perpetuity to his name, coupled with the contempt of every generous mind.

BOOK X.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FROM SPAIN ON HIS THIRD VOYAGE—DISCOVERY OF TRINIDAD.

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 favor of the trade-winds, until he should arrive at land, or find himself in the longitude of Hispaniola. Various considerations induced him to adopt this course. In his preceding voyage, when he coasted the southern side of Cuba, under the belief that it was 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. 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

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 126, ms.
† Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. i. lib. iii. cap. 9.

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 Hayner 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 with the natives of India, Arabia, and Ethiopia, and was considered deeply versed in geography generally, but especially in the natural histories of those countries whereby 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 colored; and that until the admiral should arrive among people of such complexion he did not think he would find those articles in great abundance. 

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 southeast, 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 whence they came. Charlevoix conjectures that these black people may have come from the Ca-

* Navarrete, Colec., tom. ii. doc. 68.
naries, or the western coast of Africa, and been driven by tempest to the shores of Hispaniola.* It is probable, however, that Columbus had been misinformed as to their color, 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 fruitless and storm-provoked barks they were accustomed to use.

It was to ascertain the truth of all these suppositions, and if correct, to arrive at the favored and opulent countries about the equator, inhabited by people of situations with those of the Africans under the line, that Columbus in his present voyage to the New World took a course much nearer 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 island of Porto Santo and Madeira, where he remained a few days taking in water and wood and other supplies, and then continued his course to the south-west. On the 15th of June he arrived at Gomara, where lay at anchor a French cruiser with two Spanish prizes. On seeing the squadron of Columbus standing into the harbor, 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 admiral. The 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.

Leaving Gomara on the 21st of June, Columbus divided his squadron off the island of Ferro; three of the ships he dispatched direct for Hispaniola, to carry supplies to the colony. One of these ships was commanded by Alonso Sanchez de Cardenas, a native of Baeza, a man of much worth and integrity. He was the younger brother of Don Andres Cardenas, brother of Donna Beatriz 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 de 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 hear 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 Cortez. With the three remaining vessels the admiral followed his course, to the Cape of Verde Islands. The ship in which he sailed was decked, the other two were merchant caravels; as he advanced within the tropics the change of climate and the close and sultry weather brought on a severe attack of the gout, followed by a violent fever. Notwithstanding his painful illness, he enjoyed the full possession of his faculties, and continued to keep his reckoning and make his observations with his usual vigilance and minuteness.

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 detained in his expectation of obtaining goats' flesh for ships' 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 vapors; neither sun nor star was to be seen; a sultry, depressing temperature prevailed; and the livid looks of the inhabitants bore witness to the insularity 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 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 of Porto. 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 13th 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 south-east, meeting in the neighborhood 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, unimpeached by any refreshing breeze. Weeks are sometimes employed in crossing this torpid tract of the ocean.

The weather of the summer past had been cloudy and oppressive; but on the 13th 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 ship yawned; the salt meat became putrid; the wheat was preserved as if with fire; the hoops shrunk from the wind and water casks, some of which leaked, and others burst; while the heat in the holds 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 sank 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 furious region, where it would be impossible to exist. In this case, had a great part of the time, overcast, and there were drizzling showers; but the atmosphere was close and still, and there was that combination of heat and moisture which relaxes all the energies of the human frame.

† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 69.
‡ P. Martyr, decal. i. lib. vi.

VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

Sailing from the coast of Hispaniola, after a voyage of thirty-six days, he entered the west end of the ocean, and arrived at the port of Grand Terre, after a voyage of forty-one days, and the discovery of the Azores, the western islands of the Azores, and the air of the eastern and western ocean, and the air of the western ocean, and the air of the western ocean, and the air of the western ocean.

Columbus胡子。
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 in its annual paroxysms. As he sailed westward, he was opposed by the large 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 course and steered to the south-west, hoping to find a milder temperature further 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 salubrity 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 ocean of heats and calms, with a murky, stifling atmosphere, the ships all at once entered a region of tranquillity, a pleasant, cooling breeze played over the surface of the sea, and gently filled their sails, the close and clustering clouds broke away, the sky became serene and clear, and the sun shone forth with a burning heat.

Columbus had intended, on reaching this temperate tract, to have stood once more to the south and then westward; but the late parching weather had opened the seams of his ships, and caused them to leak excessively, so that it was necessary to seek a harbor as soon as possible, where they might be refitted. Much of the provisions also was spoiled, and the water nearly exhausted. He kept on therefore directly to the west, trusting, from the flights of birds and other favorable 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 latitudes of the Caribbee Islands, he bore away toward the northward in search of land.

On the 31st of July there was not above one cask of water remaining in each ship, when, about midday, a mariner at the masthead beheld the summits of three mountains rising above the horizon, and gave the joyous tidings of land. As the ships drew nearer it was seen that these mountains were united at the base. Columbus had determined to give the first land he should behold the name of the Trinity. The appearance of these three mountains united into one struck him as a singular coincidence; and, with a solemn feeling of devotion, he gave the island the name of La Trinidad, which it bears at the present day.

CHAPTER II.

VOYAGE THROUGH THE GULF OF PARIA.

[1498.]

SHAPING his course for the island, Columbus approached its eastern extremity, to which he gave the name of Punta de la Galera, from a rock in the sea, which resembled a gallows under sail.

He was obliged to coast for five leagues along the southern shore before he could find safe anchorage. On the following day (August 1st), he continued coasting westward, in search of water and a convenient harbor 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 groves of palm-trees and luxuriant forests, sweeping down to the seashore, with fountains and running streams. The shores were low and uninhabited, but the country rose in the interior, was cultivated in many places, and enriched 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 him to equal the delights of early spring in the beautiful province of Valencia.*

Anchoring at a point to which he gave the name of Punta de la Plata, he sent the boats on shore for water. They found an abundant and limpid brook, at which they filled their casks, but there was no safe harbor for the vessels, nor could they meet with any of the islands he had hoped to find; they found prints of footsteps, and various fishing implements, left behind in the hurry of the flight. There were tracks also of animals, which they supposed to be goats, but which must have been deer, with which, as it was afterward ascertained, the island abounded.

While coasting the island Columbus beheld land to the south, stretching to the distance of more than twenty leagues. It was low and flat, intersected by the numerous branches of the Orinoco, 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 a continent, that Terra Firma, which had been the object of his earnest search.

On the 2d of August he continued on the south-west point of Trinidad, which he called Point Arenal. It stretched toward 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 with five and twenty Indians put off from the shore, but paused on coming within bow-shot, and hailed the ships in a language which no one on board understood. Columbus tried to allure the savages on board, by 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 about two hours, with their paddles in their hands, ready to take to flight on the least attempt to approach them. They were all young men, well formed, and naked, excepting bands and fillets of cotton about their heads, and colored cloths about the same of their loins. They were armed with bows and arrows, the latter feathered and tipped with bone, and they had bucklers, a kind of armor seen for the first time among the inhabitants of the New World.

Finding 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 the pipes 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

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* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 67.
† Ibid., ubi sup.
of the tabar, 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 hostility, put their bucklers on their arms, and let fly a shower of arrows. This rude salute 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 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 chief. He received the presents with great delight, inviting the pilot by signs to come to land, where he should be well entertained, and receive presents in return. On his appearing to consent, they went to shore for him. The pilot put off in the boat of the caravel to ask permission of the admiral; but the land was in the hands of the hostile ship, suspected some treachery, andpring into his canoe, darted away, nor was anything more seen of them.

The complexion and other physical characteristics caused much surprise and speculation in the mind of Columbus. Supposing himself in the seventh degree of latitude, though actually in the tenth, he expected to find the inhabitants similar to the natives of Africa under the same parallel, who were black and ill-shaped, with crinkled hair, or rather wool; whereas these 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, appeared more temperate. There were no runs of water, but by sinking pits entertained, and receive presents in return. He was now on the inner side of Trinidad. To his left spread the broad gulf since known by the name of Paria, which he supposed to be the open sea, but was surprised, on landing it, to find the water fresh. He continued northward, toward a mountain at the north-west point of the island, about fourteen leagues from Point Arenal. Here he beheld two lofty capes opposite each other, one on the island of Trinidad, the other on the coast of the mainland, forming a passage between the land and the sea, which is now called the Strait of Juan de la Cosa. This passage was first discovered by Columbus, and named after the captain who first passed through it.

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 Dragon. Not choosing to encounter its apparent dangers, he turned northward, on Sunday, the 11th, toward 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. It was a fair and beautiful coast, indented with fine harbors 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 astonished Columbus was still to find the water fresh, and that it grew more and more the farther he proceeded.

LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

He thus found himself in a position to prevent all fear of his boats being carried away by the current, for he had discovered a point of land, \( \text{point} \), suitable for sheltering his ships. The discharge of fresh water into the sea, however, caused the waters to become brackish and salty, which was inconvenient for the ships. He therefore decided to anchor his fleet, \( \text{anchored} \), and explore the land. The natives, \( \text{natives} \), were friendly and welcoming, and Columbus was able to make contact with them. They showed him their homes, \( \text{houses} \), and offices, \( \text{offices} \), and even their food and drink, \( \text{food} \) and \( \text{drink} \). They also presented him with gifts, \( \text{gifts} \), and he took some of their valuables, \( \text{valuables} \), back to Spain. He also took note of the plants, \( \text{plants} \), and animals, \( \text{animals} \), he encountered, and recorded their names. He was particularly impressed by the size and beauty of the trees and flowers, \( \text{trees} \) and \( \text{flowers} \), and the variety of birds, \( \text{birds} \), he saw. He also noted the abundance of fish in the waters, \( \text{fish} \), and the quality of the water, \( \text{water} \).

He then proceeded to make observations on the people and customs of the land. He noticed that the natives were friendly and welcoming, and that they were skilled in the arts of agriculture and fishing. He also noted that they had a strong sense of community and cooperation, \( \text{community} \) and \( \text{cooperation} \), and that they were able to work together to achieve common goals. He was also impressed by the size of their settlements, \( \text{settlements} \), and the quality of their buildings, \( \text{buildings} \), and noted that they had a strong sense of community and cooperation, \( \text{community} \) and \( \text{cooperation} \), and that they were able to work together to achieve common goals. He was also impressed by the size of their settlements, \( \text{settlements} \), and the quality of their buildings, \( \text{buildings} \), and noted that they had a strong sense of community and cooperation, \( \text{community} \) and \( \text{cooperation} \), and that they were able to work together to achieve common goals.

From these Indians Columbus understood the name of their country was \( \text{Cuba} \), 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 \( \text{Aguja} \) or the \( \text{Needle} \). Here he arrived at three o'clock in the morning. When the day dawned he was delighted with the beauty of the scenery. It was cultivated in many places, highly populous, and adorned with magnificent vegetation; \( \text{vegetation} \) and \( \text{beaut} \)
tial 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 goodwill 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 PARIA—RETURN TO HISPANIOLA.

[1498]

The quantity of fine pearls found among the natives of Paria was sufficient to arouse the singing anticipations of Columbus. It appeared to corroborate the theory of Ferrer, the learned jeweller, that, as he approached the equator he would find the earths and fresh water through which the Spaniards returned on board of their ships, highly gratified with their entertainment.

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., cap. 136.
† Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. 1. lib. iii. cap. 10
‡ Herrera, dec. 1. lib. iii. cap. 10.
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 over the shoals. The current of fresh water, however, gained the victory, and carried them safely through. The admiral, when off safer land, in the open sea, congratulated himself upon his escape from this perilous strait, which, however, 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 Paria, 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 Correio had asserted; 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 Dragon, he saw to the north-east, many leagues distant, two islands, which he called Assumption and Concepción; probably, thinking that each had its own current. In his course along the northern coast of Paria he saw several other small islands and many fine harbors, 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, afterward famous for their pearl fisheries. 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 mainland, and only about four leagues from the latter, was dry and sterile, without either wood or fresh water, but possessing a good harbor. On approaching this island the admiral rehired a number of Indians fishing for pearls, which 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 Valencian ware, a kind of porcelain painted and varnished with gaudy colors, he broke it, and presented the pieces to the Indian woman, who gave it in exchange a considerable number of broken pearls. The admiral, who immediately sent persons on shore, well provided with Valencian 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 afterward to the sovereign as specimens.

There was great temptation 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 presenting a decisive view to ascertain whether, as he had been told, it was a part of the Asiatic continent. Columbus was compelled, however, to have the greatest reluctance, to forego this most interesting investigation.

The admiral's eyes had very soon grown so virulent that he could no longer take observations or keep a lookout, but had to confide 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 recruit his health, which 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 10th of August, fifty leagues to the westward of the island of Cuba, the place of his destination; and anchored on the following morning near 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 island of Dragr, while he had lain at nights, to avoid running on rocks and shoals, and borne his ship 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, though the wind was but moderate, the ship 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 Dragr, where he supposed it had turned, and that which had been mistaken for the 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 preventing the passage of vessels from the Caribbean to the Gulf of Paria. The current which stretches from Trinidad to the Lucayas or Bahamas, and which, according to his idea, had originally been part of the solid continent. In consideration of this opinion, he notices the form of those islands; narrow from north to south, and extending in length from east to west, in the direction of the current.

The island of Beata where he had anchored, is about thirty leagues to the west of the island of Cuba, where he expected to find the new seaport which his brother had been instructed to establish. The strong and steady current from the east, however, with the prevalence of mist 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 to 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 admiral was astonished at seeing a weapon of the kind in the possession of these savages, 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 trouble with the natives.

Having dispatched his messenger, he 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 were the Adelantado, who, having received his letter, and bade him welcome with affectionate ardor to welcome his arrival. The meeting of the brothers was a cause of mutual joy; they were strongly attached to each other, and had each had his trials and sufferings during their long separation, and each looked with confidence to the other for comfort and 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.

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* Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. i. lib. iii. cap. 11.
* Letter to the King and Queen, Navaire, Valencia, Nov. 16.
* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 148.
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 amid 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 constitutions of this powerful kind, if exposed to severe hardships at an advanced period of life, when the frame has become somewhat rigid and unaccustomed, are apt to be suddenly broken up, and to be a prey to violent aches and maladies. In this last voyage Columbus had been parched and consumed by fever, racked by gout, and his whole system disordered by incessant 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 recourse with the most direful and calamitous prospect, 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 presented to the ardent mind of Columbus in the course of this voyage, led to certain sound and imaginative speculations. The immense body of fresh water flowing into the Gulf of Paria, and thence rushing into the ocean, was too vast to be produced by an island or by islands. It must be the aggregated streams of a great extent of country pouring forth in one mighty river, and the land necessary to furnish such a river must be a continent. He now supposed that most of the tracts of land which he had seen about the Gulf were connected; that the coast of Paria extended westward far beyond a chain of mountains which he had beheld afar off from Margarita; and that the land opposite to Trinidad, instead of being an island, continued to the south, far beyond the equator, into that hemisphere hitherto unknown to civilized man. He considered all this as 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 was supported by authors of the highest name both ancient and modern; among whom he cites Aristotle and Seneca, St. Augustine and Cardinal Pedro de Alieno. He has particular stress also on the assertion of the apocryphal Ebran, 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 give 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, of the noblest character, carried them still farther, until they ended in what 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 everything became different. The needle which had previously inclined toward the north-east, now varied a whole point to the north-west. The sea, hitherto clear, was covered with waves 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, contrary to every former terai. On 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 former voyage he had seen it rise, 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 disorderly 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 farther 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 at the same line, though farther north, in his former voyages; excepting that here there was no herbage in the sea, and the movements of stars were more evident than there. The diurnal 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 regard to the form of the earth. Philosophy had described it as spherical, but they knew nothing of the part of the earth 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 of that a pear, one part more much 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, according to his opinion, variations which he had observed in passing the imaginary line running from north to south, where they began to become more evident; for the same variation of the sky, the stars, the heat, the temperature, and the circumstance of the needle, which he observed to be the greatest when he steered westward from the Azores, and the climate in general, which he observed to be more genial and mild than on all other parts of the earth, it was, he says, in the neighborhood of that line which he had observed to be the greatest. He concludes to have found a continent, and that frem the knowledge of the ancients, and the theoretical knowledge of the moderns. As usual, he says: "The sun, the moon, and the stars, were in their accustomed light, and their accustomed forms; but the theory is, that if you take a pure and clear day, will be observed in the sky a great number of unusual phenomena, like those here described."

* Potentilla, if we may hazard that, from the elevation, the sun, air, have a greater ascent, l. lib. vi. ch. 4. like those here described."

† Columbus speaks of the sun as the north, likewise of the sea: St. Aug. as east, with the ancients; it's a fault which it is allowed, though, in a great part only, that the wind bloweth westward.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

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 gently in the west, with the exception of some high lands.

The beautiful and fertile shores of Asia were situated on its remote borders, abounding of course with those precious articles which are congenial with the most favored and excellent climates. As one penetrated 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 one arrived at 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 vapors, the storms and tempests which deform and disturb the lower regions.

In brief, he supposed the area to be the original abode of our first parents, the primitive seat of human innocence and bliss, the Garden of Eden, or terrestrial 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, except 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 Asia, and sweeten 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. Isidore, and St. Ambrose, 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 cautious and sober fact, may conceive it strange, that this modern world, raised on the edge of the earth, should have been discovered by the speculations of the most sage and learned of those times; and if it had not been the case, 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, where the rocks, he was told, were veined with gold, the groves tempested with spices, or the shores abounded with pearls. Immutable ranges of coast, prominent

* Peter Martyr mentions that the admiral told him, that, from the climate of great heat and wholesome air, he had ascended the back of the sea, as it were ascending a high mountain toward heaven. Decad. lib. vi.

† 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 Jerusalem as the shores. Here, on the contrary, touching with one part of the lodestone, it would point east, with another west, and so on. Therefore, adding those for the magnetize the needles, considering the loadstone with a cloth so that the north part only is visible; that is to say, the part which possesses the virtue of causing the needle to point to the north. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 66.
ontory 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 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 soorings of the imagination, he might, with other sages, have reasoned calmly and coldly in his closet 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 sagacity which formed the basis of his character. The conclusion which he drew from the great flow of the Oronoco, that it must

be the outpouring of a continent, was acute and striking. 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 sphere, 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 inconsistency more manifest, and have shown that extreme cold sometimes diverts the needle of all its virtue. Perhaps new observations may justly support 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."*
tile country; its waters were pure and salubrious, and well stocked with fish; its banks were covered with the choicest fruits of the island, and so, that in sailing along, the fruits and flowers might be plucked with the hand from the branches which overhung the stream. This delightful vici-nity was the dwelling-place of the female cacique who had conceived an affection for the young Spaniard, and being a woman of spirit, 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 harbor Don Bartholomew erected a fortress, which at first was called Isabella, but afterward 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 it in a garrison of twenty men, and with the rest of his forces set out to visit the dominions of Bechecho, one of the principal chief-tains of the island. This cacique, as has already been mentioned, reigned over Xaragua, a province comprising a large extent of land, and the west coast of the island, including Cape Tiburon, and extending along the south side as far as Point Aguida, or the small island of Beata. It was one of the most populous and fertile districts, with a delightful cli- mate; and its inhabitants were sober and temperate, not ungracious 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 Bechecho, and had taken refuge with her brother after the capture of her husband. She was one of the most beautiful females of the island, and her name in the Indian language signified "The Golden Flower." 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 which her husband had brought about by the boasting of the white men, she appears to have entertained no vindic-tive feeling toward them, knowing 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 impotence of any attempt to resist their superiority in arts and arms. Having great influence over her brother Bechecho, 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.

In passing through those parts of the island which had hitherto been visited by Europeans, the Adelantado adopted the same imposing measures which the admiral had used on a former occa-

* Peter Martyr, deced. l. lib. v.
† Charlevoix, Hist. St. Domingo, lib. ii. p 147.

...
lantado and his followers with that natural grace and courtesy for which she was celebrated; manifesting no hostility toward them for the fate her husband had experienced at their hands.

The Adelantado and his officers were conducted to the house of Behechico, where a banquet was served up of utias, a great variety of sea and river fish, with roots and fruits of excellent quality. Here first the Spaniards conquered their repugnance to the dishes, the favorite 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 Anacona. His followers imitated his example, they found it to be highly palatable and delicate; and from that time forward, the guana was held in repute among Spanish epicures.*

The banquet being over, Don Bartholomew with six of his principal cavaliers were lodged in the dwelling of Behechico; 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 twenty days the Indians entertained with the hospitable Behechico, 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 reels. 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.

When the festivities were over, and familiar intercourse had promoted mutual confidence, the Adelantado addressed the cacique and Anacona on the real object of his visit. He informed him that his brother, the admiral, had been sent to the island by the sovereigns of Castile, who were great and mighty potentates, with many kingdom 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 Behechico and his subjects in the protection of these mighty sovereigns, and to arrange a treaty to be paid by him, in such manner as should be most convenient and satisfactory to himself.†

The cacique was greatly embarrassed by this demand, knowing the sufferings 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 farther 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 a most friendly leave of Behechico and his sister, and set out for Isabella.

Thus by amicable and sagacious policy, 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 readily and even cheerfully to have resigned their rights to the white men, when treated with gentleness and humanity.

CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHAIN OF MILITARY POSTS—INSURRECTION OF GUARIONEX, THE CACIQUE OF THE VEGA.

[146.]

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 distributed among them, from the supply brought out a few months before by Pedro de Ovando, had long since been consumed. Partly from sickness, and partly from a repugnance to labor, they had neglected to cultivate the surrounding country, and the Indians, on whom they chiefly depended, outraged their oppressions, had abandoned the vicinity, and fled to the mountains; choosing rather to subsist on roots and herbs, in their rugged retreats, 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 misery, 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 labor seemed lost that was to produce profit by a circuitous process. Instead of cultivating the luxuriant soil around them, they chose to subsist on goods from its surface, they wasted their time in seeking for mines and golden streams, and were starved in the midst of fertility.

No sooner were the provisions exhausted which had been brought out by Nino than the colonists began to break forth in their accustomed mur-

* These serpentes are lyke unto crocodiles, saving in byness; they call them guanas. Unto that day none of owre men durst adventure to taste of them, by reason of theyre horrible deformity and lowness. Yet the Adelantado being ensaysed by the pleasantness of the king's sister, Anacona, determined to taste the serpentes. But when he felt the flesh and bone to be so comely to his tongue, he felt to amayne without at feare. The which thyng his companions persceiving, were not behynde hym in greedyness: insomuch that they had now none other tale than to hunger for the taste of these serpentes, which they affirme to be of more pleasant taste, than euer our pheasantes or partriches." Peter Martyr, decad. 1. book \( V \). Eden's Eng. Trans.  
† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 1. cap. 113.  
‡ Ibid. cap. 114.
of the natives, and therefore had been treated with great severity. El Cacique was supposed to have been wronged in his dominions, and when the Jesuits were sent for to settle the controversy, the cacique rose and declared his countryman to be the rightful owner of the land. The Jesuits then proceeded to examine the evidence and to determine the right of the parties. The cacique was found to have the better claim, and the Jesuits accordingly decided in his favor. The cacique then withdrew, and the Jesuits were permitted to continue their mission in peace.

The mission was conducted in a manner worthy of the Jansenists who founded it. The Jesuits were received with great respect by the natives, and their樈es were attended with great benefit to the Indians. The natives were taught to read and write, and were instructed in the principles of religion. They were also taught the art of agriculture, and were furnished with the means of support. The Jesuits thus became the patrons of education and the benefactors of the Indians.

The mission was conducted with such success that it soon extended over a large portion of the country. The Jesuits were everywhere received with the greatest respect, and their mission was attended with great benefit to the Indians. They were taught to read and write, and were instructed in the principles of religion. They were also taught the art of agriculture, and were furnished with the means of support. The Jesuits thus became the patrons of education and the benefactors of the Indians.

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The mission was conducted with such success that it soon extended over a large portion of the country. The Jesuits were everywhere received with the greatest respect, and their mission was attended with great benefit to the Indians. They were taught to read and write, and were instructed in the principles of religion. They were also taught the art of agriculture, and were furnished with the means of support. The Jesuits thus became the patrons of education and the benefactors of the Indians.
ably invented by the Butios, or priests, after the Spaniards had begun to exercise their severities. Whether their prediction had an effect in disposing their attachment to hostiles is uncertain. Some have asserted that he was compelled to take up arms by his subjects, who threatened, in case of his refusal, to choose some other chief; others have alleged the outrage committed upon his favorite wife, as the principal cause of his irritation. It was probably these things combined, which at length induced him to enter into the conspiracy. A secret consultation was held among the caciques, 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.†

By some means the garrison at Fort Conception, with the intention of anticipating this conspiracy, received intimation of it from the Indians. Being but a handful of men, and surrounded by hostile tribes, they wrote a letter to the Adelantado, at San Domingo, imploring immediate aid. As this letter might be taken from their Indian messenger, the natives having discovered that these letters were written in communicating intelligence, and tending to excite, they could not, it was inferred in a reed, to be used as a staff. The messenger was, in fact, intercepted; but, affecting to be dumb and lame, and intimating by signs that he was returning home, was permitted to limp forward on his journey. When out of sight he resumed his speed, and bore the letter safely and expeditiously to San Domingo.‡

The Adelantado, with his characteristic promptness and activity, set out immediately with a body of troops for the fortress; and though his men were much encumbered by scanty fare, hard service, and long marches, hurried them rapidly forward. Never did aid arrive more opportune. The Indians were 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 his officers, the Adelantado concerted a 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 into the villages, surprise them asleep and unarmed, bind the caciques, and bring them off prisoners. As Guarianox was the most important personage in the village, the capture of such a person would be attended with most difficulty and danger, the Adelantado took the charge of it upon himself, at the head of one hundred men.

This 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 to the fortress, before any effort could be made for their defence or rescue. The Indians, struck with terror, made no resistance, nor any show of hostility; surrounding the fortress with 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 been conducted. He obtained information of the causes of this conspiracy, and the individuals most culpable. Two caciques, the principal movers of the insurrection, and who had most wrought upon the easy nature of Guarianox, were put to death. As to that unfortunate cacique, the Adelantado, considering the deep wrongs he had suffered, and the sorrow with which he had been provoked to revenge, magnanimously pardoned him; nay, according to Las Casas, he proceeded with stern justice against the Spaniard whose outrage on his wife had sunk so deeply in his heart. He extended his lenity also to the remaining chieftains of the conspiracy; promising great favors and rewards, if they should continue firm in their loyalty; but terrible punishments should they again be discovered in rebellion. The heart of Guarianox was subdued by this unexpected clemency. He made a speech to his people setting forth the irresistible might and valor of the Spaniards; their great loyalty to their country, and their constancy in his service; he was surely 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 by their treatment of himself; when he had concluded, they took him up on their shoulders, bore him to the habitation with songs and shouts of joy, and for some time the tranquillity of the Vega was restored.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADELANTADO REPAIRS TO XARAGUA TO RECEIVE TRIBUTE.

[1497.]

With all his energy and discretion, the Adelantado found it difficult to manage the proud and turbulent spirit of the colonists. They could ill brook the sway of a foreigner, who at first they were restive, curbed them with an iron hand. Don Bartholomew had not the same legitimate authority in their eyes as his brother. The admiral 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, on the contrary, was regarded by many as a mere intruder, assuming high command without authority from the crown, and shouldering himself into power on the merits and services of his brother. They spoke with impatience and indignation, also, of the long absence of the admiral, and his fancied inattention to their affairs; 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. Aware that repining and discontented minds should never be left in retirement, Don Bartholomew kept them continually in movement; and indeed a state of constant activity was congenial to his own vigorous spirit. About this time mes-

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 127.
† Herrera, decad. i. lib. iii. cap. 65. Peter Martyr, decad. vi. lib. v.
‡ Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. lib. iii. cap. 7.

— Peter Martyr, decad. i. lib. v. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. lib. iii. cap. 6.

Nothing is

— Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 127.

— Peter Martyr, decad. i. lib. v. Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i. lib. iii. cap. 6.

— Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 127.
sengers arrived from Bechecho, 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 set forth with a numerous train, to convey the presents to the caciques, and other attendants, and the different chiefs and caciques; and, in the pleasantness of the season, they were received with songs and dances, and all the national demonstrations of respect and amity by Bechecho and his sister Anaconda. 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 Bechecho, awaiting his arrival with their respective tribute. The cotton they had brought was enough to fill one of their houses. Having delivered this, they gratuitously offered the Adelantado as much cassava bread as he desired. The offer was most acceptable in the present need of the colony; and Don Bartholomew sent to Isabella for one of the caravels, which was nearly finished, to be dispatched as soon as possible to Xaragua, to be freighted with bread and cotton.

Anaconda received the presents from all quarters large supplies of provisions, and entertained their guests with continual festivity and banqueting. The early Spanish writers, whose imaginations, elevated by the accounts of the voyagers, could not form an idea of the simplicity of savage life, especially in these newly discovered countries, 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 court, as if they were describing the shahis of Asiatic potentates. The accounts given of Xaragua, however, have a different character; and give a picture of savage life, in its perfection of idle and ignorant enjoyment. The troubles which distracted the other parts of devoted Hayti had not reached the inhabitants of this pleasant region. Living among beautiful and fruitful groves, on the borders of a sea, apparently forever tranquil and unvisited by storms; having few wants, and those readily supplied, they appeared exalted in every respect. By skillful management, another ship was 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 from the residence of Bechecho, and Anaconda 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 Anaconda treasured up those articles which she esteemed most rare and precious. They consisted of various manufactures of cotton, ingeniously wrought; of vellum, rare sets of clay, moulded into different forms; of chairs, tables, and like articles of furniture, formed of ebony and other kinds of wood, and carved with various devices—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 made numerous presents to her guest.

Nothing could exceed the wonder and delight of this intelligent woman when she first beheld the ship. Her brother, who treated her with a paternal fondness and respectful attention, worthy of civilized life, had prepared two canoes, gayly painted and decorated, one to convey her and her attendants, and the other for himself and the chiefs. Anaconda, however, preferred to embark with her attendants in the ship's boat with the Adelantado. As they approached the caravel, a salute was fired. At the report of the cannon, and the sight of the smoke, Anaconda, overcome with emotion, fell into the arms of the Adelantado, and her attendants would have leaped overboard, but the laughter and the cheerful words of Don Bartholomew speedily reassured them. As they drew near to the vessel, several instruments of martial music struck up, with which they were greatly delighted. Their admiration increased on entering on board. Accustomed only to their simple and slight canoes, everything here appeared wonderfully vast and complicated. But when the anchor was weighed, he was pressed by a gentle breeze, they beheld this vast mass, moving apparently by its own vocation, 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 genius, a ship under sail.

Having freighted and dispatched the caravel, the Adelantado made many presents to Bechecho, his sister, and their attendants, and took leave of them, to return by land with his troops to Isabella. Anaconda showed great affection 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, or would she be consoled until he had promised to return again to Xaragua.

We cannot but remark the 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, men defeated a formidable insurrection without any effusion of blood. He conciliated the most inveterate enemies among the natives by great moderation, while he detested all wanton hostilities by the infliction of signal punishments. He had made firm friends of the most important chiefs, brought their dominions under cheerful tribute, 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 tranquillity and 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 mischief had been fomented there, which were soon to throw the whole island into confusion.

* Peter Martyr, decd. l. lib. v. Herrera, decd. l. lib. iii. cap. 6.
† Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 9.
CHAPTER IV.

LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

**CONSPIRACY OF ROLDAN.**

[1497.]

The prime mover of the present mischief was one Francisco Roldan, a man under the deepest obligations to the admiral. Raised by him from poverty and obscurity, he had been employed at first in menial capacities; he, showing strong natural talents and great dexterity, he had become a minor alcalde, equivalent to justice of the peace. The able manner in which he acquitted himself in this situation, and the persuasion of his great fidelity and gratitude, 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 grow venomous in the sunshine of prosperity. His benefactor had returned to Spain apparently under a cloud of disgrace; a long interval had elapsed without tidings from him; he considered him a fallen man, and 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 was then commander 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 communicating and encouraging the discontent 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 brought him into 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 hard treatment 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 colony and secure their power, as they marched about the island enriching themselves with the cajiques.

The suggestions he exasperated their feelings to such a

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* Herrera, decad. I. lib. III. cap. 1.

† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. I. cap. 118.

‡ Hist. del Almirante, cap. 73.

† Ibid.
Don Diego received information of what was fermenting among the people, yet feared to come to an open rupture with Roldan 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 met the insurgents, 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, disarm- ing and dismissing such as refused full participation in his plans, and returned with his little band to Isabella, where he left secure of a strong party among the common people.

The Adelantado had by this time returned from Xaragua; but Roldan, leaving 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 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 the people should be endangered by their attempt to navigate her.

Roldan perceived that his motives were suspected, and 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 favorable part of the island, always trusting to excite 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 disaffected 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 steamed off in various Indian villages in which the Spaniards were distributed, endeavoring to enlist the latter in his party, by 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 tributes. These caciques with whom he had maintained a previous understanding, received him with open arms; particularly one who had taken the name of Diego Marquez, whose village he made his headquarters, 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 his 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 dissuaded from government, and might be gradually brought into his plans, or that he would be disposed to desert the licentious life which he permitted among his followers. In the neighborhood was the town inhabited by Guaranxes. 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 shot himself up with his men in a fortified house, refusing to permit them to hold any communication with Roldan. The latter planned to set fire to the house; but after a little consideration, contented himself with seizing their store of provisions, and then marched toward Fort Conception, which was not quite half a league distant.*

CHAPTER V.

THE ADELANTEADO REPAIRS TO THE VEGA IN RELIEF OF FORT CONCEPTION—HIS INTERVIEW WITH ROLDAN.

[1497.]

The Adelantado had received intelligence of the licentious proceedings of Roldan, yet hesitated for a time to set out, in pursuance of which he had lost all confidence in the loyalty of the people around him, and knew not by what maneuver he might be disposed to mislead. Diego de Escobar, alcalde of the fortress of La Madelenita, together with Adrian de Moxica and Pedro de Valdivias, the two principal men, with whom he had been promised Roldan. He feared that the commander of Fort Conception might likewise be in league with them, and the whole island in arms against him. He was disposed, however, by tidings from Miguel Ballester, to support the loyal viceroy of the press letters to succor, representing the weakness of his garrison, and the increasing forces of the rebels.

Don Bartholomew 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 message to him, reiterating the flagrant irregularity of his conduct, the in-


Extract of a letter from T. S. Henckels, Esq., 1847.

Fort Conception is situated at the foot of a hill now called Santo Cerro. It is constructed of bricks, and is almost as entire at the present day as when just finished. It stands in the gloom of an exuberant forest which has invaded the scene of former bustle and activity; a spot once considered of great importance, and surrounded by swarms of intelligent beings.

What became of the countless multitudes this fortress was intended to awe? Not a trace of them remains excepting in the records of history. The silence of the tombs prevails where their habitations responded to their songs and dances. A few indigenes of the island, living in miserable hovels, scattered widely apart in the bosom of the forest, are now the sole occupants of this once fruitful and once populated land. A Spanish town gradually grew up round the fortress, the ruins of which extend to a considerable distance. It was destroyed by an earthquake, at nine o'clock of the morning of Saturday, 20th April, 1854, during the celebration of mass. Part of the massive walls of a handsome church still remain, as well as those of a very large convent or hospital, supposed to have been constructed in pursuance of the testamentary dispositions of Columbus. The inhabitants who survived the catastrophe retired to a small chapel, on the banks of a river, about a league distant, where the new town of La Vega was afterward built.
It was calculated to produce in the island, and the certain ruin it must bring upon himself, and annihilating him to appear at the fortress, pleading his word for his personal safety. Roldan, replying accordingly, to the cantequin, 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 sovereign, of defending him 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 citizen of that country. 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 proceeded with his followers to take possession of the remote province of Xaragua. The Spaniards who had returned thence gave enticing 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 festivals, 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 labor, 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 irresistible with men of idle and dissolute habits. His listeners were captivated 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 with his band to Isabella, and entering it in a night attack, succeeded in launching the caravel, with which they might sail to Xaragua.

Don Diego Columbus, hearing the tumult, issued forth with several cavaliers; but such was the force of the mutineers and their menacing conduct, that he was obliged to withdraw, with his adherents, into the fortress. The Adelantado, finding himself deserted by his followers, and opposed to him by the Adelantado, his proposition was treated with scorn. The fortress was too strong to be assaulted with success; he found it impossible to enter, though he feared the Adelantado might return, and he was inclosed 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 endeavoring to awe and terrify from long habit, 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 of the houses of the Adelantado, who was ordered to keep to the castle, and thus to secure the Adelantado's establishment, and permitted his followers to kill such of the remainder as they might wish for present supply. Having committed this wasteful ravage, he marched triumphantly 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 excitating 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 endeavor either to get possession of the person of the Adelantado, or to strike some blow, in his present crippled state, that should enable him to offering further molestation. Returning, therefore, to the fortress of Fort Conception, he endeavored in every way, by the means of subtle emissaries, to seduce the garrison to desert, or to excite the revolt. The latter, accordingly, proceeded to defend with his forces, having no confidence in their ability. He knew that they had listened wistfully to the emissaries of Roldan, and contrasted the meager fare and stern discipline of the garrison, with the abundant cheer and easy mirel that prevailed among the rebels. To counteract these seductions, he relaxed from his 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 the advantage over that of Roldan, of being on the side of government and law.

Finding his efforts to corrupt the garrison unsuccessful, and fearing some sudden sally from the vigorous Adelantado, Roldan drew off to a distance, and sought by 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 passioned by female attraction, or the exercise of his authority. He represented himself 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 made the affronts heaped upon Spaniards by a family of obscure and arrogant foreigners; and procressed 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 Manicote, brother of the late Caonbo, whose son and nephew were in his possession as hostages for payment of tributes. This warlike chieftain conciliated by presents and caresses, bestowing on him the appellation of brother. 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 the Adelantado 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 slight 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 supplies was driving the inhabitants to sink the spirits of the well-affected into despair. The Adelantado was shut up in Fort Conception, in daily expectation of being overtaken by Roldan, and was 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 Pedro Fernandez Coronal 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 GUARINEX, AND HIS FLIGHT TO THE MOUNTAINS OF CIGUAY.

[1498.]

The arrival of Coronal, which took place on the third of February, was the salvation of the colony. The reinforcements of troops, and supplies of all kinds, strengthened the hands of Don Bartholomew. The royal confirmation of his title and authority as Adelantado at once dispelled all doubts as to the legitimacy of his power; and the tidings that the admiral was in high favor 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 much superior rebel force was at the village of the cacique Guarinex, 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 befoul his rash and hazardous projects. The Adelantado left strong guards on the roads to prevent his near approach to San Domingo, but Roldan passed 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 still a 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 before his brother's arrival. He considered that the colonists had suffered greatly from the want of supplies; that their discontent had been heightened by the severities they 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 amnesty for all past offences, on condition of immediate return to allegiance. Hearing that Roldan was within five leagues of San Domingo with his troops, he sent for Don Pedro Fernandez Coronal, who had been appointed by the sovereigns of Spain, to exhort him to obedience, promising him oblivion of all previous dishonor. He trusted that the representations of a discreet and honorable man like Coronal, who had been witness of the favor 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 rely upon his power; he determined also to prevent his following from communicating with Coronal, lest they should be seduced by him by the promise of pardon. When that emissary, therefore, approached the encampment of the rebels, he was opposed, he was opposed to himself the side of the enemy.

In vain Coronal endeavored by fair reason and earnest entreaty to win this perverse and turbulent man from his career. Roldan answered with hauteur 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 adherents wrote letters to the same effect to their friends in San Domingo, urging them to lead their cause with the admiral when he should arrive, and to assure him of their disposition to acknowledge his authority.

When Coronal 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 to impair 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 these 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. Guarinex was at the head of this conspiracy, moved by the

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* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 119.
† Las Casas, Hist. del Almirante, deciad. I.
CHAPTER VII.

CAMPAIGN OF THE ADELANTADO IN THE MOUNTAINS OF CIGUAY.

[1498.]

Aided by his mountain ally, and by bands of hardly Ciguayans, Guarionex made several descents into the plain, cutting off straggling parties of the Spaniards, laying waste the villages of the natives which continued in allegiance to them, and destroying those which had taken the suit of the Adelantado put a speedy stop to these molestations; but he determined to root out so formidable an adversary from the neighborhood. Shrinking from no danger nor fatigue, and leaving nothing to be done by force 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 the Ciguan mountains.

After passing a steep defile, rendered almost impracticable through the rugged rocks and exuberant vegetation, he descended into a beautiful valley or plain, extending along the coast, and embraced by arms of the mountains which approached the sea. His advance into the country was watched by the keen eyes of Indian scouts, who lurked among 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, when he was about being taken, gave information that six hundred Indians lay in ambush on the opposite shore, waiting to attack them as they crossed.

The Adelantado advanced with caution, finding a shallow ford, placed his men, and turned his horses. The Indians were thus enabled to attack the Spaniards without their being seen, and the Spaniards were wounded. The Adelantado, however, forced his way across the river, and the Indians took flight. Some were killed, but their swiftness of foot, their knowledge of the forest, and their dexterity in wounding the most skillful of the attackers, enabled the greater number to elude the pursuit of the Spaniards, who were incumbered with armor, 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 Ciguan. In the way he had several skirmishes with the natives, who would suddenly rush forth with furious war-cries, and discharge their bows and arrows into the thinning ranks of the Spaniards, discharge their weapons, 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: "Tell the Spaniards," he said in reply, "that they are bad men, cruel and tyrannical; usurpers of the territories of others, and shelders of innocent blood. I desire not the friendship of such men; Guarionex is a generous man, a joyous and friendly, I am his guest; he has fled to me for refuge. I have promised to protect him, and I will keep my word."

This magnanimous reply, or rather defiance, convinced the Adelantado that nothing was to be gained by friendly overtures. When severity was required, he could be a stern and relentless warrior. He immediately ordered the village in which he had been quartered, and several others in the neighborhood, to be set on fire. He then sent further
messenger to Mayobanex, warning him that, unless delivered up the fugitive cacique, his whole dominions should be laid waste in like manner; and he would see nothing in this direction but the desolation of brawny villages. Alarmed at this impending destruction, the Ciguayans surrounded their chieftain with clamorous lamentations, cursing the day Guianonex had taken refuge among them, and urging that he should instantly return to the country. The generous cacique was inflexible. He reminded them of the many virtues of Guianonex, and the sacred claims he had on their hospitality, and declared he would 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 Guianonex in his presence, again pledged his word to protect him, though it should cost him his dominions. He sent no reply to the Adelantado, and lest further messages might tempt the fidelity of his subjects, he placed men in ambush, with orders to slay any messenger who might approach. They had not lain in wait when Guianonex, 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 sixty ten foot soldiers and four horses. When he found his messengers lying dead in the forest path, transfixed with arrows, he was greatly exasperated, and resolved to deal vigorously with this obstinate tribe. He advanced, therefore, with all his force to Cabanon, where Mayobanex and his followers were encamped. With his approach the interior caciques and their adherents fled, overcome by terror of the Spaniards. Finding himself thus deserted, Mayobanex took refuge with his family in a secret part of the mountains. Several of the Ciguayans sought for Guianonex, 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 place.

The dangers 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 deserted; the provisions of the Spaniards consisted of cassava bread, and such roots and herbs as their Indian allies could gather for them, with few 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 roaming the mountains, until almost worn out with toil and hardship, and many of them had perished in the neighborhood 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 this, for many of them hid themselves to give a clue to their retreat, for the whole country was abandoned. There were the habits 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 covering themselves with 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 unsuspicuous of danger. Drawing their swords, the Spaniards rushed upon them and made them all prisoners. When they were brought to the Adelantado, he gave up all further search after Guianonex, 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 been visited by the Spaniards; and she was received at the court of the Adelantado as one of the most beautiful of the island. Tenderly attached to her brother, she had defended 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 her heart was heard of her activity, he hastened to the Adelantado and 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 his wife and several of his subjects who had been captured. The cacique, faithful to his word, 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 the people of this island. 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 retaining him prisoner to insure the fidelity of his subjects.

In the mean time the unfortunate Guianonex, 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 dispatched 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 by him in his pursuit, Guianonex 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 tranquility of the Vega sufficiently secured by the captivity of the captains; and 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.*

Such was the active, intrepid, and sagacious, but turbulent and disdainful administration of the Adelantado, in which we find evidences of the great capacity, the mental and bodily vigor 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 nor 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 venal abuse of authority. If he was stern toward the factious Spaniards, he was just; the disasters of his administration were not produced by his own rigor, but by the perverse passions of others, which called for his exercise; and the admiral, who had more suavity of manner and benevolence of heart, was more fortunate in conciliating the good will and insuring the obedience of the colonists.

The merits of Don Bartholomew do not appear to have been sufficiently appreciated by the world. His portrait has been suffered to remain too much in the shade; it is worthy of being brought into the light, as a companion to that of his illustrious brother. Less amiable and engaging, perhaps, in its lineaments, and less characterized by magnanimity, its traits are nevertheless bold, generous, and heroic, and stamped with iron firmness.

BOOK XII.

CHAPTER I.

CONFUSION IN THE ISLAND—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ISLES AT XARAGA.

1st August, 1498.

Columbus arrived at San 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 had been doome never again to taste the sweet of tranquillity. The island of Hispaniola, the favorite child, as it were, of his hopes, was destined to involve him in perpetual troubles, to fetter his fortunes, impede his enterprises, and obtrude the conclusion of his life. What a scene of poverty and suffering has that 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 labors 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 labor, seeing the produce of their toils liable to be wrested from them by ruthless strangers. It is true, the Vega was once more tranquil, but it was a desolate tranquillity. That beautiful region, which the Spaniards but four years before had found so populous and happy, seeming 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 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

* The particulars of this chapter are chiefly from P. Martyr, decal. I. lib. vi.; the manuscript history of L. Carvaz, lib. I. cap. 121; and Herrera, Hist. Ind., decal. I. lib. iii. cap. 8. 9.
arrival was to issue a proclamation approving of all the measures of the Adelantado, and denouncing the mutiny. Roldan, who had taken possession of Xaragua, and been kindly received by the natives, 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 pleasure. He had anticipated 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 they were vessels dispatched in pursuit of them. Roldan, however, who was sagacious as he was bold, surmised them to be 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. He therefore went on board, pretending to be stationed in that neighborhood 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 detached by Columbus from his squadron at the Canaries, to bring supplies to the colonies. The captains, ignorant of the strength of the currents, which set through the Caribbean Sea, had been carried west far beyond their reckoning until they had wandered to the coast of Xaragua.

Roldan kept his 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 crew, secretly making partisans, representing the hard life of the colonists at San Domingo, and the ease and revelry in which they passed their time at Xaragua. Many of the crew had been shipwrecked 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; who, when alarmed, would be convicted of such representations, and they promised to desert on the first opportunity 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 guests 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, endeavoring 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 San 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 Columbus on his arrival.

Carvajal perceived that the resolution of Roldan and of several of his principal confidential men was fixed and immutable; that, if he were to remain some little time among the rebels, they might succeed in drawing them back to their duty. Contrary winds rendered it impossible for the ships to work up against the currents to San 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 zealous devoted to his interests. Arana was to proceed with the ships, when the wind would permit, and Carvajal volunteered to remain on shore to endeavor 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 deserter went off to the rebels, who received with exultation this important reinforcement of kindred spirits. Juan Antonio endeavored in vain by remonstrances and threats to bring them back to their duty. They were most of them convicted culprits, accustomed to desert 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; and this was more "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 villany with the fountain-head of its population.

Juan Antonio, grieved and disconsolate, 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 San Domingo; the ship of Carvajal having struck on a sand-bank, and sustained great injury. By the time of their arrival, the greater part of the provisions with which they had been freighted was either exhausted or damaged. Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal arrived shortly afterward, having been escorted to within six leagues of the place by several of the insurgents, to protect him from the Indians. He failed in his attempt to persuade the band to immediate submission; but Roldan had previously informed the moment he heard the arrival of Columbus he would repair to the neighborhood of San 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 purpose, and expressed a confident opinion, that 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 favorable representations of Carvajal Columbus was greatly troubled by the late event at Xaragua. He saw that the
Ballesta found Roldan in company with Pedro Requemle, Pedro de Gamez, and Adrian de Mexico, three of his principal confederates.Flushed with a confidence of his present strength, Roldan treated the governor as a common slave, declaring that he did not come there to treat of peace, but to demand the release of certain Indians captured unjustly, and about to be shipped to Spain as slaves, notwithstanding that he, in his capacity of alcalde of the island, 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 some subjects of Guaronex, who had been invited by Roldan to resist the exaction of tribute, and who, under the sanction of his supposed authority, had engaged in the conspiracy industriously propagated by the seamen, that he and his brothers wished to detain the colonists on the island through motives of self-interest.

On the 12th of September, therefore, he issued a proclamation offering free passage and liberties of the sea for the colony to all who wished to return to Spain, in five vessels nearly ready to put to sea. He promised by this means to relieve the colony from the idle and discontented; to weaken their numbers, in order to obtain more about him himself, but such were sound-hearted and well-disposed.

Ballesta wrote at the same time to Miguel Ballesta, the stern and well-armed veteran who commanded the fortress of Conception, advising him to be upon his guard, as the rebels were coming into his neighborhood. He encouraged 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 return to San Domingo to have an interview with the admiral under a solemn treaty, and, if required, a written assurance of the former, from the latter, of personal safety. Columbus was sincere in his intentions. He was benevolent and placid disposition, and singularly free from all vindictive feelings toward the many worthless and wicked men who had been his sorrow on his head.

Ballesta had scarcely received this letter when the rebels began to arrive at the village of Bonac. This was situated in a beautiful valley, or Vega, bearing the same name, about ten leagues from the city of Mexico, and about twenty from San Domingo, in a well-ironed and abounding country. Here Pedro Requemle, one of the ring-leaders of the sedition, had large possessions, and his residence became the headquarters of the rebels. Adrian de Mexico, a man of notable and illustrious character, brought his detachment of dissolute ruffians to this place of rendezvous. Roldan and others of the conspirators drew together there by different routes.

To see General Ballesta arrive of Roldan than he set forth to meet him. Ballesta was a venerable man, gray-haired, and of a soldier-like demeanor. Loyal, frank, and virtuous, of a serious disposition, in his simplicity of heart, he was well calculated to influence the minds and provoke 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.
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 surprised to a tribunal of such weight as the king and his judges; or that an investigation might take place in presence of Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, who was friendly to Roldan, and of Miguel Bal- Lester, 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 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 he had arisen discontent, murmuring, and finally rebellion. He entreated the sovereigns, in the most pressing manner, that the affairs of the colony might not be neglected, and that seville, who had charge of its concerns, might be instructed at least not to devise impediments instead of assistance. He alluded to his chaste interment of the contemptible Ximena Breviesca, the insolent mission of Fonseca, and entreated that neither nor any commission be allowed to judge of his case, or to give force to the laws and letters of the Indians; he declared that the natural resources of the island required nothing but good management to supply all the wants of the colonists; that the latter were innocent and unprotesting. He promised to send home by every ship, as in the present instance, a considerable 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 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 carry 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 benevolence of feeling, and his paternal conduct toward the 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 New World. In this letter he described the newly discovered continent in such enthusiastic terms as the most favored part of the East, the source of inexhaustible treasures, the supposed seats of immortality, 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.

In this opportunity Roldan and his friends likewise wrote letters to Spain, endeavoring to justify their rebellion by charging Columbus and his brothers with oppression and injustice, and painting their whole conduct in the blackest colors. 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 stranger." *

CHAPTER III.

NEGOTIATIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE REBELS.

[498.]

The ships being dispatched, Columbus resumed his negotiation with the rebels, determined at any sacrifice to put an end to a species which distracted the island and interrupted all his plans of discovery. His three remaining ships lay in the harbor, 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 trouble should come to violence. Such were the difficulties encountered 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.

In his consultations with the most important persons about him, Columbus 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 the whole of the testimony collected from various sources with respect to the conduct of the Adelantado, acquits him of all charges of the kind, and affirms that, with respect to Roldan in particular, he had exerted great forbearance. Be this as it may, Columbus now, by the advice of his counsellors, 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 deep concern for the good 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, and repeated the assurance, that he and his companions might come to him, under the faith of his word for the inviolability of their persons.

There was it difficulty as to who should be the bearer of this letter. The rebels had declared that they would receive no one as mediator but Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal. Strong doubts, however, existed in the minds 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 execrated on his way to San Domingo by the rebels, and had sent refreshments

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., I. 1 cap. 157.
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 had Carvajal not been of his services, he would have been driven, by the exigencies of the moment, to throw his fortunes entirely into the hands of Columbus. He had already, 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 proof that he was to join them as a leader, and that the standard of revolution was to be hoisted at Bonao.* These circumstances, for some time, perplexed Columbus; but he reflected that Carvajal, as far as he had observed his conduct, had behaved like a man of integrity; most of the circumstances alleged against him admitted of a construction in his favor; the rest were mere rumors, and he had unfortunately experienced, in his own case, how easily the fairest actions and the laziest characters may be falsified by rumor. He discarded, therefore, all suspicion, and determined to confide implicitly in Carvajal; nor had he ever any reason to repent of his decision.

The admiral had scarcely dispatched this letter, when he received one from the leaders of the rebels, 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, prevailing upon them to await patiently for redress from the admiral. A month had elapsed since his arrival during which they had waited uselessly for his orders, but had meantime nothing but irritation against them. Considerations of honor and safety, therefore, obliged them to 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 Gama, 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 admonitions of the veteran Ballester, had a favorable effect on several of the leaders, who had числены to act with more caution. Roldan, Gama, Escobar, and two or three others, actually mounted their horses to repair to the admiral, but were detained by the clamorous opposition of their men; too infatuated with their idle, intoxicating mode of life, to relish the idea of a return to labor and discipline. These insisted that it was a matter which concerned 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 could be accomplished. 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. Some time later, the same writer, to the admiral, urging him to agree to whatever terms the rebels might demand. He represented their forces as continually augmenting, the soldiers of his garrison daily deserting to them; unless, therefore, some compromise was speedily effected, and the rebels shipped off to Spain, he feared that, not merely the authority, but even the person of the admiral would be in danger; for though the Hidalgo and the Adelantado were, immediately about him would, doubtless, die in his service, the common people were but little to be depended upon.**

Columbus left the increasing urgency of the case, and sent the required passport. Roldan came to San Domingo; but, from his conduct, it appeared as if his object was to make partisans, and gain deserters, rather than to effect a reconciliation. He had several conversations with the admiral, and several letters passed between them. He made many complaints, and numerous demands; Columbus made large conciliations, but some of the pretensions were too arrogant to be admitted.† Nothing definite was arranged. Roldan departed under the pretext of conveying with his people, promising to send his terms in writing. The admiral sent his mayordomo, Diego de Salamanca, to treat in his behalf.‡

On the 6th of November Roldan wrote a letter from Bonao, containing his terms, that a reply might be sent to him to Conception, as scarcity of provisions obliged him to leave Bonao. He added that he should wait for a reply until the following Monday (the 11th).

There was a letter from Carvajal, containing a note, accompanied as it was by 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 right, he had a proclamation affixed for thirty days at the gate of the fortress, expressing full and sincere regret for the old offenses, and complete oblivion of the past to Roldan and his followers, on condition of their presenting themselves before him and returning to their allegiance to the crown within a month; together with free conveyance for all such as wished to return to Spain, but threatening to execute rigorous 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 compliance with his terms, but offering to agree to any compact drawn up with the approbation of Carvajal and Salamanca.

When Carvajal arrived, he found the veteran Ballester actually besieged in his fortress of Conception. He and his followers, including his official character of alcald AMAYOR, a culprit who had taken refuge there from justice, 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 to length to reflect, and through his persuasion tertials 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, to be fitted out and victualled within fifty days. That they should be provided with money, and 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, wives, nattily, or had later with them. That this agreement was stipulated for the terms-widget.

This agreement was negotiated on the 21st, and the act of Roldan and his companions was the 21st. The answer of the admiral, main in the same manner, and entered in the papers in any part of the agreement, to the writer with the aid of Ballester, sent the preparation.

Columbus had suspected another company, and had complained to the admiral against an empty continent, of which he had so lately been to the know something respecting the order respecting Xaragua and was soon delayed the same time. Feudal by a cart, and the certificate of his followers; and the circumstance had been in the same manner, and he was allowed some kind of a certificate. The certificate was given, and the Xaragua and was soon delayed the same time. Feudal by a cart, and the certificate of his followers; and the circumstance had been in the same manner, and he was allowed some kind of a certificate. The certificate was given, and the

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* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 78.
† Ibid., cap. 79. Herrera, ed. i. Lib. iii. cap. 13.
‡ Ibid., cap. 158.
§ Hist. del Almirante, cap. 79.

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* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 159.
† Ibid., cap. 158.
performed; and as several of their company had been detained. These were in part sold, or had lately been delivered, they might take 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 sequestered, and for five stock which had belonged to Francisco de las Casas, with due consideration, 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 Conception 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 Bal-ester, sent by the admiral to superintend the embarkation of the rebels. He was eleven days in making the voyage, and found the other caravel at Xaragua.

The followers of Roldan had in the meantime changed their minds, and now refused to embark; as usual, they threw all the blame on Columbus, affirming that he had purposely delayed the ships far beyond the stipulated time; that he had sent them from a state not seaworthy, and short of provisions, with many other charges, artfully founded on circumstances over which they knew he could have no control. Carvajal formed a formal protest before a notary who had accompanied him, and finding that the ships were suffering great injury from the teredo worm, and that their provisions failing, he sent them back to San Domingo, and set out on his return by land. Roldan accompanied him a little distance on horseback, evidently disturbed in mind. He feared to return to Spain, yet was shrewd enough to know the insecurity of his present situation at the head of a band of dissolute men, acting in defiance of authority. What tie had he upon their fidelity stronger than 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 return to Spain, under the solemn 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, overjoyed at this prospect of a final arrangement, lost no time in conveying the proposition 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 his 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, pledgeing the safety of himself and his followers during the negotiation, provided they did nothing hostile to the royal authority or its representative.

While Columbus was thus, with unwearied as-}

sideness and loyal zeal, endeavoring to bring the island back to its obedience, he received a reply from Spain, to the earnest representations made by him, in the preceding autumn, of the distracted state of the colony and the outrages of these lawless men, and his prayers for royal censure and support. The letter was written by his vicarious, the Bishop Fonseca, superintendent of Indian affairs. It acknowledged the receipt of his statement of the alleged insurrection of Roldan, but observed that this matter must be first investigated by the sovereigns would investigate and remedy it presently.*

This cold reply had a disheartening effect upon Columbus. He saw that his complaints had little weight with the government; he feared that his enemies were profiting by the opportunity; and he anticipated redoubled insolence on the part of the rebels, when they should discover how little influence he possessed in Spain. Full of
zeal, however, for the success of his undertaking, and of fidelity to the interests of the sovereign, he resolved to spare no personal sacrifice of comfort or danger in promoting the success of the enterprise. 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. This was accomplished by several of the most important personages of the colony. Roldan repaired thither likewise, with the turbulent Adrian de Mexico, and a number of the band. The concessions already obtained had increased his pretensions; 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 exactness, 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, which were to receive the same. Secondly, that those who remained should have lands granted them, in place of royal pay. Thirdly, that it should be proclaimed that everything charged against him and his party had been grounded upon false testimony, and the machinations of persons disaffected to the royal service. Fourthly, that he should be reinstated in his office of alcalde mayor, or chief judge.*

These hard and insolent conditions to the surprise of most of the company were granted. Roldan then went on shore, and communicated them to his companions. At the end of two days the insurgents sent their capitulations, drawn up in form, and couched in arrogant language, including all the stipulations granted at Fort Concepcion, 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 compel his performance of them by force, or by any other means they might think proper. The conspirators thus sought not merely the exultation of the past, but a pretext for future rebellion.

The mind grows wearied and impatient with repetition, and the patient reader must burn with indignation at perusing this protracted and ineffectual struggle of a man of the exalted merits and matchless service of Columbus, in the toils of such 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, efficient aid, or candid judgment. The very ground on which he stood seemed giving way under him, for he was told of seditions among his own people. Seeing the impurity with which the rebels rioted in the possession of one of the finest parts of the island, he began, among themselves of being left to their example, of abandoning the standard of the admiral, and seizing upon the province of Higuer, 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 afterward, when he could gain quiet 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 difficulty in which he had been placed, and the imminent peril of the colony. Before signing, however, he inserted a stipulation, that the commands of the sovereigns, of himself, and of the justices appointed by him, should be punctually obeyed.*

CHAPTER IV.

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, all the arrogance to be expected from one who had intruded himself into power by profligate means. At the city of San Domingo he was always surrounded by his faction; compelled only with the slightest and disinterested; and, having all the turbulent and desperate men of the community at his beck, was enabled to intimidate the quiet and loyal by his Iruowns. He bore an impotent front against the authority even of Columbus himself, discharging from office one Rodrigo Perez, a lieutenant of the admiral, declaring that none but such as he appointed should bear a staff of office in the island. 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; endeavoring by mildness to allay the jealousies and prejudices awakened against his person, and by various concessions to lure the tactious to the performance of their duty. To such of the colonists generally as preferred to remain in the island, he offered a choice of either royal pay or portions of lands, with a number of Indians, some venturing their lives as slaves, to assist in the cultivation. The latter was generally preferred; and grants were made out, in which he endeavored as much as possible to combine the benefit of the individual with the interests of the colony.

Roldan presented a memorial signed by upward of one hundred of his late followers, demanding grants of lands and licenses to settle, and choosing Xaragua for their place of abode. The admiral feared to trust such a numerous body of tactious partisans in so remote a province; he contrived, therefore, to distribute them in various parts of the island; some at Bocas, where their settlement gave origin to the town of that name; others on the bank of the River Verde, in the Vega; others on the Chiribias, those about six leagues 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 exiles 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 free Indians among the colonists, afterward generally adopted, and shamefully abused, throughout the Spanish colonies; a species of tribute, which was later imposed upon the unhappy natives, and which greatly contributed to exterminate them from the island of Hispaniola.* Columbus considered the island in the light of a conquered country, and arrogated to himself the rights and privileges of the sovereigns of the Indies, 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.† This was an arrangement widely different from his original intention of treating the natives with kindness, as peaceful subjects of the crown. But all his plans had been subverted, and his present measures forced upon him by the exigency of the times and the violence of lawless men. He appointed a captain with an armed band, as a kind of police, with orders to range the provinces; oblidge the Indians to pay their tributes; watch over and counteract all the least appearance of mutiny or insurrection.*

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, called La Esperanza, situated on the Vega, and devoted to the rearing of poultry. These the admiral granted him with permission to employ, in the cultivation of the farm, the subjects of the captives 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; for Columbus yet trusted that when they should understand the manner in which these concessions had been extorted from him, the ring-leader whose rebellion could not merely be stripped of their ill-gotten possessions, but receive well-merited punishment.

Roldan having now enriched himself beyond his hopes, requested permission of Columbus to visit his native country, in order to gratuitously render great reinstate. He immediately departed for the Vega, and stopping at Bona, his late headquarters, made Pedro Requelm 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 was an assumption of powers not vested in his office, and gave great offence to Columbus. Other circumstances created apprehensions of further trouble, and Pedro Requelm, under pretext of erecting taming buildings for his cattle, began to construct a strong edifice on a hill, capable of being converted into a formidable fortress. This, it was feared, was done with a view to counteract the colony by way of securing a stronghold in ease of need. Being in the neighborhood of the Vega, where so many of their late partisans were settled, it would form a dangerous rallying place for any new sedition. The designs of Requelm were suspected and his proceedings opposed by Pedro de Arana, a loyal and honorable man, who was on the spot. Requelm was then obliged to retire to the adjutant, who prohibited Requelm 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 the most important to place the late events of the island in a proper light; having found that his letters of explanation 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 clearly purchased; there was a rumor of a threatened descent into the Vega, by the mountain tribes of Cuiguy, to attempt the rescue of their cacique Mayahanex, still detained a prisoner in the fortress of Concepcion. Tidings were brought about the same time from the western parts of the island, that four strange ships had arrived at the coast, under suspicious appearances. These circumstances engaged him to postpone his departure, and held him involved in the affairs of this favorite but fatal island.

The two caravels were dispatched for Spain in the beginning of October, taking such of the colonists as chose to return, and among them a number of Roldan’s partisans. Some of these took with them slaves, others carried away the daughters of caciques whom they had beguiled from their families and homes. At these inequities, no less than at many others which equally grieved his spirit, the admiral was obliged to collate. He was conscious, at the same time, that he was sending home a reinforcement of enemies and false witnesses, to delude his character and prejudice 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 Barrancas, empowered to attend to his affairs at court, and furnished with the depositions taken relative to the conduct of Roldan and his accomplices.

In his letters to the sovereigns he entreated them to inquire into the truth of the late transactions. He stated his opinion that his capitulations with the rebels were well-founded, for reasons—viz. they had been extorted from him by violence, and at sea, where he did not exercise the office of viceroy; there had been two trials relative to the insurrection, and the insurgents having having been condemned as traitors, it was not in the power of the admiral to absolve them from their criminality; the capitulations treated of matters touching the royal revenue, over which he had no control, without the intervention of the proper officers; lastly, Francisco Roldan and his companions, on leaving Spain, had taken an oath by which they were bound not only to be faithful to the sovereigns, and to the admiral in their name, which oath they had violated. For these and similar reasons, some just, others rather sophistical, he urged the sovereigns not to consider themselves bound to cruelly treat the subjects ceded to these profligate men, but to inquire into their offences, and treat them accordingly.*

He repeated the request made in a former let-

* Herrera, decap. L lib. III. cap. 16.  
† Mafiez, Hist. N. Mundo, lib. vi. § 50.  
‡ Mendez, del Almirante, cap. 84, note 4.  
§ Herrera, decap. L lib. III. cap. 16.
CHAPTER V.

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 2nd of September, in a harbor a little below Guanocio, apparently with the design of cutting dyewoods, which abound in that neighborhood, and of carrying off the natives for slaves. Further reports informed him that they were commanded 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 Coanalo. 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 oppose his aggressions, 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 capable 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 them to his interest, and prevent any enterprise calculated to make them useful to the crown.

Roldan readily undertook the enterprise. He had nothing further to gain by sedition, and anxious to secure his ill-gotten possessions and throne for past offenses by public authority, his enterprise was vain as well as active, and took a pride in acquitting himself well in an expedition which called for both courage and shrewdness. Departing from Santo Domingo with two caravels, he arrived on the 29th of September, within a league of the harbor 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 several leagues adrift from his ships, with only fifteen men, employed in making cassava bread in an Indian village. Roldan threw himself between them and the ships, thinking to take them by surprise. They were apprised, however, 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 his ships. With his usual intrepidity he immediately presented himself before Roldan, attended merely by half a dozen followers. The latter craftily began by conversing on general topics. He then inquired into his motives for landing on the island, particularly respecting the large party with which he had before reported 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 thereupon demanded, in the name of the government, in sight of the license under which he sailed. Ojeda, who knew the resolution of the man, pretended that 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 departing thence, to go to San Domingo, and pay homage to the admiral, having many things to tell him which were for his private ear alone. He intimated to Roldan that the expedition was in complete 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 dispatches to the admiral, wherein he mentioned that certain things had transpired 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 of 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-discovered country, and the specimen of pearls transmitted to the sovereigns, had inflamed the ambition of public service; and Ojeda happened to be at that time in Spain. He was a favorite of the Bishop of Fonseca, and obtained a sight of the letter written by the admiral to the sovereigns, and the chart and maps of his route by which he proposed to complete the discovery of the island of Columbus to be embarrassed by the seditions of Hispaniola; he found, by his conversations with Fonseca and other of the admiral's enemies, that the strong doubts and misgivings of the king had been increased. The inquiry and circumstances of his escape, he had learned, had given him wealth of the public service, and made him a dangerous man. The latter account might delay his return to Columbus; he showed him the necessity of his journey, and men. He promised him with the admiral, Ojeda, a name, though this, it was heard, had been discovered any land he might have arrived at, and that he was to proceed to 1499. The voyage of the islands from the coast of Paria.**

Under the name of Seville, as the name of the southern coast of Jamaica. The first voyage of this name to the coast of Paria.***

This expedition, which had been so long and marches into the neighboring woods, and was destined to open a new voyage of discovery, was under the command of Captain de la Veli, who had been a notable soldier in the service of Paria. The name of the man, Pucci, to the king, was a secret.

This expedition, which had been so long and maneuvered by the Indians. Guided by the Indians, the ships passed through the narrows of the strait of the island of Venezuela, and the west end of the Caribbees. Having passed the fierce current of the incursion of the Spaniards, the daring sailers of Paria, who had sailed two years before, and made most extensive voyages to the west of the isles.

Having reached the coast of Paria, they ventured into the neighboring woods, and the first resolution of Ojeda to visit the coast of Paria, and to present his king with a sight of the great discovery.
strong doubts and jealousies existed in the mind of the king with respect to his conduct, and that his whole plan 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 for 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 patronize mercenary adventurers than upright and high-minded men. He granted Ojeda every facility; furnishing him with copies of the papers and charts of Columbus, by which to direct himself in his course, and 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 perils which beset the enterprise of Fonseca, as it left Paris and the Pearl Islands free to the visits of Ojeda, 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 Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, 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 southern 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 Paris.* Such was the expedition which, by a singular train of circumstances, eventually gave the name of this Florentine merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, to the whole of the New World.

This expedition had sailed in May, 1499. The adventurers had arrived on the southern continent, and ranged along its coast, from two hundred leagues of Oruro in Brazil, to the Gulf of Paria. Guided by the charts of Columbus, they had passed through this gulf, and through the Boca del Dragon, and 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 Caribbean Islands, where they had fought with the fierce natives, and made many captures, with the intention of selling them in the slave-markets of Spain. 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.†

Having collected all the information that he could obtain concerning these voyages, 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.

* Las Casas.
Fortunately for the peace and safety of the admiral, Roldan arrived in the neighborhood just at this critical juncture, attended by a crew of trustworthy fellows. He had been dispatched by Columbus to watch the movements of Ojeda, on hearing of his arrival on the coast of Xaragua. Apprised of the violent scenes which were taking place, Roldan, when on the way, sent to his old commander, Diego de Escobar, to follow him with all the treasure that 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 waylay and destroy him on his march, but his vigilance and celerity prevented them.*

Ojeda, when he heard of the approach of Roldan and Escobar, retired on board of his ship. 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 arms against government. Roldan now laid before him such reasons as had often been addressed to himself. He wrote to Ojeda, reasoning with him on his conduct, and the confusion he was producing in the island, and inviting him to shore to an honorable arrangement of all alleged grievances. Ojeda, knowing the crafty, violent character of Roldan, disregarded his repeated messages, and refused to venture within his powers. He even seized one of his messengers, Diego de Escobar, and had him secured. Roldan, however, took advantage of the interval, sailed into the harbor, and landed with a small party of men, and holding to his character, endeavored to convince Ojeda of the errors of his conduct. Ojeda, therefore, to prevent the landing, left his vessel, and went to the shore, where he met a ship of war, 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 his mind to his career, or drove of slaves, carrying off numbers of the unhappy natives, whom he sold in the slave-market of Cadiz.

CHAPTER VII.

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 loud in trumpeting forth their unwonted loyalty, and the great services they had rendered to government in driving Ojeda from the island. Like all reformers, they expected that their good conduct would be amply rewarded. Looking upon their leader as having everything 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 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, and assisted the admiral. Knowing, however, that he had fostered a spirit among these men which it was difficult to control, and that their rapacity, by long indulgence, did not admit of delay, he shared them certain lands of his, which, in the absence of the host Behel, he had taken upon himself to administer. But the admiral's jealousy, with the desire of winning the favor of the admiral, distracted and misled him. Ojeda, in consequence, was favorably received by the natives of the province. The queen of Xaragua, in consequence of the death of Behel, wished to have her part of the island, and her daughter was married to the governor of Xaragua, in consequence of the death of Behel, wished to have her part of the island, and her daughter was married to the governor of Xaragua.

* Letter of Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan.
† Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 169, ms.
‡ Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 169.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

lands of his own, in the territory of his ancient host Bechecito, 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, his conduct being such as to induce the governor of 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 Ojeda 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 favorably, on account of his old comrade and former follower, and asked him if he would not choose some place of residence until further orders concerning him should arrive from the admiral. He chose the province of Calay, 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 Roldan, he was favorably received at the house of Anacaona, the widow of Caonabo, and sister of the cacique Bechecito. 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 infested her province. By her late husband, the cacique Caonabo, she had a daughter named Hignenamita, just grown up, and greatly admired for her beauty. Guevara, being often in concealment, a natural attachment ensued, and it was to be near her that he chose Calay 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 reason, and warned him to desist from his pretensions and leave the province. Las Casas intimates that Roldan was himself attached to the young Indiant beauty, and jealous of her preference of his rival. Anacaona, the mother, pleased with the gallant appearance and ingratiating manners of the youthful cavalier, favored 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 boat, desired him to baptize his intended bride.

Hearing of this Roldan sent for Guevara, and rebuked him sharply for remaining at Xaragua, and attempting to deceive a person of the importance of Anacaona. He was furious with his 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 Calay, when unable to remain longer absent from the object of his passion, he returned to Xaragua, accompanied by five of his followers, and found himself in the durance of Anacaona. Roldan, who was at that time confined by a malady in his eyes, being apprised of his return, sent orders lor him to depart instantly to Calay. The young cavalier assumed a tone of defiance. He warned Roldan not to make lies when he had such great need of friends; for to his certain knowledge, the admiral intended to behead him. Upon this, Roldan commanded 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 the neighborhood.

Roldan had instilled willfulness and violence into the hearts of his late followers, and now was doomed to experience the effects. Guevara, impressed at his opposition to the admiral, and his being imprisoned, began to feel the necessity of leaving the island, and proceeding to Spain. The remote abode of Porto Rico, and his Carib friends, with numbers of the slave-
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 neighborhood. Not dreaming of any further hostilities from men on whom he had lavished favors, 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 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 ring leaders were quartered. Confiding probably in the secrecy of their plot, and the late passiveness of the island, he had appeared to have been perfectly unguarded.

Columbus came upon them by surprise, seized Mexico, and several of his principal confederates, and bore them off to Fort Conception. The moment was critical; the Vega was ripe for a revolt; he had the foment of the conspiracy in his power, and an example was called for, that should strike terror into the faces of his conspirators. He ordered Mexico to be hanged on the top of the fortress. The latter entreated to be allowed to confess himself previous to execution. A priest was summoned. The miserable Mexico, who had been so 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 waiting away time, to give a chance for rescue. Instead of confessing his own sins, he accused 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 bastard wrench to be towed off to the battle-ship.

This sudden act of severity was promptly followed up. Several of the accomplices of Mexico were condemned to death and thrown in irons to await their fate. Before the conspirators had time to recover from their astonishment, Pedro Requelmado was taken, with several of his companions, in his ruffian den at Bona, and conveyed to the fortress of San Domingo; where was also confined the original mover of this second rebellion, Hernando de Guervara, the lover of the young Indian princess. These unexpected acts of rigor, proceeding from a quarter which had been long so lenient, had the desired effect. The conspirators fled for the most part to Xaragua, their old and favorite 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 vigor 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 prisoner to San Domingo. He had seventeen of them at one time confined in one common dungeon, awaiting their trial, while he continued in indefatigable pursuit of the remainder.*

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 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 taken by Columbus, since his last arrival, for the benefit of the island, began to appear. The Indians, seeing the inefficacy of resistance, submitted to the yoke. Many gave signs of civilization, having, in some instances, adopted clothing and embraced Christianity. Assisted by their labors the Spaniards now cultivated their lands diligently, and every appearance of settled and regular prosperity.

Columbus considered all this happy change as brought about by the especial intervention of Heaven. In a letter to Doña Juana de la Torre, a lady of distinction, aya or nurse of Prince Juan, he gives an instance of those visionary fancies to which he was subject in times of illness and anxiety. In the preceding winter, he says, about the festival of Christmas, when menaced by Indian war and domestic rebellion, when distrustful of those around him and apprehensive of disgrace at court, he sank for a time into complete despondency. In this hour of gloom, when abandoned to despair, he heard in the night a voice addressing him in words of comfort, "O man of little faith! why art thou cast down? Fear nothing, I will provide for thee. The seven years of the term of gold are not expired; in that, and in all other things, I will take care of thee."

The seven years term of gold here mentioned alludes to a vow made by Columbus on discovering the New World, and recorded by him in a letter to the sovereigns, that within seven years he would furnish, from his discoveries, fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse, for the delivery of the holy sepulcher, and an additional force of like amount, within five years afterward.

The comforting assurance given him by the voice was corroborated, he says, that very day, by intelligence received by him, that a large tract of country rich in mines,† had been discovered by him, at present in still greater progress of fulfilment. The troubles and dangers of the island had been succeeded by tranquility. He now anticipated the prosperous prosecution of his favorite endeavor, so long interrupted, the exploring of the regions of Paria, and the establishment of a fishery in the Gulf of Pears. How illustrious were his hopes! At this moment events were maturing which were to overwhelm him with distress, strip him of his honors, and render him comparatively a wreck of the remainder of his days.

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 170, ms. Herrera, decap. i. lib. iv. cap. 7.
† Letter of Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan, Hist. del Almirante, cap. 84.
CHAPTER I.

REPRESENTATIONS AT COURT AGAINST COLUMBUS—BOBADILLA EMPowered TO EXAMINE INTO HIS CONDUCT.

[1503.]

While Columbus was involved in a series of difficulties in the factious island of Hispaniola, his enemies were 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 near at hand, and every pernicious exertion was made to accelerate it. Every vessel from the New World came freighted with complaints, representing Columbus and his brothers as new men, unaccustomed to command, inflamed by their sudden rise from obscurity; arrogant and insulting toward men of birth and jolly spirit; oppressive of 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 powerful effect. Columbus was even accused of a design to cast off all allegiance to Spain, and either make himself sovereign of the countries he had discovered, or 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 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. His letters, however, 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 everything urged against him in the strongest point of view, while they secretly neutralized the force of his vindications. They used a plausible logic to prove either bad management or bad faith on his part. 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 Aragón 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 grossly wronged them by malpractices, or 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 straitened 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 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 shipped off to free the island from sedition. Finding their way to the court at Granada, they followed the king when he rode out, filling the air with their complaints, and clamoring 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, who were pages to the queen, happening to pass by, they followed them with imprecations, excusing, 'There go the sons of the admiral, the weasels of bull, 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 often produced through error of judgment than inequity 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 foreigners, was it safe to intrust so important and distant a command to persons 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 vested in his hands. The excessive clamors 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 abilities to investigate the affairs of the colony, and if necessary, 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 carried into effect, however, 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 Island 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 Alpujarra mountains, 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 possession.

The letters of Ferdinand, pointing to the strong disposition 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 favor 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 correspondence in the case which suspended for a time the friendship of Isabella, little has the greatest dependence of Columbus.

Having a maternal interest in the welfare of the natives, the queen had been repeatedly offended by what appeared to her pertinacity on the part of Columbus, according to the wishes 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 these men by the articles of capitulation; others they had brought away clandestinely. Among them were several daughters of caciques, seduced away from their families and their native island by these profiteers. 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 colors. 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?" 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 own country and friends, Nay, more; her measure was retrospective. She commanded that those formerly sent to Spain 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 advised the continuation of Indians, as necessary 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 was 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 vested in him. A pretext at length was furnished by the recent request of the admiral that a person of talents and probity, learned in the law, might be sent out to act as chief judge; and that an impartial umpire might be appointed, to decide in his own behalf and Roldan. Ferdinand proposed to consult his wishes, but to unite those two officers in one; and as the person he appointed would have to decide 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 insuring partiality.

The person of such eminent and delicate character was Don Francisco de Bolañada, an officer of the royal household, and a commander of the military and religious order of Calatrava. Oviedo pronounces him a very honest and religious man; but he is represented by others, and his actions corroborate the description, as needful, passionate, and ambitious—three powerful objections to his exercising the rights of judicature in a case requiring the utmost patience, candor, and circumspection, and where the judge was to derive wealth and power from the conviction of one of the parties.

The authority vested in Bolañada is defined in letters from the sovereigns still extant, and which deserve to be noticed chronologically; for the royal intentions appear to have been slow and circumstances.

The first was dated on the 21st of March, 1499, and mentions the complaint of the admiral, that an alcalde, and certain other persons had risen in rebellion against him. "Wherefore, now we order you to proclaim the truth of the foregoing; to ascertain who and what persons were who rose against the said admiral and our magistrate, and for what cause; and what robberies and other injuries they have committed; and further, to extend your inquiries to all other matters relating to the premises; and the information obtained, and the truth known, whomsoever you find culpable, arrest their persons, and seize 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, Bolañada 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 of more importance. It is a mere mention of Columbus, but is addressed to the various functionaries and men of property of the islands and Terra Firma, informing them of the appointment of Bolañada to the government, with full civil and criminal jurisdiction. Among the powers specified is the following: "If our will, that the said commander, Francisco de Bolañada, should think it necessary for our service, and purposes of justice, that any cavaliers, or other persons who are at present in those islands, may come and present themselves before us, or may come to our 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 thereon, 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
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CHAPTER II.
ARRIVAL OF BOBADILLA AT SAN DOMINGO—HIS VIOLENT ASSUMPTION OF THE COMMAND.

COLUMBUS was still at Fort Conception, regulating the affairs of the Vega, after the catastrophe of the sedition of Mexico; his brother, the Adelantado, accompanied by Roldan, was pursuing the fugitives by land to the 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.

Such was the state of public affairs, when, on

the morning of the 23d of August, two caravels were descried off the harbor of San Domingo, about a league at sea. They were standing off and on, waiting until the signal was produced, which usually 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 dispatched 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 Requelmé and Fernandez de Guerra, the young cavalier whose passion for the daughter of Alonza Meriné was 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, the news that a commissioner had arrived to make inquiry into the late troubles, there was a great stir and agitation throughout the community. Knots of whisperers gathered at every corner; those who were conscious of malpractices were filled with consternation; while those who had grievances, real or imaginary, to complain of, especially those whose pay was in arrear, appeared with joyful countenances.*

As the vessels entered the river, Bobadilla beheld on either bank a gilded 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 rumors of the place; and as those who sought to secure his favor were those who had most to fear from his investigations, it is evident that the nature of the rumors must generally have been unfavorable to Columbus. In fact, before Bobadilla landed, if not before he 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 cathedral, Bobadilla ordered his letters patent to be read, authorizing him to investigate the rebellion, seize the persons and sequester the property of delinquents, and proceed against them with the utmost rigor of the law; commanding also the admiral, and all other persons in authority, to assist him in the discharge of his duties. The letter being read, he demanded of Don Diego and the alcaides to surrender to him the persons of Fernando Guerra, Pedro Requelmé, and the other prisoners, with the dep-
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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 alcaide 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 alcaide. 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 destined to a garrison, and formidable only in name, a motley concourse of the slightest armed people. The accounts of this transaction have varied; but it seems that, after an effectual one or two hours' besieging, the fortress surrendered without a struggle, and the prisoners were secured. Bobadilla as a reward for this interesting adventure, was invested with the command of the island, and of Terra Firma.

The petition being read, Bobadilla took the customary oath, and then claimed the obedience of Don Diego, Rodrigo Perez, and all present, to this 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 the sovereigns, 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 this non-compliance, especially as he saw it would have 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 public property. To win the public completely to his side, he also read the additional mandate, issued on the 5th of May, of the same year, ordering that all the armed vessels be delivered up 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 Arragonian 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 neighboring gold mines, and induced him to remain in that part of the country.

When Bobadilla came before the fortress, he found the gates closed, and the alcaide, Miguel Diaz, upon the battlements. He ordered his letter to be read with a loud voice, the signature and seal to be held up to view, and then demanded the surrender of the prisoners. Diaz requested a copy of the letters; but this Bobadilla
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, fancying 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 rumor of another squadron hovering about the island, which proved, however, to be unfounded.†

The conduct of Bobadilla bespoke all the appurtenance of a lawless usurpation of some intruder of the kind. He had possessed himself forcibly of the fortress, and consequently of the town. He had issued extravagant licenses injurious to the government, and apparently intended only to make partisans among the people; and had threatened to throw Columbus himself in chains. That this man could really be sanctioned by government in such imputable measures was repugnant to belief. The admiral's consciousness of his own services, the repeated assurances he had received of high consideration on the part of the sovereigns, and the perpetual 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 San Domingo otherwise than as outrages on his authority by some daring or misguided individual.

To be nearer to San Domingo, and obtain more correct information, he proceeded to Bonao, 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 the place 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 letters patent. There was no official letter or message sent to the admiral, nor were any of the common forms of courtesy and ceremony observed in superseding him in the command; all the proceedings of Bobadilla toward 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, as that of divesting him of all his commands, he could not believe. He endeavored 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 endeavor to gain time. If the monarchs had really taken such harsh measures with respect to him, it must have been in consequence of misrepresentations. The least delay might give him 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 everything fully and clearly explained. He wrote at the same time to the like purpose to certain monks who had come out with Bobadilla, though he observes that these letters were only written to gain time.* He received no answer, while the resulting silence was observed toward 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 promises of favor.†

To prevent any mischief which might arise from the licenses and indulgences so prodigiously granted by Bobadilla, Columbus published by word and letter that the powers assumed by him could not be valid, nor 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 Aguado.

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 conjunction. He was soon brought to a decision. Francisco Velasquez, deputy treasurer, and Juan de Traserra, a Franciscan friar, arrived at Bonao, and delivered to him the royal letter of credence, signed by the sovereigns on the 26th of May, 1499, commanding him to give implicit faith and obedience to Bobadilla; and they delivered, at the same time, a summons from the latter to appear immediately 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 peremptory summons of Bobadilla, departed, almost 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 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

* Letter of Columbus to the Nurse of Prince Juan.
† Ibid. Herrera, decad. l. lib. iv. cap. 9. Letter to the Nurse of Prince Juan.
‡ Ibid.
Life and Voyages of Columbus.

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 admiral's credit and trying to profit by it. Upon 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 band.

Hearing that the admiral was on his way to the city, he made a haste of preparation, and armed the troops, affecting to believe a rumor that Columbus had called upon the caciques 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 coloring 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, with guards to protect him. Most of the people who went with the Adelantado, and he had declined being attended by the remainder. He had heard of the rumors of the hostile intentions of Bobadilla; and although he knew that violence was threatened to his person, he came in this unprepared manner, and in a moment was mocked, pacified, and sent on his way, without any 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 eminent merit, seemed for the time to shock even his enemies. When the irons were brought, every one present shrank 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, with unwashed face, riveted the letters with as much readiness and acuteness 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 modesty 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. Columbus could not stoop to depreciate 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 had employed him. Their injustice or ingratitude alone could wound his spirit; and he felt assured that when the truth came to be known, they would blush to find how greatly he 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 populace, felt anxious and ill at ease. The Adelantado, with an armed force under his command, was still in the distant province of Xarigua, in pursuit of the rebels. Knowing his soldier-like and determined spirit, he feared he might take some violent measure when he should hear of the ignominious treatment and imprisonment of his brothers. He doubted whether any order from himself would have any effect, except to exasperate the captain general. He therefore 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, everything would be explained and redressed.†

On receiving this letter, Don Bartholomew immediately complied. Relinquishing his command, he hastened peacefully to San 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 which 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 arrest and imprisonment was permitted by the sovereigns. He may have fancied himself empowered by the clause in the letter of instructions, dated March 21st, 1499, in which, speaking of the rebellion of Roldan, "he is authorized to collect all 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 to the persons of Roldan and his followers, who were then

* Peter Martyr mentions a vulgar rumor 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 his force, but having the impudence to do some distance ahead of it, was surprised by the governor, before his men could come to his succor, and that the letter in cipher had been sent to Spain. This must have been one of the groundless rumors of the day, circulated to prejudice the public mind. Nothing of the kind appears among the charges in the inquiry 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. 199), 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 afterward from Jamaica, he says, "I was taken and thrown with two of my brothers in a ship, loaded with iron, with little clothing and nothing ill-treatment, without being summoned or convicted by justice." 

‡ Herrera, deced. i. lib. iv. cap. 10. Oviedo, Cronica, lib. iii. cap. 6.
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 seeking the person of the admiral himself. In fact, in the whole course of his proceedings, he conducted himself toward them as the writer 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 precipitated, 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 incriminate 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 agent. If proper respect had been felt for the rights and dignities of Columbus, Bobadilla would never have been intrusted with powers so extensive, and disastrous, as to 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.

In the days of Aguado were 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 idolatry, in time of emergency, to labor in the construction of works necessary to the public safety, down to the recent charge of levying war against the government, there was not a hardship, abuse, nor sedition in the island, that was not imputed to the misdeeds of Columbus and his brothers. Besides the usual accusations of inflicting oppressive labor, unnecessary tasks, painful restrictions, short allowances of food, and cruel punishments upon the Spaniards, and urging unjust wars against the natives, they were now charged with poisoning the minds of the government by the latter, that they might send them slaves to Spain, and profit by their sale. This 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 with 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, by which others had been enabled to pursue his track.

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 island, and the massacre of the negroes, and their fellow-convicts, were discharged almost without the form of a trial, and it is even said were received into favor and countenance. Roland, from the very first, had been treated with confidence by Bobadilla, and honored with his correspondence. All 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 insure the condemnation of the prisoners, and his own continuance in command. He determined, therefore, to send Columbus and his brothers home in chains, in the vessels 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 informing Columbus that 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 villainy 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 passquinades and inflammatory libels were posted at every corner; and horns were blown in the neighborhood of their prisons, to taunt them with the exultations of the rable. When these rejoicings of his enemies reached him in his dungeon, and Columbus reflected on the inconsiderate violence already exhibited by Bobadilla, he knew not how far his rashness and confidence might carry him, and begin to entertain apprehensions for his life.

The vessels being ready, Alonzo de Villejo was appointed to take charge of the prisoners, and carry them to Spain. This officer 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, as he was arriving at Cadiz, to deliver his prisoners into the hands of Fonseca, or of his uncle, thinking thereby to give the most gratifying prelate a triumphant gratification. This circumstance gave weight with many to a report that Bobadilla was secretly instigated and encouraged in 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 Alonzo de Villejo," says the worthy Las Casas, "was a biddaw of honorable 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 prisoners to the ship, he found him in chains in a state of silent despondency. So violently had he been
BOOK XIV.

CHAPTER I.

SEASON 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. There was a general burst of indignation in Cadiz, and in the powerful and opulent Seville, which was 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 took place, so frequent in the public mind, when persecution is pushed to an unguarded length. Those of the populace who had recently been loud in their clamor 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 felt all 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, the aya of Prince Juan, a lady high in favor with Queen Isabella. This letter, on his arrival here, in the hands of the captain of the caravel, permitted him to send off privately by express. It arrived, therefore, before the protocol of the proceedings instituted by Bobadilla, and from this document 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 circumstances already recorded. Some expressions, however, which burst from his lips in the warmth of his feelings, are worthy of being noted. The "slanders of worthless men," says he, "have done me more injury than all my services have profited 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 himself, 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 have been put to investigate my conduct, who knew that 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 the want of anything 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

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 180, ms.
† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 86.
‡ Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. i. cap. 182.
of another world, by which Spain, hereafter poor, has suddenly become rich. Whatever errors I may have fallen into, they were not with an evil intent, but it is a source of satisfaction and credit what I say. I have known them to be merciful to those who have willfully done them disservice; I am convinced that they will have still more indulgence for me, who have erred innocently, or by compulsion, as will 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 had been wronged and the royal authority abused, her heart 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 the Sovereigns should be known; and by another letter from Alonzo de Villaflor, expressed in terms accordant with his humane and honorable conduct toward his illustrious prisoner.

In the late months and minutes that might have secretly felt disposed against Columbus, the momentous 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 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 released, and liberty, 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 honorable retinue. He was received by the Sovereigns with unqualified favor and distinction. When the queen, who was very anxious to conciliate all and thought on all he had deserved and all he had suffered, was moved to tears. Columbus had borne up firmly against the rude conflicts of the world—he had endured with lofty scorn the injuries and insults of ignoble men; but he possessed strength and quick sensibility. When he found himself thus kindly received by his Sovereigns, and beheld tears in the benign eyes of Isabella, his long-suspended feelings burst forth: he threw himself on 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 endeavored to encourage him by the most gracious expressions. As soon as he regained their presence, 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, declaring that if at any time he had erred, it had been 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 toward their most deserving subject. They expressed their indignation at the proceedings of Bobadilla, which they disavowed, as contrary to their instructions, and declared 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 written in support of them. The Sovereigns took every occasion to treat Columbus with favor and distinction, assuring him that his grievances should be redressed, his property restored, and he 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 separated 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 Santo Domingo. Here, however, he soon experienced 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 polite Ferdinando.

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 many ambitious enterprises, chiefly on the part of 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 its treasury at the same time benefitted by the share of the proceeds of these voyages, 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 curiosity.

Besides the expedition of Ojeda, already noticed, in the course of which he touched at Xarigua, one had been undertaken at the same time by Pedro Alonzo 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 Cristoval Guerra 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, to the south of Paria, ran along it for some distance, pausing beyond two hundred and thirty leagues along the shore of the present republic of Colombia, visiting what was afterward called the Pearl Coast. They landed in various places; disposed of their European trifles to the Indians, and returned with a large stock of gold and pearls; having made, in their diminutive bark, one of the most extensive and lucrative voyages yet accomplished.

About the same time the Pinzones, 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 Pisa, and it was commanded by Vicente Yañez 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 reached Cape Verde Islands, standing south-west until he lost sight of the polar star. Here he encountered a terrible storm, and was exceedingly perplexed and confused 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 nothing of the kind, and thought there must be some prominent swell of the earth, which hid the pole from their view.

Pinzon continued on, however, with great trepidation. 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 Brazil. Standing thence westward, he discovered the Maraguni, 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 caravels and half his men, and had to return to Pedro Vicente Jaramillo. 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 Maraguni to its most eastern point. As a reward for his achievements, power was granted to him to colonize and govern the lands which he had discovered, and which extended southward from the little port of the River Maraguni 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 manned by his adventurous townsmen. He sailed in the same direction with Pinzon, but discovered more of the southern continent than any other voyager of the day, or for twelve years afterward. He doubled Cape St. Augustine, and ascertained that the coast beyond was a labyrinth of islands. 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 splendor of his discoveries was, that he had never sailed with Columbus. He had with him, however, several skilful pilots, who had accompanied the admiral in his voyage.

Another expedition of two vessels sailed from Cadiz, in October, 1500, under the command of Rodrigo Bastidas 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 point since called the Retreat, where afterward was founded the seaport of Nombre de Dios. His vessels being nearly destroyed by the teredo, or worm which abounds in those seas, he had great difficulty in landing, as he was forced to carry his caravels ashore. In this way he discovered the island of San Domingo. Here he was seized and imprisoned by Bobadilla, under pretext that he had traded for gold with the natives of Xaragua.

Such was the swirl 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, made a voyage to the northern seas, called 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 southwest to the Floridas, where, his provisions beginning to fail, he returned to England. But vague and scanty accounts of this voyage exist, which were important, as including the first discovery of the northern continent of the New World.

The discoveries of rival nations, however, which must excited the attention and jealousy of the Spanish crown, were those of the Portuguese. Vasco de Gama, a man of rank and consummate talent and sagacity, had, at length, accomplished the great design of the late Prince Henry of Portugal, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1497, and 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 6th of March, 1500, off Calicut, under the command of Pedro de Cabral. Having passed the Cape of Verde Islands, he sought to avoid the storms prevalent on the coast of Guinea, by stretching west along the coast of Africa. 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

* Peter Martyr, decad. i. lib. ix.
‡ Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 7

Nicholas Coleridge

The narrative of the preceding chapter, with its allusion to the contemporary voyages of the Portuguese and the Venetians, made it evident that the age was predestined to introduce a new era in the world of nations. With the change of the times, all the heretofore-regarded pursuits of the Church, were to give place to the more important task of promoting the general welfare of mankind, and establishing strongholds of Christian liberty. The pope, in 1491, had issued his bull granting any subject of his realms the right of trading to the Indies, on the condition that he should establish himself in the new world, and give the crown of Christendom the means of extending his dominions. In 1494, the treaty of Tordesillas was concluded, by which the whole of the new world was divided between the two nations, the Portuguese obtaining the east, and the Spaniards the west. This arrangement was not long continued, for in 1501, the treaty of Saragossa was concluded, by which the dividing line was extended to the 60th degree of west longitude. This line was afterwards advanced to the 54th degree of west longitude, and the final line of partition was established by the treaty of Madrid in 1825. The privileges of the Portuguese were thus extended to the eastern shore of the South Sea, and the Spaniards to the western shore. In 1513, the treaty of Tordesillas was confirmed by the treaty of Nimeguen, by which the line of partition was extended to the 87th degree of west longitude, and the Spanish possessions in the Pacific were thus extended to the eastern shore of the South Sea. In 1532, the treaty of Madrid was confirmed by the treaty of Saragossa, by which the line of partition was extended to the 117th degree of west longitude, and the Spanish possessions in the Pacific were thus extended to the eastern shore of the South Sea.
a continent. Having ranged along the somewhat beyond the fifteenth degree of southern latitude, and taking possession of the country for the crown of Portugal, dispatched 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 continent. The discovery of America began with Cabral, then, in 1501, was confirmed by Admiral in the name of the crown. Dr. Robertson, in recording this voyage of Cabral, concludes with one of his just and elegant remarks:

"Columbus's 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."

CHAPTER III.

NICHOLAS 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 for a share of 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 unceasing. 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 importance; 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 repeatedly 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; and every succeeding discovery, instead of increasing his grateful sense of the obligation, only made him resolve 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 office, and that without any omen to the crown, and the wary monarch secretly determined that the door thus closed between him and his dignities 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 communication with 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 might 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 voyages.

They were daily beseeching 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 on 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 so solemnly granted to him by treaty, and which it was acknowledged he had never forfeited by misconduct.

This deprivation, however, was declared to be but temporary; and plausible reasons were given for the delay in his reappointment. It was observed that the elements of those violent factions, recently in arms against him, yet existed in the island; his immediate return might produce fresh exasperation; his person safety might be endangered, and the island again thrown into conclusion. Though Bobadilla, therefore, was to be immediately dismissed from command, it was deemed advisable to send out some officer of talent and discretion to supercede him, who might dispassionately investigate the recent disorders, remedy the abuses, and give the interests of the colony a safe 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 favorable 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 energy, says Las Casas, and capable of governing many people, but not of governing the Indians, on whom he inflicted incalculable injuries. He pos
government of Columbus. In the mean time the unhappy natives suffered from kinds of cruelties from their inhuman taskmasters. Little heed was paid to labor, feeble of constitution, and accustomed to their inhuman 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 upon 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 never been the objects of scorn, were, on the contrary, accustomed to 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 and 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 of the unfortunate Indians who bore these litters, raw and bleeding from the toils of that task. What this meant to the Indians was that at an Indian village they consumed and lavished away the provisions of the inhabitants, seizing upon whatever pleased their caprice, and obliging the cacique and his subjects to dance before them for their entertainment, or be suspected of disloyalty and attended with cruelty. They never regarded the natives but in the most degrading terms, and on the least offense, or the least instance of ill-humor, inflicted blows and lashes, and even death itself. Such is but a faint picture of the evils which sprang up under the feeble rule of Obando, and are sorrowfully described by Las Casas, from actual observation, as he visited the island just at the close of his administration. Obando had trusted to the immense amount of gold, wrung from the miseries of the natives, to atone for all errors, and secure favor with the sovereigns; but he had to tally mistaken his course. The abuses of his government soon reached the ear of the king, and above all, the wrongs of the natives reached the benevolent heart of that monarch. He was induced to arouse her indignation, and she urged the speedy departure of Obando, to put a stop to these enormities.

In conformity to the plan already arranged, the government of Obando extended over the islands and Terra Firme, of which to be the metropolis. He was to enter upon the exercise of his powers immediately upon his arrival, by procuring, sending home Obando by the return of the fleet. He was instructed to inquire diligently into the late abuses, punishing the delinquents without favor or partiality, and removing all worthless persons from the island. He was to revoke immediately the license granted by Obando for the general search after gold, and having been granted the pet-racial 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," adhering to the possibility of his being speedily recalled. It was 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
there were others injurious and illiberal, characteristic of an age when the principles of commerce had been decided 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 merchandise there on his own account. A royal factor was appointed, through whom alone 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 also of extraordinary value, and also in dyewoods. No strangers, and above all, no Moors nor Jews, were permitted to establish themselves in the island, nor to go upon voyages of discovery. Such were some of the restrictions upon trade which Spain imposed upon her colonies, and which were followed up by others equally illiberal. Her commercial policy has been the scot 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 for their natural allies, and that we 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 Indians were brought there in a great number, and 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 into 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. This provision led to great abuses and oppressions, and was ultimately as fatal to the natives as could have been the most absolute slavery.

But, with that inconsistency frequent in human conduct, while the sovereigns were making regulations for the relief of the Indians, they encouraged a gross invasion of the rights and 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 abuse took place, was the first part of America introduced into the New World, has been the first to exhibit an awful retribution.

Amid the various concerns which claimed the attention of the sovereigns, the interests of Columbus were not the object of their attention. Ovando had ordered various parts of the island to be examined 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 continuance of his effects. All the property confiscated by Bobadilla was to be restored; or if it had been 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 appropriated it to his own use, he was to account for it out of his private purse. Equal care was taken to indemnify the brothers of the admiral for the losses they had tragically 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 ship 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, and other precious stones, and was sent out with a prelate named Antonio de Espinal, a venerable and pious man. This was the first formal introduction of the Franciscan order into the New World.

With this expedition sailed Don Alonso Maldo- nado, appointed as alguadl mayor, or chief justice, in the place of Roldan, who was to be sent to Spain. There were artisans of various kinds: these were added a physician, surgeon, and apothecary; and seventy-three married men 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 dispose of an equal number of the idle and dissolute who were to be sent out with them. By this excellent measure had been especially urged and entertained by Columbus. There was also live stock, artillery, arms, munitions of all kinds; everything, in short, that was required for the supply of the island.

Such was the style in which Ovando, a favorite 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 everything on deck, and were completely scattered. The shores of Spain were strewn with articles from the ships, and a rumor spread that all 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 rumor proved to be incorrect: but one ship was

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* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. II, cap. 3, ms.
† Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. I, lib. iv, cap. 12.

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* Muñoz, part inedit. Las Casas says the fleet consisted of thirty-two sail. He states from memory, how ever; Muñoz from documents.
† Muñoz, H. N. Mundo, part inedit.
manuscript volume, to be delivered to the sovereigns. He prepared, at the same time, a long letter, written with his usual fervor 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 sauntering imaginings.

In this letter he urged the sovereigns 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 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 produces an inclination to inquire into the mysteries of nature; and he had been gifted with a curious spirit, to read all kinds of chronicles, geographical treatises, 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 ardor to undertake the enterprise. 

"Animated as by a heavenly fire," he adds, "I came to your highnesses with the firm and good intention of my enterprise mounted 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 learning in all the arts, and in the end they decided that all was vain. In your highnesses alone remained faith and constancy. Who will doubt that this light was from the holy Scriptures, illuminating 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 himself as a direct herald of the divine intimation, a light sent from Heaven to the fulfillment of what had been foretold by our Saviour and the prophets. Still he regarded it as only a minor event, preparatory to the great enterprise, the recovery of the holy sepulchre. He pronounced it a miracle effected by Heaven, to animate him and others to that holy undertaking; and he assured the sovereigns 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, in plants and animals, but 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 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
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

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 ardor, 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, and the splendid trade now opened 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 immediate wealth into 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 the enterprising Cabral; he who heard of the sciences I had been seven years in preparing the case for his expedition, that all was ready for his embarkation faith in the expedition. But this light was all that he beheld, setting you as a great bright beam upon your audience.

* Garibay, Hist. España, lib. xix. cap. 6. Among the collections existing in the library of the late Prince de Cisneros, there is a paper which contains a paper of letter, in which is calculated the probable expenses of an army of twenty thousand men for the conquest of the Holy Land. It is dated in 1491, and the handwriting appears to be of the same time.

† 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 east into the west, to manifest in India our holy and Catholic faith; and you, Señor, you sent in an opposite direction from the west into the east, until you 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 omnum terras exspectavit genus 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 places."—Lettres de Mosen Jayme Ferrer, Sr. Varrente Colecion, tom. ii. deced. 65. See also the opinion expressed by Agostino Ginziniihi, his contemporary, in his Polvglot Psalter.
Ferdinand, his cupidity was roused at the idea of being soon put in possession of a more direct and safe route to those countries with which the crown of Spain was engaged, 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 stratagem as the one supposed were really in existence, Columbus was, of all men in the world, the one to discover it. His proposition, therefore, was promptly accepted to; he was authorized to fit out an armament immediately; and repaired to Seville in the autumn of 1501, to make the necessary preparations.

Though this 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 some learned men, the named Gaspar Cor- risco, who assisted to complete it. In February, also, he wrote a letter to Pope Alexander VII., in which 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 his vow to furnish, within seven years, fifty thousand guilders and three thousand pounds for the purpose, and another of 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 the government which had been granted to 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 Cesar.

It was about this time, also, that he sent his letter to the sovereigns, together with the collection of prophecies.

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† A manuscript volume containing a copy of this letter and of the collection of prophecies, is in the Columbus Library, in the Cathedral of Seville, where the author of this work has seen and examined it, since publishing the first edition. The title and some of the early pages of the work are in the handwriting of Fernando Columbus, the main body of the work is by a strange hand, probably by the Friar Gaspar Cor- risco, or some brother of his Convent. There are trivial marginal notes or corrections, and one or two trivial additions in the handwriting of Columbus, especially a passage added after his return from his fourth voyage and shortly before his death, alluding to an eclipse of the moon which took place during his sojourn in the island of Jamaica. The handwriting of this last passage, like most of the manuscript of Columbus, which as has been seen, is remarkable for the firmness and distinctness of his earlier writing, his hand having doubtless become unsteady by age and infirmity.

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which the proposition was received. Ferdinand, with all his bigotry, was a shrewd and worldly prince. Instead of a chivalrous crusade against Jerusalem, he was pursuing 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 stratagem as the one supposed were really in existence, Columbus was, of all men in the world, the one to discover it. His proposition, therefore, was promptly accepted to; he was authorized to fit out an armament immediately; and repaired to Seville in the autumn of 1501, to make the necessary preparations.

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St. George, 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 sums of money were paid by the grandee individually to his friend, Doctor Nico 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 descendant, in case he should perish in the course of his voyage.

BOOK XV.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS ON HIS FOURTH VOYAGE—REFUSED ADMISSION TO THE HARBOR OF SAN DOMINGO—EXPOSED TO A VIOLENT TEMPEST.

[1502.]

After rapidly making its advances upon Columbus when he undertook his fourth and last voyage of discovery. He had already numbered sixty-six years, and they were years filled with care and trouble, in which age outstrips the march of time. His constitution, originally vigorous in the extreme, had been impaired by hardships and exposures in every clime, and silently preyed upon by the suffering of his brain. His frame, once powerful and commanding, and retaining a semblance of strength and majesty even in its decay, was yet crazed by infirmities and subject to paroxysms of excreting pain. His intellectual forces alone retained their wonted health and energy, prompting him, at a period of life when most men seek repose, to sally forth with youthful ardor on the most toilsome and adventurous of expeditions.

His squadron for the present voyage consisted of four caravels, the smallest of which tons burden, the largest not exceeding seventy, and the crews amounting in all to one hundred and fifty men. With little armor and these slender harks did the venerable discoverer undertake 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.

In this arduous voyage, however, he had a faithful counsellor, and an intrepid and vigorous coadjutor, in his brother Don Bartholomew, while 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 pernicious enemies.

The squadron sailed from Cadiz on the 6th of May, and passed over to Ercilla, on the coast of Morocco, where it anchored on the 13th. Understanding that the Portuguese garrison was closely besieged in the fortress of the Moors, and exposed to great peril, Columbus was ordered to take there, and render all the assistance in his power. Before his arrival the siege had been raised, but 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 caravels were sent to wait upon the admiral in return, some of whom were relatives of his deceased wife, Dona Felipa Munoz. After this exchange of civilities, the admiral made sail on the same day, and continued his voyage. On the 25th 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 favorable to the little squadron 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 Martinico.

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.

Columbus continued hence along the inside 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, and thence to take a departure for the continent, and 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 canvas, and considerably embattled and delayed the rest of the squadron.

He wished, therefore, to exchange it for one of the fleet which had recently received the required repairs. He foresaw that he could not continue its employment, and had anticipated for the future.

He arrived at S. Augustine, presented his letters, and secured to himself and his family, on the promise of the king of Spain, grants, patents, constitutions, of Seville, by which he was entitled, for himself and his descendants, to the title of Senator, hence Juan, Pedro, and Rodrigo, vindicated their right to the Bank of Spain.

These documents lay unknown in the Oderigo family until 1650, when Lorenzo Oderigo presented them to the government of Genoa, and they were deposited in the public archives of that city. In the eighteenth century, several copies of these documents were 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 given up by him to the city of Genoa in 1821. A custodia, or monument, was erected in that city for its preservation, consisting of a marble column surmounted by an urn, upon it, surrounded by a bust of Columbus. The documents were deposited in the urn.

These papers have been published, together with an historical memoir of Columbus, by D. Gio. Battista Spontone, Professor of Eloquence, etc., in the University of Genoa.

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† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 88.

‡ Señor Navarrete supposes this island to be the same as present called Santa Lucia. From the distance between it and Dominica, as stated by Fernando Columbus, it was more probably the present Martinico.

§ Hist. del Almirante, cap. 88.


¶ Hist. del Almirante, cap. 88. Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 5.
ently 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 the case of such importance to the safety and success of his expedition. It was necessary to state the wants 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 ceremonials 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 sustained 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 favored, and he experienced the weightlessness of the position, which engendered the prejudice and 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.\footnote{Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 3.}

The conduct of Roldán and his accomplices, however, underwent a strict investigation, and many were arrested to be sent to Spain for trial. They appeared undismayed, trusting to the influence of their friends in Spain to protect them, and many relying on the well-known disposition of the Bishop of Fonseca to favor all who had been opposed 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 put an immense amount of gold, the revenue collected for the crown during his government, and that which he confidently expected would alone 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 Caray 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.\footnote{Ibid., cap. 5.}

Large quantities of gold were likewise shipped in the fleet, by the followers of Roldán, 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 Higuey, and was now to be sent a captive in chains to Spain. In one of the ships, Alonso Sanchez de Carayal, the agent of Columbus, had put the treasures of gold which he had obtained from the Indians, being part of his property, either recently collected or recovered from the hands of Bobadilla.\footnote{Ibid.}

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 the waiting of the islanders 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 ceremonials 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 sustained 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 favored, and he experienced the weightlessness of the position, which engendered the prejudice and 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.\footnote{Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 3.}

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and the fleet the 29th of November, 1492, arrived at the port of San Pedro de la Roca, where they were received with great joy by the Spaniards, natives of Cuba, and by the people of the surrounding country. The fleet was composed of five vessels: the Guadalquivir, the Girona, the Trinidad, the Santiago, and the Nina. The Guadalquivir was the largest vessel, and the Nina the smallest. The fleet was commanded by Columbus, who had been appointed the Governor of the island of Cuba. He was accompanied by his brother, Diego, and by a number of other officers.

The fleet was then ordered to separate, and each vessel was to proceed to the coast of Cuba, where they were to establish settlements. The Guadalquivir was ordered to proceed to the north of Cuba, while the Girona was to proceed to the south. The Trinidad and the Santiago were to proceed to the west, and the Nina was to proceed to the east. Each vessel was to take with it a small party of soldiers and sailors, and to establish a settlement on the coast of Cuba.

The fleet was then ordered to anchor off the coast of Cuba, and to disembark the soldiers and sailors. The Guadalquivir was the first to anchor, and the other vessels followed in succession. The soldiers and sailors were then disembarked, and each vessel was to proceed to the coast of Cuba, where they were to establish settlements. The Guadalquivir was ordered to proceed to the north of Cuba, while the Girona was to proceed to the south. The Trinidad and the Santiago were to proceed to the west, and the Nina was to proceed to the east. Each vessel was to take with it a small party of soldiers and sailors, and to establish a settlement on the coast of Cuba.

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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 round their loins. Both sexes appeared more particular about these coverings, and to have a quicker sense of personal modesty than any Indians Columbus had yet discovered.

These circumstances, together with the superior order of their implements and manufactures, were held by the admiral as indications that he was approaching more civilized nations. He endeavored 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 endeavored to impress him with the idea of the wealth and magnificence of the regions, and the people that were; 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 important facts respecting 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 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 winds 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 cast, he must at length arrive to where he supposed it to be severed from the coast of Asia 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 more intelligent than the rest, who 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 Guiana, he stood southwardly for the main-land, and after sailing a few leagues discovered a cape, to which he gave the name of Cañas, from its being covered with fruit trees, as well as 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 performed under the trees on the sea-shore, according to the pious custom, 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 upward 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 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 neighborhood, and for a considerable distance eastward, had higher foreheads than those of the islands. They were of different languages, and varied in their clothing. Some were entirely naked, and their bodies were 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 trusses of hair in front. The chieftains had caps of white or colored cotton. When they painted their faces black, or with stripes of various colors, 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."

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. In all this time he experienced some kind of weather that had prevailed on the coast of Hispaniola, and had attended him more or less for upward 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 knew anything of the drenching rains and rending thunder of the tropics will not think his description of the storms 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 labor 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 for upward of two months, since he had been refused shelter at San Domingo. During a great part of this time he had suffered extreme hunger and fatigue, aggravated by his watchful anxiety. His illness did not prevent his attending to his

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* Journal of Porras, Navarrete, to Col. 1.
† Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 20. Letter of Columbus from Jamaica.
duties: he had a small cabin or chamber constructed on the stern, 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 passionately 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 to a tender 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. At length, after struggling for upward 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 filled their hearts 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.†

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 points smooth, level, and fertile, and washed by abundant streams. In the rivers grew immense reeds, sometimes of the thickness of a man’s thigh: they abound with fish and tortoises, and alligators basked in the banks. At one place Columbus passed a certainty of islands, one of which grew a fruit resembling the lemon, on which account he called them the Limonares.‡

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 their ships, a sudden swelling of the sea, 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 wearied 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.§

Leaving this unlucky neighborhood, they continued for several days along the coast, until finding both his ships and his people nearly disabled by the buffeting of the tempests. Columbus, on the 25th of September, cast anchor between a small island and the main-land, in which appeared a commodious and delightful situation. The island was covered with groves of palm-trees, coconuts, and 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 grateful perfumes, so that Columbus gave it the name of La Huerta. It was called by the natives, Quiribiri. Immediately opposite, at a short lane’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 hills and forests, with trees of such height that Las Casas says they appeared to reach the skies.

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 islands. Columbus, however, made no attempt to land during that or the succeeding day, but remained quietly on board repairing the ships, curing and drying the damaged provisions, or reposing from the labors 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 predominated. They made many 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 guamin, 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 favorable 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 endeavored to retaliate, by pretending like hospitality. On returning 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 the strangers still inclined to come on shore, the natives tried in every way to gain their confidence, and dispel the distrust which their hostile demonstrations might have caused. A boat approaching the shore cautiously one day, in quest of some sale place to procure water, an ancient Indian, of venerable demeanor, issued from among the trees, bearing a white banner on the end of a staff, and leading two girls, one about fourteen years of age, the other about eight, having jewels of guamin 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 water-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 nor alarm,

† Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 21. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 91.
‡ P. Martyr, decad. iii. lib. iv. These may have been the lime, a small and extremely acid species of the lemon.
§ Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 21. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 91. Journal of F orn,
though surrounded by what to them must have been uncouth and formidable beings. Columbus and his crew, however, met the inhabitants with confidence and treated them kindly, and the trust which they placed in him should not be abused. After fasting the young females, and ordering them to be clad and adorned with various ornaments, he sent them on shore. The night, however, had fallen, and the crew were so hungry and tired that 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 genuine kindness toward them. The 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, owning the water, took him out of the boat in their arms, and carrying him to land, seated him with great ceremony on a grassy knoll. Don Ladrholmew endeavored to collect information from them respecting the country, and ordered the natives to write down their tale. 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, they rushed upon him, and set upon him 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 toward 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 records the scene, appears to doubt whether these Indians were versed in sorcery, and thus led to suspect it in others.*

Indeed, not to conceal a totale, which was more characteristic of the superstition of the age than of the self-sufficiency of the master, 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 enchanters, and he intimates that the two Indian girls who visited his ship had magic powder concealed about their persons. He adds, that the sailors attributed all the delays and hardships 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 admiral enjoyed rest and the recreation of the land. The Adelantado, with a band of armed men, made excursions on shore to collect 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 set of sepulchers, one containing a human body emblazoned: in another, there were two bodies wrapped in cotton, and so preserved as to be free from any disagreeable odor. They were adorned with the ornaments most precious to them when living; and the sepulchers 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 selected 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 ambassadours; 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.

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 on breadth, full of

his cruise until he has made satisfaction for the damage; and even although he should have a fair and leading wind, they will make the necessary changes, and thereby obliging him, in spite of himself, to return to the island. They can in like manner cause the sea to become calm, and at their will can raise tempests, occasion shipwrecks, and produce any effects that seem not to be particularized.—Marco Polo, book iii. cap. 35. Eng. translation by W. Marsden.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 91.
† Letter from Jamaica.

† Letter from Jamaica.

Note.—We find instances of the same kind of superstition in the work of Marco Polo, and as Columbus considered himself in the vicinity of the country described by that traveller, he may have been influenced in this respect by his narrations. Speaking of the island of Socotra (Socotra), Marco Polo observes:—"There is in it very many deal more in sorcery and witchcraft than any other people, although forbidden by their bishop, who excommunicates and anathematizes them for the sin. Of this, however, they never make any account, they being more afraid of a pirate than of death. If any vessel belonging to a pirate should injure one of theirs, they do not fail to lay him under a spell, so that he cannot proceed on
The isles were beautifully verdant, covered with groves, and 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, and in each of the streets of a city, the sloop 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 wearing large plates of it suspended round their necks by corals cords; they had arms, knives, and gannins, 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 land, the coast 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 cornets formed of the claws of birds; 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 forty ducats. Here, for the first time, we see 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 whence it was procured, particularly Veragua, which was about twenty-five leagues distant.

The expedition of the Spaniards was greatly excited, and they would gladly have remained to barter, but the admiral discouraged all disposition of the kind. He hurried on 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 Guay. 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 cock-shells, their usual war signals. They rushed into the sea up to their waists, discharging their weapons, and splashing the water at the Spaniards in token of defiance; but were soon pacified by gentle signs and the intervention of the interpreters, and willingly barred away their ornaments, giving seventeen plates of gold, worth one hundred and sixty ducats, for a few toys and trifles.

When the Spaniards returned the next day to renew their traffic, they found the Indians repeated their hostility, sounding their drums, and rushing forward to attack the boats. An arrow from a cross-bow, which wounded one of them in the arm, checked their fury, and on the discharge of a cannon they fled with terror. Four of the Spaniards were wounded pursuing and calling after them. They threw down their weapons and came, awe-struck, and gentle as lambs, bringing three plates of gold, and meekly and thankfully receiving whatever was given in exchange.

Continuing along the coast, the admiral anchored in the mouth of another river, called the Catiba. Here likewise the sound of drums and conches from among the forests gave notice that the warriors were assembling. A canoe soon came off with two Indians, who, after exchanging a few words with the interpreters, entered the admiral's ship with fearless confidence; and being satisfied of the friendly intentions of the strangers, returned to their cacique with a favorable report.

The boats landed, and the Señor on the shore, where they were greeted with the cacique. He was naked like his subjects, nor distinguished in any way from them, except by the great deference with which he was treated, and by a tribalic attention paid to his personal comfort, being protected from a shower of rain by an immense leaf of a tree. 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, 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 fiercely, 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 Cibiga, and here Columbus was informed that the country of gold terminated.† 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, he had been under the influence of one of his frequent delusions. From the Indians met with at the island of Guanaja, just arrived from Yucatan, he had received accounts of some great mine, and, 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 subsequent letter to the sovereign, he confided that he brought with him some Indians of this coast conduced to extoll 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

† In some English maps this bay is called Almirante. The channel by which Columbus entered is called Boca del Almirante, or the Mouth of the Admiral.
† Journal of Porras, Navarrete, tom. i.
†† The order, of which the island, besides being a large strait, is called Almirante.
†‡ Columbus's Letter from Jamaica.
garments embroidered with it. They used it for all their domestic purposes, even to the ornamentation and embossing of their seats and tables. On being shown coral, the Indians declared that the women of Cignare wore bands of it about their head 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 seaports, in which ships arrived armed with cannon. The people were warlike also, armed like the Spaniards with swords, bucklers, lances, and cross-bows, and they were mounted on horses. Above all, Columbus understood from them that the sea continued beyond Cignare, and that ten days beyond it was the Ganges.

These may have been vague and wandering rumors 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 Cignare 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 Perugia bore to Florence, or Spire, or Pisa with Venice in Italy. By proceeding farther 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 Cignare, 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.*

With these ideas Columbus determined to press forward, leaving the rich country of Veragua unexplored. Nothing could excite more clearly his generous ambition, than hurrying in this brief manner along a coast where wealth was to be gathered at every step, for the purpose of seeking a strait which, however it might produce vast benefits to mankind, yet 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 2d of November the squadron anchored in a spacious and commodious harbor, where the vessels could approach close to the shore without danger. It was surrounded by an elevated country, open and cultivated, with houses within bow-shot of each other, surrounded by fruit-trees, groves of palms, and fields producing maize, vegetables, and the delicious pineapple, so that the whole neighborhood had the mingled appearance of a ship and garden. Columbus was pleased with the excellence of the harbor 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 illustrous 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 attending the discovery.

For seven days they were detained in this port by heavy rain and stormy weather. The natives repaired from all quarters in canoes, bringing fruits and vegetables and balls of cotton, but there was no longer gold offered in trade. The caciques 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 6th of November, they proceeded eight leagues to the eastward, to the point since known as Nombre de Dios; but being driven back by some distance, they anchored in a harbor 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, and such fruits as Columbus called the harbor of Puerto de Bastimentos, or Port of Provisions. Here they remained, endeavoring to repair their vessels, which leaked excessively. They were pierced in all parts by the teredo or worm which abounds in the tropical seas. It is of the size of a man’s finger, and bores through the stoutest planks and timbers, so as soon to destroy any vessel that is not well coppered. After leaving this port they touched at another called 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 sharp 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 lay close enough to the land for a man to leap on shore.

From the smallness of the harbor, Columbus gave it the name of El Retrete, or The Cabinet. He had been betrayed into this inconvenient and dangerous port by the misreport of the seamen sent to examine it, who were always eager 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 odor. 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 gentle, and friendly manners, and brought whatever they possessed to exchange for European trinkets.

As long as the admiral had control over the ac-

* Letter of Columbus from Jamaica. Navarrete Coleccion, tom. i.
† Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 23. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 92.
tions of his people, the Indians were treated with justice and kindness, and everything went on amicably. The vicinity of the ships to land, however, caused the savages to venture ashore 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 raised 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 breasts and clubs against the trees and bushes in furious manœuvres. The situation of the ships so close to the shore exposed them to assaults, and made the hostility of the natives unusually formidable. Columbus ordered a shot or two, therefore, to be discharged among them. When they saw the havoc made, they fled in terror, and offered no further hostility.*

The south wind from the caravel 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 sea-mongers, the ships in such peril were sailing, 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 real or mere discouragement. They were actuated by more selfish 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 that the trials of the recent voyage of Bastides he must have been aware that he had arrived from an opposite quarter to the place where navigator's exploring voyage from the east had terminated; consequently that there was 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 wherewith to return to Spain in triumph, and silence the reproaches of his enemies, even though he should fail in the least 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 given him a 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. 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.

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO VERAGUA—THE ADELANTE EXPLORES THE COUNTRY.

[1503.]

On the 5th of December Columbus sailed from El Retrete, and relinquishing his course to the east, returned westward to the gold mines of Veragua. On the same evening he anchored in Puerto Bello, about ten leagues distant; 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 course to the east, but he did not dare trust in 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 make all seamanship impossible. Unable to reach Veragua, the ships were obliged to put back to Puerto Bello, and when they would have entered that harbor, 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. Nowhere is a storm so awful as between the tropics. The sea, according to the description of Columbus, boiled at times like a caldron; 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 a day and night the heavens glowed as a furnace with incessant flashes of lightning; while the loud claps of thunder were often mistaken by the affrighted mariners for signals of guns, distress from their founding 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 God to have mercy on them. From such a point, with such eagerness, the hideous terrors of the event, swathing the noise of war, and the dread of death, they beheld the new object of alarm.

The ocean in one place became strangely agitated. The water was whipped up into a kind of pyramidal or cone-like hill, within a cloud, which, to the eye, bent down to meet 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. Time was not in their favor, when they beheld the water-spout advancing toward 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 effiency 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 gave it up for lost. At length, to their great relief, it reappeared, the survivors having lost last in the boat, and been obliged to cut its cable, in an attempt to anchor on the 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 tempested mariners had time to breathe. They looked upon this tranquillity, however, as deceitful, and in their gloomy mood beheld everything with a doubtful and foreboding eye. Great numbers of sharks, so abundant and ravenous in these latitudes, were seen about the ships. Thus 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 these 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 colored 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 superstitions, the seamen were glad to use a part of these sharks for food, being very short of provision. The length of the sides of the bede were 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 17th, 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 neighboring 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 backward and forward by the changeable and tempestuous winds until the day after Christmas, when they sheltered themselves in another port, where they remained until the 3d of January, 1503, repairing one of the caravels, and finding 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 their great joy, anchored at the mouth of a river called by the natives Yebra, or the river Veragua, as the town 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 Bethlehem.

For nearly a month he had endeavored 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 seashore the name of La Costa de los Contrastes, or the Coast of Contradictions.*

Columbus immediately ordered the mouths of the Belen, and of its neighboring river Veragua, to be sounded. The latter proved 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. On the 15th of January, 1503, they were dispatched 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 to have been of Carib origin. As the boats entered the river, the natives salted forth in their canoes, and others assembled in jeering style on the shores. The Spaniards, however, had brought with them an Indian of that coast, who put an end to this show of hostility by 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 very trifles twenty plates of gold, with several pieces of silver, 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 practice rigorous fasting and continence.†

The favorable report brought by the boats determined the admiral to remain in the neighborhood. The river Belen having 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

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* Las Casas, lib ii. cap. 24. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 90.† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 94.

† 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 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 the Spaniards; exhorting them to purify themselves for the research of the mines by fasting, prayer, and chastity. It is scarcely necessary to add, that his advice was but little attended to by his rapacious and sensual followers.
The natives came to them in the most friendly manner, bringing great quantities of produce from the country. They brought also golden ornaments to traffic, but continued to affirm that Veragua was the place whence the ore was procured.

The Adelantado, with his usual activity and energy, 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 Quibian, the principal cacique. The chieftain, hearing of his intention, met him near the entrance of the river, attended by his subjects in several canoes. He was tall, of powerful frame, and warlike demeanor; the interview was extremely amicable. The cacique presented the Adelantado with the golden ornaments which he wore, 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 reserved 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 usual trinkets, and Quibian returned, without much ceremony, to his home.

On the 21st day 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, and the whole squadron was in imminent danger of shipwreck. While exposed to this peril in the river, they were prevented from running out to sea by a violent storm, and by the breakers which beat upon the bar. This sudden rising of the river 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. 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, as they had crossed it upward 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 each man had collected a little quantity of gold, gathered from the surface of the earth. 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 leagues, was rich in gold, naming to him several of the principal places.

The Adelantado gazed with enwrapped eye over a vast wilderness of continued forest, where only there and here a bright column of smoke from amid the trees gave sign of some savage habitation, or solitary wigwam, and the wild, unappropriated aspect of this golden country delighted him more than if he had beheld it covered with towns and cities, and adorned with all the graces of cultivation. He returned with his party, in high spirits, to the ships, and rejoiced the admiral with the favorable report of his 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 neighboring cacique, with whom he was at war, hoping to divert them into the territories of his enemy. The real mines of Veragua, it was said, were nearer and much more wealthy.

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. In this excursion he explored an extensive tract of country, and visited the dominions of various caciques, by whom he was hospitably entertained. He met continually with proofs of abundance of gold; 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 of which continued for the extent of six leagues; and the country abounded with excellent 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 rumors 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 animating accounts of the country. He had found no part, however, equal to the river of Ilen, and was convinced that gold was nowhere to be met with in such abundance as in the district of Veragua.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 95.
† Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 25. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 95.
‡ Peter Martyr, decal. lib. iv.
CHAPTER VII.

COMMENCEMENT OF A SETTLEMENT ON THE RIVER CELKEN—CONSPIRACY OF THE NATIVES—EXPERIENCES OF THE ADELANTADO TO SURPRISE QUIBIAN. [1903.]

The reports brought to Columbus, from every side, of the wealth of the neighborhood; the golden tract of twenty days' journey in extent, shown to his brother from the mountain; the rumored riches of a rich and civilized country at no great distance, all convinced him that he had reached one of the most favored 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 the emporium of a vast tract of mines. Within the two first days after his arrival in the country, as he wrote to the sovereigns, 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 Pavia 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 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 dispatch 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 palmettos. 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 that colony. The other was to supply of European stores remaining, consisting chiefly of biscuit, cheese, pulse, wine, oil, and vinegar; but the country produced bananas, plantains, pineapples, coconuts, and other fruit. There was also a great abundance, together with various roots, such as were found in Hispaniola. The rivers and seacoast abounded with fish. The natives, too, made beverages of various kinds. One from the juice of the pineapple, having a vinous flavor; 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 to such peril by its sudden swelling, had now become 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 checked the mouth of the river, for there was a swell rolling and tumbling upon them, enough to dash his worm-eaten harks to pieces. He was obliged, therefore, to wait with patience, and pray for the return of those rains which he had lately deplored.

In the mean time Quibian beheld, with secret jealousy and indignation, these strangers erecting habitations and manifesting an intention of establishing themselves in his territories. He was of a bold and warlike spirit, and had a great force of warriors at his command; and being ignorant of the vast superiority of the Europeans in the art of war, thought it easy, by a well-concerted artifice, to overwhelm and 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 neighboring province. Numbers of the warriors, in repairing to his head-quarters, passed by the harbor. No suspicions of their real design were entertained by Columbus or his officers; but their movements attracted the attention of the chief notary, Diego Mendez, a man of a shrewd and prying character, and zealously devoted to the admiral. Doubting the truth of this report, Columbus wrote to Mendez, and offered to coast along in an armed boat to the river Veragua, and reconnoitre the Indian camp. His offer was accepted, and he sailed from the river accordingly, but had scarcely advanced a league when he discovered a large force of Indians on the shore. Landing alone, and ordering that the boat should be kept afloat, he entered among them. There were about a thousand, armed and supplied with provisions, as if for an expedition. He offered to accompany them with his armed boat; his offer was declined, with evident signs of impatience. Returning to his boat, he kept watch upon them all night, until seeing they were vigilantly observed, they returned to Veragua.

Mendez hastened back to the admiral, and gave it as his opinion that the Indians had been on their way to surprise the Spaniards. The admiral was loath to believe in such treachery, and was desirous of obtaining clearer information, before he took so important a step. The intelligence was accordingly good understanding that existed with the natives. Mendez now undertook, with a single

* Letter of Columbus from Jamaica.
† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 96.
‡ Letter from Jamaica.
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THE RECEPTION OF THE ADELANTADO AT CARIARI
companion, to penetrate by land to the head-quarters of Quibian, and endeavor to ascertain his intentions. Accompanied by one Rodrigo de Esco- bar, he proceeded on foot along the seaboard, to avoid the tangled forests, and arriving at the mouth of the Veragua, found two canoes with Indians, whom he prevailed on, by presents, to convey him and his companion to the village of the cacique. It was on the bank of the river; the houses were detached and interspersed among trees. There was a buzz of warlike preparation in the place, and the arrival of the two Spaniards evidently excited surprise and uneasiness. The residence of the cacique was larger than the others, and situated on a hill which rose from the water’s edge. Quibian was confined to the house by indisposition, having been wounded in the leg by an arrow. Mendez gave himself out as a surgeon come to cure the wound; with great difficulty and by force of presents he obtained permission to proceed. On the crest of the hill and in front of the cacique’s dwelling was a round, open place, on which, post, were the heads of three hundred enemies slain in battle. Undismayed by this dismal array, Mendez and his companion crossed the place toward the den of the great warrior. The cacique attempted to make them children about the door fled into the house with piercing cries. A young and powerful Indian, son of the cacique, saluted forth in a violent rage, and struck Mendez a blow which made him recoil several paces. The latter pacified him by presents and assurances that he came to cure his father’s wound, in proof of which he produced a box of ointment. It was impossible, however, to gain access to the cacique, and Mendez retired with all haste to the harbor to report to the admiral what he had seen and learned. It was evident there was a dangerous plot impending over the Spaniards, and as far as Mendez could learn from the Indians who had taken him up the river in their canoe, the body of a thousand warriors which he had seen on his previous reconnoitering expedition had actually been on a hostile enterprise against the harbor, but had given it up on finding themselves observed.

This information was confirmed by an Indian of the neighboring island, who had become attached to the Spaniards and acted as interpreter. He revealed to the admiral the designs of his countrymen, who had overheard Quibian intend to surprise the harbor at night with a great force, burn the ships and houses, and make a general massacre. Thus forewarned, Columbus immediately set a double watch upon the harbor. The military spirit of the Adelantado suggested a bold expedition. The hostile plan of Quibian was doubtless delayed by his wound, and in the meantime he would maintain the semblance of friendly relations. The Adelantado determined to march at once to his residence, capture him, his family, and principal warriors, send them prisoners to Spain, and take possession of his village.

With the Adelantado, to execute 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 boats, to the mouth of the Veragua, ascending it rapidly, and before the Indians could have notice of his movements, landed at the foot of the hill on which the house of Quibian was situated.

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 arquebus, they surrounded the dwelling and suffered no one to escape.

As the Adelantado drew near to the house, Quibian came forth, and seating himself in the portal, desired the Adelantado to approach singly. Don Bartholomew, however, sent Diego Mendez and his four companions to remain at a little distance, 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, through whom a short conversation took place, 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 arquebus. The cacique attempted to resist, 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 up, a crowd of about a hundred and fifty Indians gathered, and each bayonet was bound hand and foot. At the report of the arquebus, 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 them was the cacique, Juan Sanchez, the principal pilot of the squadron, a powerful and spirited man, volunteered to take charge of the captives. On committing the chief- tain 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 threat 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 pitifully of the painfulness of his hands. The rough heart of the pilot was touched with compassion, and he loosened the cord by which Quibian was bound, and placed him on the bench, keeping the end of it in his hand. The wily Indian watched his opportunity, and when Sanchez was looking another way plunged into the water and disappeared. So sudden and violent was his flight that both the cord least 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 cap-
lives, 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, and returned to the ships with the news of the cacique's death. 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.

[1503.]

It was hoped by Columbus that the vigorous measure of the Adelantado would strike terror into the Indians of the neighborhood, and prevent any further designs upon the settlement. Quiñon had probably perished. If he survived, he must be disheartened by the captivity 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 fell so frequently among the mountains of this island, having again swelled the river, Columbus made his final arrangements for the management of the colony, and giving much wholesome counsel to the Spaniards who were to remain, and taken an affectionate leave of his brother, 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, the ships were lightened of a great part of their cargoes, and towed out by the boats in calm weather, grounding repeatedly. When fairly released from the river, and their cargoes reshipped, they anchored within a league of the shore, to await a favorable wind. It was the intention of the admiral to touch at Hispaniola, on his way to Spain, and send thence supplies and reinforcements. This was left to Columbus, and on the 5th of April, under the command of Diego Tristan, captain of one of the caravels, to procure wood and water, and make some communications to the Adelantado. The expedition of this boat proved fatal to its crew, but was providential to the settlement.

The cacique Quiñon 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, he swam below the surface until sufficiently distant to be out of view in the darkness of the night, and then emerged and made his way to shore. Determined on a signal vengeance, he assembled a great number of his warriors, and came secretly upon the settlement. The thick woods by which it was surrounded enabled the Indians to approach unseen within ten paces. The Spaniards, thinking the enemy completely disguised 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 rushed from their concealment with yells and howlings, launched their javelins through the roots 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. He was joined by Diego Mendez and several of his companions, and they drove the enemy into the ditches, killing and wounding several of them. The Indians kept up a brisk fire of darts and arrows from among the trees, and made furious sallies with their war-clubs; but there was no withstanding the keen edge of the Spanish weapons, and the fierce broad-shouldered berserkers, who completed their terror. They fled howling through the forest, leaving a number dead on the field, having killed one Spaniard and wounded eight. Among the latter was the Adelantado, who received a slight thrust of a javelin in the breast.

Diego Tristan arrived in the boat, but feared to approach the land, lest the Spaniards should rush on board in such numbers as to sink him. When the Indians had been put to flight he proceeded up the river in quest of fresh water, disregarding the warnings of those on shore, that he might be employed in the canoes.

The river was deep and narrow, shut in by high banks and overhanging trees. The forests on each side were so dense that for a considerable distance there was no landing-place excepting here and there where a footpath wound down 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 it was completely overshadowed by lofty banks and spreading trees. Suddenly yells and war-whoops and blasts of conch-shells rose on every side. Light canoes darted forth in every direction, thrusting the dexterity of managed by a single savage, while others stood up brandishing and hurling their lances. Missiles were launched also from the banks of the river and the branches of the trees. There were eight sailors in the boat, and three seamen. Called and wounded by darts and arrows, contended by the yells and blasts of conchs and the assaults which thickened from every side, they lost all presence of mind, neglected to use either ears or firearms, and only sought to defend themselves with their buckles. Diego Tristan had received several wounds, but still displayed great intrepidity, when of him of the usual order, a sacrifice to the gods. The few in the boat were the only ones left who were being away force on the river, and determined to leave with nothing but their lives. The sailors, however, shall be repeated in all the galleys that may pass the coast of America, and the Spaniards, being stronger, got the better of the Indians. The cacique, however, did not give up the contest, but again sent his men to the Spaniards, and to those that had returned, who carried plenty of spears and thongs. The Spaniards, however, did not give up the contest, but again sent his men to the Spaniards, and to those that had returned, who carried plenty of spears and thongs. The Spaniards used them as a means of defense, and the Spaniards, however, did not give up the contest, but again sent his men to the Spaniards, and to those that had returned, who carried plenty of spears and thongs. The Spaniards used them as a means of defense, and the Indians, seeing that their resistance was of no use, retired and left the Spaniards in possession of the coast.
he swam bestant to be out, and then the deesision his wives and but when he confined leaving was transeentered on a great number the settlement it was surgon approach unseent heing the disperstes, were strayed to at the ships; in the river; on a their concealel, ruched their leaves, hurled them through the walls, of the inhabi manipulating the Adel forth with joined by Dic- Spaniards, and the killing and Indians kept up among the their war cried the keen forest for the blood of animals their the forest, having killed the man. Among the mrines a slight delay during the land, lest the packed wih fresh fish on shore, the powder in their was by high the forests on the hill, so that here and there some fishmen kept in their above the was containing and spreading whoops and yells. Light from dark was throwing others stood. Missiles of the river were eighty. Called the sword of the assualts they lost all their arms or themselves received the great inter-plethy, and was endeavoring to animate his men when a javelin pierced his right eye and struck him dead. The canoes now closed upon the boat, and a general massacre ensued. But one Spaniard escaped, Juan de Noya, a cooper of Seville. Having fallen overboard in the midst of the action, and drifted to the bottom, swam under water, gained the bank of the river unperceived, and made his way down to the settlement, bringing tidings of the massacre of his captain and comrades.

The Spaniards were completely dismayed, few in number, several of them were wounded, and they were in the midst of tribes of exasperated savages, far more fierce and warlike than those to whom they had been accustomed. The admiral, being ignorant of their misfortunes, would sail away without yielding them assistance, and they would be left to sink beneath the overwhelming force of barbarous foes, or to perish with hunger on this inhospitable coast. In their despair they determined to take the caravel which had been left with them, and 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 proceed. The admiral then took the boat to hear tidings of their danger to the admiral, and implore him not to abandon them; but the wind was bisterious, a high sea was rolling and a heavy surf, tumbling and breaking at the mouth of the river, prevented the boat from getting out. Horrors increased upon them. The mangled bodies of Diego Tristan and his men came floating down the stream, and drifting about the harbor, with flights of crows, and other carrion birds, feeding on them, and hovering, and screaming, and lightening about their prey. The forlorn Spaniards contemplated this scene with shudder; it appeared ominous of their own fate.

In the mean time the Indians, elated by their triumph over the crew of the boat, renewed their hostilities. Whoops and yells answered each other from various parts of the neighborhood. The dismal sound of conches and war-drums in the deep bosom of the woods showed that the number of the enemy was continually augmenting. They would rush forth occasionally upon straggling parties of Spaniards, and make partial attacks upon the houses. It was considered no longer safe to remain in the settlement, the close forest which surrounded it being 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 hall to be made of the boat of the caravel, and of chests, victuals, and similar articles. Two places were left off, as emergency, by the Spaniards. or small pieces of artillery, in such a manner as to command the neighborhood. In this little fortress the Spaniards shut themselves up; its walls were sufficient to screen them from the dark; the arrows of the Indians, but needlessly they depended upon their firearms, the sound of which struck dismay into the savages, especially when they saw the effect of the balls, splintering and rending the trees around them, and carrying havoc to such a distance. The Indians, in order to protect their present, and deterred from venturing from the forest; but the Spaniards, exhausted by constant watching and incessant alarms, anticipated all kinds of evil when their ammunition should be exhausted, or they should be driven forth by hunger to seek for food.*

CHAPTER IX.

DISTRESS 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 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 dared not risk it in the rough sea and heavy surf. A dismal circumstance occurred to increase the gloom and uneasiness of the crew. On board of one of the caravels were confined the family and household of the admiral. It was the intention of Columbus to carry them to Spain, trusting that as long as they remained in the power of the Spaniards their tribe would be deterred from further hostilities. They were shut up at night in the forecastle of the caravel, the hatchway of which was secured and padlocked. As several of the crew slept upon the hatch, and 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. Collecting a quantity of stones from the ballast of the vessel, they made a 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, forced up the hatch, 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 for shore. Several, however, were prevented from sallying forth; others were seized on the deck and forced back into the forecastle; 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 captures, they were all found dead. Some had hanged themselves with the ends of ropes, and the knives of the floor; others had strangled themselves by straining the cords with their feet. Such was the fierce, unconquerable spirit of these people, and their horror of the white man. The escape of the prisoners occasioned great anxiety to the admiral, fearing 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 did not return, and the raging surf prevented all communication. 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, offered, if the boat would take him to the edge of the surf, to swim to shore, as 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

† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 99.
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 its 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 tragic fate of Diego Tristan and his companions. Many of the Spanish, in their horror and despair, had thrown off all subordination, refused to assist in any measure that had in view a 'continuance in this place, and thought of nothing but escape. When they beheld Ledesma, a messenger from the ships, they surrounded him, with frantic eagerness, urging him to implore the admiral to take them on board, and not abandon them on a coast where their destruction was inevitable. They were preparing canoes to take them to the ship; and when the weather should moderate, the boat of the caravel being too small, and swore that, if the admiral refused to take them on board, they would embark in the caravel, as soon as it could be extricated from the river, and abandon themselves to the mercy of the waves, rather than remain upon that fatal coast.

Having heard all that his forlorn countrymen had to say, and communicated with the Adelantado and his officers, Ledesma set out on his perilous journey. 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 would be 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 crews being so much weakened by the loss of Tristan and his companions. Rather than, should he be taken up, he would gladly have joined the Adelantado with all his people; but in such case how could intelligence be conveyed to the sovereigns of this important discovery, and how could supplies be obtained for the colony? He was convinced that it was impossible to alter the plan; 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 itself a matter of extreme solicitude. Too hastily manned, crazed by storms, and ready to fall to pieces from the ravages of the teredo, they were anchored on a lee shore, with a hoisterous 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, his people, and his ships, and each hour appeared to render the impending dangers more imminent. Days of constant perturbation and nights of sleepless anxiety preyed upon a constitution broken by age, by maladies, and hardships, and produced a fever of the mind, in which he was visited by one of those mental hallucinations deemed by his mysterious and super- natural. In a letter to the sovereigns he gives a solemn account of a kind of vision by which he was comforted in a dismal night, when full of despondency and tossr on a couch of pain:

"Wearied with the long and arduous voyage, I was at a slumber, when I heard a piteous voice saying to me, 'O fool, and slow to believe and serve thy God, who is the God of all! What did he do for Moses, or for his servant David, than he has done for thee? From the time of thy birth he has ever had thee under his peculiar care. When he saw thee of a fitting age he made thy name to resound marvelously throughout the earth, and thou wert obeyed in many lands, and didst acquire houorable fame among Christians. Of the gales of the Ocean Sea, shut up with such mighty chains, he delivered thee the keys; the Indies, those wealthy regions of the world, he gave thee for thine own, and empowered thee to dispose of them to others, according to thy pleasure. What did he do for the more great people of Israel when he led them forth from Egypt? Or for David, whom, from being a shepherd, he made a king in Judæa? Take to heart the word of his prophet; his mercy is infinite. He has many and vast inheritances yet in reserve. Fear not to seek them. Thine age shall no impediment to any great undertaking. Abraham was above an hundred years old, and Sarah youthful? Thou urges despondingly for succor. Answer! who hath afflicted thee so much, and so many times?—God, or the world? The privileges and promises which God hath made thee be his servant and heir, if ever thou wilt take them, and if ever thou wilt believe him, if ever thou wilt accept of this offer of help, that he might thereby bless thee and thy house. And now return to a life of industry and hard work, and God will give thee another portion."

The words here spoken to him by the supposed voice are truths which dwell upon his mind and grieve his spirit during his waking hours. It is natural that they should recur vividly and coherently in his feverish dreams; and in recalling and relating a dream one is unconscious 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 considered 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 must have been subjected.

* Letter of Columbus from Jamaica.
The artless manner in which, in his letter to the sovereigns, he mingles up the rhapsodies 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; but every exertion was made to bring off the people and the property before there should be a return of bad 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 made great sacks to receive the biscuit. He lashed two Indian canoes together with spars, so that they could not be overturned by the waves, and made a platform on them capable of sustaining a great burden. This kind of raft was laden repeatedly with the stores, arms, and provisions which had been left on the caravel, 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, the ship was brought to the river, and, by the aid of the cannon, was hoisted 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 unwearied attention. He and five companions, 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 Spanish adventurers, 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 be their graves. The joy of the colonists, indeed, little more than to their own, and the perils and hardships which had been surmounted by them were forgotten for a time in mutual congratulations. The admiral was so much impressed with a sense of the high services rendered by Diego Mendez, that he gave him the command of the caravel, vacant by the death of the unfortunate Diego Tristán.*

CHAPTER X.

DEPARTURE FROM THE COAST OF VERAGU—ARRIVAL AT JAMAICA—STRANDING OF THE SHIPS.

[1503.]

The wind at length becoming favorable, Columbus set sail toward the end of April, from the disastrous coast of Veragu. The trireme that was laden with the stores, arms, and provisions of the ships, the enfeebled state of the crews, and the scarcity of provisions determined him to make the best of his way to Hispaniola, where he might refit his vessels and procure the necessary supplies for the 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 he intended to proceed immediately for Spain, and murmured 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 currents 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 writer of this narrative, 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.

Disregarding the murmurs of his men, therefore, he continued to steer along in this direction, as Puerto Bello. Here he was obliged to leave one of the caravels, being so pierced by worms 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 labor of the pumps bore hard on men enfeebled by scanty diet and debilitated by various hardships. Continuing onward, they passed Port Retrete, and a number of islands to which the admiral gave the name of Las Barbos, now termed the Mulata, a little beyond Point Iba. Here he supposed that he had arrived at the province of Manfl in the territories of the Grand Khan, described by Marco Polo as adjoining to Cathay; 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, crowded at his existing in this struggle against contrary winds and currents, representing the lamentable plight of the ships and the infirm state of the crews. He continued toward the westward on the 1st of May, in quest of Hispaniola. As the wind was easterly, with a strong current setting to the west, he 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 fail to the westward of Hispaniola. His apprehensions proved to be well founded; for, on the 10th of the month, he came in sight of two small islands to the north-west of Hispaniola, to which, from the great quantities of tortoises seen about them, he gave the name of the Tortugas; they are now known as the Caymans. Passing wide of these, and continuing northward, 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

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 131. 100. Las Casas, lib. ii, cap. 29. Relation por Diego Mendez. Letter of Columbus from Jamaica. Journal of Porrass, Navarre, Col. tom. i. 1
† Letter from Jamaica.
‡ Testimony of Pedro de Ledesma. Plieio de los Colonos.
§ Letter from Jamaica.
ing 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 scanty provisions and great fatigue; nothing was left of the sea-stores but a little biscuit, oil, and vinegar; and they were obliged to labor 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 howling, 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 grounded on 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 for Hispaniola; "his people," as he says, "dismayed and down-hearted; almost all his anchors lost, and his vessels bore 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 Macagua,† where he had touched in 1494, in his voyage along the southern coast of Cuba. Here he was detained by head winds for several days, during which he was supplied with cassava bread by the natives. Making sail again, he endeavored 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 bailed 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 23d of June, they put into Puerto Bueno, now called Dry Harbor, but met with none of the natives from whom they could obtain provisions, nor was there any fresh water to be had in the neighborhood. Suffering from hunger and thirst, they sailed eastward, on the following day, to another harbor, to which the admiral on his first visit to the island had given the name of Port Santa Gloria.

Here, at last, Columbus had to give up his long and anxious 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 therefor to run aground, within a long shot of the shore, and fastened together, side by side. They soon filled with water to the decks. Thatched cabins were then 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, he trusted to be able to repel any sudden attack of the natives, and at the same time to keep his men from reviving about the neighborhood and indulging in their usual excesses. No one was allowed to go on shore without 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 defenseless amid hostile thousands.

BOOK X VI.

CHAPTER I.

ARRANGEMENT OF DIEGO MENDEZ WITH THE CAICHE OF SUPPLIES OF PROVISIONS—SENT TO SAN DOMINGO BY COLUMBUS IN QUEST OF RELIEF.

[193.]

The island of Jamaica was extremely populous and fertile, and the harbor 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 morning among the people. This arrangement had a happy effect in promoting a peaceful intercourse. The stores thus furnished, however, coming from a limited neighborhood of impoverished 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 neighborhood might soon be exhausted, in which case they should be reduced to famine. In this 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 everywhere treated with the utmost kindness by the 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 the cacique of a numerous tribe, that his subjects should hunt and fish, and make cassava bread, and bring a quantity of provisions every day to the harbor. They were to receive in exchange knives, combs, beads, fish-books, hawks' bells, and other articles, from a Spaniard, who was to reside among them for that purpose. The agreement being made, Mendez dispatched one of his comrades to apprise the admiral. He then pursued his journey three leagues farther, when he made a similar arrangement, and dispatched another of his companions to the admiral. Proceeding onward, about thirteen leagues beyond 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 dispatched 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 hammack, 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 a splendid brass basin, a short oar and a cassock, and one of the two shirts which formed part of the arrangement. Mendez accompanied him with six Indians to navigate his bark, and they parleyed 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 there, loaded his canoe with provisions, and returned in triumph to the harbor, 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 henceforward Indians arrived daily, well laden, from the ports which he had established.* The immediate wants of his people being thus provided for, Columbus resolved, 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. He determined to remain there over winter, and to send notice of his situation to the governor, or at San Domingo, entitling him to a vessel to his relief. But how was this message to be conveyed? The distance between Jamaica and San Domingo was crossed by 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 canoeh he had recently purchased, presented itself to the mind of Columbus. He knew the ardor and intrepidity of Mendez, and his love of distinction by any hazardous exploit. Taking him aside, therefore, he addressed him in a manner calculated both 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 fierce and irritable natures. On the least provocation they may now firebrands from the shore, and consume us in our straw-thatched cabins. The arrangement which you have made with them for provisions, and with which present they fulfil so cheerfully, tomorrow may break in their cedrine, and may refuse sharing anything; nor have we the means to compel them by force, but are entirely at their pleasure. I have thought of a sea remedy, if it meets with your approbation, which we have purchased, some one may pass over to Hispaniola, and procure some, 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, well known, 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 inopportun and seldom in repose. I know not who there is who 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, "he added: 'Señor, I am convinced of the extremity of my situation, and I only wish to assign to you one of 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, murderers, who say that your Excellency intrusts to me all affairs wherein you are concerned, while there are others in your company who would execute them as well as I do. Therefore I beg that you will summon all the people, and propose this enterprise to them, to see if among them there is any one who 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 humored the wishes of the worthy Mendez, for never was simple enterprise 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, proposing to return to the shore; only 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 this zealous follower, who immediately set about preparing for his expedition. Drawing his canoe on shore, he put on a false keel, nailed weather-beards along the bow and stern, to prevent the sea from breaking over it; paid 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 meantime Columbus wrote letters to Orando, 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 dispatched 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 Ve-
ragua. He gave it as his opinion, that here were the remains of the Phoenician ships, whence Sol-
omon had derived such wealth for the building of the Temple. He entreated that this golden coast might not, like other places which he had discovered, be abandoned to adventurers, or placed un-
der the government of men who left no interest in the cause. "This is not a child," he adds, "to be abandoned to a step-mother. I never think of 
Hispantana 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 Ve-
ragua, as transcending all his former discoveries; and he alludes to his favorite project for the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre: "Jeru-
salem," he says, "and Mount Sion be to be 
re-built 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 Jo-
an, in all his letters, says 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 
error in believing in the 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 the 
message, at times eloquent, and at times 
much incoherent, letters. What an instance 
of soaring enthusiasm and irresponsible enter-
prise 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.

"Hitherto," says he, "I have wept for others; 
but now, have pity upon me, heaven, and weep 
his tears over me." 
he my temporal concerns, 
without a farthing to offer for a mass; cast away 
here in the Indies; surrounded by cruel and 
savage savages; isolated, inform, expecting each day 
will be my last; in spiritual concerns, separated 
from the holy sacraments of the church, so that 
my soul, if parted here from my body, must be 
forever lost! Weep for me, whoever has charity, 
truth, and justice! I came not on this voyage to

* Joachim, native of the burgh of Celco, near Co-
zena, travelled in the Holy Land. Returning to 
Gribia, he took the habit of the Cistercians in the 
monastery of Corazzo, of which he became prior and 
abbot, and afterward rose to higher monastic 
importance. He died in 1202, having attained seventy-
two years of age, leaving a great number of works; 
among the most known are commentaries on Isaiah, 
Jeremiah, and the Apocalypse. There are also 
propositions, of which (says the Dictionnaire 
Historique), "during his life, made him to be ad-
ored by fools and despised by men of sense; at 
present the latter sentiment prevails. He was either 
very wise, or very presumptuous, to flatter himself 
that he had the keys of things of which God reserves 
the knowledge to himself."—Dict. Hist. tom. 5, Caen, 
1758.
Life and Voyages of Columbus.

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Chapter II.

Mutiny of Pueblos.

[1503]

It might have been thought that the adverse fortune which had so long persecuted Columbus was now exhausted. The entry which had once sickened at his glory and prosperity could scarcely have devised for him a more forlorn heritage in the world to which 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; isolated, too, by exorcising maladies which confined him to his bed, and by the pains and infirmities which hardship and anxiety had heaped upon his advancing age. But he had not yet exhausted his cup of bitterness. He had yet to experience an evil worse than storm, or shipwreck, or badly anguish, or the violence of savage hordes—the perils 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 narrow quarters in a moist and sultry climate, and partly from want of their accustomed food, for they could not adapt themselves to the vegetable diet of the Indians. Their maladies were rendered more insupportable by mental suffering, by that suspense which tints the spirit, and that hope deferred which corrodes the heart. Accustomed to a life of bustle and variety, they had now nothing to do but loiter about the dreary hulk, look out upon the sea, watch for the canoe of Fiesco, wonder at its protracted absence, and doubt its return. A long time elapsed, much more than sufficient for the voyage, but the canoe 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 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 urged against their will, 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 clamor; but it is the industry of one or two evil spirits which generally directs it to an end, and makes it mischievous. Among the officers of Columbus were two brothers, Francisco and Diego de Pueblos. They were related to the royal treasurer, Moraleias, 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 at various villages on the road, and endeavoring to confirm the good-will of the natives.*

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 101.
† Ibid., cap. 102.
moral, they would draw upon themselves the severest punishment from the sovereigns. 

On the 2d of January, 1504, he 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 hurried impudence of a man about to perpetrate an open crime. Breaking 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 his unusual arrogance; he maintained, however, his calmness, and, raising himself in his bed, endeavored 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 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 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. "I 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 Castle! those who choose may follow me!" Shouts arose immediately from all sides, "I will follow you! and I! and I!" Numbers of the crew sprung upon the most conspicuous parts of the ship, brandish triumphal banners, and uttering mingled threats and cries of rebellion. Some called upon Porras for orders what to do; others shouted "To Castle! to Castle!" while, amid the general uproar, the voices of some desperadoes 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 likewise sallied forth, but in a different mood. He planted himself, with lance in hand, in a situation to take the whole brunt of the assault. It was with the greatest difficulty that several of the loyal party persuaded the crowd to apprise the admiral of their intentions, and prevail upon him to relinquish his weapons, 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,
eap into the sea, excepting such as were absolutely necessary to navigate the canoes. If they hesitated, they drove them overboard with the edge of the sword. The Indians were skillful swimmers, but the distance to land was too great for their strength. They kept to the canoes, therefore, taking hold of them occasionally to rest themselves and recover breath. As their weight disturbed the balance of the canoes, and endangered their overturning, the Spaniards cut off their oars and stabbed them with their swords. Some died by the weapons of these cruel men, others were exhausted and sank beneath the waves; thus eighteen perished miserably, and none survived but such as had been retained to manage the canoes.

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 favorable. It was thought they might easily cross thence 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 store, having thrown almost everything overboard during the winter; and this proposal was acted upon, some menresolved another attempt to cross over to Hispaniola, as soon as the sea should become tranquil.

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 dissolution 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.

While Porras and his crew were raging about with that desperate and joyless licentiousness which attends the abandonment of principle, Columbus presented the opposite picture of a man true to others and to himself, and supported, amid hardships and difficulties, by conscious rectitude. Deserted by the healthful and vigorous portion of his garrison, he exerted himself to soothe and encourage the infirm and desponding remnant which remained. Regardless of his own painful maladies, he was only attentive to relieve their sufferings. The few who were fit for service were required to mount guard on the wreck or attend upon the sick; there were none to forage for provisions. The scrupulous good faith and amicable conduct maintained by Columbus toward the natives had now their effect. Considerable supplies of provisions were brought by them from time to time, which he purchased at a reasonable rate. 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 endeavored to raise their spirits and animate the hopes of the drooping and ill. Concealing his own anxiety, he maintained a serene and even cheerful countenance, encouraging his men by kind words, and holding forth confidence in the speedy relief that they should receive. By his friendly and careful treatment, he soon recruited both the health and spirits of his people, and brought them into a condition to contribute to the common safety. Judicious regulations, calmly but firmly enforced, maintained everything in order. The men became sensible of the advantages of whole-some 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 internal ills, when alarming evils began to menace from without. The Indians, unused to lay up any stock of provisions, and unwilling to subject themselves to extra labor, found it difficult to furnish the amount of daily provisions to feed so many hungry men. The European trinkets, once so precious, lost their value in proportion as they became more common. The importance of the admiral had been greatly diminished by the desertion of so many of his followers, and some of 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 fell off. The requirements for the daily delivery of certain quantities, made by Diego Menderes, were irregularly attended to, and at length ceased entirely. The Indians no longer throned to the harbor with provisions, and often refused when asked for. The Spaniards were obliged to forage about the neighborhood for their daily food, but found more and more difficulty in procuring it; thus, in addition to their other causes for de- spondency, they began to entertain horrible apprehensions of famine.

The admiral heard their melancholy forebodings, 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 yet able to bear arms to sail forth, while he and the rest of the infirm would be left defenseless 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 scarce quantities, to enhance the eagerness of the hungry Spaniards. At length even this relief ceased, and there was an absolute distress for food. 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 presented itself to Columbus. From his knowledge of astronomy, he ascertained that, within three days, there would be a total eclipse of the sun on the early part of the night. He sent, therefore, an Indian 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 they told them by his interpreter, that he and his followers were worshippers of a Deity who dwelt in the skies; who knew all things, as did well, but punishes all transgressors. That, as they must all have noticed, he had protected Diego Mendez and his companions in their voyage, because they went in obedience to the orders of their commanders, but had visited Porras and his companions with all kinds of afflictions, in consequence of their rebellion. This great Deity, he added, was incensed against the Indians who refused to furnish his faithful worshippers with provisions, and intended to chastise them with famine and pestilence. Lest they should disbelieve this warning, a signal would be given that night. They would behold the moon change its color and gradually lose its light; a token of the fearful punishment which awaited them.

Many of the Indians were alarmed at the prediction, others treated it with derision—all, however, awaited with solicitude the coming of the night. When they beheld a dark shadow stealing over the heavens, they began to tremble; with the progress of the eclipse their fears increased, and when they saw a mysterious darkness covering the whole face of nature, there were no bounds to their terror. Seizing upon whatever provisions were at hand, they hurried to the ships, threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, and implored him to intercede with his God to withhold the threatened calamities, assuring him they would henceforth bring him whatever he required. Columbus shut himself up in his cabin, as if to commune with the Deity, and remained there during the increase of the eclipse, the forests and shores all the while resounding with the howlings and supplications of the savages. When the eclipse was about to diminish he came forth and informed the natives that his God had directed him to pardon them, on condition of their fulfilling their promises; in sign of which he would withdraw the darkness from the moon.

When the Indians saw that planet restored to its brightness, and ruling in all its beauty through the firmament, they overwhelmed the admiral with thanks for his intercession, and repaired to their homes, joyful at having escaped such great disasters. Regarding Columbus with awe and reverence as a man by whom their present and confidence of the Deity, since he knew upon earth what was passing in the heavens, they hastened to propitiate him with gifts; supplies again arrived daily at the harbor, and from that time forward there was no want of provisions.*

CHAPTER IV.

MISSION OF DIEGO DE ESCOBAR TO THE ADMIRAL.

[1504-]

Eight months had now elapsed since the departure of Mendez and Fiesco, without any tidings of their fate. For a long time the Spaniards had kept a watchful 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 thunders 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 shores of Hispaniola. To increase their despondency, they were informed that a vessel had been seen, bottom upward, 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 rumor, 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 grew wild and desperate in their plans. Another conspiracy was formed by one Bernardo Almirante, an apothecary of Valencia, with two confederates, Alonzo de Zamora and Pedro de Villatoro. They designed to seize upon the remaining canoes, and seek their way to Hispaniola.

The mutiny was on the very point or breaking out, when Pedro de Villatoro, about to divide it, was seen standing toward the harbor. 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 island. Every eye was eagerly bent to hail the coun-
vessel with transport, 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 held no interest in their welfare, or sympathy in the misfortunes of the natives, who were 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 it was not beyond the reach of capable men to take them all away. In confidence of this, he said, he intended 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 dispatched 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 vigilant in the conduct of Ovando. He left him alone for no man was more dangerous, and more distressing uncertainty, exposed to the hostilities of the natives, the seditions of his men, and the suspicions of his own despair. He, had, at length, sent a mere tantalizing message, by a Spanish frigate, to the nearest island. As the heat was increased by Diego de Escobar, the most active confidant in the colony, who had been stationed to the admiral, and the administration of its affairs, his successor Bobado, was sent as a messenger.

Columbus, however, Escobar put a stop to all communication, and sending wine and a side of beef to the admiral. He sent Columbus from a boat, and was sent by the latter to the former, who had requested him to visit the ships, during his short stay in their countenances, and his countenance. As much as possible, the assurances like the sentinels of Hispaniola had been removed, and sent to him, if he had not been informed of their removal. As soon as possible, were sent. The Spaniards, in manner, divided their forces; while one half took possession of the weapons on hand, ready to defend themselves in case of any peril to the part of their savage companions.

Watching and toiling in this way through the night, they were exceedingly fatigued at the return of day. Nothing was to be seen but sea and sky. Their frail canoes, leaving up the swirling and sinking of the ocean, seemed scarcely capable of sustaining the broad undulations of a calm; how they could be able to live amid 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 labor and fatigue were soon forgotten in a new source of suffering. During the preceding sultry day and night, the Indians, parched by heat and toil, would often leap into the water to cool and refresh themselves, and, after remaining there a short time, would return with new vigor to their labors. 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 possession of the weapons on hand, ready to defend themselves in case of any peril to the part of their savage companions.

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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 laboring 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 rested, and were able to procure water, and might take repose.

For the rest of the day they continued faintly and wearily laboring 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 land: 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 sank and died, under the accumulated sufferings of labor, 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 endeavored 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 tantalized by 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 only served to irritate their sufferings. They scarce could move their paddles; one after another gave up, and it seemed impossible that any more could 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 lightening up with those faint rays which precede the rising of the moon. As that planet rose, 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 soon afterwards from recalculating the rate of sailing of the canoes, and from not making sufficient allowance for the fatigue of the rowers and the opposition of the current.

New vigor was now diffused throughout the crews. They exerted themselves with feverish impatience. Toward the close 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, however, with anxious search, they found to their joy a few shallow springs in the bowels of the rocks. Eagerly scooping it up, with their calabashes, they quenched their burning thirst by moderate draughts. In vain the more prudent warned the others of their danger. The Spaniards were already in some degree overheated by the poor Indians, whose toils had raised 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 rose above the horizon, at eight leagues distance.

In 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 crew. 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 resolutionately 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 a governor had parted 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, week after week, and even month after month to elapse, without carrying his promises into effect. He was at that time completely engrossed by wars with the natives, and had a ready plea that there were no ships of sufficient burden at San Domingo.

* 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, lib. vi. cap. 12.)

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, 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 pretenses 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 dispatched the caravel commanded by the pardoned rebel Escobar, on that singular and equivocal visit, with the view of discovering Columbus, had the air of a mere scouting 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 disappointment of his men at the brief and unsatisfactory visit and sudden departure of Escobar, he endeavored 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 malign, seeing how he had foiled all their intrigues among the natives to produce a famine, began to fear his ultimate triumph and consequent vengeance. A favorable opportunity, he thought, now presented itself 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 Escobar 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 a part of the bacon which had been brought by Escobar.

On the approach of these ambassadors, Francisco de Porras came forth to meet them, accompanied solely 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 of the Spaniards, he and his confidential confederates consulted for some time together. Perplexed in their own nature, they suspected the sincerity of the admiral; and conscious of the extent of their offences, doubted his having the magnanimity to pardon them. Determined, therefore, not to confide in his professed amity, they replied to the messengers that they had no wish to return to the ships, but preferred living at large about the island. They offered to engage, however, to conduct themselves peacefully and amiably, and on receiving a solemn promise from the admiral, that should two vessels arrive, they should have one to depart in; should but one arrive, half of that ship should be granted to them; and that, moreover, the admiral should share with them the stores and articles of Indian traffic remaining in the ships; having lost all that they had, in the sea. These demands were pronounced extravagant and inadmissible, upon which they replied insolently that, if they were not peaceably concealed, they would take them by force; and with this menace they dismissed the ambassadors.

This conference was not conducted so privately but that the talk of the rebels learnt the purport of the mission; and the offer of pardon and delivery occasioned great tumult and agitation. Porras, fearful of the consequences, thought that these offers of the admiral were all deceitful; that he was naturally 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 formerly done so in Hispaniola had eventually triumphed, and sent him home in irons; he assured them that they might do the same, and again made vaunting promises of protection in Spain, through the influence of his relatives. But the holiness of his assertions was with respect to the caravel of Escobar. It shews the ignorance of the age, and the superstitious awe which the common people entertained with respect to Columbus and his astronomical knowledge. Porras assured them that no real caravel had arrived, but a mere phantom conjured up by the admiral, who was deeply versed in necromancy. In proof of this he advertised to them in the dusk of the evening; its holding communication with no other than the admiral, and its sudden disappearance in the night. Had it been a real caravel, the crew would have sought to talk with their countrymen; the admiral, his son, and brother, would have eagerly embarked on board, and it would have been at any rate, to have remained a little while in port, and not have vanished so suddenly and mysteriously.

By these and similar declensions Porras succeeded in working upon the feelings and credulity of his followers. Fearful, however, that they might yield to another reflection, and to further offers from the admiral, he determined to involve them in some act of violence which would commit them beyond all hopes of forgiveness. He marched them, therefore, to an Indian village called Maima, there to hold a quarter of a league from the ships, intending to plunder the stores remaining on board the wreck, and to take the admiral prisoner.

Columbus had notice of the designs of the rebels, and of their approach. Being conjoined by

* Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 35. Hist. del Almirante, cap. 106.
† Hist. del Almirante, cap. 106. Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 35.
‡ At present Memmee Bay.
§ Hist. del Almirante, ubi sup.
his infirmities, he sent his brother to endeavor with mild words to persuade them from their purpose, and win them to obedience; but with sufficient force to resist any violence. The Adelantado, who was a man rather of deeds than of words, took up the challenge of his followers, pronouncing 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 dispatched the same two messengers to treat with them, who had already carried them the offer of pardon. Torras and his fellow-leaders, however, would not permit them to approach. They confided in the superiority of their numbers, and in their men being, for the most part, hardy sailors, rendered robust and vigorous by the sea life they had been leading in the forests and the open air. They knew that many of those who were with the Adelantado were men brought up in a sober mode of life. They pointed to their pale countenances, and persuaded their followers that they were mere household men, fair-weather troopers, 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 the falchion of their side. Deceived by their words, their followers were excited to a transient glow of courage, and brandishing their weapons, refused to listen to the messengers.

Six of the stoutest rebels made a league to stand by their captain and attack the Adelantado; 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 assaulted, 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 captive Quibano; and Juan Barbero also, who had first drawn a sword against the admiral in this rebellion. The Adelantado with his usual vigor and courage was dealing his blows about him in the thickest of the affray, where several lay killed and wounded, when he was assassinated by Francisco de Porras. The rebel with a blow of his sword cleft the buckler of Don Bartholomew, and wounded 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 took 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 rebels were taken prisoners, 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 Vera- cruz, to procure refreshments for the Adelantado, a man of prodigious muscular force and a hoarse, deep voice. As the Indians, who thought him dead, were examining the wounds with which he was literally covered, he suddenly uttered an ejaculation in his tremendous voice, at the sound of which the savages fell in dismay. This man, having fallen into a clift 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 is said to have received would seem 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 vigorous constitution, he completely recovered. Las Casas conversed with him several years afterward at Seville, when he obtained from him a particular account of this voyage of Columbus. Some few days after this conversation, however, he heard that Ledesma had fallen under the knife of an assassin.

The Adelantado returned in triumph to the ships, where he laid his dead body beside the admiral in the most affectionate manner; thanking him as his deliverer. He brought Porras and several of his fellow 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, supposing the admiral to have pity on them and pardon them for their rebellion, for which God had punished them. They offered to return to their obedience, and to serve him faithfully in future, making an oath that he might receive no benefit from bulls nor indulgences; that their bodies might be cast out into the fields, like those of heretics and renegades, 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 priest. Such were the awful imprecations by which these men endeavored to add validity to an oath. The worthlessness 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 par-

* Hist. del Almirantde, cap. 107. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 35.
doned their offences; but on one condition, that their ringleader, Francisco Porrás, 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 Porrás 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, directed him to lunge about the island until the expected vessels should arrive. At length, after a long year of alternate hope and despondency, the doubts of the Spaniards were joyfully dispelled by the sight of two vessels standing into the harbor. One proved to be a ship hired and well victualled, at the expense of the admiral, by the faithful and indefatigable Diego 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 indignation, insomuch that animal revolts had been made upon his conduct even in the pulpit. This is affirmed 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. The latter having faithfully discharged his part of the mission, and seen the ships depart, proceeded to Spain on the further concerns of the admiral.

BOOK XVII.

CHAPTER I.

ADMINISTRATION OF OVANDO IN HISPANIOLA—OPPRESSION OF THE NATIVES.

[1503-]

Before relating the return of Columbus to Hispaniola, it is proper to notice some of the principal occurrences which took place in that island under the government of OVando. A great crowd of adventurers of various ranks had thronged the island hard with doubt, with the press of the dreamers, and broken-down gentlemen of desperate fortunes; all expecting to enrich 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, about eight leagues distance. The roads swarmed like ant-hills, with adventurers of all classes. Every one had his knapsack stored with biscuit or Bour, and his mining implements on his shoulders. These 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 labor 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 exceedingly toilsome, demanded vast patience and much experience, and, after all, was 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 labor," says Las Casas, "gave them a keen appetite and quick digestion, but no gold." They soon consumed their provisions, exhausted their patience, cursed their iniquity, and in
eight days set off drearily on their return along the roads they had lately trod so excutiously. They arrived at San Domingo without an ounce of gold, half-famished, downcast, and despairing.* Such is too often the case of those who ignition by speculations of the most brilliant, promising, and fallacious.

Poverty soon fell upon these misguided men. They exhausted the little property brought from Spain. Many suffered extremely from hunger, and were obliged to barter their apparel for bread. Some formed connections 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 fever, so that there soon perished upward 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 children who had come out in his fleet, to four towns in the interior, granting them important privileges. He revived the dropping real for mining, by reducing the royal share of the produce from one half to a third, and shortly after to a tenth; but he discovered the Spaniards to avoid themselves, in the most oppressive manner, of the labor 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 Ruizoland, 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 desastrous system of repartimientos, or distributions of 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 etc. Bostow in charity a Paternoster, and an Ave Maria."

* He 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 "CAHANOA." He enjoined upon his heirs to be loyal to the admiral (Don Diego Colom) and his lady, and gave them many property, mingled with various benedictions. As an heir-loom in his family, he bequeathed his library, consisting of a few volumes, which accompanied him in his wanderings—viz.: The Art of Holy Dying, by Erasmus; A Sermon of the same author, in Spanish; The Lenga and the Colloquies of the same; The History of Josephus; The Moral Philosophy, A 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.

Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 6.
The days six the among the basis against was immediately
between the soverigns, who were associated to the Indies could not have been permitted to make the slightest move, except from vices and afflictions; that they now suffered was derived from all intercourse with the Spaniards.

Influence with the Spaniards was ordered to be given to the Indians. To make the Spaniards of good conduct was to give them all the powers given to the Sovereign, and the native races were to be instructed in the manner of baptism; there were to be no others, and all their vices and crimes were to be punished by the Spaniards.

The Spaniards would not permit the Indians to engage in any trades, and they were not to be allowed to enter into any covenants or contracts with the Spaniards.

The Indians were to be kept in a state of perpetual slavery, and their lives were to be of no value to them.

The Indians were to be treated with the utmost cruelty, and their bodies were to be subjected to the iron floggings and stocks.

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resentations 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 undertaking against the Indians, and the 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 still more rash and sanguinary; 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 brought from the Moors of Granada. The Spanish cavalry, in those days, were as remarkable for the skillful management as for the ostentatious display of their horses. Among the troops brought out from Spain by Ovando, one horseman had been trained to prance and curvet in time to the music of a viol. The joust was appointed to take place of a Sunday afternoon, 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; the latter, not by steady reeds on 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 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 excessive 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 present at the house of one of his principal vecinos. Aided by the cavalry having arrived in the square, the caciques begged the governor to order the joust to commence. Anacaona, and her beautiful daughter Higuemavota, 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 spear hurled from the cross of Alcantara, which was embroidered on his habit. A trumpet was immediately sounded. The house in which Anacaona, and all the principal persons who were surrounded by soldiers, commanded by Diego Velasquez and Rodrigo Mexiatrix, and no one was permitted to escape. They entered, and seized 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 forced to show them the intimate parts 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 transfixed them with their spears. Mercy was shown to age or sex; it was savage and indiscriminate butchery. Now and then a Spanish horseman, either through an impulse of pity or an impulse of avarice, caught up a child, to bear it off in safety: but it was barbarously pierced by the lances of his companions. Horrible atrocities, and would fain discredited them; but they are resolutely and still more remorsefully recorded by the venerable bishop Las Casas, who was resident in the island at the time, and conversant with the principal actors in this tragedy. He may have colored the picture strongly, in his usual indignation when the wrongs of the Indians are in question; yet, from all contemporaneous accounts, and from many precise facts which speak for themselves, the scene must have been most sanguinary and indiscriminate. Oviedo, who is loud in extolling the justice, and devotion, and charity, and meekness of Ovando, and his kind treatment of the Indians, and also visited the province of Xaragua a few years afterward, records several of the preceding circumstances; especially the cold-blooded game of quites 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, and of these, only the number of them who were hanged. The multitude must have been great; and this was inflicted on an unarmed and unresisting throng. Several who escaped from the massacre fed 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 wrung by torture from her subjects, and on the confession of herself, and she was ignominiously hanged in the presence of the people whom she had so long and so signally befriended. Oviedo has sought to throw a stigma on the character of this unfortunate princess, by attributing to her of great licentiousness; but he has been at pains to extol the character of the native princes, who fell victims to the ingratitude and injustice of his countrymen.

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 9.
† Oviedo, Cronica de las Indias, lib. iii. cap. 12.
§ Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 9.
Contemporary writers of great authority have concurred in representing Anaconda as remarkable for her native propriety and dignity. She was adored by her subjects, so as to hold a kind of dominion over them even during the lifetime of her brother; she is said to have been skilled in composing the letters, or legendary ballads of her nation, and may have conducted much toward 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 both of the savage and the Spaniard. Her magnanimous spirit was evinced in her amicable treatment of the white men, although her husband, the brave Caonabo, 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 having for several years neglected all safe opportunities of vengeance, she fell a victim to the absolute charge of having conspired against an armed body of nearly four hundred men, seventy of them horsemen; a force sufficient to have subjugated large armies of naked Indians.

After the massacre of Xaragua the destruction of its inhabitants still continued. The favorite nephew of Anaconda, the cacique Guanora, who had fled to the forests, 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, with many evidences of their warlike spirit, they were not satisfied with the defeat they had sustained in their desert. In the 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 Verdad a Paz (St. Mary of the True Peace).

Such is the tragic 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 vices, they filled with horror and desolation.

CHAPTER III.

WAR WITH THE NATIVES OF HIGUAY.

[1504.]

The subjugation of four of the Indian sovereignties of Hispaniola, and the disastrous fate of their caciques, have been already related. Under the administration of Ovando was also accomplished the downfall of Higuay, the last of those independent districts; a fertile province which comprised the eastern extremity of the island, 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 the island was left desolate and deserted.

The natives of Higuay were driven to despair, seeing that there was no escape for them even in the bowels of the earth; thus they fled for peace, which was granted them, and took refuge promised on condition of their cultivating a large tract of land, and paying a great quantity of bread in
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

tribute. The peace being concluded, Cotal- 

nana visited the Spanish camp, where his 
greetings were received with great distinc-
tion by Esquibel, and they exchanged names, an Indian league of 
fraternity and perpetual friendship. The natives thenceforward called the cacique Juan de Es-
quibel, and the Spanish commander Cotal-
nana. Esquibel then built a wooden fortress 
in an Indian village near the sea, and left in it nine 
men, with a captain, named Martin de Villanun. 

After this they dispersed, every man return-
ing home, with his proportion of slaves gained in 
this pacification.

The pacification was not of long continuance. 
About the time that succors were sent to Columbus, 
to rescue him from the wrecks of his vessels at Jau-
maica, a new revolt broke out in Higuey, in 
consequence of the oppressions of the Spaniards, and 
a violation of the treaty made by Esquibel. 
Martin de 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 also at the licentious 
conduct of his men toward the Indian women; the 
Spaniards often trespassing from the huts of their 
daughters and sisters, and even their wives.* 

The Indians, roused at last to fury, rose on their 
 tyrants, slaughtered them, and burnt their 
wooden fortress to the ground. Only one of the 
Spaniards escaped, and that catastrophe ended of 
this latter expedition to the city of San Domingo.

Ovando gave immediate orders to carry fire and 
sword into the province of Higuey. The Spanish 
troops mustered from various quarters on the 
coasts of that province, when Juan de Esquibel 
took the command, and had a great number of 
Indians with him as allies. The towns of Higuey 
were generally built among these mountains. 

These mountains rose in 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 terrace to terrace 
was about fifty feet; steep and precipitous, formed of 
the living rock, and resembling a wall wrought 
with colossal proportions. Each of these 
cities 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 
frontiers, alarm fires along the mountains and 
columns of smoke spread the intelligence by night 
and day. The old men, the women, and 
children, were sent off to the forests and caverns, 
and the warriors prepared for battle. The Castilians 
passed in one of the plains clear of forests, where 
their horses could be of use. They made priso-
ers 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 
caciques. The Spaniards penetrated into the 
interior. They found the warriors of several towns 
assembled in one, and drew up in the streets 
with their bows and arrows, but perfectly naked, 
and without defensive armor. They uttered 
tremendous yells, and discharged a shower of 
arrow; but from such a distance that they fell 
short of their foe. The Spaniards replied with 

* Las Casas, ubi sup.
their recall and war-whoops, and throughout the night the Spaniards remained in undisturbed possession of the village.

CHAPTER IV.

CLOSE OF THE WAR WITH HIGUEY—FATE OF COTABARANAMA.

[1504.]

On the morning after the battle not an Indian was to be seen. Finding that even their great chief, Cotabarana, was incapable of vying with the prowess of the white men, they had given up the contest in despair, and fled to the mountains. The Spaniards, separating into small parties, hunted them with the utmost diligence; their object was to seize the caciques, and, above all, Cotabarana. They explored all the glens and concealed paths leading 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 footsteps, so that twenty would make more track than one, and stepping so lightly as scarcely 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 cultivation 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 strengthening Indian, and compel him, by torments, to betray the hiding-place of his companions, binding him and driving him before them as a guide. Wherever they discovered one of these places of refuge, filled with the aged and the infirm, with feebile 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 the caciques 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 injurious cruelties. They mingled horrible levity with their blood-thirstiness. 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 reference, 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 more detestable. They are related circumstantially by Las Casas, who was an eye-witness. He was young at the time, but records them in his advanced years. "All these things," said the venerable bishop, "and others revolving to human nature, did my own eyes behold, and now I almost fear to repeat them, scarce believing myself, or whether I have not dreamed them."

These details would have been withheld from the present work as disgraceful to human nature, and from an unwillingness to advance anything which might convey a stigma upon a brave and generous nation. But it would be a departure from historical veracity, having the documents before me, to pass silently over transactions so atrocious, and vouch 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 common 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 impious duty of the historian to place these matters upon record, that they may serve as warnings to future generations.

Juan de Esquibel found that, with all his severities, it would be impossible to subjugate the tribe of Higuey as long as the cacique Cotabarana was at large. That chief, perhaps, retired to the little island of Saona, about two leagues from the coast of Higuey, in the centre of which, amid a labyrinth of rocks and forests, he had taken shelter, with his wife and children, in a vast cavern.

A caravel, 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 unexpectedly, 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 Cotabarana had taken their station. Two of these were surprised and brought to Esquibel, who, having learnt from them that the cacique was at hand, pronounced one of the stroke, 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 Juan Lopez, a powerful man, skilful in Indian warfare. He proceeded in a path to the left, winding among little hills, so 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, who replied that he was behind, and opening to let him pass, Lopez beheld the cacique and his warriors. At sight of the Spaniard Cotabarana bent his gigantic bow, and was on the point of launching 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. Cotahanaama, 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, threw 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 Cotahanaama, 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 grip 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 having received notice of his capture by the fugitive Indians, 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 Cotahanaama.

The Spaniards prepared to execute the chief on the spot, in the centre of the deserted village. For this purpose a pyre was built of logs of wood laid 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 unceremoniously. Granting him, therefore, a transient reprieve, they conveyed him to the caravan and sent him, bound with heavy chains, to San Domingo. Ovando saw him in his power, and incapable of doing further harm, but 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 Cotahanaama 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 unpopulated 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 untamed 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 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 labors 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, whether they had fled, not from being able to support the labor 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 afterward sent back to their island to assist in civilization their countrymen.*

The brief view that has been given of the policy of Ovando on certain points on which Columbus was 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 connection with the era in which he lived. By comparing his measures with those 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 able to judge how virtuously and wisely under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he may be considered to have governed.

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 11, cap. 18.

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. 11, cap. 36.
CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE OF COLUMBUS FOR SAN DOMINGO—
HIS RETURN TO SPAIN.

The arrival at Jamaica of the two vessels under the command of Salcedo had caused a joyful reverse in the situation of Columbus. He hastened to leave the wreck in which he had been so long immured, and hoisting his flag on board of one of the ships, felt as if the career of enterprise and glory were once more open to him. The late partisans of Porras, when they heard of the arrival of the ships, came watchful and resentful to the harbor, doubting how far they might trust to the magnanimity of a man whom they had so greatly injured, and who had now an opportunity of vengeance. The generous mind, however, never harbors revenge in the hour of returning prosperity; but feels noble satisfaction in sharing its happiness even with its enemies. Columbus forgot, in his present felicity, all that he had suffered from these men; he ceased to consider them enemies, now that they had lost the power to injure; and he not only fulfilled all that he had promised them, by taking them on board the ships, but relieved their necessities from his own purse, until their return to Spain; and afterward took unmerited pains to indemnify them for the injuries of the sovereigns. Francisco Porras alone continued a prisoner, to be tried by the tribunals of his country.

Oviedo assures us that the provincians wept when they heard the departure of the Spaniards, still considering them as beings from the skies. From the admiral, it is true, they had experienced nothing but just and gentle treatment, and continual benefits; and the idea of his immediate influence with the Deity, manifested on the memorable occasion of his deliverance, which was so great, by considering him as more than human, and his presence as 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.

On the 28th of June the vessels set sail for San Domingo. 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 31st of August, the little island of Beata, on the coast of Hispaniola. Between this place and San Domingo the currents are so violent that vessels are often detained months, waiting for sufficient wind to enable them to stem the stream. Hence Columbus dispatched 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 produce 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, by considering himself as more than human, and his presence as 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.

made sail, and, on the 13th of August, anchored in the harbor of San Domingo.

If it is the lot of prosperity to awaken envy and excitement, it is certainly the lot of misfortune to claim for a multitude of faults. San Domingo had been the very hot-bed of sedition against Columbus in the day of his power; he had been hurried from it in ignominious chains, amid the shouts and taunts of the triumphant rabble; he had been excluded from its harbor when, as commander of a squadron, he craved shelter from an impending tempest; but now that he arrived in its waters, a broken down and shipwrecked man, all past hostility was overpowered by the popular sense of his late disasters. There was a momentary burst of enthusiasm in his favor; what had been denied to his merit was granted to his misfortune; and even the envious, appeased by his present reverses, seemed to forgive him for having once been so triumphant.

The governor and 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 causes of jealousy and distrust between him and Columbus too deep to permit of cordial intercourse between the two sovereigns. Francisco Porras always pronounced the civility of Ovando overstrained and hypocritical; intended to obliterate the remembrance of past neglect, and to conceal 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 defense, and in the affray at Jamaica had killed several of the natives. 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 undefined as to clash with each other, and they were both disposed to dispute the jurisdiction. 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 Porras to Spain, to be examined by the board which had charge of the affairs of the Indies.

The sojourn of Columbus at San Domingo was but little calculated to yield him satisfaction. He was grieved at the desolation of the island by the

* Letter of Columbus to his son Diego, Seville, Nov. 21, 1504. Navarrete, Colec, tom. I.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

The oppressive treatment of the natives, and the horrible massacre which had been perpetrated by Ovando and his adherents, it had forcibly happened at one time, to render the natives civilized, industrious, and tributary subjects to the crown, and to derive from them their well-regulated labor a great and steady revenue. How different had been the event! The vast grant which Columbus promised to the monarch, by forcing a revenue from the island.

The continual misunderstandings between the admiral and the governor, though always qualified on the part of the latter with great complaisance, induced Columbus to solicit 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 Alcañizando; another vessel was freighted, in which Columbus embarked with his son and his domestics. The greater part of his late crew remained at San Domingo; as they were in great poverty, he relieved their necessities from 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 harbor 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 Alcañizando, and, sending back the damaged ship to port, continued on his course. Throughout the voyage he experienced the most tempestuous weather. In some storms the mainmast was sprung in four places. He was confined to his bed at the time by the gout; by his advice, however, and the activity of the Alcañizando, 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 sprang her foremast. In this crippled state they had 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-tossed—suffering at the same time the most excruciating pains from his appetite—until, on the seventh day of November, his crazy and shattered bark anchored in the harbor of San Lucar. Hence he had himself conveyed to Seville, where he hoped to enjoy repose and health, and to recruit his health after such a long series of fatigue, anxieties, and hardships.

CHAPTER II.

ILLNESS OF COLUMBUS AT SEVILLE—APPLICATION TO THE CROWN FOR A RESTITUTION OF HIS HONORS—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, followed him by sea and land. In varying the scene he but varied the nature of his distress. "Weary some days and nights" were appointed to him for the remainder of his life; and the very margin of his grave was destined to be strewed with thorns.

* Letter of Columbus to his son Diego, dated Seville, April 12, 1503. Navarrete, tom. ii., p. 341.
† Navarrete, Colec., tom. ii., decad. 151, 152.
‡ Herrera, Hist. Ind., decad. i., lib. v., cap. 12.

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 108. Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 36.
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 had been gathered had been added to 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 quart on.

* * * I know well that, since my departure, he must have received upward 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 such resources as had been rumored in the halls of the council; and, as yet these sources had furnished him, 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 from Hispaniola, to the amount of two 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 meritory 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 one letter, "I live by borrowing." "Little have I paid; he adds, in another, "by twenty years of life 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 more solicitous for the payment of his seamen than of himself. He wrote strongly and repeatedly to Ovando asserting the claim to his arrears, and charged with the arrears, and urged his son Diego, who was at court, to exert himself 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; yet, 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 vigor, and one who had an individual interest in the property of the island, to restore its affairs to order, and 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 old opportunities, and the public recognition as the trophies of his illustrious achievements; he had received the royal promise that he should be reinstated in them; 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 bestowed the loftiest part of his character; for he who can be indifferent to the wreath of triumph is deficient in the noble ambition which inclines to glorious deeds.

The unsatisfactory replies received to his letters disheartened his mind. He knew that he had active enemies at court ready to turn all things to his disadvantage, and felt the importance of being there in person to defend their machinations; but his infirmities detained him. Yet he attempted to set forth on the journey, but the severity of the winter and the virulence of his illness obliged him to relinquish it in despair. All that he could do was to reiterate his letters to the sovereigns, and to mention the 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 opening from the Caribbean to the south sea, 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 nor outrage the country; since reason requires that it should be settled, 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 perseverance of his enemies and the effrontery of the delinquent, be wrested into matters of accusation against him, as had been the case with the rebellion of Roldan. Porrás, the ringleader of the late faction, had been sent home by Ovando, and had taken refuge in the West Indies; he was afterward captured, 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; but the notary of the squadron who took it, and the papers which he drew up, were on board of the ship in which the admiral had sailed from Hispaniola, but which had put back dismasted. No cognizance of the case, therefore, was taken by the Council of the Indies; and Porrás 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, inclosing a copy of the petition which the rebels had sent to him when in Jamaica, in which they acknowledged their culpability, and implored his forgiveness; and he entreated the treasurer not to be swayed by the representations of his relative, nor to pronounce an opinion unfavorable 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 Alfonso Sanchez de Carvajal, and an active friend of Co-


[La Casas, Hist.
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Lifemaster Geronimo. They could bear the most important testimony as to his conduct, and he wrote to his son Diego to call upon them for their good offices. "I trust," said he, "that the truth of what I have told of Diego and my monuments will be of as much weight as the lies of Porras." Nothing can surpass the affecting earnestness and simplicity of the general declaration of loyalty, contained in one of his letters. "I have served their majesties," he says, "with as much zeal and diligence as I have been to the service of Prince; and if I have failed in anything, it has been because my knowledge and powers went no further.

While reading these touching appeals we can scarcely realize the fact that the rejected individual thus warmly and vainly applying for unquestionable rights, and pleading almost like a culprit, in cases wherein he had been flagrantly injured, was the same who but a few years previously had received at this very court with almost royal honors, and idolized as a national benefactor; that this, in a word, was Columbus, the discoverer of the New World; broken in health, and impoverished in his old days by his very discoveries.

The length of the maravel bringing the official proceedings 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 letter was provided to convey his bittiber, and was actually at the door, but the inconsideration of the weather and his increasing infirmities obliged him again to abandon the journey. His resource of letter-writing began to fail him; he could only write at night, in the daytime 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 intrigues 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; for by her all things will be adjusted which is now in confusion." Alas! while writing that letter, his noble 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 Miguel, 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 intellect of her daughter Juana, and the domestic unhappiness of that princess with her husband, the archduke Philip. This dissipation which walks through palaces admits not the familiar sympathies and sweet consolations which alleviate the sorrows of common life. Isabella pined in state, amidst the obsequious homages of a court, surrounded by the trophies of a glorious and successful reign, and placed at the summit of earthly grandeur. A deep and incurable melancholy settled upon her, which undermined her constitution, and gave a fatal acuteness to her bodily 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 closed on all its pomps and vanities. "Let my body," said she in her will, "be interred in the monastery of San Francisco, a city which is the Refugio and the city of Granada, in a low search, and any monument except a plain stone, with the inscription cut on it. But I desire and command, that if the king, my lord, should choose a sepulchre in any church or monastery in any other part or place of the kingdom, my body be transported thither, and buried beside the body of my 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 chasted humanity of her heart; and which, as has been well observed, the affections of conjugal love were delicately entwined with piety, and with the most tender melancholy. 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 court of the Inquisition. Her death might have softened the lot of its native inhabitants. As it is, her fair name will ever shine with celestial radiance in the dawning of its history.

The news of the death of Isabella reached Columbus 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 beautifully 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 commend 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 labor in all matters for the service of the sovereign queen the king, and to endeavor to alleviate his grief. His majesty is the head of Christianity. 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 who are in his employ ought more than others to do this with all study and diligence.

It is impossible to reproduce this mournful letter without being moved by the simply eloquent yet artless language in which Columbus expresses his tenderness for the memory of his benefactress, his weariness under the gathering cares and ills of his life, and his persevering and enduring loyalty toward the sovereign who was so ungraciously neglecting him. It is in these unstudied and confidential letters that we read the heart of Columbus.

* The dying command of Isabella has been obeyed.

The author of this work has seen her tomb in the royal chapel of the cathedral of Granada, in which her remains are interred with those of Ferdinand. Their effigies, sculptured in marble, lie side by side on a magnificent sepulchre. The altar of the chapel is adorned with bas-reliefs representing the conquest and surrender of Granada.

† Elogio de la Reina Catolica por D. Diego Cien-micen. Illustration 19.

‡ 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 everything to anticipate from her high sense of justice, and her love for such a genius, her gratitude for his services, and her admiration of his character. With her illness, however, his interests 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 endeavoring 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 interests, taking with him the admiral's younger son Fernandino, then aged about seventeen. The latter, the affectionate father repeated, was a man to his brother, as a man for understanding and conduct, though but a striping in years; and inculcates the strongest fraternal attachment, alluding to his own brethren with one of those seldom eloquent and affecting expressions which stamp his heart upon his letters.

"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 to right or left, than my brothers."

Among the persons whom Columbus employed at this time in missions to the court was Amerigo Vespucci. He describes himself 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 his gloomy prospects. Diego de Zea, who had been for 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 office. Columbus directs his son Diego to intrust his interests to this worthy prelate. "Two things," says he, "require particular attention. Ascertain whether the queen, who is now with God, has said anything concerning me in her testament, and stimulate the Bishop of Palencia, he who was the cause that their highnesses possessed possession of the Indies, who induced me to remain in Castile when I was on the point 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 felt himself competent. New instructions were sent out to Orinoco, 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 sustained by him during his winter's residence at Seville, on his return from his last disastrous voyage. He has generally been represented as repining there from his toils and troubles. Never was honorable repose more merited, more desired, and less enjoyed.

It was not until the month of May that he was able, in company with his brother the Adelantado, to accomplish his journey to court, 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 way-worn, 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 his past services, in what appeared to him the inconvenience of his present demands. He received him with many professions of kindness; but with those cold, ineffectual 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 disaster sustained in the island of Jamaica; the insurrection of the Perros and their band; and all the mischiefs and troubles of his unfortunate expedition. He had but a cold-hearted auditor in the king; and the benignant Isabella was no more at hand to soothe him with a smile of kindness or a tear of sympathy. "I know not," says the venerable Las Casas, "what could cause this dislike and this want of princely countenance

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in the king toward one who had rendered him such pre-eminent benefits; unless it was that his mind was swayed by the false testimonies which had been spread abroad, or the advantage of a redound, at the expense of his merit; for I have been enabled to learn something from persons much in favor with the sovereigns."

After a few days had elapsed Columbus urged his suit 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 restitutions and indemnifications which had been so frequently solicited, might be awarded to him; offering in 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 surpass all that he had yet performed a hundred-fold. The king, in reply, acknowledged the greatness of his merits, and the importance of his services, but observed that, for the more satisfactory adjustment of his claims, it would be advisable to refer all points in dispute to the decision of some discreet and able person. The admiral immediately proposed an arbitrator to the archbishop of Seville, Don Diego de Deza, one of the most able and upright men about the court, devotedly loyal, high in the confidence of the king, and one who had always taken the greatest interest in the affairs of the New World. The king consented to the arbitration, but artfully extended it to questions which he knew never would be put at issue by Columbus; among these was his claim to the restoration of his office of viceroy. To this Columbus objected with becoming spirit, as amounting to a right which was too clearly defined and solemnly established, to be put for a moment in dispute. It was the question of rents and revenues alone, he observed, which he was willing to submit to the decision of a learned man, not of that of the government of the Indies. As the monarch persisted, however, in embracing both questions in the arbitration, the proposed measure was never carried into effect.

It was, in fact, on the subject of his dignities alone that Columbus was tenacious; all other matters he considered of minor importance. In a conversation with the king he absolutely disavowed all wish of entering into any suit or pleading as to his pecuniary dues; on the contrary, he offered, as a proof of his merits, to receive into the hands of his sovereign, and to receive out of the dues arising from them, whatever his majesty might think proper to award. All that he claimed without qualification or reserve, were his official dignities, assured to him under the royal seal with all the solemnity of a treaty. He entreated, at all events, that these matters might speedily be decided, so that he might be released from a state of miserable suspense, and enabled to retire to some quiet corner, in search of that tranquillity and repose necessary to his fatigues and his infirmities.

To this frank appeal to his justice and generosity, Ferdinand replied with many courteous expressions, and with those general evasive promises which always incapacitated the ear of the court; but conveyed no comfort to his heart. "As far as actions went," observes Las Casas, "the king not merely showed him no signs of favor, but, on the contrary, disencountened him as much as possible, because he was never wanting in complimentory expressions."

Many months were passed by Columbus in una-

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* Las Casas, Hist. Ind., lib. ii. cap. 37, ms.
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

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 fervor. 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 Laredo 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 in his painful and helpless situation could he dispense with the aid and ministry of his son Diego. His brother, the Adelantado, therefore, his main dependence in all emergencies, 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 a hope that he should receive at their hands the restitution of his honors and estates, and assured them that, though cruelly tortured at present, he would yet be able to render them services, the like of which he had never witnessed.

Such was the last sally of his sanguine and unconquerable 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 was 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 reanimated him was soon quenched by accumulating infirmities. Immediately after the departure of the Adelantado, his illness increased in violence. His last voyage had shattered beyond repair a frame already worn and wasted by a life of hardship; and continual anxieties rotted his heart. He was about to recruit the vetrician and debility of age. The cold ingratitude of his sovereign chilled his heart. The continued suspension of his honors, and the enmity and defamation experienced at every turn, seemed to throw a shadow over that glory which had been the great object of his ambition. This shadow, it true, could but be 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 his most permanent lustre in the admiration of posterity.

Being admonished by 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, given him by Pope Alexander VI. In this he bequeathed 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 an hospital in that city with the produce of his possessions in Italy. The authenticity of this act is questioned, and has become a point of warm contest among commentators. It is not, however, of much importance. The paper is such as might readily have been written by a person like Columbus in the paroxysm of devotion, 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 afterward, 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 unequivocal evidences of character. The last codicil of Columbus, at the very close of his life, is stamped with his ruling passion and his benignant virtues. He repeals and endorses several clauses of his original testament, constituting his son Diego his universal heir. The entailed inheritance, or mayrzag, 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 Bartholomeu, descending always to the nearest male heir; in failure of which it was to pass to the female nearest in line of the male. He enjoined upon whoever should inherit his estate never to alienate or diminish it, but to endeavor 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, in the service of 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 whose need it should yield certain yearly proportions to his brother Don Fernando, and his uncles Don Bartholomeu and Don Diego; and that 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 miraculously, at the town of Concepcion, in the Vega, where masses
should be daily performed for the repose of the souls of himself, his father, his mother, his wife,
and all of whom died in the faith. Another clause provided that the care of Don Diego, Beatriz
Enriquez, the mother of his natural son Fernando. His connection with her had never been
sanctioned by marriage, 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 heavily 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 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 fulfillment 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. His dying bequests were
made in presence of a few faithful followers and servants, and among them we find the name of
Hartulomeo Fiescu, 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 per-
formed 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. His last words were,
"In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum." Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend
my spirit.

His body was deposited in the convent of St.
Francisco, and his obsequies were celebrated
with lustral pomp at Valladolid, in the parish
church of Santa Maria de la Antigua. His re-
maines were transported afterward, in 1513, 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 Mont-
alan, on the 23d of February, 1526. In the
year 1539 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 San Domingo; but even here they did not rest
in quiet, having since been again disinterred and
conveyed to the Havana, in the island of Cuba.

We are told that Ferdinand, after the death of
Columbus, showed a sense of his merits by ordering
a monument to be erected to his memory, on
which was inscribed the motto already cited,
which had formerly been granted to him by the
sovereigns: A CASTILLA Y V A LEON CON NUEVO MUNDO
NIO COLON (To Castile and Leon Columbus gave
a new world). However great an honor a monu-
ment may be for a subject to receive, it is cer-
tainly but a cheap reward for a sovereign to be-
sow. As to the motto inscribed upon it, it re-
mains engraved in the memory of mankind, more
indelibly than in brass or marble; 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
looyal Spanish writers, to vindicate the conduct of
Ferdinand toward Columbus. They were doubt-
less well intended, but they have been futile, nor
is their failure to be regretted, for such injustice in so eminent a character from the reputa-
tion 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 shallow
which it casts upon his brilliant renown will be a
lesson to all rulers, teaching them what is im-
portant to their own fame in their treatment of illustrious men.

CHAPTER V.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS.

In narrating the story of Columbus, it has been
the endeavor of the author to place him in a clear
and familiar point of view; for this purpose he has
rejected no circumstance, however trivial, which
appeared to evolve some point of character; and he has sought all kinds of collateral
facts which might throw light upon his views and
motives. With this view also he has detailed
many facts hitherto passed over in silence, or
vaguely noticed by historians, probably because
they might be deemed instances of error or mis-
conduct on the part of Columbus; but he who
paints a great man merely in great and heroic
traits, though he may produce the picture, will
never present a faithful portrait. Great men are
compounds of great and little qualities. Indeed,
much of their greatness arises from their mastery
over the imperfections of their nature, and their
noblest actions are sometimes struck forth by the
collision of their merits and their defects.

In Columbus were singularly combined the
practical and the poetical. His mind had grasped
all kinds of knowledge, whether procured by
study or observation, which bore upon his theo-
ries; impatient of the scanty allusion for the day,"his impetuous arbor," as has well been
observed, "threw him into the study of the fathers
The progress of his discoveries he has been remarked for the extreme sagacity and the admirable justness with which he seized the phenomena of the exterior world. The variations, for instance, of terrestrial magnetism, the direction of currents, the groupings of marine plants, fixing one of the great climacteric divisions of the ocean, the temperatures changing not only with the distance to the equator, but also with the difference of meridians: these and similar phenomena, as they broke upon him were discerned with wonderful quickness of perception, and made to contribute important principles to the stock of general knowledge. This lucidity of spirit, this quick convertibility of facts to principles, distinguish him from the dawn to the close of his sublime enterprise, immortality that, with all the sallying ardor of his imagination, his ultimate success has been admirably characterized as a "conquest of reflection."

It is a matter of great merit that mercenary views mingled with the ambition of Columbus, and that his stipulations with the Spanish court were selfish and avareous. The charge is inconsiderate and unjust. He aimed at dignity and wealth in the same lofty spirit in which he sought renown; they were to be part and parcel of his achievement, and palpable evidence of its success; they were to arise from the territories he should discover, and he commensurate in importance. No condition could be more just. He asked nothing of himself but a command of the country 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 vicereignty would be of no avail; and if no 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 risk merely a loss of labor, and a disappointment of ambition, in the enterprise—on his motives being questioned, he voluntarily undertook, and with the assistance of his coadjutors, actually defended one eighth of the whole charge of the first expedition.

It was, in fact, this rare union already noticed, of the practical man of business with the poetical projector, which enabled him to carry his grand enterprises into effect through so many difficulties. He was enabled to discover every scheme that gave facility to his schemes, were never tired to chill the glowing aspirations of his soul. The gains that promised to arise from his discoveries he intended to appropriate in the same spirit, and in the 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 the building of hospitals, and other public charities, in Palestine. Thus his ambition was truly noble and lofty; instinct with high thought and prone to generous deeds.

In the discharge of his office he maintained the state and ceremonial of a vicar, 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 restoration of his dignities. As to his pecuniary dues and all questions relative to mere revenue, he offered to leave them to arbitration or even to the absolute disposition of the monarch; but not so his official dignities: "these things," said he nobly, "affect my honor." In his testament, he enjoined on his son Diego, and whoever after him should inherit his estates, whatever dignities and titles might afterward 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 characterized by the grandeur of his views and the magnanimity of his spirit. Instead of securing himself like a grasping adventurer only for immediate gain, as was too generally the case with contemporary discoverers, he sought to ascertain the soil and productions, their rivers and harbors; he was desirous of colonizing and cultivating them; of conciliating and civilizing the natives; of building cities, introducing the useful arts; subjects to every object of law, order, and religion; and thus of founding regular and prosperous empires. In this glorious plan he was constantly defeated by the absolute rabble 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 driven down 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 if she had those who followed in the track of Columbus possessed his sound policy and liberal views. The New World, in such cases, would have been settled by pacific colonists, and civilized by enlightened legislators; instead of being overrun by desperate adventurers, and desolated by avaricious conquerors.

Columbus was a man of quick sensitivity, liable to great excitement, to sudden and strong impressions, and powerful impulses. He was naturally irritable and impetuous, and keenly sensible to injury and injustice; yet the quickness of his temper was counteracted by the benevolence and generosity of his heart. The magnanimity of his nature shone forth through all the troubles of his stormy career, and was exalted in his dignity, and lover 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, yet he restrained his valiant and indignant spirit, by the strong powers of his mind, and brought himself to forbear, and reason, and even to sup
LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

nicate; nor should we fail to notice how free he was from all feeling 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 his firmness 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 circumstances with the technical precision, as some have done, he relates the beautiful things of nature with the enthusiasm of a poet or a painter. As he coasted 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 atmosphere, the fragrance of the air, "full of dew and sweetness," the verdure of the forests, the magnificence of the trees, the grandeur of the mountains, and the limpidity and freshness of all running streams. New delight springs up for him in every scene. He extols each new discovery as more beautiful than the last, and each as the most beautiful in the world; until, with his simple eyes, he believes the sovereigns that have 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 ingratitude 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 this 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 shone forth in his most private and unstudied writings. When he made his great discovery, he celebrated 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 Regina and other vespers hymns were chanted by his crew, and masses were performed in the beautiful groves bordering the wild shores of this heathen land. All his great enterprises were undertaken in the name of the Holy Trinity, and he partook of the communion previous to embarking. He was a firm believer in the efficacy of vows and penances and pilgrimages, and resorted to them in times of difficulty and danger. The religion thus deeply seated in his soul diffused a sober dignity and benign composure over his whole demeanor. His language was pure and guarded, and free from all imprecations, oaths, and other irreverent expressions.

He was, however, that his piety was mingled with superstition, and darkened by the bigotry of the age. He evidently concurred in the opinion, that all nations which did not acknowledge the Christian faith were destitute of natural rights; that the sternest measures might be used for their conversion, and the severest punishments 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 Christianity, and in selling them for slaves if they pretended to resist invasions. In so doing he sinned against the natural goodness of his character, and against the feelings which he had originally entertained and expressed toward this gentle and hospitable people; but he was guided by the excitement of the crown, and by the snares of his enemies at the unprofitable result of his enterprises. 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 among 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, the dilapidation of the conduct of Columbus, are required by candor. It is proper to show him in connection 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 inexplicable to err. Let it remain a blot on his illustrious name, and let others derive a lesson from it.

We have already hinted at a peculiar trait in his rich and varied character; 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 everything with its own gorgeous colors. It betrayed him into visionary speculations, which authorized him to sneers and cavillings of men of cooler and safer, but more galling 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 Aurora 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, imaginative and spiritual 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 time."*

With all the visionary fervor 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

* Cladera. Investigaciones historias, p. 43

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 civilized man! And how would his magnanimous spirit have been consol'd, 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 rever and bless his name to the latest posterity!
APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

ILLUSTRATIONS AND DOCUMENTS.
APPENDIX.

No. 1.

TRANSPORTATION OF THE REMAINS OF COLUMBUS FROM ST. DOMINGO TO THE HAVANA.

At the termination of a war between France and Spain, in 1795, all the Spanish possessions in the island of Hispaniola were ceded to France, by the 9th article of the treaty of peace. To assist in the accomplishment of this cession, a Spanish squadron was dispatched to the island at the appointed time, commanded by Don Gabriel de Aristizabal, lieutenant-general of the royal armada. On the 11th of December, 1795, that commander wrote to the field-marshal and governor, Don Josquin 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 licentious on him as a Spaniard, and as commander-in-chief of his majesty's squadron of operations, to solicit the translation of the ashes 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 solemnity, that it might not remain in the power of any one, by a careless transportation. The whole honored remains, he lose a relic 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 honors to the remains of that "worthy and adventurous general of the seas," nor abandoned them, when the various public bodies, representing the Spanish dominion, emigrated 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 vicar-priest of the island, hoping that his solicitation might be granted, and the remains of the admiral exhumed 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 governor. He informed him, in reply, that the Duke of Veragua, lineal successor of Columbus, had manifested 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; transmitting 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 was then the city of St. Domingo, hoping to receive his counsels and aid in this pious undertaking.

The reply of the archbishop was couched in terms of high courtesy toward the gallant commander, and deep reverence for the memory of Columbus, and expressed a zeal in rendering this tribute of gratitude and 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 Veragua, the venerable dean and chapter of the cathedral, and all the other persons and authorities to whom Don Gabriel de Aristizabal made similar communications, manifested the same eagerness to assist in the performance of this solemn and affecting rite.

The worthy commander Aristizabal, having taken all the necessary steps with great form and punctilio, so 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, 1795, the most distinguished 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 a iron lock, the key of which was delivered to the archbishop. The case was sealed 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 mausoleum.

On the following day there was another grand convocation 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 clergy 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 transferred to the ship San Lorenzo. It was accompanied by a portrait of Columbus, sent from Spain by the Duke of Veragua, to be suspended close by the place where the remains of his illustrious ancestor would be deposited.

The ship immediately made sail, and arrived at Havana, in Cuba, on the 15th of January, 1796. Here the same deep feeling of reverence to the memory of the discoverer was evinced. The principal authorities repaired on board of the ship, accompanied by the superior naval and military officers. Everything was conducted with the same circumstantial and solemn ceremonial. The remains were removed with great reverence, and placed in a felucca, in which they were conveyed to land in the midst of a procession of three columns of feluccas and boats in the royal service, all properly decorated, contain
APPENDIX.

Immediately after the death of the admiral, Don Diego came forward with the restitutions 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, who had the solemn duty of conveying the justice to Columbus, had less difficulty in turning a deaf ear to the solicitations of his son. For two years Don Diego pressed his suit with faultless diligence. He hastened to make the more sensible, 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 him as a favor, that which was his right, and which he hesitated to confide in the fidelity of one who had been reared in his house." Ferdinand replied that he could fully confide in him, but could not repose so great a trust at a venture in his children and successors. To this Don Diego rejoined, that it was contrary to all justice and reason to make him suffer for the sins of his children, who might never be born. 1

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 ideals of equity or sentiments of generosity in vain, he determined to try the issue in the ordinary course of law. The king could not refuse so reasonable a request, and Don Diego commenced a process against King Ferdinand before the tribunal of the clergy. The issue turned out to be an elaborate combination of legal questions.

The first ground of opposition to these claims was, that if the capitalization, made by the sovereigns in the threshold of the New World, was less prevalent than the privilege of the消灭, the admiral could not contest its invalidity.

In the meantime, the admiral pressed the demand of his rights, and the case was referred to the tribunal of the clergy, which had the authority to decide on the question. The tribunal, after a long and elaborate discussion, decided in favor of the admiral's claims, and confirmed the right to the privileges. The decision was published in Toledo in 1508, and was regarded as a great triumph for the claims of the admiral.

This decision was received with great joy and enthusiasm throughout Spain. The admiral was not only vindicated in his rights, but also received a great deal of compensation for the injuries sustained during his life. The decision was a great source of comfort to him, and his negotiations for the recovery of his rights were now carried on with greater vigor.

NOTICE 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 capitulations between the sovereigns and his father. He appears by the general consent of historians to have been a man of great integrity, of excellent talents, and of a frank and generous nature. Herrera speaks repeatedly of the correctness and uprightness of his manners, and pronounces him of a noble disposition, and without deceit. This absence of all guile frequently led him to open to the stranglings of crafty men, great and old men, by which he remained in 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 able men would have been entangled and completely lost.

*Navarrete, Colo. tom. ii, p. 356.

†Extracts from the minutes of the process taken by the historian Mata, 1523.
many petty cavilers at the fair fame of Columbus.*

Notwithstanding this decision, the wily monarch wanted neither means nor pretences to delay the ceding of such vast powers, so repugnant to his cautious policy. The young admiral was finally induced for the sake of his wealth to sell the prey which he had been apprehended to attain without danger, in a suit of a different nature. He had become enamored of Doña María de Toledo, daughter of Ferrán de Ovando, grand-niece of Diego de Soria, and niece to Don Francisco Téllez, the celebrated Duke of Alva, chief favorite of the king. This was aspiring to a high connection. The father and uncle of the lady was as powerfully placed as the pride of the powerful kingdoms of Spain, and cousins german to Ferdinand. The glory, however, which Columbus had left behind, rested upon his children, and the claims of Don Diego, recently confirmed by the council, involved dignities and wealth sufficient to raise him 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 engrailed in one of the proudest races of Spain. The natural consequences followed.

Diego had secured that magical power called "connections," and the favor of Ferdinand, which had been the main business of Columbus, whose son, borne 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 heart of the monarch, and after all this was brought 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 cared without any title or salary.

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 simple but just demand at his imprisonment as a punishment for the massacre of her poor Indian subjects at Xaragua, and the cruel and ignominious execution of the female cacique Anacaona. Thus retribution was continually going its rounds in the checkered destinies of this island, which has ever presented a little epipome of human history; its errors and crimes, and consequent disasters.

In complying with the request of the queen, however, Ferdinand was favorable toward 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 item of the book should not the new governor, should be the King 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 scurrility; that the wealth wrung from the miserly of the natives was for his sovereign, not for 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 St. Lucar, June 9th, 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 of young and vigorous boys, who, according to the customs of the court, were sent 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 of vice-queen. Don Diego commenced his rule with a degree of

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* Further mention will be found of this lawsuit in the article relative to Amedeo Vespasian.
† Chardon, at supra, v. i. p. 272, id. 274.
‡ Las Casas, lib. ii. cap. 49. 54. 4.
§ Further mention will be found of this lawsuit in the article relative to Amedeo Vespasian.
* Herrera, decal. l. lib. vii. cap. 12. 5 ibid.
APPENDIX.

measure would have been taken at an earlier date. It was now too late: illness prevented Don Bartho-

mew from executing the enterprise, and his active

and toilsome life was drawing to a close.

Many other expeditions were undertaken by the

king, who went on and on in seizing upon his slightest errors, and magnifying them into crimes. Difficulties multiplied in his

path; the road was out of his power to overcome. He

had entered into difficulties with the Indians, who were

adversaries and enemies, in seizing upon his slightest errors, and magnifying them into crimes. Difficulties multiplied in his path; the road was out of his power to overcome. He

had entered upon an office full of magnanimous inten-

tions, determined to put an end to oppression, and correct all abuses; all good men therefore had rejoiced at his appointment; but he soon found that he had overestimated his strength, and underestimated the difficulties awaiting him. He calculated from his own good heart, but he had no idea of the wicked hearts of others. He was opposed to 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 main-

taining them. He perceived that in order to abolish them would be dangerous, and the result questionable; at the same time this abuse was a source of intense profit to himself. Self-interest, therefore, combined with other considerations, and what at first seemed so difficult, seemed now practicable. The repartimientos continued in the state in which he found them, excepting that he removed such of the superintendents as had been cruel and oppres-

sive, and he discharged many of the poor appointees who had proved equally worthless. His friends were disappointed, his enemies encouraged; a hue and cry was raised against him by the friends of those that he had displaced; and it was even said that if Columbus had not died about this time, he would have been sent out to supplant Don Diego.

The subjugation and settlement of the island of Cura-

cao is the first event in the administration of the present admiral. He congratulated King Ferdinand on having acquired the largest and 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 for Don Diego, but his determination to maintain his own 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 Ade-

lantado of the Indies; although Ferdinand, through selfish motives, detained him in Spain, while he employed himself in the 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 privilege of the same revenue that might be discovered in Cuba; an office which proved very lucrative.

Among the instructions given by the king to Don Diego, he directed that, in consequence of the repres-

sations of the Dominican friars, the labor of the natives should be reduced to one third; that negro slaves should be procured from Guines as a relief to the Indians, and that Carib slaves should be branded on the leg, so that the other Indians from being reco-

nized with them and subjected to harsh treatment.

The two governors, Ojeda and Nicuesa, whom the king had appointed to colonize and command at the

islands of Darien, in Terra firma, having failed in the undertaking, the sovereign, in 1514, wrote to Hispaniola, permitting the Adelantado, Don Bartho-

mew, if so inclined, to take charge of settling the coast of Darien and the islands. The king was strongly and adversely to the admiral Don Diego conformably to his privileges. He had the king consulted his own interest, and the deference due to the talents and services of the Adelantado, this

† Herrera, Hist. Ind., deced. ii. lib. i, cap. 5.
‡ Ibid.

Cuba and of Jamaica had been subjected and brought under cultivation without bloodshed; his conduct as governor had been upright; and he had only excited the representations made against him, by endeavoring 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 respect of repartimientos, should be discontinued, and the cases sent to him for personal inquiry. But with all these honors, as the admiral claimed a share of the profits of the provinces of Castilla del Oro, saying that he had founded the island of Cuba, in the names of its places, st. Vincente: Nombre de Dios, Porto Bello, and El Retrete, plainly proved, the king ordered that interrogatories should be made among the mar-

iners who had been with him, and that the names of those who had convicted him might be made out 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 king, he was held to be the trouble of his father."*

Not long after the departure of Don Diego from St. Domingo, his uncle, Don Bartholomew, ended his ac-

tive and laborious life. No particulars are given of his death, nor is there mention made of his age, which must have been advanced. 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: "a man," says Herrera, "not less worthy 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 great heart."† Charlevoix attributes the inaction in which Don Bartholomew had been suffered to remain for several years, to the jealousy and parsimony of the king. However, 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 privilege of the same revenue that might be discovered in Cuba; an office which proved very lucrative.

* Herrera, Hist. Ind. deced. ii. lib. ii. cap. 7.
† Ibid., deced. ii. lib. i. cap. 16.
‡ Charlevoix, Hist. St. Domingo, lib. 5.
earlier date. It
Don Bartholo-

to, requesting him to forget all past passions and
differences, and to enter into amicable relations with
Don Diego. Among other acts of indemnification he
acknowledged his right to exercise his office of vice-

APPENDIX.

Don Diego had created, both in the colonies and in Spain,
were actively and successfully employed. His old an-
tagonist, the treasurer Pannanzo, charged him with
usurping almost all the powers of the royal au-
dence, and with holding aloof, and keep-
ning all part 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 council against him, but
with no other powers. Don Diego sailed in the
beginning of September, 1520, and on his arrival at St.
Domingo, finding several of the governors, pre-
suming on his long absence, had arrogated to them-
selves independence, and had abused their powers, he
immediately sent persons to supersede them, and de-
manded 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 other places in Castile del Rey, had not been visited
by the admiral, though it was said he had a ship ready
for consideration. The admiral claimed an island of
Cáustilla del Rey, or his, as his father, the Marqués de
Dios, Porto Rico, was the name given to the island by
the king ordered among the marines,

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Author, Hist. Ind., decad. ii. lib. iv. cap. 7.
† Ibid., decad. iii. lib. iv. cap. 8.
‡ Chauroy, Hist. St. Domingo, lib. vi.
taken the communion, and arrived the same day at Montalvan, distant about six leagues. There his illnesses became so great that he received the title of a Duke of Veragua by the hand of the emperor. He employed the following day in arranging the affairs of his conscience, and expired on February 21, being little more than fifty years of age. His remains were burned at his request, by the griefs and troubles he had experienced. "He was worn out," says Herrera, "by following up his claims, and defending himself from the calumnies of his enemies, and by the damage to his character, which his enemies, with their superstition and devices, sought to obscure the glory of the father and the virtue of the son.

We have seen how the discovery of the New World rendered the residue of the life of Columbus a tissue of wrongs, hardships and affictions, and how the jealousy and enmity by which he had been awakened were by his son. It remains to show briefly in what degree the anticipations of perpetuity, wealth, and honor 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 afterward married Don Sancho de Cardona; Juana, who married Don Luis de Cueva; and Isabella, who married Don Domenico Cueva, Count of Guadal. He had also a natural son named Christopher.

After the death of Don Diego, his noble-spirited vice-queen, left with a number of young children, entered on the task of assuring and maintaining the rights of the family. Understanding that, according to the privileges accorded to Christopher Columbus, they had a just claim to the viceroyalty of the province of Veragua, as having been discovered by him, she demanded a license from the royal audience of Hispaniola, to recruit men and fit out an armada to colonize that country. This the audience refused, and sent information of the death of the Emperor. He replied that the vice-queen should be kept in suspense until the justice of her claim could be ascertained; as, although he had at various times given commissions to different persons to examine the doubts and objections which had been opposed by the fiscal, no decision had ever been made. The enterprise thus contemplated by the vice-queen was never carried into effect.

Shortly afterward she sailed for Spain, to protect the claim of her eldest son, Don Luis, then six years of age. Charles V. was absent, but she was most graciously received by the emperor. The title of admiral of the Indies was immediately conferred on her son, Don Luis, and the emperor augmented his revenues, and conferred other honors on the family. Charles V., however, could never be prevailed on to give Don Luis the title of admiral, and he remained under threat of being deprived of his father, a few years previous to his death, as an hereditary right.

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 recovery of the viceroyalty. Two years afterward the suit was settled by arbitration, his uncle Don Fernando and Cardinal Loyaza, president of the council of the Indies, being umpires. By a compromis Don Luis was declared captain-general of Hispaniola, but with such limitations that it was little better 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 viceroyalty of the New World, receiving in its stead the titles of Count of Veragua, of the Indies, and of Jamaica. He committed also the claim to the tenth of the produce of the Indies for a pension of one thousand doubloons of gold.

Don Luis did not long enjoy the substitution of a certain, though moderate, revenue for a magnificent but unproductive claim. He died shortly afterward, leaving no other male issue than an illegitimate son, Jimena, from his wife, Doña Margarita de Mosquera, one named Philippa, and the other Maria, which last 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 claims and persons in wedlock, than to pursue a tedious contest. They were married at Rome, in the month of August, and their marriage was approved by the Pope.

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 married to Don Pedro de Cueva, viceroy of the Indies, and the latter to Don Domenico Cueva. The claim of the former was opposed by the latter, and many others, to the extent of one Domenico Columbus, Lord of Cuccaro, the younger brother to the former, who raised the protest that he was the legitimate heir of his brother. The protest was opposed by witnesses, who said that the navigator was born in the castle of Cuccaro; whence, it was said, he was added, and his two brothers had been killed at an early age, and his claim was, therefore, disallowed. It was mentioned among the witnesses, who made oath that Christopher and his brothers were born in that castle of Cuccaro. This testimony was afterward withdrawn by the prosecutor; as it was found that the mother's recollection must have extended back considerably upward of a century. The claim of Balthazar was negatived. His proofs that Christopher Columbus was a native of Cuccaro were rejected, as only hearsay, or traditional evidence. His ancestor Domenico, it appeared from his own showing, died in 1456: whereas it was established that Domenico, the father of the admiral, was living upward of thirty years before 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 Nufio Nuño de Vargas de Portugal 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 wife, Doña Maria de Mosquera, and had two elder sisters of Isabella's a prior claim, but their lives became extinct previous to this decision.
of the suit. The Isabella just named had married Don Jorge de Urraca, Count of Galvez. "Thus, says Charlevoix, the diminutives and wealth of Columbus passed into a branch of the Portuguese house of Braganza, established in Spain, of which the heirs are entitled De Portugal, Duke de Viseu, Marquis de la Janaira, and Admiring of the Indies.*

The suit of Balthazar Colombo of Cuccaro was rejected under three different forms, by the Council of the Indies; and the allowance of support, under the legacy of Columbus, in favor of poor relations, was also refused; although the other parties had assented to the demand.† 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 he was in vain to seek justice in Spain; they were too much interested to keep those dignities and estates among themselves; but he was without having received twelve thousand dabolous 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; 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 birthplace of the discoverer of the New World.

No. III.

FERNANDO COLUMBUS.

Fernando Columbus (or Colon, as he is called in Spain), the natural son and historian of the admiral, was born on 31 March, 1487, in Seville. His birth is stated by himself, and by himself, as having been by some of his biographers.

Early in 1531, Fernando was carried to court, together with his 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 capacity for a number of years, 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 proved of 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 the 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 accompanied the Emperor Charles V. also, to Italy, Flanders, and Germany; and according to Zuñiga (Anales de Sevilla de 1539, No. 3) travelled over all Europe and a part of Asia and Africa. 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 commissioned the construction of a sumptuous edifice, without the walls of the city, facing the Guadalquivir, in the place where the monastery of San Lawrence 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 useful labors. He died in Seville on the 12th of July, 1539, 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 of Seville. He bequeathed his valuable library to the same establishment.

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 matter, 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, composed in Spanish. It was translated into Italian by Alonzo de Ulloa, and from this Italian translation there have proceeded the editions which have since appeared in various languages. It is singular that the work only exists in Spanish, in the form of a retranslation from that of Ulloa, and 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, and his unique possession of these is based on 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 events which he recounts. He was a man of probity and discernment, and writes more dispassionately than could be expected, when treating of matters which affected the honor, the interests, 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. He at the same time, presented a valuable document, entitled to great faith, and is the cornerstone of the history of the American Continent.

No. IV.

AGE OF COLUMBUS.

As the date I have assigned for the birth of Columbus makes him about ten years older than he is generally represented, at the time of his discoveries, it is

| Lith VI, p. 446 | Galley, from the tomb of Fernando Columbus, at Seville. |
APPENDIX.

The natural desire to prove consanguinity with a man of distinguished renown has excited this rivalry; but it has been heightened by the hope of succeeding. Notice already the attempts of honor, and, 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 legal disputes about his 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 only the attempts of honor, and, 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 legal disputes about his subject.

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The ancestry of Christopher Columbus has formed a point of zealous controversy, which is not yet satisfactorily settled. Several honorable 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.*

* Spotoro, Hist. Mem., p. 5.

No. V.

LINEAGE OF COLUMBUS.

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* Literally, in the original, Cesar de Vidustria, a Falconer. Hawkmg was in those days an amusement of the highest classes; and to keep hawks was almost a sign of nobility.

† Herrera, decd. lib. 1. cap. 7.
Some account of the lawsuit will be found in another part of the work.

This romantic story, like all others of the nobility of his parentage, is at utter variance with the subsequent events of his life, being strewn with indulgence and obscurity, and the difficulties he endured from the want of family connections. How can it be believed, says Bossi, that this same man, who, in his first cruel adversity, was constantly 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 Cuccio, 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 evident, however, that Colombo 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 1311, mentioned by Spotorno; nor is this in any wise incompatible with the situation of Fernando Columbus, that he really 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 families of old name; and while some branches remained in the lordly heritage of castles and domains, others were confounded with the humble population of the cities.

NO. VI.

BIRTHPLACE OF COLUMBUS.

There has been much controversy about the birthplace 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 re- ceives greater lustre upon a city than to have given birth to distinguished men. The original and long-established opinion was in favor of Genoa; but such strenuous assertions were asserted by the states of Placentia, and in particular of Placentia, that the Academy of Sciences and Letters of Genoa was induced, in 1812, to nominate three of its members, Signors Sette, Perot, and Piazza, commissioners to examine into these pretensions.

The claims of Placentia had been first advanced in 1662, by Pietro Maria Campi, in the ecclesiastical histo- rians in Italy, which at that time 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 at Pradello, the rest of which had been received by Domenico 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 Placentia was maintained with more plausibility. It was shown that a Domenico Colombo was lord of the castle of Cuccio in Monteferrat, at the time of the birth of Christopher Columbus, who, it was said, was his son, and born in that place. Baltazar Colombo, a descendant of this family, instituted a lawsuit before the Council of the Indies for the inheritance of the castle, when his male line became extinct. The Council of the Indies decided against him, as is shown in an account of that process given among the illustrations of this history. It was proved that Domenico Colombo, father of the admiral, was resident in Genoa both before and many years after the death of this lord of Cuccio, who bore the same name.

*Disertation, etc.


† Portugal, Carta dos certidões de Barões, etc., p. 256.

‡ Correspondence Astronom. Geograph. etc. de Baron du Zich, vol. 14, Cahier 6, lettre 29, 1860.

§ Felippo di Pori, Palermo, Epistolario, edizione breve delle lettere di Christopher Columbus in the cathedral at Seville, and that the epistle states him to have been a native of Savona: "Hic jacet Christophorus Columbus Savonensis." The proofs advanced by Signor Belloro show his zeal for the honor of his native city, but do not au-
APPENDIX.

Andres Bernaldez, the curate of los Palacios, who was an intimate friend of Columbus, says that he was of Genoa. Agostino Giustinianni, a contemporary of Columbus, published in Genoa, 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. Also Antonio Gallo, Bartoletti, Signor Spinola, and Uberti Fogliata, 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 1503. 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 birthplace of Columbus himself 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 authorities, the evidence of Columbus himself. In a dissertation published in 1495, which has been admitted in evidence before the Spanish tribunal in certain lawsuits among his descendants, it is thus stated:

"Siendo yo nacido en Genova, fue yo nacido en Genova."

He repeats the statement, as a reason for compelling certain conditions in his will, and in his testament, with an inscription in Latin, recording the merits of his father, the admiral, the place of his sepulture, and the place of his native city. "I command the said Diego, my son, or the person who inherits the said mayorazgo (or entailed estate), that he maintain always in the city of Genoa, which I called Magnifico Spinola, one house and a wife there, and to furnish him with an income on which he can live decently, as a person connected with our family, and hold and rule in that city as a native of it, so that he may have aid and favor in that city in case of need, for hence 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 Diego, or whoever shall possess the said mayorazgo, that he labor and strive always for the honor of Genoa, and employ all his abilities, and increase the city of Genoa, and the fame and glory of her republic, in all matters which are not contrary to the service of the church of God, and of the king and queen of 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 thus written in the blurb 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 a hospital in that city for the poor, with provision for its support; and he de-
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clares that republic his successor in the admiralty of the Indies, in the event of his male line becoming ex- tense.

authenticiy of this paper has been questioned. It has been said, that there was no probability of Columbus having resort to a usage which he was most likely, unacquainted. The objections are not cogent. Columbus was accustomed to the perils and dangers of a military life, and he repeatedly wrote letters in critical moments as a precaution against such fatal occurrences as seemed to impend. The present codi- cil, 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 handwriting, especially as he was, at times, so occupied by the want of his mind 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 Niccolò Oderigo, formerly ambassador from Genoa to Spain, and forwarded to him copies of all his letters, and other papers, which he wrote on the subject of Genoa, authenticated before the alcaides of Seville. He, at the same time, wrote to the bank of San Giorgio, at Genoa, assigning a tenth of his revenues to the support of the duties of his collecting, and wine, and other provisions.

Why should Columbus feel this strong interest in Genoa, had he been born in any of the other Italian cities which have laid claim to him? He was under no obligation to Genoa. He had resided there but a short time of his early life; and his proposition for discovery, according to some writers, had been scornfully rejected by that Republic. There is nothing to show that his interest in Genoa but the fact that he who links the heart of a man to his native place, however he may be separated from it by distance, and however little he may be indebted to it for favors.

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 favor 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 with him, a Genoese, to be permitted to express his love for his city and his native town. 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 to a man of his rank and station, the fame of such a man 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 favor of Genoa.

No. VII.

THE COLOMBOS.

During the early part of the life of Columbus were two other navigators, bearing the same name, of some rank and celebrity, with whom he occasionally sailed; their names occurring vaguely from time to time, during the obscure part of his career, he caused much perplexity to some of his biographers, who have supposed that they designated the discoverer. Fernando Columbus affirms them to have been family connections, and his father says, in one of his letters, "I am not the first admiral of our family." These two were uncle and nephew: the latter being termed by the Spanish historians Columbus el mozo. They were in the Genoese service, but are mentioned, occasionally, in old chronicles as French commanders, because Genoa, during a great part of its time, was 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 marines.

Mention is made of the elder Columbus in Zurita's Annals of Arragon (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 Gaulbona.

The king left Toro, says Zurita, on the 13th 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 Columbus, to navigate by the straits of Gibraltar to pass to Marseilles.

After some delays Columbus arrived in the latter part of July with the French armed at Bermeo, on the coast of Basque, which, at the time of the storm, lost his principal ship, and ran to the coast of Galicia, with an intention of attacking Rialto, and lost a great many of his men. Thence he went to Lisbon, where he was in 1478, having been stationed in August, with a number of his noblemen, and took two thousand two hundred foot soldiers, and four hundred and seventy horse, to strengthen several fortresses and1

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No. VIII.

EXPEDIION OF JOHN OF ANJOU.

About the time that Columbus 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 the VIth 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, immediately took upon himself the command of the place, repaired its fortifications, and defended the entrance of the harbor with strong chains. In the meantime, Alphonso had prepared a large land force, and assembled an armament of twenty ships and ten galleys at Ancona, on the frontier of Greece. The situation of the latter was considered eminently perilous, when Alphonso suddenly fell ill of a calenture and died, leaving the kingdoms of Anjou and Sicily to his brother Ferdinand, 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 those upon the house of Anjou; and the Duke John, encouraged by emissaries from various powerful partisans among the Neapolitan nobility, determined to make a bold attempt upon Naples, with a view to 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 harbor 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 military partisan, enlisted under the banners of the Duke of Calabria. It is stated by historians that Columbus served under a command from Genoa, in a squadron commanded by one of the Colombos, his relations.

The expedition sailed in October, 1459, and arrived at Salerno between the months of the Gargilius and the Voltorno. 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 juncture, the captain of the armada landed with his men, and secured the neighborhood, hoping to awaken in the populace their former enthusiasm for the banner of Anjou, and perhaps to take Naples by surprise. A chosen company of Neapolitan infantry was sent against them. The troops from the fleet having little of the discipline of regular soldiery, and much of the free-booting disposition of maritime rovers, had scattered themselves among the country inhabitants, and assailed the captives and administers of the spoil. They were attacked by the infantry and put to rout, with the loss of many killed and wounded. En-
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The dignitaries of the republic were so highly sen-
itive to 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.
Germazia had its rival, and a man eminent for learning and eloquence; he was
honors and entertained by King John and
awarded with royal presents, among which were
gems, and marvels of sumptuous trappings and
paraphernalia, and many negro slaves richly clad.

The following is the account of this action as given
by Sabelico, in his history of Venice:

On the 18th of December, Danzelone della Scala,
with 400 Gales of that brave Bartolomeo
Minio era capitano. Queste navigando per l'iberico
mare, Colombo il piu giovane, nipote di quel Colombo
famoso corsale, fecesi incontro a Veneziani di notte,
appressò il sacro promontorio, che chiamano ora capo
di san Vincenzo, con sette navi guerriere da combatte-
re. Equi quantunque nel primo incontro avesse
seco disposto d' opprimere le navi veneziane, si ri-
tenne pero dal combattere sino al giorno, tutti per
esser alla battaglia piu accorti cosi le segule, che le
prode del corsale toccavano le poppe de Veneziani.
Venuto il giorno incontinenza i Barbieri diedero l'as-
salito delle navi, e furono subito tutte le schiere
del nemico, per numero di navi e di combattenti su-
periore, e durò il conflitto acuto per momente ore.
Rare fiate fu combattuto contro simili nemici con tanto
successo che Veneziani, furono in parte coronati con
considerazione di terzo loro, se non per occasional.
Affermarono alcuni, che vi furono presenti, esser morte delle
chirme Veneziane da trecento uomini. Altri dicono che fu meno;
morti i Barbieri da una parte, Michele Minio dall'altra,
con Galera e Giovanni Delfino, d' altro capitano fratello.
Erano durate tante dal far del giorno fin' al ore venti,
erano le genti Veneziane mal trattate. Era gia la
nave Delfina, notata grande del fregio e del tetto, furono
nee ad una si renderanno. Narrano alcuni, che furono
di questo passo contintto pelmi, aver numerosi nelle
loro navi da prode a poppa otantasi uomini senza
vesti, i quali dal nemica veduto lo mossero a bennere
per essere voluto, i Veneziani. I corpi morti furono
gettati nel mare, e i feriti nel lodo. Quei che rimasero vivi
seguirono con e navi il capitano vittorioso sin a Lisbona e ivi furono
tutti licenziati.

Quivi furono i Veneziani ben
ugnamente ricevuti dal Re, gli inferni furono medici-
cati, gli altri ebbro alibi e denari secondo la loro
costume. Oli che v'era in molti che di alcuno non compresse
la predica Veneziana, portata dai cavalieri. La nouvelle
avuta non solo afflitte la città, erano perduti in quella mercanzia
di mercenarii, che da quello tempo non furono più
umani uccisi di doppio affligiozio.

No. X.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

Among the earliest and most intelligent of the voy-
ger 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 sten-
ously insinuated, however, that he had no claim to the
title of a discoverer; that he merely sailed in a sub-
ordinate capacity in a squadron commanded by others.

* Obras de Gareta de Resende, cap. 38. Avora, 1551.
* Antonio Araujo Cucio, better known under the name of
Sabbatina, is celebrated on being honored with the cros-
crowned poet in the pedantica academy of Pomponius Latinius.
He is a member of the society of Columbus, and makes his
mention of his discoveries in the eighth book of the tenth
Ennead of his universal history. Some writers he is
called "the second" in rank, because of his fullness of misrep-
resentations in favor of Venice. The other
Scaligers charge him with vanity, and with being swayed
by Venetian gold.

that the account of his first voyage is a fabrication; and
that he did not visit the mainland until after it had
been discovered and coasted by Columbus. As this
question has been made a matter of warm and vul-
gar controversy, it is necessary to take a summary view
of the present view.

Amerigo Vespucci was born in Florence, March
9th, 1480, of a noble, but not at that time a wealthy
family; his father's name was Antonio; his mother's
was Elisabetta Mini. He was the third of their sons,
and received an excellent education under his uncle,
Grazia Antonio Vespucci, a learned friar of the fra-
ternity of San Marco, who was instructor to several
Illustrous 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 inconveniences of an unskilled builder.*

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 Stanislao Canovas, Professor of Mathematics
at Florence, in his Historia de los Descubrimientos de
Amerigo Vespucci, says that he was commissioned
by King Ferdinand, and sent with Columbus in his
second voyage in 1502. He states this on the author-
ity of a passage in the Commentaries of the Neuses
of Munster, published at Basle in 1550; but Munster
mentions Vespucius as having accompanied Columbus
in his first voyage; the reference of Canovas is there
in error. He does not mention the voyage of the Expedition
probably would have done, or rather would have
made him the subject of a copious letter, had he actu-
ally 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
of Seville, to have acted as agent or factor for the house
of Juanato Berardi, a rich Florentine merchant, resi-
dent in Seville, who had contracted to furnish the
Spanish sovereigns with three several armaments, of
dough vessels each, for the service of the newly dis-
covered countries. He has been one of the principal
agents, 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 business, and settling with the masters of the ships for their pay and
maintenance, according to the agreements made
between them and the late Juanato Berardi. On the
14th January, 1496, he received on this account 10,
000 maravedis from Bernardo Pinello the royal trea-
urer. He went on preparing all things for the dis-
patch of four caravels to sail under the same contract
between the sovereigns and the house of Berardi, and
sent them to sea on the 3rd February, 1496; but on
the 8th 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 opportunity 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
current discussion. Having made himself well acquainted with geographical and
nautical science, he prepared to launch into the

* Randini vita d'Amerigo Vespucci.
† Commod. Munst. p. 3.
These particulars are from manuscript memoranda extracted from the royal archives, by the late accurate his
torian Muto.
career of discovery. It was not very long before he carried this design into execution.

In the second 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 pears 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 Amerigo Vespucci, was fitted out from Spain, and sailed for Paria, guided by charts and letters sent to the government by Columbus. They were communicated to Ojeda, by his patron, the Bishop Fonseca, who had the superintendence of Ins., affairs, and who furnished him also with a warrant to undertake the voyage.

It is presumed Vespucci sailed in fitting out the armament, and sailed in a vessel belonging to the house of Herard, 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 rigorously forbidden all strangers to trade 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 de Pier Francisco de Mendoza, the Viceroy of Peru. This account was not published until brought to light and published by Bandini in 1743.

In his account of this voyage, and in every other narrating his different expeditions, Vespucci never mentions any other person concerned in the enterprise. He gives the time of setting sail, and states that he went with two caravels, which were probably his share of the vessels, or if their vessel, away the house of Herard. 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.

May, 1501. 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 letter to Lorenzo de Pier Francisco de Mendoza, which also remained in manuscript until published by Bartolozzi in 1789.

No record nor notice of any such voyage undertaken by Amerigo Vespucci, at the command of Emanuel, is to be found in the registers of the King, save that 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 coast, however, is not questioned. His nephew, after his death, in the course of evidence on some points in dispute, gave the correct latitude 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 appeared in print. It appears to have been published in Latin, at Strasburg, as early as 1503, under the title "Americus Vespucius de Orbis Antartica partim Terra Firmae praemium inventa."

An edition of this letter was printed in Vicenza in 1507, in an anonymous collection of voyages edited by Francanzio di Monte Alboddo, an inhabitant of Vicenza. It was reprinted in Italian in 1508, at Milan, and also in Latin, in a book entitled "Litterarium Portugallum." In making the present illustration, the Milan edition in Italian has been consulted, and also a Latin translation of it by Simon Grimaus, in his "Novus Orbis," published at Basle in 1507. It relates entirely the first voyage of Vespucci from Lisbon to the Brazil in 1501.

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 afterward extended to the whole continent. The merits of his voyage, however, greatly exaggerated. The Brazils had been previously discovered, and formally taken possession of for Spain in 1500, by Vincente 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 lie to the southward of the Ganges and the Indian Sea. Such an expedition did sail about this time, under the command of Gonzalo Coelho. The squadron consisted of two caravels, and two armed vessels, and was named under the title of a "Caravel." It was built and equipped under the direction of Finelli, and was the first Spanish squadron that had been formally organized, and of which all the transactions were known to the King.

Standing to the southwest, they ran three hundred leagues until they were three degrees to the southwest of the equinoctial line, where they discovered an uninhabited island, about two leagues in length and one in breadth. Here, on the 10th 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 dispatched in his caravel to search for a safe harbor 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 harbor, but waited in vain for several days for the arrival of the ships. Standing out to sea he met with a strong gale, and by the time that the ship of the commander had sunk, and the rest had proceeded onward. In company with this vessel he stood for the Brazils, according to a command from the King, and arrived at any vessel that had parted from the fleet. Arriving on the coast he discovered the famous bay of All Saints, where he remained upward of two months, in hopes of being joined by the rest of the fleet. He at length ran two hundred 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

- 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 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 Venice to the King of France 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 unknown, under the name of Amerigo Vespucci. An earlier edition is stated to have been printed in Venice by Alberico Verresini, in 1508, under the title of "Triumphos Venetorum," and translated by Angelo Trivigiani, as secretary to the Venetian ambassador in Spain. This "Triumph" appears to have collected many of the particulars of the voyage of Vespucci into the manuscript decades of Peter Martyr, who erroneously lays the charge of the plagiarism to Aloysius Cadamosto, whose voyages are inserted in the same volume. The word "Triumphos Venetorum" was erroneously printed in the title at the foot of each page.
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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 afterward.

Vespucci did 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 his ship was listed among Spanish crews. On 15th February, 1505, his son Diego, died, February 5th, 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 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 labors have not profited him as 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 come about. I leave the determination of everything to do all that is possible for me; see in what I may be of advantage and cooperate with him, that he may say and do everything, and put his plans in operation. Let all agree; do everything, that he may not be suspected. I have said everything to him that I can say touching the business, and have informed him of the pay I have received, and what is due, etc." About this time Amerigo Vespucci received letters of naturalization from King Ferdinand, and shortly afterward he and Vincente Yafiez 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, 11th of April, 1505, for 12,000 maravedis for an outfit for "Américo de Vespuchie, 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 1506, 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 voyage was settled. He was paid for his services, and the accounts settled. During this time he had a salary of 30,000 maravedis. On the 22d of March, 1508, he received the appointment of principal pilot, with a salary of 2,000 maravedis a year. His 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. Pinzon's vessels were sold, and the accounts settled. During this time he had a salary of 30,000 maravedis. On the 22d of March, 1508, he received the appointment of principal pilot, with a salary of 2,000 maravedis a year. His 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. Pinzon's vessels were sold, and the accounts settled. During this time he had a salary of 30,000 maravedis. On the 22d of March, 1508, he received the appointment of principal pilot, with a salary of 2,000 maravedis a year. 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through mistake, by the Italian publisher. Neither of the publications could have been made under the supervision of Vespucii.

The voyage specified in this letter as having taken place in 1497, is the great point in controversy. It is strongly maintained by some, that the expedition of Vespucii to the coast of Paria was in the enterprise commanded by Ojeda, in 1499. The records of the armada then existing in the archives of the state have been diligently examined, but no record of such voyage has been found, nor any official documents relating to it. Those most experienced in Spanish colonial regulations insist that no command like that pretended by Vespucii could have been given to a stranger, till he had first received letters of naturalization from the sovereigns for the kingdom of Castile, and he did not obtain such till 1505, 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 serves as a distinct voyage; and antedating his departure to 1497, so as to make himself appear the first discoveror of Paria.

In support of this charge various coincidences have been pointed out between his voyages said to have taken place in 1497, and that described in his first letter to Lorenzo de Medici 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, and claimed them for his heir with respect to them, he 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 other witnesses, 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 answers of these witnesses, and their replies, are still extant, in the archives of the Indies at Seville, in a packet of papers entitled "Papers belonging to the Admiral Don Luis Colom, about the conservation of his privileges, from annum 1513 to 1563." The author of the present work has two several copies of these interrogatories lying before him. One made by the late historian Muriel, and the other made in 1520, and signed by Don Jose de la Higuer y Lara, keeper of the general archives of the Indies in Seville. In the course of this testimony, the fact that Amerigo Vespucii 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 Merego Vespucii [Amerigo Vespucii] and other pilots."

Secondly, from the coincidence of many parts of the narrative of Vespucii with events in this voyage of Ojeda. Among these coincidences, one is particularly striking. Vespucii, in his letter to Lorenzo de Medici, and also in that to Renzo 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 natives of the very Christian-like kind; but that the said island with Columbus, and I believe through envy."

Now it is well known that Ojeda passed some time on the western end of the island of Jamaica, visting his ships; and that serious dissensions took place between him and the Spaniards in those parts, and the party sent by Columbus under Roldan to keep a watch upon his movements. If then Vespucii, as is stated upon oath, really accompanied Ojeda in the voyage, the inference appears almost irresistible, that he had not made the previous voyage of 1497, for which fact he would have been well known to Ojeda; he would have considered Vespucii 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 island of Margarita, away 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.

Another witness, Bernardino de Ilaro, states that he had been with the admiral, and had written (or rather copied) a letter for the admiral to the king and queen, designating, in the courses and steerings and winds 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 de Nino and Ojeda, and others, who had since visited these countries, had been guided by the same.

Francisco de Molares, one of the best and credible of all the pilots, testified that he saw a sea-chart which Columbus had made of the coast of Paria, in which the coast had been discovered by himself in 1497; was first discovered by Ojeda, and had never before been visited either by the admiral or by any other person.

Alonzo Sanchez de Carvalal 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 had been his companions in those previous sea-charts and directions, following the course that he had laid down; before.

*Por favor, necesito del mantenimiento sumo all' Isola d'Antigl (Hispblinola) dive questa christo-preter Cristo- vel Colombo più amai fa, dov'aveva fatto molto mantenimento, e dormito due mesi e 17 giorni; dove passammo molti periodi, e trascorri con il mio desiderio cristianum, che in questa isola stavamo col Colombo (credendo in lui). Letter of Vespucii—Ed. of Cameros.*

**Preguntado como le sabes, dije—que le sabes porque no diste testigo la figura que el dicho Almirante al dicho tiempo envio a Castilla al Rey e Reina para que lo tuvieses debierto, y porque este testigo luego vino a descubrir y halló que era verdad lo que diste el dicho Almirante descubrié, mas. Process of D. Diego Colom, pregunt a 2.*

Esto testigo escribió una carta que el Almirante escribió a Castilla al Rey e Reina con carta de lo que había descubierto, y porque este testigo luego vino a descubrir y halló que era verdad lo que diste el dicho Almirante descubrió, mas. Process of D. Diego Colom, pregunt a 9.*

Que en todos los viajes que algunos hicieron descubriendo en la dicha isla, iban pechados que vieron en
APPENDIX.

covered the main-land in his first voyage; Cuba being already discovered, and the coast of Tera-nera. It was a singular circumstance, if none of these witnesses, many of whom must have sailed in the same squadron with Vespucci along this coast in 1492, knew that it was not the first time he had 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 own 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, then, 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 observations, 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 voyage and discovery is cited; nor does there ever seem an apparent who has accompanied him in his asserted voyage.

Another strong circumstance against the reality of the account is that it was not published in the period to defeat the claims of the heirs of Columbus. Vespucci states the voyage to have been undertaken with the full knowledge and countenance of King Ferdinand and Isabella, therefore, he must have started in the most ostentatious manner. Vespucci was living at Seville in 1508, at the close of the voyage, and for four years afterward, a superior servant of the crown. It is difficult to realize that any man who had been in his 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 second voyage of Columbus, in which the crown was interested. 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, not one of his servants brought to give evidence. A voyage so important in its nature, and so essential to the issue in dispute, is not even alluded to, while useless palaver is 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 letters to Lorenzo de Medici in 1503, within a month after his return from the voyage. The statements and arguments advanced for this long silence, by saying that nothing had occurred worthy of mention (“le gran tempo che non ho scritto a vostra magnificenza, non solo ha causato altri riuscito e mi salvo non correggi 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 equally strange that he should not make the slightest allusion to it in this letter.

It has been the endeavor of the author to examine this question compassionately; 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 being already discovered, and the coast of Terre-nera. It may be supposed that, in 1506, Vespucci may have been supposed Brazil, Paria, and the rest of that coast, part of a distinct continent, and have been anxious to arrogate to himself the title of its discoverer. If so, 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 seem to be supported by the evidence. It even seems 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 voyage.

It is singular that, in the biography of his father, should bring no charge against Vespucci of endeavoring 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 1601, and has been much criticized 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 importance.

It has been suggested that Vespucci was instigated to this deception at the time when he was seeking employment in the court of the king of Spain. Herrera states that he did it to conciliate the Bishop Fonseca, who was desirous of anything that might injure the interests of Columbus. In corroboration of this opinion, the patronage of the king was instigated 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 sinister and accounting motives, such as the baron of Triviglian 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 hurry and careless publishers. Several of these have been corrected by the modern authors in their works.

* The first suggestion of the name appears to have been in the Latin work already cited, published in St. Die, in Lorraine, in 1509, in which was inserted the letter of Vespucci to King Rene. The author, in the third and other parts of the world, Asia, Africa, and Europe, recommends that the fourth shall be called Amerigo, or America, after Vespucci, whom he imagines he discovered.

Note to the Revised Edition, 1848.—Humboldt, in his Examen Critique, published in Paris, in 1829, says: "I have been so happy as to discover, very recently, the name and the literary relations of the mysterious personage who (in 1497) was the first to propose the name of America to designate the new continent and who concealed himself under the Greekized name of Hylaconnus." He then, by a long and ingenious investigation, shows that the real name of this personage was Martin Waldseemüller, of Tribesburg, an eminent cosmographer, patronized by Rene, Duke of Lorraine; and, no doubt, put in his hands the letters received by him from America, by the graphical works of Waldseemüller, under the assumed name of Vespucci, with a view of embellishing and repeating editions, and propagating the use of the name America throughout the world. There is no reason to suppose that this application of the name of Martin Waldseemüller was suggested by Amerigo Vespucci. It has been entirely gratuitous on the part of Waldseemüller.

An instance of these errors is the second edition of the letter of Amerigo Vespucci to King Rene, inserted by Gribnus in his Novus Orbis, in 1503. In this letter of Vespucci, in the true state of the case, and as published by Waldseemüller, MCCCCXCVII. (1497), that he was eighteen months absent, and returned to Cadiz October 15, MCCCCXCVI. (1498), which would constitute an absence of twenty-three
which led to these blunders may have produced the interespalpatation, although it is one of those perplexing points about which grave men will continue to write weary volumes, until the subject acquires a factitious 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 insatiable against the very memory of Columbus, and to seek to disparage his general fame, as if the ruin of it would add anything to the reputation of Vespucci. This is discreditible to their discernment and their liberality; it injures their cause, and shocks the feelings of mankind, who will not willingly see a name linked to Columbus either casually or petulantly assailed in the course of these literary contests. It is a name consecrated, and in history 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 discoverer of Paria, was a question of interest to his heirs, as a share of 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 mainland of the New World was most probably Sebastian Cabot, a native of Venice, sailing in the employ of England. In 1497 he coasted his shores from Labrador to Florida, yet the English have never set up any pretensions on his account.

The glory of Columbus does not depend upon the parts of the country he visited or the extent of coast along which he sailed; it embraces the discovery of the whole western world. With respect to him, Vespucci is as Yanyel Pinzon, Basilsides, Ojeda, Cabot, and the crowd of secondary discoverers who followed in his track, and explored the realms to which he had led the way. When Columbus first touched a shore of the New World, even though a frontier island, he had achieved his enterprises; he had accomplished all that was necessary to his time: the great problem of the ocean was solved, the world which lay beyond its western waters was discovered.

No. XI.

MARTIN ALONZO PINZON.

In the course of the trial in the fiscal court, between Don Diego and the crown, an 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 Alonzo Pinzon. It was the image of the crown to do so, to justify itself in withholding from the heirs of Columbus the extent of his stipulated reward. The examinations of witnesses in this trial were made at various times and places, and upon interrogatories formally drawn up by the order of the fiscal. They took place over a period of twenty years after the first voyage of Columbus, and the witnesses testified from recollections.

In reply to one of the interrogatories, Arias Perez Pinzon, son of Martin Alonzo, declared, that, being once in Rome with his father on commercial affairs, before the time of the 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, that person showed him manuscripts, from which his father gathered information of those new lands; for there was a passage by an historian as old as the time of Solomon, which said, "Navegare Mediterraeanus, et ad finem terrae, in a direction between north and south, until ninety-five degrees of longitude, and you will find the land of Cipang, fertile and abundant, and in greatness 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 Alonzo Pinzon showed him the manuscript, and ultimately gave it to him just before they sailed.

It is extremely probable that this manuscript, of which Arias Perez gives so vague an account from recollection, but which he appears to think the main thing that prompted Columbus to his undertaking, was no other than the work of Marco Polo, at that time, existing in manuscript in most of the Italian libraries. Martin Alonzo was evidently acquainted with the work of the Venetian, and it would appear, from various circumstanees, that Columbus himself had a copy of it with him in his voyages, which may have been the manuscript above mentioned. Columbus had long before, however, had a knowledge of the work, if not by actual inspection, of the copy he procured from Toscaneli in 1474, and had derived from it all the light it was capable of furnishing, before he ever came to Palos. It is questionable, also, whether the visit of Martin Alonzo to Rome was not after his mind had been heated by conversations with Columbus in the convent of La Rabida. The testimony of Arias Perez is so worded as to leave it in doubt whether the visit was not in the very year prior to the discovery: "Fue el dicho su padre a Roma aquel dieho ano antes que fuese a descubrir." Arias Perez always mentions the manuscript as having been imparted to him by Columbus, and had come to Palos with an intention of proceeding on the discovery.

Certain witnesses who were examined on behalf of the crown, and to whom specific interrogatories were put, asserted, as has already been mentioned in a note to this work, that had it not been for Martin Alonzo Pinzon and his brothers, Columbus should have turned back for Spain, after having run seven or eight hundred leagues; being disheartened at not finding land, and dismayed by the mutiny and menaces of his crew. This is stated by two or three as from personal knowledge, and by others from hearsay. It is said especially as to have occurred on the 5th of October. On this day, according to the journal of Columbus, he had some conversation with Martin Alonzo, who was anxious that they should stand more to the south-west. The admiral refused to do so, and it is very probable that some angry words may have passed between them. Various disputes appear to have taken place between Columbus and his colleagues respecting their route, previous to the discovery of land; in one or two instances he acceded to their wishes and altered his course, but in general he was incollectable in standing to the west. The Alonzo, in all probability, exerted their influence in quelling the murmurs of their townspeople and encouraging them to proceed, when ready to rely against Columbus. These circumstances may have been the vague recollections of the seamen who gave the foregoing extravagant testimony, and who were evidently disposed to exalt the merits of the Pinzons at
the expense of Columbus. They were in some measure prompted also in their replies by the written interrogatories put by order of the fiscal, which specified the conversations said to have passed between Columbus and the Pinzons, and notwithstanding these differences they agreed on the general issues involved. In a manuscript, under the title of the Pinzones, the admiral said he had said to them: "The pilot brought the caravel to Portugal, to Madeira, or to one of the Azores. The only point on which the disputants are agreed is, that he died in the possession of the Indies. Columbus adds that by this event Columbus was led to undertake his voyage to the new countries.

The other early historians who mention Columbus and the Pinzones, and were his contemporaries, viz., Sabellicus, Peter Martyr, Gismondi, and Hernández, commonly called the curate of Los Palacios, Las Casas, Fernandez, the son of the admiral, and the anonymous author of a voyage of Columbus, translated from the Italian into Latin by Madrigano, are all silent in regard to this report.

Benzoni, whose history of the New World was published in 1556, repeats the story from Gomara, with whom he was contemporaneous; but decidedly expresses his opinion, that Gomara had mingled up more falsehood with truth, for the purpose of deterring the next Columbus, than he had in the paper just quoted from Gomara. Mariana, in his history of Spain, published in 1592, also mentions it, but expresses a doubt of its truth, and deems the informants rather a staff from Gomara. Herrera, who published his history of the Indies in 1601, takes no notice of the story. In not noticing it, he may be considered as rejecting it; for he is distinguished for his faithfulness to the truth, and is not known to have agreed with Gomara's history, which he expressly contradicts on a point of considerable interest.

Garcilaso de la Vega, a native of Cusco in Peru, revives the tale with very minute particularities, in his Commentaries of the Incas, published in 1609. He tells it smoothly and circumstantially; fixes the date of the occurrence 1134, 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 house of Gomara, he says, landed, took an attitude, he 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; that was a new and a great thing of which to impugn the merits of Columbus.

No. XII.

RUMOR 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-tossed pilot, who had been driven there by violence, 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 and the other reports noticed by Oviedo, a contemporary of Columbus, in his history of the Indies, published in 1535. He mentions it as a rumor circulating among the vulgar, without foundation in truth.

Pernice J. de la Concha, in the voyages of Columbus, says he brought it forward against Columbus. In his history of the Indies, published in 1535, he repeats the rumor in the vaguest terms, manifestly from Oviedo, but without the contradiction given to him by that author. He says that the name and country of the pilot were unknown.

* Gomara, Hist. Ind., cap. 12.
† Navigatio Christophori Columbi, Madrigani Interpret. It is contained in a collection of voyages called Pera Orbis Regionum, edition of 1552, but was originally published in Italian as written by Montalbano Franciscano or François de Montalbano, in a collection of voyages entitled Viaggio di Nuova Spagna, in Venice, 1560.
‡ Girolamo Benzoni, Hist. del Nuevo Mundo, lib. 1, cap. 12.
§ D. de Veiga, Hist. Ind., lib. 1, cap. 19.
∥ Juan de Mariana, Hist. España, lib. xxv, cap. 3.
¶ Herrera, Hist. Ind., dec. 3, lib. iii, cap. 1.
** Commentarios de los Incas, lib. 5.
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 rumors 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 Garcilaso 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 rumor, without noticing the pointed contradiction 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 unauthored stories. In his further responson to this charge, especially as it is clear that Columbus communicated his idea of discovery to Pousco Toscanelli of Florence, in 1474, ten years previous to the date assigned by Garcilaso de la Vega for this occurrence.

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No. XIII.

Martin Behaim.

This able geographer was born in Nuremberg, in Germany, about the commencement of the year 1490. His ancestors were 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 his country's ancestors frequently occasioned a confusion in the appellation.

It has been said by some that he studied under Pheilip Bervide, the elder, and by others under John Muller, otherwise called Regiomontanus, though De Mur, who has made diligent inquiry into his history, discards both assertions. According to a correspondence between Behem and his uncle, discovered of late years by De Mur, it appears that the early part of his life was devoted to commerce. Some have given him the credit of discovering the island of Fajal, but this is an error, arising probably from the circumstance that John de Huetar, father-in-law of Behem, colonized that island in 1467.

He is supposed to have arrived at Portugal in 1481, while Alphonso V. was still on the throne; it is certain that shortly afterward 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 science.

In 1481 King John sent an expedition under Diego Cam, as Barros calls him, in accordance to others, to prosecute discoveries along the coast of Africa. In this expedition Behem sailed as cosmographer. They crossed the equatorial 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 Zanga, in Africa, and thence, for some time, took the name of the River of Columns. For some of these columns, and the number of occasions, it is said that Behem was knighted by King John in 1485, though no mention is made of it in any of the contemporary historians. The principal proof of his having been knighted is the blank space, in his having given himself the title on his own globe of Egeria Liviana.

In 1486 he married at Fajal the daughter of John de Huetar, and is supposed to have remained there for some years, where he had a son named Martin, born in 1489. During his residence at Fajal and Fajal, it is probable he acquired a knowledge of the languages of his own country, and of the circuit in the islands of indications of western lands floating to their shores.

In 1491 he returned to Nuremberg to see his family, and while there, in 1492, he finished a terrestrial globe, considered a masterpiece in those days, which he had undertaken at the request of the principal magistrates of his native city.

In 1493 he returned to Portugal, and from there proceeded to Fajal.

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 carried and captured to England, where he remained for three months detained by illness. His recovery was accelerated, he again set sail, was captured by a corsair and carried to France. Having ransomed himself, he proceeded to Antwerp and Brussels, 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 Fajal, too old to make further voyages. In 1508 he went forth from Fajal 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 a misinterpretation of a passage interpolated in the chronicle of Hartmann Schedel, a contemporary writer. This passage mentions, that when the voyagers were in the Southern Ocean not far from the coast, and had passed the line, they came into another hemisphere, where, when they looked toward the east, their shadows fell toward the south, on their right hand; that here they discovered a new world, unknown until then, and which for many years had never been visited except by the Genoveses and by them unsuccessfully.

*His duo, bene docet auspicio, mare meridionalis salientes, a literae non longe evagantes, superetro circulo equinoctialis, in aterro oriein exceptum sunt. Ubi viscoenolus, lib. 4. *Murr, Notice sur M. Behaim.
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.

The Noregians, as early as the ninth century, discovered a great tract of land to the west of Iceland, which they called Gland Ireland; but this has been pronounced a fabulous tradition. The most plausible account is given by Snorre Sturlason, in his Saga or Chronicle of King Olaf. According to this writer, one Bjorn 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 south-west, until he came in sight of a low country, covered with wood, and an island in its vicinity. The weather becoming favorable, he turned to the north-east 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 Bjorn proceeded alone in quest of this unknown land. They found a rocky and sterile island, to which they gave the name of Hellalnd; also a low sandy country covered with grass, on the coast of Markland; and, two days afterwards, they observed a continent, with an island to the north of it. This last they described as fertile, well wooded, producing agreeable fruits, and particularly grapes, a fruit which they were unacquainted with. On being informed by some of their companions, a German, of its quality 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. It is added that the relatives of Leif made several voyages to Vinland; that they traded with the natives for furs; and they named Eric 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 of its having been forsaken.

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 St. Malo-llun, and Mr. Forster. The latter extracts it from the Saga or Chronicle of Snorre, who was born in 1190, and wrote in 1253; 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 Torfus in his two works entitled Veteris Greenlandiae Descrip. Histor. 1760, and Historia Winlandiae Antiquae, Hafnia, 1765." 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 these stories, when they assist some preconceived theory. Most
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of the accounts, when divested of the erudite comments of its early editors, have proved little better than the traditional fables, noticed in another part of this work, respecting the imaginary islands of St. Bora- don, and of the Seven Cities.

But it is probable, 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 rolled up 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 idle change of communication between the nations 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 pretention 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.

Zeno is the author of a noble Venetian, said to have made a voyage to the north in 1505, 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 by the gale; at last, when he was cast away upon Friseland, an island much in dispute among geographers, but supposed to be the archipelago of the Ferroes Islands. The shipwrecked voyagers were saved, 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 service of this prince, and aided in capturing Friseland, and other islands in the 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 this island 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 upon the sea for many days, until the vessel containing the crew was cast upon an island called Estoiland, about one thousand miles from Friseland. They were taken by the inhabitants, and carried to a fair and populous city, where the king was present; many interpreters conversed with them, but none that they could understand, until a man was found who had likewise been cast away upon the coast, and 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 trade with Greenland for pitch, salt, sulfur, and peltry. Though much given to navigation, they were ignorant of the use of the compass, and the Frislanders acquainted with it, held them in great esteem; and the king sent them with twelve vessels to call a country to the south, called Drogeo. They had nearly reached it in a storm, but were cast away upon the coast of Drogeo. They tried to dissuade 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 Drogeo as being a country of vast extent, or rather a new world; that the inhabitants were naked and barbarous; but that the king, whose name was Chrono, was rich, and had many officers, and was not a little vectorious; that he 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 the various parts of it, certain boats of Estoiland arrived on the coast of Drogeo. The fisherman went on board of them, acted as interpreter, and followed the trade between the main-land and Estoiland 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; and another, who had accompanied him from Estoiland, was taken in his place. The expedition sailed under command of Zichmni; the Venetian, Zeno, merely accompanied it. It was 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 parchment. The island of Estoiland has been supposed by M. Malte Brun to be Newfoundland; 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. Drogeno, according to the same conjecture, was Nova Scotia and New England. The civilized people to the south-west, who sacrificed human victims to rich temples he supposes to have been the Mexicans, or some ancient nation of Florida or Louisiana.

The premises do not appear to warrant this deduction. The whole account contains no less than sixteen thousand miles of land, and 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, and the king's subjects, which were to be found, but not having the knowledge of the Latin language. Not to mention the information the Venetian, Zeno, of Mexico. It was given to the world by Francisco Marcellini, a descendant of the Zenos, from the fragmentary letters said to have been written by Antonio Zeno to 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 to pieces, which now I cannot call to remembrance but to my exceeding great grief."

This garbled statement by Marcellini, 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 believes this, as an instance of obstinate incredulity, saying that it is impossible to confirm the authority of which Carlo, Nicolò, and Antonio Zeno talk, as original acts in the archives of Venice prove that the chevalier undertook a voyage to the north; that

* 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 Ramistio (tum. ii, p. 23), and is probably an interpolation.

* Hackluyt, Collect. vol. iii. p. 127.
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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

his brother Antonio, followed him; that Antonio traced a map, which he brought back and hung up in his house, where it remained for many years. Its public examination, until the time of Marco Polo, was an incontestable proof of the truth of what he advanced. Granting all this, it merely proves that Antonio and his brother were at Florence and knew the Liber Nuntius or their letters never assign that Zeno made the voyage to Estoliland. The ship was carried by a tempest to Greenland, after which we hear no more of him; and his account of Estoliland, Drogo records that he was a fisherman, after whose description his map must have been conjecturally projected. The whole story resembles much the fables circulated shortly after the discovery of Columbus, to outrageous 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 1572, and that the map of Zeno, being in the national library at London, in a Danish work, at the time when Rahtohlowm Raw 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 afterward. As to the route on which Columbus sailed, 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 existence of the fabulous land of the fisherman, 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, as the celebrated John of England, not toward Vinland, and Estoliland, and Drogo, but in search of Cipango, and Cathay, and the other countries described by Marco Polo, as lying at the extremity of India.

No. XV.

CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS.

The knowledge of the ancients with respect to the African continent was considered by many investigators much less extensive than had been imagined; and it is doubted whether they had any practical authority for the belief that Africa was circumnavigated in any age previous to the Christian era. The Periplus Hammoniae 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 he never reached the extreme end of Africa. Mons, de Bougainville traces his route to a promontory which he named the West Horn, supposed to be Cape Palmas, about five or six degrees north of the equinoctial line, where he proceeded to another promontory, under the same parallel, which he called the South Horn, supposed to be Cape de Tres Pontas. Mons. Gosselin, however, in his Geography of the Ancient (note i, 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 and Lampasco. The Greeks purchased the narrative of this voyager with all kinds of fables, and on their unfounded copies, Strabo founded many of his assertions. According to M. Gosselin, the itineraries of Hanno, of Scylax, Polyaenus, Stadius, Strabo, and Plutarch, and the tables of Ptolemy, all bring us to the same results, and, notwithstanding their apparent contradictions, fix the limit of the southern navigation at the neighborhood 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 prejudice, from considering the immensity and unity of the ocean; or perhaps on the general course of the ancients, which 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 geographical opinion and the geographical knowledge of the Planches 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 was admitted among the Greeks, and in the school of Alexandria, until the time of Hecatus. It seemed authorized by the direction which the coast of Africa took after Cape Arrecife, 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 of the Indian Sea was the same as that of Asia beyond the mouth of the Ganges. Subsequent discoveries, instead of refuting this error, only placed the junction of the two oceans in a greater distance. Marinus 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 Ocean 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. XVI.

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 make. Amelioration of the sea, however, even at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were 10,000 ships employed by the Spaniards, as well as by other nations. In an edict published in Hainaut, February 14, 1500, enforcing these regulations for the security of commerce, mention is made of the vessels of the Catalan merchant ships of two and three decks, and from 800 to 12,000 quintals burden.

In 1497, a Castilian vessel arrived there being of 12,000 quintals burden. These vessels annually mentioned among others of similar size, as having been at one port, although large ships were in use in these days. Indeed, at the time of fitting out the second expedition of Columbus, there were prepared in the port of Bercé, a Caravaca of 1250 tons, and four ships of from 1500 to 4500 tons burden. Their destination, however, was to the Mediterranean, and they were sent to convoy the port of Ardabil, the last Moorish king of Granada, to 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 opinion he intended 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 burden.

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 banks 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 captains of his vessels, without doubt. 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 term caravel is used by many authors on the subject of Columbus, especially in the dissertation on 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 burden: 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 Ferrari Origo Lingo Italicum, as follows: "Caravela, navigio minoris genus. Lat. Caravas: Græcα Karabas." That the word caravel was intended to signify a vessel of a small size is evident from a naval classification made by King Alphonso in the middle of the fifteenth century. In the first class he classifies Navia, 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, Fastas, Haldead, Pinas, Sinbad, etc. In the third class vessels with sails and oars, as Galley, Galeotto, Tarlantes, and Saelias.

Bossl gives a copy of a letter written by Columbus to Don Raphaell Xantus, 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 supposed to have been sent by the hand of Curiel, enforcing various proofs, which are probably caravels. These have high bows and sterns, with castles on the latter. They have short masts with large square sails. One of them, besides sails, has three masts, 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, 1709, is a plate of a vessel of the latter part of the fifteenth century. It is taken from a picture in the church of St. Giovanni 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 lateen sail. The mainmast has a large square sail. The vessel has a high poop and prow, is decked at each end, and is open in the center.

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, which ply on rivers and along coasts in modern times.

No. XVII.

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. Navarrete, however, in his introduction to the "Collection of Spanish Voyages and Discoveries," recently published at Madrid, has endeavored to show that it must have been Turk's Island, one of the group, situated about 100 leagues (of 20 miles to the degree) S.E. of San Salvador. Great care has been taken to bring 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 lived 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, meadows, and plains, which bore fruit, as having abundance of fresh water, and a large lake in the center; that it was inhabited by a numerous population; that he proceeded for a considerable distance in his boat along the shore, which trended 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, about 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 digging entirely on the coast, and 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 reefs that surrounds it. It has no harbor, but has an open road on the west side, which vessels on anchor have leave to land and put to sea. Whenever the wind comes from any other quarter than that of the usual trade of N. E. with boats blow over the island; for the shore is so bold that there is

* 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 not being at liberty to mention. He has been greatly benefited, in various parts of this history, by the advice and information of the same intelligent source.
no anchorage except close to it; and when the wind
cases to blow from the land, vessels remaining at
their anchors would be swung against the rocks, or
flooded. Impossible was the idea that they could
then prevail. The unrefined road of the Hawk's
Nest, at the south end of the island, is even more
dangerous. This island, which is not susceptible of
tree growth, is inhabited by few sheep and horses.
Inhabitants draw all their consumption from abroad, with
the exception of fish and turtle, which are taken in abundance, and sup-
pplies which are shipped in from 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 neighborhood. 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
eatly.
Again: when about to leave Guanahani, Columbus
was at a loss to choose 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
Concepcion Island to Guanahani, but it states that he
saw five leagues distant from the former, and that the
current was against him in sailing to it; whereas the
distance from the Gran Caicos, 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
favorable 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 not more
than twenty-two leagues from Gran Caicos. 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. and W., whereas Little Inagua has its greatest length of four leagues in a
S.W. direction. In a word, the description of Fern-
andina does not correspond with Little Inagua.
From Fernandina Columbus sailed S. to Isabellia,
which Navarrete takes to be Great Inagua; whereas
this latter bears S.W. from Little Inagua, a course which
will enable the reader to visit Cork, the island on which
Columbus landed.
Again: Columbus, on the 20th of November,
takes occasion to say that Guanahani was distant eight
leagues from Inagua; 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 Arenas.
This course drawn from Great Inagua would meet the
coast of Cuba about Port Niche; whereas Navarrete
supposes that Columbus next fell in with the keys
south of the Junientos, 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 neigh-
borhood of Cuba, Columbus finds himself, on the 14th
of November, in the sea of Nuestra Senhora, sur-
rounded by so many islands that it was impossible to
counter them; whereas, on the same day, Navarrete
places him off Cape Moz, 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 is
distant from Port Principe forty-five leagues; whereas
Turk's Island is distant from the point, supposed by Navarrete
to be the same, eighteen leagues.
Columbus says nothing of the coast of Cuba.
Columbians remarks that he had followed its coast for an extent of 120 leagues.
Deducting twenty leagues for his having followed its
windings, there still remain 100. Now, Navarrete only
has coasted this island an ex-
tent of seventy leagues.
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APPENDIX.

... for, from the opposition of the wind, as there could be no other cause, he could not sail toward that quarter. Now, on reference to the chart, we find the island at present known as Concepcion situated E. by S. 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 nineteen 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 Samoet; but the wind being at S. by E., he steered to, 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 marvellous 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 harbor by the opposite entrance at the N.W., he discovered that part of the island which runs east and west, and which was signified to him that this island was smaller than Samoet, and that it would be better to return toward the latter. It had now become calm, but shortly after there sprung up a breeze from W.S.W. which carried them ahead 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. Two or three days 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. 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 chain of keys called La Cadena for part of the same Exuma; which continuous appearance they naturally assumed when seen from Concepcion, for they ran in the same S.E. and N.W. direction. Their bearings, when seen from the same point, are likewise westerly as well as southwesterly. As a proof that such was the case, it may be observed that, after having approached those islands to the south of them, At 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 two, 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 to the remarkable port on an island lying 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 San Samoet. To Samoet Columbus gave the name of Isabella, and to the point of it opposite the little island, that of Cabo de Isla; the cape at the S.W. point of Samoet Columbus called Cabo de Lagarina, 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 bore to the westward and south, and parted from it and Isabella with another one between them. Leaving Cape Lagarina, where he remained until the 20th October, Columbus steered to the N.E. toward Cabo del Isla, 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 de la Fe, 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 which Columbus called the E. by S. of Exuma, that it is only necessary to read it with the chart unfolded to become convinced of the identity.

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, with a westerly wind. They were low, and five or six leagues in extent.

The distances run by Columbus, added to the depriure taken from Fernandina and the distance from these islands of Anegada, and the next two days, form 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, whereas Columbus took his departure, to the greater north, which is from Caya 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 of distances, it might be纫 from conjecture, it would readily appear 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 afterward 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 Mucuras, for an island called Cuba, steering S.W.W. At dark, having made seventeen leagues on that course, he saw the land, and hove his ships to until morning. On the 28th he made sail again at S.W.W., and steered a fine harbor, which he named San Salvador. The journal in this part does not describe the localities with the minuteness with which everything has hitherto been noted; the text being more in the nature of a general description, and has several notes suppressed.

This port of San Salvador we take to be the one now known as Caravaca Grandes, situated eight leagues west of Nuevia del Principe. Its bearings and distance from the Mucaras coincide exactly with those run by Columbus; and the description agrees, 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 Punta Gorda; and, ten leagues farther, another stretching easterly, which will be Punta Curiata. One league farther he discovered a small river, and beyond this another very large one, to which he gave the name of Rio de Mares. This river emptied into a fine basin resembling a lake, and having a bold entrance: it had for landmarks two round mountains at the S.W., and to the N.W. a bold promontory, suitable for a fortification, which projected far into the sea. There is a bay immediately opposite to the said situated west of Point Curiata; its distance corresponds with that run by Columbus from Carabacas Grandes, which we have supposed identical with Port San Salvador. Leaving Rio de Mares the 20th 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 Morón. Beyond this cape was a river, distant, according to the natives, three leagues 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 Morón. Beyond this was a cape surrounded by shoals, and another projected still farther, which the natives believed to be a large cape capable of receiving small vessels. The identity here of the description with the coast near Laguna de Morón seems very clear. On saling Cape east of Laguna de Morón coincides with Cape Palmas, the Laguna de Morón with the shoal river described by Columbus; and in the western point of entrance, with the island of Cabrion opposite it, we recognize the two projecting capes he speaks of, with what appeared to be a bay between them. This is a remarkable combination, difficult to be found anywhere but in the same spot which Columbus visited and described. Further, the current of the river was S.E., and Columbus went west to Rio de Mares, a distance of seventeen leagues, and from Rio de Mares it had extended N.W. fifteen leagues to Cabo de Palmas; all of which agrees fully with the statement of Columbus. The wind had then shifted to north, which was contrary to the course they had been steering, the vessels bore up and returned to Rio de Mares.

On the 12th of November the ships sailed out of Rio de Mares to go in quest of Baveque, 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 cape which they believed to be the one which lies 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 known now as Sabana. Columbus was now retracing his steps, and had made twelve leagues from Rio de Mares, but in going west from Port San Salvador to Rio de Mares, 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 Caravels Grandes situated in a sailing distance, on San Salvador. Having run six leagues from Rio del Sol, which makes in all eighteen leagues from Rio de Mares Columbus called the cape from which he called Cabo de Cuba, probably from suspecting it to be the extremity of that island. This corresponds precisely in distance from Punta Curiana with the lesser island of Guajava, situated for Cuba, and between which and the greater Guajava Columbus must have passed in running to 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 15th 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 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. He then returned to the entrance 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 Daua, 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 quite sure that the point of little Guajava was believed by him to be from the town of Cuba; Columbus's account seems perfectly correct. In short, the land 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 14th 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. In proceeding south for twenty leagues to the east of little 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, in which he stood S.S.W. and afterward 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 neighboring sea Moro. They were large, and lay near the entrance to these islands he gave the name of Puerto del Principe. This harbor he says he did not enter until the Sunday following, which was four days after. The wind had then shifted to north, by which he was led to the island of Cuba; they fell in to leeward of them, and now first discovered the numerous group of islands of which Cuyo Romano is the principal. The current of this channel is 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 forty hours. There can be no doubt as to the identity of these keys with those about Cuyo Romano, for they are the only ones in the neighborhood of Cuba that are not of a low and swampy nature, but large and low, and inclose a free and spacious harbor. The abundance of fine harbors, in late years the resort of pirates, who found security and concealment for themselves and their prizes in the remoteness of these islands, and by the description of Columbus, the vessels must have entered between the islands of Baril and Pacedon, and sailing along Cuyo Romano on a S.E. course, have reached in another day their old cruising ground in the neighborhood of lesser Guajava. Not only Columbus does not tell us here of his having changed his anchorage among these keys, but his journal does not even mention his having anchored at all, until the return from the intellectual search after Baveque. 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 with the one now known as Nuevitas de Principe seems certain, from the description of its entrance. Columbus, it appears, did not visit this island.

On the 20th November the ships sailed again, in quest of Baveque. At sunset Port Principe bore S.S.W. distant seven leagues, and having sailed all night to N.E. by S. and until the morning of the 21st, they had run a distance of fifteen leagues on that course. The wind blowing from E.S.E., which was the direction in which Baveque was supposed to lie, and the weather being foul.
Columbus determined to return to Port Prince, which was only twenty-five leagues from there. 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 in future be lost. On sailing by N. by W. near Port Prince, Columbus had approached within a short distance of Isabella. That island was then, according to his calculations, thirty-seven leagues from Port Prince, and San Salvador was forty, from the same point. The first differs but eight leagues from the truth, the latter nine; or from the actual distance of Nuevas el Principe from Isla Larga and San Salvador. Again, let us now well call to mind the course made by Columbus in going from Isabella to Cuba; it was first W. S. W., then W., and afterward S. S. W. Having considered for the different distances run on each, these yield a medium course not materially different from S. W. Sailing then S. W. from Isabella, Columbus had reached Port San Salvador, on the coast of Cuba. Making afterward a course of N. E. by N. from off Port Prince, he was going in the direction of Isabella. Hence we deduce that Port San Salvador, on the coast of Cuba, lay west of Port Prince, and the whole combination is thus established. The ten 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 toward his own port, 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 had come over to Cuba with a strong wind. After contouring for four days, until the 24th November, with light winds against the force of these currents, he arrived at length opposite the level island which he had set out the week before when going to Baebeque.

We are thus actually informed that the point from which Columbus started in search of Baebeque was the same island of Guayava the lesser, which lies west of Nuevas 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 ahead, the vessels followed in at S. W., and then W. into a fine harbor. The level island lay north of it, and with another island formed a secure basin capable of sheltering all the ships of Spain. This level island receives itself then into our late Cape Cuba, which we have supposed to be little Guayava, and the entrance east of it becomes identical with the gulf above mentioned which lay between three mountains, one of which we have supposed to be the Alto de San Juan, and which gulf appeared to divide Cuba from Bohio. Our course now becomes a plain one. On the 20th of November, Columbus sailed from Santa Catalina (the name given him by the poet 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 recognize the high peak already spoken of as the Alto de San Juan. 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 Muladas: their distances from Alto de San Juan are under-rated, but it requires no little experience to estimate correctly the distances of the bold headlands of Cuba, as seen through the pure atmosphere that surrounds the island. In passing Point Muladas in the night on the 24th of Columbus looked into the deep bay that lies S. E. of it, and seeing the bold projecting headland that makes out between Port Nipe and Port Banees, with those deep blue church-like coves, he supposed it to be part of the sea dividing one land from another with an island between them.

Having landed at Taeo for a short time, Columbus arrived in the evening of the 27th at Baracoa, to which he gave the name of Puerto Santa. From Cabo del Pico to Puerto Santa, a distance of sixty leagues, he had passed no fewer than nine good ports and five rivers to Cape Campana, and then to Puerto Santa eleven more, 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 N. by S. near Port Santa Cruz. Sailing from Puerto Santa 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 Baebeque, which lay to the N. E., he came in sight of Bohio, to which he gave the name of Hispaniola.

On taking leave of Cuba, Columbus tells us that he had coasted it a distance of 160 leagues. Allowing twenty leagues of this distance for his having followed the undulations of the coast, the remaining 100 measured from Point Mayi 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 on the coast of Quebradillas, and we find him in 21° 50' and Turk's Island in 21° 30'. Both are very wide of the truth, but it is certainly easier to conceive an error of three than 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 discovered by Columbus. Herrera, who is considered the most faithful and authentic of Spanish historians, wrote his History of the Indies toward the year 1600. In describing Ponce de Leon, he 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° 40' 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 25° 18', on the eighth day out from Porto Rico. Thence they passed to the island of Manuca, in 25° 30', and on the eleventh day they reached Guanahani, which is in 25° 40' north. This island of Guanahani was the first discovered by Columbus, on the voyage with 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 low, and it cannot be supposed that of San Salvador being such as to correspond with any 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 Prince. 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 northwestern course was that 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 Mariquana; the fourth, Crooked Island, and the S. E. by N. they were to the S. E. by N. 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? He passed Porto Rico to San Salvador? In the first chapter of Herrera's description of the Indies, appended to his history, is another name of the Bahama Islands, which corroborates the above. It begins

* Herrera, Hist. Ind., decal. i, lib. ix, cap. 10.

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No. XVIII.

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 8 ounces of silver, was cut into 24 real 4 maravedises; but so that there were 2120 maravedis in the mark of silver. Among other silver coins there were the real of 8, which, consisting of 8 real 8 maravedis, was within a small fraction, the eighth part of a mark of silver, or 1 ounce. Of the gold coins then in circulation the castellano or dobla de la moneda was worth 400 maravedis, and the ducato 353 maravedis.

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 corresponding sum of current money; but by the successive depreciations of the coin of Vellon, or mixed metals, issued since that period, the real and maravedi of Vellon, which had replaced the ancient currency, were reduced toward the year 1700, to about a third of the old real and maravedi, now known as the real and maravedi of silver.

As, however, the ancient piece of 8 real was equal approximately to the ounce of silver, and the ducato was so near the 8 to 1, it is likewise equal to an ounce, they may be considered identical. In the opposite end, at the N.W., and runs down to the S. E. It is thought unnecessary to cite it particularly.

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No. XIX.

PRESTER JOHN:

Said to be derived from the Persian Pretetan or Prettigeni, which signifies apostolic; or Foothat Grahall, angel of the world.

It is the name of a potent Christian monarch of shadowy renown, whose dominions were placed by writers of the middle ages sometimes in the remote parts of Asia and sometimes in Africa, and of whom such contradictory accounts were given by the travellers of those days that the very existence either of him or his kingdom came to be considered doubtful. It now appears to be admitted that there really was such a potentate in a remote part of Asia. He was of the Nestorian Christians, a sect spread throughout Asia, and taking its name and origin from Nestorius, a Christian patriarch of Constantinople.

The first vague reports of a Christian potentate in the interior of Asia, or as it was then called, India, were brought to Europe by the Crusaders, who it is supposed gathered them from the Syrian merchants who traded to the very confines of China.

In subsequent ages, when the Portuguese in their travels and voyages discovered a Christian king among the Abyssinians, called Balech-Gian, they confounded him with the potentate already spoken of. Nor was the blunder extraordinary, since the original Prester John was said to reign over a remote part of India; and the ancients included in that name Ethiopia and all the regions of Africa and Asia bordering on the Red Sea and on the commercial route from Egypt to India.

Prester John of India we have reports published by William Ruysbrooke, commonly called Rubruquis, a Franciscan friar sent by Louis IX., about the middle of the thirteenth century, to convert the Grand Khan. According to him, there was originally a Nestorion priest, who on the death

See Caballero Peso y Medicina. J. B. Say, Economie Politique.
of the sovereign made himself King of the Naymaan, all Nestorian Christians. Carpini, a Franciscan friar, sent by Pope Innocent in 1245 to convert the Mongols of Peruia, says that Odogai, one of the sons of Ghengis Khan of Tartary, marauded against the Christians of Grand India. The king of that country, who was called Prester John, came to his succor. Having had figures of men made of brocaded stuff, he had them stuffed with straw and put fire within, with a man behind with a hellows. When they came to battle these horses were put in the advance, and the men who were seated behind, blew arrows, by which means the Tartars were quite covered with it. They then fell on them, discharged many with their arrows, and put the rest to flight.

Marco Polo (1271) places Prester John near the great wall of China, to the north of Shan-si. In Trechich, a populous region full of cities and castles.

Mandeville (1313) makes Prester sovereign of Upper India (Asia), with four thousand islands tributary to him.

When John II., of Portugal, was pushing his discoveries along the African coast, he was informed that 35 leagues to the east of the kingdom of Benin in the profound depths of Africa, there was a puissant monarch, named Oguic, who had spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over all the surrounding kings.

An African prince assured him, also to the east of Timbuctoo there was a sovereign who possessed a religion similar to that of the Christians, and who was king of a Mosaic people.

King John now supposed he had found traces of the real Prester John, with whom he was eager to form an alliance religious as well as commercial. In 1277 he sent envoys by land in quest of him. One was a gentleman of his household, Pedro de Cevilham; the other, Alphonso de Paiva. They went by Naples to Rhodes, thence to Cairo, thence to Aden on the Arabian Gulf above the mouth of the Red Sea.

Here they separated with an agreement to rendezvous at Cairo. Alphonso de Paiva sailed direct for Ethiopia; Pedro de Cevilham for the Indies. The latter passed to Calicut and Goa where he embarked for Sofala on the eastern coast of Africa, thence returned to Aden, and made his way back to Cairo. Here he learned that his condutor, Alphonso de Paiva, had died in that city. He found two Portuguese Jews waiting for him with fresh orders from King John not to give up his researches after Prester John until he had secured to himself the two brethren of the order of the Knights of St. John. This is the order of St. John of Jerusalem, which in 1309 was raised to the rank of a Sovereign Prince of the order of the Grand Masters, and principal of the order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in the East.

Having taken note of everything here, he embarked on the Red Sea, and arrived at the court of an Abyssinian prince named Escander (the Arabic version of Alexander), whom he considered the real Prester John. The prince received him graciously, and manifested a disposition to favor the object of his embassy, but died suddenly, and his successor, Naut refused to let Cevilham depart, but kept him for many years about his person, as his prime councillor, lavishing on him wealth and honors. After all, this was not the real Prester John, who, as has been observed, was an Asiatic potentate.

No. XX.

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, distant, and unknown regions of the world, 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 Maffeo Polo. These two brothers were of a illustrious family in Venice, and embarked about the year 1255 on a commercial voyage to the East. Having traversed the Mediterranean and through the Bosphorus, they stopped for a short time at Constantinople, where they had recently been wrested from the Greeks by the joint arms of France and Venice. Here they disposed of their Italian merchandise, and, having purchased a stock of jewelry, departed on an adventurous expedition to trade with the western Tartars, who, having overrun many parts of Asia and Europe, were settling and forming cities in the vicinity of the Wolga. After traversing the Eufrates to Soolala (at present Tedik), a port in the Crimea, they continued on, by land and water, until they reached the military court, or rather camp of a Tartar prince, named Barak, a descendant of Ghengis Khan, into whose hands they confided all their merchandise. The barbaric chieftain, while he was dazzled by their precious commodities, was flattered by the contempt in which his justice was manifested by these strangers. He repaid them with princely munificence, and loaded them with favors during a year that they remained at his court.

A war breaking out between their patron and his cousin Hulagu, chief of the eastern Tartars, and Barak being defeated, the Polos were embarrassed how to extricate themselves from the country and return home in safety. The road to Constantinople being cut off by the enemy, they took a circuitous route, round the head of the Caspian Sea, and through the deserts of Transoxiana, until they arrived in the city of Bokhara, where they resided for three years.

While there arrived a Tartar nobileman who was on an embassy from the victorious Hulagu to his brother the Grand Khan. The ambassador became acquainted with the Venetians, and finding them to be versed in the Tartar tongue and possessed of curious and valuable knowledge, he prevailed upon them to accompany him to the court of the emperor, situated, as they supposed, at the very extremity of the East.

During the course of several months, being delayed by snow-storms and inundations, they arrived at the court of Cubial, otherwise known by the name of the great Salek, who is recognized by the Chinese as 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, and the military government, and the manners and customs of the Latin nation. 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. It has been burned, and, with great reason, that under this covert of religion, the shrewd Tartar sovereign veiled motives of a political nature. The influence of the pope in promoting the crusades had caused his power to be known and respected throughout the East; it was at the same moment, therefore, to conciliate his good-will.

Cubial himself, principally, of an Italian version. In the Venetian version of Kamu (1606), the French translation by Ber- geneau, and an old and very incorrect Spanish translation, which has been frequently referred to. Having since procured the work of Mr. Marsden he has made considerable alterations in these notices of Marco Polo.
Khan had no bigotry nor devotion to any particular faith, and probably hoped, by adopting Christianity, to make more common cause between himself and the warlike princes of Christendom, against his and their Inver Lawrence, the sons of Egypt and the Saracens.

He wrote letters to the pope in the Tartar language, he delivered them to the Polons, and appointed one of the principal noblemen of his court to accompany them in their mission. On their taking leave to embark, he presented them with gold and 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 escort up to remote places, and render them all 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 gold passport procured them every attention and facility throughout the dominions of the Great Khan. They arrived safely at Acre, in April, 1269. Here they received news of the recent death of Pope Clement IV, at which they were much grieved, fearing it would delay their mission. There was at that time in Acre alegate of the holy chair, Tebaldo di Vescovii, of Piacenza, to whom they gave an account of their embassy. He heard them with great attention, and desired them to await the election of a new pope, which must soon take place, before they proceeded to Rome on their mission. They determined in the interim to make a visit to the families, and accordingly departed for Negropont, and 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 a son, who was named Marco.

As the contested election for the new pontiff remained pending for two years, they were 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 dispatches and such ghastly ministry for the Grand Khan as the legate could furnish. On the second journey, Nicholas Polo took with him his son Marco, who afterward wrote an account of these transactions.

They were again received with great favor 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, 1271, for the remote parts of Tartary. When they 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 receiving intelligence of his election, he dispatched 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; the subsequent friars, also, Nicholas Vincenti and Gilbert de Tripoli, were sent with them to provide with ords to priests and bishops and to grant absolution. They had presents of crystal vases, and other articles, besides objects to deliver to the Grand Khan; and thus well provided, they once more set forth on their journey.

Arriving in Armenia, they ran great risk 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 king of a notorious stock. 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 road, and in great hardships and sufferings from floods and snowstorms, it being the winter season. At length they reached a town in the dominions of the Khan. That person, having received them with the utmost courtesy, and giving them a salutation of peace, sent back a messenger with their sums of money, and furnished them with stores, to be delivered to the grand-nephew of the Khan, who was grand-nephew to the emperor.

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 four principal languages of the country, and was of such remarkable capacity that, notwithstanding his youth, the Khan employed him in various parts of his dominions, some of the distance of six months' journey. On these expeditions he was industrious in gathering all kinds of information respecting the Turks, and the Tartars, and the intelligence he gathered for the satisfaction of the Grand Khan, he afterward composed the history of his travels.

After about seventeen years residence in the Tartar court the Venetians felt a longing to return to their native country. Their patron was advanced in age and could not survive much longer, and after his death, their return might be difficult if not impossible. They applied to the Grand Khan for permission to depart, but for a time met with a refusal, accompanied by friendly upbraidings. At length a singular train of events operated in their favor; an embassy arrived from a Mogul Tartar prince, who ruled in Persia, and was grand-nephew to the emperor. The object was to entreat, as a spouse, a princess of the imperial line. A grand-daughter of Cubtal Khan, seventeen years of age, and of great beauty and accomplishments, was granted to the prince in marriage, and departed for Persia with the ambassadors, and with a splendid retinue, but after travelling for some months, they were obliged to return on account of the distracted state of the country.

The ambassadors despaired of conveying the beautiful princess to their native country, until a council was called to decide whether Marco Polo returned from a voyage to certain of the Indian islands. His representations of the safety of a voyage in those seas, and his private investigations, induced the emperor to grant him permission to convey the princess by sea to the Gulf of Persia, and that the Christians might accompany them, as being best experienced in maritime affairs. Cubal Khan consented with great reluctance, and a splendid fleet was fitted out and victualled for two years, consisting of fourteen ships of four masts, some of which had crews of two hundred and fifty men.

On parting with the Venetians the munificent Khan gave them rich presents of jewels, and made them promise to return to him after they had visited their families. He also authorized them to act as his ambassadors to the principal courts of Europe, and, as on a former occasion, furnished them with letters of credit upon Marco Polo, who have cited it as one of his most notable expeditions.

* Bergeron, by blunder in the 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 have cited it as one of his most monstrous exaggerations.
They set sail therefore in the fleet with the oriental princess and her attendants and the Persian ambas-
dors. The ships swept along the coast of Cochin China, stopped for three months at a port of the island
of Sumatra near the western entrance of the Straits of Malacca, and after delivering for the change of the moon
to pass the Bay of Bengal. Travelling this vast expanse they touched at the island of Ceylon and then crossed
the strait to the southern part of the great peninsula of India. Arriving at the Persian coast, as it is called, the fleet entered the Persian Gulf and arrived at the famous port of Olumz, where it is presumed the
vessel terminated, after eighteen months spent in traversing the Indian seas.

Unfortunately for the royal bride who was the ob-
ject of this splendid naval expedition, her bridegroom, the Mogul king, had died some time before her arrival,
leaving a son named Ghazan, during whose minority
the government was administered by his uncle Kaj-
Khan. According to the directions of the regent, the
princess was delivered to the youthful prince, son of
her intended spouse. He was at that time at the head
of an army on the borders of Persia. He was of a
diminutive stature but of a great soul, and, on after-
wardly acquiring renown for his talents and virtues.
What became of the Eastern bride, who had travelled so far in quest of a husband, is not known; but everything favorable is to be in-
flected from the case of her daughter, of Ghazan.

The Polos remained some time in the court of the
regent, and then departed, with fresh tablets of gold
given by that prince, to carry them in safety and honor
through his dominions to the throne, acquired renown
for his talents and virtues. As they had reversed the
countries where the traveller is exposed to extreme peril, they appeared on their journeys as Tartars of
low condition, having converted all their wealth into
pious stones and ornaments, which they carried them up as the tinsels of their coarse garments. They had a long,
difficult, and perilous journey to Trebizond, whence
they proceeded to Constantinople, thence to Negro-
pont, and, finally to Venice, where they arrived in
1295, in good health, and literally laden with riches.
Having heard during their journey of the death of their
old benefactor, Cuhiai Khan, they considered their
diplomatic functions at an end, and also that they
were absolved from their promise to return to his
dominions.

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. When
they arrived at Venice, they were known by nobody.
So many years had elapsed since their departure with-
out news of them reaching home, that they were re-
considered dead. Besides, their foreign garb, the
influence of southern suns, and the similitude which
men acquire to those among whom they reside for
months, had given them the look of Tartars rather than Italians.

They repaired to their own house, which was a
royal residence, situated in the street of St. Giovanni,
Chiostro, and was afterward known by the name
of la Corte de la Millione. They found several of
their relatives still inhabiting it; but they were slow
in recollecting the travellers, not knowing of their
wealth, and probably considering them, from their
course and foreign attire, poor adventurers returned
to be a charge upon their families. The Polos how-
ever, did not remain in Venice, but forthwith set
out to visit and converse with Marco Polo, who was ex-
tremely amiably and communicative. They were in-
satiable in their inquiries about Cathay and the Grand
Khan, which he was well able to give them, having
termed all the details with which they were vastly delighted, and, as
he always spoke of the wealth of the Grand Khan in
round numbers, they gave him the name of Meeser
Marco Million.

Some months after their return, Lampa Doria, com-
mander of the Genoese navy, appeared in the vicinity
of the island of Curzola 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. Advancing the first
in the line with his galleys, and not being properly
seconded, he was taken prisoner, thrown in chains, 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 be forgotten or con-
demned. Besides, they were in a state of extreme
misery, being reduced to nothing but their own
wealth in this unhappy state, with so much treasure
and no heirs, they consulted together. They were
both very old men; but Nicolo, else Ramusio, was of
a galliard complexion; 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 mean while the fame of Marco Polo's travels
had circulated in Genoa. His prison was daily
crowded with nobility, and he was supplied with
everything that could cheer him in his confinement.
A Genoese gentleman, who visited him every day, at
length prevailed 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 friend, or, as he himself calls it, his fellow-prisoner,
produced the work which afterward made such noise throughout the world.

The merit of Marco Polo at length procured him
his liberty. He returned, however, to his father with a house full of children. He took it in
good part, followed the old man's example, mar-
rried, and had two daughters, Moretta and Fantina.

The date of the death-bed of Marco Polo is sup-
posed to have been, at the time, about seventy
years of age. On his death-bed he is said to have
been exhorted by his friends to retract what he had
published, or, at least, to disavow those parts com-
monly regarded as fiction. He replied indignantly
that so far from having exaggerated, he had not told one half of the extraordinary things of which he had been an eye-witness.

Marco Polo died without male issue. Of the three sons of his father by the second marriage, one only had children—viz., five sons and one daughter. The sons died without leaving issue; the daughter inherited the wealth and married into the noble and distinguished house of Trevesino. Thus the male line of the Polos ceased in 1417, and the family name was extinguished.

The principal narratives 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 those 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 favorite topic among the enthusiastic missionaries of Christendom, and there were many saints and erant who undertook to effect the conversion of this magnificent infidel.

Even at the distance of two centuries, when the enterprises for the discovery of the new route to India had set all the warm heads of Europe maddening 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 monarch, written from a bed of sickness, to conduct any missionary to the territories of the Tartar emperor, who would undertake his conversion.

No. XXI.

THE WORK OF MARCO POLO.

The world 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 the Venetian dialect of the Italian. Copies of it in manuscript were multiplied and rapidly circulated; translations were made into many tongues, and 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 mutilated; and it is probable many extravagances 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 extravagances. Vossius assures us that even after the death of Marco Polo he continued to be a subject of ridicule among the light and unthinking, inasmuch that he was frequently personated at masquerades by some wit or droll, who, in his fancied character, related all kinds of extravagant fables and adventures. His work, however, excited great attention among thinking men, containing evidently a fund of information concerning vast and splendid countries, before unknown to the European world. Vossius assures us that it was at once translated into English by the learned Francesco Pepin, author of the Brandeburgh version, styled Polo a man commendable for his piety, prudence, and fidelity. Athanasius Kircher, in his account of China, says that he had been thus translated, and described the kingdoms of the remote East with more exactness. Various other learned men of past times have borne testimony to his character, and most of the substantial parts of his work have been authenticated by subsequent travellers. The most able and ample vindication of Marco Polo, however, is to be found in the English translation of his work, with copious notes and commentaries, by William Marston, F.R.S. He has diligently discriminated between what Marco Polo relates from his own observation, and what he relates as gathered from others; and he points out the errors that have arisen from misinterpretations of the text, or from the different versions of the story. The narrative from the belief that Marco Polo is the most wise and learned of his day, in miracles and magic. After perusing the work of Mr. Marston, the character of Marco Polo rises in the estimation of the reader. It is evident that his narrative, as far as it is related from his own observations, is correct, and that he had really traversed a great part of Tartary and China, and navigated in the Indian seas. Some of the countries and many of the islands, however, are evidently described from accounts given by others, and in these accounts are generally found the fables which have excited incredulity and ridicule. As he comprised his work after his return home, partly from memory and partly from memorandums, he was liable to confuse what he had heard with what he had seen, and to give undue weight to many fables and exaggerations which he had heard.

Much has been said of a map brought by Marco Polo, which was conserved in the convent of San Michele de Murano in the vicinity of Venice, and in which the coast of Africa, the islands of Madagascar were indicated, countries which the Portuguese claim the merit of having discovered two centuries afterward. It has been suggested also that Columbus had visited the island of Majorica; that Columbus derived his knowledge from a manuscript; and that he had copied from the original one of Marco Polo, and that it was one of those which were conserved in the convent of San Michele de Murano. However, when the attention was turned toward the remote parts of Asia in the fifteenth century, and the Portuguese were making their attempts to circumnavigate Africa, the narrative of Marco Polo again rose to notice. This, with the travels of Niccolo and Maffeo Conti, the Venetian, and of Hieronimo di San Stefano, a Genoese, are said to have been the principal lights by which the Portuguese guided themselves in their voyages.

Above all, the influence which the work of Marco Polo had over the mind of Columbus it is peculiar and of importance. It was evidently an oracular work with him; for he frequently refers to it on his voyages, supposing himself to be on the Asiatic coast, he is continually endeavoring 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

1 Mr. Marston, who has inspected a splendid fac-simile of this map preserved in the British Museum, objects even to the fundamental part of it: "there," he observes, "situation of the principal points, and bearing them in conjunction with the descriptions in the travels, and cannot be attributed to their author, although inserted on the supposed authority of his writings." Marston's Map: "p. xlii."
2 Hist. des Voyages, tom. xii. lib. xii. chap. 4.
APPENDIX.

The winter residence of the Great Khan, according to Marco Polo, was in the city of Cambaluc, or Kanbalu (since ascended to be Pekin, in the province of Kansu). It 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 through it; so that they were sold that 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 tons laden with silk, 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 apartments of the Khan are, for the chase, for various festivities, are described in gorgeous terms. But though Marco Polo is magnificient in his description of the provinces of Cathay, and its imperial city of Cambaluc, he does not hesitate to come to describe the province of Mangi. This province is supposed to be the southern part of China. It contains, he says, twelve hundred cities. The capital Quinisai (supposed to be the city of Hang-chou) 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 Quinisai, 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 undoubtedly it is if the description of the traveller is to be taken literally, for he declares that it is one hundred miles in circuit. This seeming exaggeration has been explained by supposing him to mean Chinese miles or 里, which are to the Italian miles in the proportion of three to eight; and Mr. Marsden observes that the walls even of the modern city, the limits of which have been considerably contracted, are estimated by travellers at sixty 里. The ancient city has evidently been of immense extent, and as Marco Polo could not be supposed to have measured the wall himself, he has probably taken the loose and incorrect estimates of the Chinese, who describes it also as built up of little islands like Venice, and has twelve thousand stone bridges, the arches of which are so high that the largest vessels can pass under them without covering their masts. He affirms, three thousand bays, and six hundred thousand families, including domestics. 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 Quinisai are very voluptuous, and indulge in all sorts of luxuries and delights, particularly the women, who are extremely beautiful. There are may merchants and artisans, but the masters do not work, they employ servants to do all their labor. 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.

ZIANGU, ZIANGNI, OR CIPANGO.

Fifteen hundred miles from the shores of Manga, according to Marco Polo, lay the great island of Ziangu, by some written Ziangni, and by Columbus Cipango. Marco Polo describes it as abounding in gold, which, however, the king sends thither to be transported out of the island. The king has a magnificent palace covered with plates of gold, as in other countries the palaces are covered with sheets of lead or copper. The halls and chambers are likewise covered with gold, the windows adorned 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 it be true what Marco Polo relates, that the inhabitants had certain stones of a charmed virtue inserted between the skin and the flesh of their right arms, which, through the power of such enchantments, rendered them invulnerable. This island was an object of diligent search to Columbus.

About the island of Ziangu or Cipango, and between it and the island of Manga, according to Marco Polo, is a small island, inhabited by a number of seven thousand four hundred and forty, of which the greater part are inhabitants. 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 afterward the province of Mangi, and to seek the Great Khan in his city of Cambaluc, in the province of Cathay. Unless the reader can bear in mind these supposititious descriptions of Marco Polo, of countries teeming with wealth, and cities where the very domes and palaces blazed with gold, he will have but a faint idea of the splendid anticipations which filled the imagination of Columbus when he discovered, as he supposed, the extremity of Asia. It was his confident expectation of soon arriving at these countries, and realizing the accounts 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. XXII.

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 city 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

* Another blunder in translation has drawn upon Marco Polo the indignation of George Hornsby, who in his Origin of the Indian Palms, asks: "Who can believe all that he says of the city of Quinisai? 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 the same city, which he calls Chindai, says it is built on the sea like Venice, and has twelve hundred bridges.

* Sir George Steuart mentions this lake as being a beautiful spectacle of nature, but three or four miles in diameter; its margin ornamented with houses and gardens of mandarins, together with temples, monasteries for the priests of Po, and an imperial palace.

* Supposed to be those islands collectively called Japan. They are named by the Chinese, Gau-pen, the terminating syllable "au" added by Marco Polo, is supposed to be the Chinese word "au," signifying kingdom, which is commonly annexed to the names of foreign countries. As the distance of the nearest part of the southern island from the coast of China, near Ning-po, is not more than five hundred miles, the term "au" measuring it to be 1500 means Chinese miles, or 里, which are in the proportion of somewhat more than one third of the former.
APPENDIX.

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 two regions 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 coldness of the climate; the temperate zones, on the contrary, were the most habitable, and of the highest producing powers, and the regions that are subject to the influence of the sun, or rather the central part of it, immediately above the equator, were considered uninhabitable, unproductive, and impassable in consequence of the excessive heat. The temperate zones, lying between these, were supposed to be fertile and salubrious, and suited to the purposes of life.

The globe was divided, therefore, into two hemispheres, by an equator, an imaginary line encircling it at equal distance from the poles. The whole of the world known to the ancients was contained in the temperate zone of the northern hemisphere, and there could be no communication with them on account of the burning zone which intervened.

Parthenopaenus, according to Strabo, was a king 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. Aristarchus believed that there was habitable earth in the southern hemisphere, but that it was forever 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, and the torrid zone beyond the tropics. The temperature of the central region of the earth, "he observes, "where sun is at its highest, is burnt up as with fire. The temperate zones which lie on either side have no communication with each other in consequence of the fervent heat of this region."

Strabo (lib. xi.), 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 bodies at Salamanca, the ancient theory of the burning zones had not yet been fully disproved by modern discovery. The Portuguese, it is true, had penetrated into 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 imperceptible and uninhabitable 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 endeavored to draw therefore from the voyages made to St. George's Island, and from the statements of the natives, who were biassed by the ancient theory, and who placed this scorching region still farther southward, and immediately about the equator.
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The ancient reigns here in regular succession for many ages. They made invasions into Europe and Africa, subduing the latter, as far as Egypt, and 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 overthrowing of the sea, which continued for a day and a night. In the course of this the vast island of Atlantis, and all its splendid cities and warlike nations, were swallowed up, and sunk to the bottom of the sea, which was entirely over the face of the ocean. For a long time, however, the sea was not navigable, on account of rocks and shoals, 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, founding 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. Kircher supposes it to have been an island extending from the Canaries to the Azores; that it was really engulfed in one of the preceding ages, and that the number of 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 appropriate, and shows, at least, how near the warm imagination of a poet may approach to prophecy. The predictions of the ancient oracles were rarely so unequivocal.

Violent annis
Secula seris, quinua Oceanus
Victors rerum laxet, et inregit
Patatas tellus, Typhilque novos
Dilegit arbos, nec sit terris
Ultima Titic.

Gosselin, in his able research into the voyages of the ancients, supposes the Atlantic of Plato to have been nothing more nor less than one of the nearest of the Canaries, viz., Fortaventura or Lancerote.

No. XXV.
THE IMAGINARY ISLAND OF ST. BRANDAN.

One of the most singular geographical illusions on record is the account that for a long while haunted the imaginations of the inhabitants of the Canaries. They fancied they beheld a mountainous island, about ninety leagues in length, lying far to the westward. It was only seen at intervals, but 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 eye-witnesses 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 Behaim, projected in 1492, as described by M. D’Orbel; 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

* Fejjoyo, Thesario Critico, tom. iv. d. 10, § 99.
Diego Philipo in his book on the Incarnation of Christ, shows that it possessed the same quality in ancient times of defusing the eye and being unavailable to the feet of mortals. But whatever belief the ancients had that the island existed, it is certain that it took on a strong hold on the faith of the moderns during the prevalent rage for discovery; nor did it lack abundant testimonials. Don José de Viera y Clavijo says there were many difficult problems in the science of geography; however, to affirm the existence of this island is to trample upon sound criticism, judgment, and reason; and to deny it one must risk 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 of the same form. In 1526 an expedition set sail for the Canaries in quest of it, commanded by Fernando de Troya and Fernando Alvarez. They cruised in the wanted direction, but in vain, and their failure ought to have undermined the public.

The phenomenon of the island, however, says Viera, "had such a nature that it is doubtful whether the public preferred doubting the good conduct of the explorers, than their own senses." In 1575 the appearances were so repeated and clear that there was a universal belief of its reality among that of 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.

Aldonza de León, governor of the island of Ferros, accordingly reported a map, in which more than a 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 Tenerife. There were certain Portugese who affirmed that, being driven about by a tempest, they had come upon the island of St. Borondon, and, having made it a letter of the chart of the pilot of their galleon, the island seen, affirming that, having anchored in a bay, he landed with several of the crew. They drank fresh water in a brook, and beheld in the sand the print of four-footed animals, and the distance between them was exactly the same. They found a cross nailed to a neighboring tree; near which they saw three stones placed in a line of a triangle, with a place where a man could be seen walking in the same direction as they, probably to cook fish-shell. Having seen much cattle and sheep grazing in the neighborhood, two of their party armed with lances went into the woods in pursuit of them. The night was approaching, the bears began to leave, and a harsh wind arose. The people on 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, and the sea and sky were again serene, they searched in vain for the island; but a trace of it was to be seen, and they had to pursue their voyage, lamenting the loss of two companions who had been abandoned in the wood.

A learned licentiate, Pedro Ortiz de Fuentes, inquisitor of the Grand Canary, while on a visit to Tenerife, 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 neighborhood 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 that of St. Borondon. Overjoyed at having discovered this land of mystery, he hastened to explore its spell-bound shores until he anchored in a beautiful harbor formed by the mouth of a mountain ravine.

He landed with several of his crew. It was now he saw, the coast of the island stretching away from him. The sun being set, the shadows began to spread over the land. The voyagers having separated, wandered about in different directions, until, on the last evening of each other's absence, those on board, seeing the ship approaching, made signal 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 whirling came rushing down the ravine with such violence as to drive the vessel from her anchor and hurry her out to sea, and they never saw anything more of this hidden and inhospitable island.

Another testimony remains on record in manuscript of one Álvaro Galindo; but whether taken at this time by Fernando de Vilela, who, many years before, making a voyage among the Canaries, was overtaken by a violent storm which carried away his mast. At length the vagues were driven to the island, and having landed there, he reported it to the authorities.

The heavens assumed a dark and threatening aspect; the night was approaching, and the mariners, fearing some impending evil, abandoned their labor 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 1755 seemed so satisfactory that another expedition was fitted out in the same year in the Island of Palma. It was commanded by Don Francisco de Villalobos, governor of the island, and was equally fruitless with the preceding. St. Borondon seemed disposed only to tantalize the world with distant and serene glimpses of its ideal paradise, or to reveal itself as a storm to the winds and storms of the season, as the <i>Bona</i> or the <i>Island</i>, as the <i>Gomera</i>, which by a kind of <i>horizon</i> of 1721. Their report is summed up, however, in the words of the guardian power of the island, that the <i>Island</i> fell, as a district of all that was hidden from the eyes of all who diligently sought it. Still the people of Palma adhered to their favorite chimeras. Thirty-four years afterward, in 1795, they sent another expedition under the command of Don Gaspar Perez de Acosta, an accomplished pilot, accompanied by the padre Lorenzo Pinedo, a holy Franciscan friar, skilled in natural science. St. Borondon, however, refused to reveal its island to either monk or mariner. After cruising about in every direction, sounding, observing the skies, the clouds, the winds, everything that could furnish indications, they returned without having seen anything to authorize a hope.

Upward of a century now elapsed without any new attempt to seek this fairy island. Every now and then, however, this 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 Gomera and Ferro, were pronounced to be from the enchanted groves of St. Borondon. 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 prudence and talent. As this was an expedition of solemn and mysterious import, he paid two holy friars as apostolical chaperons. They made sail from the island of Tenerife toward the end of October, leaving the population in an indescribable state of excitement mingled with superstition. The ship, however, re-
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Of the popular traditions concerning the ocean.

Nar 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. Gautier, in a geographical chart, annexed to his Observations on Natural History, published in 1755, places it five degrees to the west of the island of Ferro, in the 29th deg. of N. latitude.† Such are the principal facts existing relative to the ISLAND OF SEVEN VILLAGES. It is a reality beyond a long time for 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 belief of those fabulous chimeras. 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 islands and their inhabitants had set forth from the shore for the use of the kitchen, and founded to their surprise that one third of it was gold. The islanders were anxious that the crew should remain with them for a few days, their king, 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 industry. The story was true 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 of Indiana, and was put down in the early maps, about the time of Columbus, under the name of Antilla. At the time of the discovery of New Spain, reports were brought to his Excellency 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. He believed that the island of St. Horondon might still exist in the straits of Messina, where the city of Reggio and its surrounding country is reflected in the air above the neighboring sea: a phenomenon which has likewise been witnessed in front of the city of Marseille. As to the tales of the mariners who had landed on these forbidden shores, and been hurried thence in whirlwinds and tempests, he considers them as mere fabrications.

As the popular, however, reluctantly give up anything that paradoxes the marvellous and mysterious, and as the same atmospheric phenomena, which first occur to the imagination may continue, it is not improbable that a belief in the island of St. Horondon 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.

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 of these countries fled in confounding numbers to the lofty mountains to the eyes of favored individuals. In a letter written from the island of Gomera, 1759, by a Franciscan monk, to one of his friends, he relates having seen a group of seven islands, as they were then called, 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 mountains were seen. He summoned the curate Antonio Jose Manrique, and upwards of forty other persons, all of whom beheld it plainly.

† Such is the form of the island of the Seven Cities as it is represented in the charts and maps, and which is called in the French tongue, l'ile aux Sept-Villages, or the Island of the Seven Villages. It is said to be a reality beyond a long time for 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 belief of those fabulous chimeras. 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 islands and their inhabitants had set forth from 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 for a few days, their king, 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 industry. The story was true 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.*

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No. XVII.

DISCOVERY OF THE ISLAND OF MADEIRA.

The discovery of Madeira by Macham rests principally upon the authority of Francisco Alcalafaro, an esquire of Prince Henri 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 Judas the junior and Tristram Vax, who he said described it from Porto Santo, resembling a cloud on the horizon.†

The able Provost, however, in his general history

* Hist. del Almirante, cap. 10.
‡ Barros, Asia, dec. 11 lib. i. cap. 3.
§ Viera, Historia, tom. iv. cap. 68. † Ibid. 11 Ibid. § Viera, ed. cap. 1. ‡ Theatro Critico, tom. iv. d. x.
of voyages, vol. 6, seems inclined to give credit to the account of Alcafallor. "It was composed," he observes, "at a time when the attention of the public was directed to the discovery and no one was more capable than Alcafallor of giving an exact detail of this event, since he was of the number of the first who was seconded 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 translation had a great vogue, but it is said the original text has never been satisfactorily translated. 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 Alcafallor.

During the reign of Edward the Third of England, a young man of great courage and talent, named Robert Macham, fell in love with a young lady of rare beauty, 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 might cause her to return in marriage to a man of rank. In a short space, the nuptials were celebrated, the nobleman conducted his beautiful and afflicted bride to his seat near Hils- tol. Macham was now restored to liberty. Indignant at seeing his true love thus a prey to the craft of men, he prevailed upon several friends to assist him in a project for the gratification of his love and his revenge. They followed hard on the heels of their rival, and on the morrow of the marriage, interred his bride, and then restored her to Runs. The means of this, 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 set sail, and to bear them to the nearest seaport. Fearful of pursuit, the ship immediately weighed anchor; they made way rapidly along the coast of Cornwall, and Macham anticipated the troops; he then put it in practice the shores of gay and gallant France. Unfortunately an adverse and stormy wind arose at the night; at daybreak 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 lovers could not remove from her mind a dismal presentiment 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, trees of which were of all sizes, and whose leaves were aromatic. High above, the air was filled with the songs of birds. Flights of birds also came hovering about the ship, and perched upon the yards and rigging, with no signs of fear. The boat was sent on shore to reconnoitre, and soon returned, exclaiming, "Here is the island." Upon this, Macham determined to take his dropping 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, and that of the service of the Portuguese, in 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.

Hackett gives an account of the same voyage, taken from Antonio Galvano. He says in certain particulars. It happened, as he says, in the year 1344, in the time of Peter IV, of Aragon. Macham cast anchor in a bay since called alter him Machico.

The lady being ill, he took her on shore, accompanied by most of his friends, and the ships 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, and the Moors, considering it a kind of miracle, carried him 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 1392, to rediscover the island.

No. XXVIII.

LAS CASAS.

BARTOLOMEO LAS CASAS, Bishop of Chiapa, so often cited in all histories of the New World, was born at Seville in 1484, and was of French extraction. The family name was first of the name which appeared in Spain served under the standard of Ferdinand III, and was named the Saint, in his wars with the Moors of Andalusia. He was at the taking of Seville from the Moors, and 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 Latin tongue.

Antonio, the father of Bartolomé, went to Hispaniola with Columbus in 1493, and returned rich to Seville in 1495. It has been stated by one of the biographers of Bartolomé Las Casas, that he accompanied Columbus in his third voyage in 1498, and returned with him in 1502. This, however, is incorrect. He was, during that time, competing his education at Salamanca, where he was instructed in Latin, dialectics, logic, metaphysics, ethics, and physics, after the supposed method and system of Aristotle. While at the university, he had, as a servant, an Indian slave, whom he thought to be a person of his family, and who received him from Columbus. When Isabella, in her transport of virtuous indignation, ordered the Indian slaves to be sent back to their country, one of them was taken from Las Casas. The young man was armed with a sabre, and, while resisting the nature of the case, became inflamed with a zeal in favor of the unhappy Indians, who never cooled throughout a long and active life. He was excited to tenfold fervor, when, at 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 endeavoring to ameliorate the sufferings of the natives. As a missionary, he traversed the wilder-
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text continues...
zeal in the cause of the Indians is expressed in his writings. Of all his actions, always pure, often vehement, and occasionally unseasonable. Still, however, where he errs it is on a generous and righteous side. If one tenth of what he says he 'wrote with his own eyes' he has to his credit, 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 has numbered 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! 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 the same connection 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 his 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 picture it exhibits of the cruelties inflicted would, it is thought, 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 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 Indies 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, as the world is not prone 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 decrees of the council of the Indies, are small contests of points, though tinctured in some degree with the bigotry of the age, were distinguished for wisdom, justice, and humanity, and do honor 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 mitigate 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, with motives of a purer and far more exalted nature.

No. XXIX.

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, 1482. He is commonly termed Peter Martyr of Angliora, 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. Being at Rome in 1457, and having acquired a distinguished reputation for learning, he was invited by the Spaniard, ambassador, the Count de Tendilla, to accompany him to Spain. He willingly accepted the invitation, and was presented to the sovereigns at Saragossa. Isabella, amid the cares of the war with Granada, which 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 of his own 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 soldan of Egypt. The soldan, in 1501 and 1502, 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 had not then the energy, and brought it to a triumphant conclusion in the next campaign, while the soldan was still carrying on a similar negotiation with the pope. They afterward sent Peter Martyr to the soldan to explain and justify their measure. Martyr discharged the duties of his embassy with great ability; obtained permission from the soldan to repair the holy places at Jerusalem, and an abolition of various exactions 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 1525 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 then 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 them. 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. 153, January, 1494, to
The writings of Pomponius Latus, born at Alcalá del Henares in 1437, and afterward at Barcelona, are important for their historical value. He was a brilliant writer, and his works include a number of letters addressed to Columbus, describing the discovery of America.

In one letter, dated Valladolid, February 1494, to Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, he observes: "The king and queen, on the return of Columbus to Barcelona, from his honorable enterprise, appointed him admiral of the ocean sea, and caused him, on account of his illustrious deeds, to be set on a throne, in honor and a favor, such as you know, the highest with our sovereignties. They have dispatched him again to those regions, furnished with a fleet of eighteen ships. There is prospect of great discoveries at the western antipodes.

In a subsequent letter to Pomponius Latus, dated from Alcalá de Henares, December 9th, 1494, he gives the first news of the success of this expedition. "Spain," he says, "is spreading her wings, augmenting her empire, and extending her name and glory."

The author of this letter was a member of the Spanish diplomatic corps, and his works are full of information about the discovery of America.
their villages, from which they carry off the men and devour them,” etc.

Another letter to Pomponius Laurus, on the same 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 letters of Peter Martyr was published in 1530, under the title of Opus Epistolarum, Petri Martyris Anjerli; 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 candor, probity, and great information. They possess peculiar value from being written at the moment, before the facts they record were distorted or discolored 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. XXX.

OVIDE.

GONZALO Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, commonly known as Oviedo, was born in Madrid in 1478, and died in Valladolid in 1557, aged seventy-nine years. He was a noble person, 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 1513, he was sent out to the New World by Ferdinand, to superintend the gold foundries. For many years he resided there in various offices of trust and dignity, both under Ferdinand, and his grandson and successor Charles V. In 1535, he was made alcaldy of the fortress of St. Domingo in Hispaniola, and afterward was appointed historian of the Indies. At the time of his death, he had served the crown upward 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 the chronicle of the Indies in fifty books, divided into three parts. The first part, containing nineteen books, was printed at Seville in 1535, and reprinted in 1547 at Salamanca, augmented by a twelfth 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 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 discretion, took 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

**Opus Epist. P. Martyris Angleri, Epist. 147.**

**Cura de los Palacios, cap. 7.**
his admirers, who wrote a short preface to his chronicle, "he had no other reward than that of the curacy of Los Palacios, and the place of chaplain to the archbishop Don Diego Deza.

In the possession of D. Rich. Esq., of Madrid, is a very curious manuscript chronicle of the reign of Ferdinando and Isabella already quoted in this work, made up from this history of the curate of Los Palacios, and from various other sources by some of the compilers 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. The work has carefully examined by the author of this work, and wherever they appear to be for the better, have been adopted.

No. XXXII.

"NAVIGATORE DEL RE DE CASTIGLIA DELLE ISOLE E PARVE NUOVAMENTE RITROVATE."  
"NAVIGATORE CHRISTOPHORI COLONI."  

This above are the titles, in Italian and in Latin, of the earliest narratives 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 Manuel Novo de Cervantes, or Francianus, or Francisco de Montalbado (for writers differ in regard to the name), and was published in Vicenza, in 1507, in a collection of voyages, entitled Mondo Novo, e Passe Nuovamente Ritrovate. The collection was republished at Milan, in 1508, both in Italian, and in a Latin translation made by Archangelo Madrigano, under the title of Itinerarium Portugallense; 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 afterward augmented by Simon Gracioso with other travels, and printed in Latin at Basle, in 1533, by Herrera, entitled Novus Orbis Regionum, etc. The edition of Basle, 1555, and the Italian edition of Milan, in 1508, have been consulted in the course of this work.

Peter Martyr (Decad. 2, Cap. 7) alludes to this publication, under the first Latin title of the book, Itinerarium Portugallense, 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 of Declarata were not published until 1517, except the first three, which were published in 1511, at Seville.

This narrative of the voyages of Columbus is referred to by Gio. Battista Sporus, 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 of lofty visage, is not copied from Martyr, nor from any other writer. No historian had, indeed, preceded him, except Sahelius, in 1541; 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 his life that was expected and desired by the persons of the subject of the history and who had perused the account of the discovery of the Indies, it is a document of the most importance, and is referred to in the story of the discovery of the Indies in the different volumes of the edition published at Vicenza; and that the materials were taken from the official communication, from the account given by Sahelius, and particularly from the manuscript copy of Martyr's first decade.

* Bibliotheca Pitello.
literary talent. His works bear the mark of candor, integrity, and a sincere desire to record the truth.

He died in 1655, at sixty years of age, after having obtained from Philipp IV. the promise of the first charge of secretary of state that should become vacant.

No. XXXIV.

BISHOP FONSECA.

This singular malevolence displayed by Bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca toward Columbus and his family, and which was one of the secret and principal causes of their misfortunes, has been frequently noticed in the works of historians. It originated, as has been shown, in some dispute between the admiral and Fonseca at Seville in 1543, 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 he felt that he was treated with honor 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 unhealthy kind which has 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 pervading 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 could be cautious of expressing his feelings freely on the subject, lest they should prejudice his work in the eyes of the censorious 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 the 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 a 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 on his possessions in the colonies.

To show that his character has not been judged with unrighteous severity, it is expedient to point out his indiscriminate persecuting conduct toward Hernando Cortez. The bishop, while ready to foster rambling adventurers who came forward 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 Velazquez, 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 favor of Velazquez. Personal interest was at the bottom of this favor; for a marriage was negotiating between Velazquez and a sister of the bishop. Complaints and misrepresentations had been sent to Spain by Velazquez 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 greatest recommendation was his having been in the employ of the bishop, was invested with powers similar to those once given to Boulainville 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 two official letters furnished to Tapia, the bishop, shortly after his departure, sent out Juan Bono de Quezo 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; and he afterward declared, that he had experienced more trouble and difficulty from the menaces and affronts of the ministers of the king than it came to him to conquer himself.

When the dispute between Cortez and Velazquez came to be decided upon in Spain, in 1523, the father of Cortez, and those who had come from New Spain as his procurators, obtained permission of the king and Adrian, at that time governor of the realm, to prosecute a public accusation of the bishop. A regular investigation took place before the Council of the Indies of their allegiations against Cortez, and he was charged with having publicly declared Cortez a traitor and rebel; with having intercepted and suppressed letters addressed to the king, keeping his Majesty in ignorance of their contents; and of the important services he had performed, while he diligently forwarded all letters calculated to promote the interest of Velazquez; with having revenged the representations of Cortez from being heard in the Council of the Indies, declaring that they should never be heard there while he lived; with having intercepted the forwarding of arms, merchandise, and reinforcements to New Spain; and with having issued orders to the office of the India House at Seville to arrest the procurators of Cortez and all persons arriving from him, and to seize and detain all gold that they should bring. These and various other charges of similar nature were passionately investigated. Enough were substantiated to convict Fonseca of the most partial, oppressive, and perfidious conduct, and the cardinal consequently formed his purpose to interfere in the case between Cortez and Velazquez, and revoked the pardons which the bishop had issued, in the matter, to the India House of Seville. Indeed Salazar, a Spanish historian, says that Fonseca was totally divested of his authority as president of the council, and of all control of the affairs of New Spain, and adds that he was so mortified at the blow, that it brought on a fit of illness, which well nigh cost him his life.

The suit between Cortez and Velazquez was referred to a special tribunal, composed of the grand chancellor and other persons of note, and was decided in 1524. The influence and intrigues of Fonseca being no longer of availing, a triumphant verdict was given in favor of Cortez, which was afterward confirmed by the Emperor Charles V., and additional honors awarded him. This was another blow to the malignant Fonseca, who, retaining his enmity against Cortez until his last moment, rendered still more rancorous by mortification and disappointment.

A charge against Fonseca, of a still darker nature than any of the foregoing, is to be found on 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 Cortes. This was one Antonio de Villafana, who was arrested. It was declared a fact that he was an instigator. His trial was held in the presence of the bishop, and he was found guilty and sentenced to death. He was executed by hanging on the 30th of November, 1544, and was interred at Cacares.

OF THE SITUATION OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE.

The speculations of Columbus on the situation of the terrestrial paradise, a supposition as they may appear, were such as to have occupied many grave and learned men. A slight notice of their opinions upon 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 creeds of the savage nations, and it prevailed generally among the ancient heathen. From the situation of the garden of Eden resemble those of the Greeks concerning the garden of the Hesperides; that region of delight, which they forever placed at the most remote abode of the known world; and 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 traversing 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-tossed vessel repose on the shores of some green island in the deep; and from its being thus isolated in the midst of an ocean of sand, 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 Syrius, in the neighborhood of Mount Atlas. Here, after traversing the frightful deserts of Bashan, the traveller grouped under the vernal and equinoctial sky, 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 flavor.

and they thought that none but the garden of the Hesperides could produce such glorious fruits. In this way the happy region of the ancients was transplanted to the west, and in Spain, France, and England, and discovered no farther. Just imagine 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, on garden of Eden, was the subject of the greatest inquiry and curious disputes, and occupied the bosom of the most learned theologians. Some placed it in Palestine or the Holy Land; others in Arabia Felix, in Asia, as well as by the Azoreans, who 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 more remote, such as in the islands inhabited by the Phoenicians, and others that it was in the country embraced by the mountaineers of the Tigris and the Euphrates; others in Armenia, in a valley surrounded by precipices and inaccessible mountains, and imagined that the mountain Elysium, and its attendant rivers, was formed into itinerant, to the sight of mortals, to live in a state of terrestrial bliss until the second coming of our Saviour.
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 meta
ded to the tail of the constellation "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 uni
ess of nights and days, and seasons, and the ele
vation 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, so that the tropical zone might be the flowering season appointed to defend its entrance against mortals. They had a fanciful train of argument to support their theory. They ob
served 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; and as the meris of a place do not so much depend upon the virgins of the earth as upon the happy influences of the stars and the favorable 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 east in the feet, or under parts; the right hand the east, and the left the west, toward which it moved. This supposed, they observed that as the stars in the south, being 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 noble than either east, or west, or north; and by corres
pondence with this, they cited the opinion of various philosophers among the ancients, and more especially that of Ptolemy, that the stars of the southern hemisphere were 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 con
cluded 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 his posterity, it was inferred that the ter
errestrial 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 the vast body 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 pastureage; and the earth not being cursed with sterility, there would have been no need of exten
tive 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 circumfer
ces of the region of the globe.

St. Basilius in his eloquent discourse on paradise‡

‡ St. Basilius was called the great. His works were read and admired by all the world, even by Papians. They are expatiates with rapture on the joys of this sacred

APPENDIX.

...
bus, 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, like those concerning fancied islands in the ocean, carry us back to the time, and made us feel the mystery and conjunctural charm which reigned over the greatest part of the world, and have since been completely dissipated by modern discovery. Enough has been cited to show that in his observations concerning the terrestrial paradise, Columbus was not indulging in any fanciful or preposterous chimeras, but was still in need of the human 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 illustrous for their wisdom and erudition in the school and cloister.

NO. XXXVI.

WILL OF COLUMBUS.

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, who inspired me by his providence, and afterward 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, Dona Isabella, and 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 island, known to the other sovereigns; and that I might discover beyond the said line westwardly; with the right of being succeeded in the said office 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 everything 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 the said will.

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, which I called the Indies, which are known by the name of America; and the Montezuma, 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 to the west of Española, 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 maritime 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 emoluments specified above; and considering that we are mortal, and that I cannot settle his affairs, and to leave declared to his heirs and successors the property he possesses or may have a right to: Wherefore I have concluded to create an estate, in the name of the said ten leagues of islands, places, and revenues, in the manner which I 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 God dispose of him also without leaving children and without having any other son, then my brother Don Bartholomew is to succeed; and after him his eldest son shall have a right to: Wherefore I have concluded to create an estate, in the name of the said ten leagues of islands, places, and revenues, in the manner which I now proceed to state.
nothing 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 the 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 their order, admiral of the sea, with all the pre-eminences held by Don Henrique in the admiralty of Castile, and they made me thereby perpetual and for ever, and 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, for 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—On the whole income of the estate; and the 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. Adelanta of the Indies, and this to continue till he shall have acquired an income of a million of maravedises, for his support, and for the services he has rendered and will continue to render to this entitled 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 thenceforth 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 this fourth part, whatever sum of maravedises, 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 received, and 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 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 anything from the said fourth part of the entitled estate, which shall remain with Don Diego, or whoever may inherit it.

Item: From the revenues of the said estate, or from any office for the fourth part, of it (should it not 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 reside in one 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 with which he is right; and this is to be given him in a mass, and before anything 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 honor; 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, or against his estate, 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 entitled estate, to dispose, or that my son Diego should dispose for me, of the tenth part of the income in favor of necessitous persons, as a tithe, and in commemoration of the Almighty and Eternal God; and persisting still in so disposing, and that 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 tenth 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, 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 entitled estate, that the said revenue shall be the base of what yearly or 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 said tenth, if their income do not amount to fifty thousand maravedises; and should any of these come to have an income to this amount, such a part shall be awarded them as persons, chosen for the purpose, may determine along with Don Diego, or his heirs. Thus, it is to be understood that the million 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 needful relations in the manner I have directed; and when Don Bartholomew have an income of one million, and if it is not sufficient to make up the million, then, if the said fourth part, then Don Diego my son, or the person who may be in possession of the estate, along with the two other persons which I shall herein point out, shall inspect the accounts, and so 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 quarter of the world, who shall be diligently 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 it arises from the estate, which shall be paid out of the fourth part, 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, leaving the said million in part or in the whole, he or she where, whom they shall look for diligently upon their consciences; and as it might happen that said Don
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If, therefore, the crown of the kingdom of the Indies, is to be divided among the heirs of the late 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 charge him on the estate, long sinceovereas, and 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 I above the tithe be paid in the manner I have directed.

Item: In order to avoid all disputes in the choice of the nearest relations who are to act with Don Diego or his heirs, I have elected Don Basta fermy my brother for one, and Don Fernando my son for the other; and when these two shall enter upon the business, they shall choose two other persons among the most worthy, and most nearly related, and these again shall elect two others when it shall be questioned of commencing the examination; and thus it shall be managed with diligence from one to the other, as well in this as in the other government, for the service and glory of God, and the benefit of the said entitled 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 line 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 state of the king and the basis in that city; from which great good may accrue to him, insomuch as I was born there, and came from there.

Item: I do direct, as a part of the estate, the property of the whole of this property, which exceeds three million for 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 his heirs, in a work of the Bank of St. George, which gives an interest of six per cent and in secure money; and this shall be devoted to the purpose I am about to explain.

Item: As it becomes every man of property to serve God, either personally or by means of his wealth, and as all money 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 upon the discovery of the Indies, it was with the intention of supplanting the king and our lords, that whatever monies should be derived from the said Indies, and as I did so, I shall save it; and if they do this, it will be well; and if not, all events, the said Diego, or such person as may succeed him in this trust, to collect together, and to one million, and the accompanying property, her lordship, should be on the conquest of Jerusalem, or else go there himself with all the force he can command; and in pursuing this intention, it will please God to assist him in the accomplishment of the plan; and should 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 the wealth and produce of the Indies, and let me but time to do such time as it may appear to him that there is a consequence of some manner of consequences may be effected as respects the king or other person, or whatever may intercede, to effect any of the following:

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 possessions in the Indies and government, amount to more than twenty-five per cent; I say that I require of him to employ in that revenue, as well as his person and all the means in his power, and faithfully serving and supporting his highnesses, or his 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 it was an undertaking of which all the world was ignorant, and no one had any faith in it; therefore I am by so much the more indebted to them, as well as because they have since been much favored and promoted.

Item: Also I require of Diego, or whosoever may be in possession of the estate, that the entire of any schism or taking place in the Church of God, or that any schism in possession of whatever condition, this shall be to despise it of its property and honors, and never 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 honor and property of the church.

Item: I command the said Diego, or whosoever may possess the said estate, to labor and strive for the honor, welfare, and aggrandizement of the city of Genoa, and to make use of all his powers and means in defending and enhancing the good and credit of that republic in all things not contrary to the interest of the Church of God, or the dignity of our king and queen, or our lords and their successors.

Item: The said Diego, or whosoever may possess the estate, shall have the right to choose for 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 the division, or others among our relations, shall apply and invest the 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 erected to say mass in the good of my soul, and those of my ancestors and successors with great devotion, since a chapel will please the Lord to give us a sufficient revenue for this and the aforementioned purposes.

Item: I also order Diego my son, or whosoever may inherit, to spare no pains in having and maintaining in the island of Hispaniola, four good professors of theology, to end and aim at their studying and laboring to convert our holy faith the inhabitants of the same, and also to give all the revenue of the estate, shall be used in the same degree the number of teachers and diverted increase, which are to strive to make Christians of the natives; in attaining which end, as I have 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 the 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 whosoever may succeed him in the estate, that every time, and as often as he pleases, he shall first show this obligation, or a copy of it, to the confessor, praying him to read through it, that he may be enabled to require its fulfillment; from which shall redound great good and happiness to his soul.
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 Gio. Batista Spotorno conjectures them to mean either Xristus (Christus) Sancta Maria Yosephus, or, Salve me, Xristus, Maria, Yosephus. The North American Review, for April, 1827, suggests the substitution of Jesus for Josephus, but the suggestion of Spotorno is most probably correct, as a common Spanish ejaculation is "Jesus Maria y José."

It was an ancient usage in Spain, and it has not 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 Mohammedans 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 prophecies which he considered as referring to his discoveries, 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 his signature, and gives great probability to the mode in which they have been deciphered.
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INTRODUCTION.

In the course of occasional visits to Canada many years since, I became intimately acquainted with some of the principal partners of the great Northwest Fur Company, who at that time lived in genial style at Montreal, and kept almost open house for the stranger. At their hospitable boards I occasionally met with partners, and clerks, and hardy fur traders from the interior posts; men who had passed years remote from civilized society, among distant and savage tribes, and who had wonder to recount of their wide and wild peregrinations, their hunting exploits, and their perilous adventures and hair-breadth escapes among the Indians. I was at an age when imagination lends its coloring to everything, and the stories of these Sinbads of the wilderness made the life of a trapper and fur trader perfect romance to me. I even meditated at one time a visit to the remote posts of the company in the boats which annually ascended the lakes and rivers, being thereto invited by one of the partners; and I have ever since regretted that I was prevented by circumstances from carrying my intention into effect. From those early impressions, the grand enterprises of the great fur companies, and the hazardous errantry of their associates in the wild parts of our vast continent, have always been themes of charmed interest to me; and I have felt anxious to get at the details of their adventurous expeditions among the savage tribes that peopled the depths of the wilderness.

About two years ago, not long after my return from a tour upon the prairies of the far West, I had a conversation with my friend, Mr. John Jacob Astor, relative to that portion of our country, and to the adventurous traders to Santa Fé and the Columbia. This led him to advert to a great enterprise set on foot and conducted by him, between twenty and thirty years since, having for its object to carry the fur trade across the Rocky Mountains, and to sweep the shores of the Pacific.

Finding that I took an interest in the subject, he expressed a regret that the true nature and extent of his enterprise and its national character and importance had never been understood, and a wish that I would undertake to give an account of it. The suggestion struck upon the chord of early associations, already vividly excited; and it occurred to me that a work of this kind might comprise a variety of those curious details, so interesting to me, illustrative of the fur trade; of its remote and adventurous enterprises, and of the various people, and tribes, and nations, and characters, civilized and savage, affected by its operations. The journals, and letters also, of the adventurers by sea and land employed by Mr. Astor in his comprehensive project, might throw light upon portions of our country quite out of the track of ordinary travel, and as yet but little known. I therefore felt disposed to undertake the task, provided documents of sufficient extent and minuteness could be furnished to me. All the papers relative to the enterprise were accordingly submitted to my inspection. Among them were journals and letters narrating expeditions by sea, and journeys to and fro across the Rocky Mountains by routes before untravelled, together with documents illustrative of savage and colonial life on the borders of the Pacific. With such materials in hand, I undertook the work. The trouble of rummaging among business papers, and of collecting and collating facts from amid tedious and commonplace details, was spared me by my nephew, Pierre M. Irving, who acted as my pioneer, and to whom I am greatly indebted for smoothing my path and lightening my labors.

As the journals on which I chiefly depended had been kept by men of business, intent upon the main object of the enterprise, and but little versed in science, or curious about matters not immediately bearing upon their interests, and as they were written often in moments of fatigue or hurry, amid the inconveniences of wild encampments, they were often meagre in their details, furnishing hints to provoke rather than narratives to satisfy inquiry. I have, therefore, availed myself occasionally of collateral lights supplied by the published journals of other travellers who have visited the scenes described: such as Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, Bradbury, Breckenridge, Long, Franchere, and Ross Cox, and make a general acknowledgment of aid received from these quarters.
The work I here present to the public is necessarily of a rambling and somewhat disjointed nature, comprising various expeditions and adventures by land and sea. The facts, however, will prove to be inked and banded together by one grand scheme, devised and conducted by a master spirit; one set of characters, also, continues throughout,hap-pening occasionally, though sometimes at long intervals, and the whole enterprise winds up by a regular catastrophe; so that the work, without any labored attempt at artificial construction, actually possesses much of that unity so much sought after in works of fiction, and considered so important to the interest of every history.

CHAPTER I.

Two leading objects of commercial gain have given birth to wide and daring enterprise in the early history of the Americas: the precious metals of the south, and the rich peltries of the north. While the fierce and magnificent Spaniard, inflamed with the mania for gold, has extended his discoveries and conquests over those brilliant countries scoured by the ardent sun of the tropics, the spirits and counsels of the Frenchmen, and the cool and calculating Briton, have pursued the less splendid, but no less lucrative, traffic in furs amid the hyperborean regions of the Canadas, until they have advanced even within the Arctic circle.

These two pursuits have thus in a manner been the pioneers and precursors of civilization. Without pausing on the borders, they have penetrated at once, in defiance of difficulties and dangers, to the heart of savage countries: laying open the hidden secrets of the wilderness; leading the way to remote regions of beauty and fertility that might have remained unexplored for ages, and beckoning after them the slow and pausing steps of agriculture and civilization.

It was the fur trade, in fact, which gave early sustenance and vitality to the great Canadian provinces. Being destitute of the precious metals, at that time the leading objects of American enterprise, they were the long neglected by some country. The French adventurers, however, who had settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence, soon found that in the rich peltries of the interior, they had sources of wealth that might almost rival the mines of Mexico and Peru. The Indians, as yet unacquainted with the artificial value given to some descriptions of furs, in civilized life, brought quantities of the most precious kinds and bartered them away for European trinkets and cheap commodities. Immense profits were thus made by the early traders, and the traffic was pursued with avidity.

As the valuable furs soon became scarce in the neighborhood of the settlements, the Indians of the vicinity were stimulated to take a wider range in their hunting expeditions: they were generally accompanied on these expeditions by some of the traders or their dependents, who shared in the toils and perils of the chase, and at the same time made themselves acquainted with the best hunting and trapping grounds, and with the remote tribes, whom they encouraged to bring their peltries to the settlements. In this way the trade augmented, and was drawn from remote quarters to Montreal. Every now and then a large body of Ottawa, Hurons, and other tribes who hunted the countries bordering on the great lakes, would come down in a squadron of light canoes, laden with beaver skins, and other spoils of their year's hunting. They would be seen, unladen, taken on shore, and their contents disposed in order. A camp of birch-bark would be pitched outside of the town, and a kind of primitive fair opened with that grave ceremonial so dear to the Indians. An audience would be demanded of the governor-general, who would hold the conference with becoming state, seated in an elbow chair, with the Indians ranged in semicircles before him, seated on the ground, and silently smoking their pipes. Speeches would be made, presents exchanged, and the audience would break up in universal good humor.

Now would ensue a brisk traffic with the merchants, and all Montreal would be alive with naked Indians running from shop to shop, bargaining for arms, kettles, knives, axes, and blankets, bright-colored cloths, and other articles of use or fancy; upon which, says an old French writer, the merchants were sure to clear at least two hundred per cent. There was no money used in this traffic, and, after a time, all payment in spirituous liquors was prohibited, in consequence of the frantic and frightful excesses and bloody brawls which they were apt to occasion.

Their wagons are all away, their way being supplied, they would take leave of the governor, strike their tents, launch their canoes, and ply their way up the Ottawa to the lakes.

A new and anomalous class of men gradually grew out of this trade. These were called coureurs des bois, rangers of the woods; originally men who had accompanied the Indians in their hunting expeditions, and made themselves acquainted with remote tracts and tribes; and who now became, as it were, pedlars of the wilderness. These men would set out from Montreal with canoes well stocked with goods, with arms and ammunition, and would make their way up the mazy and wandering rivers that interface the vast forests of the Canadas, coast the most remote lakes, and creating new wants and habit- ues among the natives. Sometimes they sojourned for months among them, assimilating to their tastes and habits with the happy facility of Frenchmen, adopting in some degree the Indian dress, and not infrequently taking to themselves Indian wives.

Twelve, fifteen, eighteen months would often elapse without any tidings of them, when they would come down the Ottawa in full glee, their canoes laden down with packs of beaver skins. Now came their turn for revelry and extravagance. "You would be amazed," says an old writer already quoted, "if you saw how lowd these pedlars are when they return; how they feast and game, and how prodigal they are, not only in their clothes, but upon their sweet-hearts. Such of them as are married have the wisdom to retire to their own houses; but the bachelors act just as an East Indian and pirates are wont to do; for they lavish, eat, drink, and play all away as long as the goods hold out; and when these are gone, they even sell their embroidery, their lace, and their clothes. This done, they are forced upon a new voyage for subsistence."

Many of these coureurs des bois became so accustomed to the Indian mode of living, and the perfect freedom of the wilderness, that they lost all relish for civilization, and identified themselves.

* La Hontan, v. 1. let. 4.
with the savages among whom they dwelt, or could only be distinguished from them by superior licentiousness. Their conduct and example gradually corrupted the natives, and impelled the wandering and the discontented missionaries, who were at this time prosecuting their pious labors in the wilds of Canada.

To check these abuses, and to protect the fur trade from various irregularities practised by these licensed traders, and guarded by the French Government prohibiting all persons, on pain of death, from trading into the interior of the country without a license.

These licenses were granted in writing by the governor-general, and at first were given only to persons of respectability; to gentlemen of broken fortunes; to old officers of the army who had families to provide for; or to their widows. Each license permitted the fitting out of two large canoes with merchandise for the lakes, and no more than twenty-five licenses were to be issued in one year. By degrees, however, private licenses were also granted, and the number rapidly increased. Those who did not choose to fit out the expeditions themselves, but wished to trade through the merchants; these employed the coureurs des bois, or rangers of the woods, to undertake the long voyages on shares, and thus the abuses of the old system were revived and continued.

The August mission, employed by the Roman Catholic Church to convert the Indians, did everything in their power to counteract the proselytism and propagating these men in the heart of the wilderness. The Catholic chapel might be regarded as an interloper planted beside the trading house, and its spire surrounded by a cross, towering from the midst of an Indian village, on the banks of a river or a lake. The missions had often a beneficial effect on the simple sons of the forest, but had little power over the renegades from civilization.

At length it was found necessary to establish fortified posts at the confluence of the rivers and the lakes for the protection of the trade; and the restraint of these multitudes of the wilderness. The most important of these was at Michilimackinac, situated at the strait of the same name, which connects Lakes Huron and Michigan. It became the great interior mart and place of deposit in which the traders who prosecuted the trade in person, under their licenses, formed establishments here. This, too, was a rendezvous for the rangers of the woods, as well those who came up with goods from Montreal as those who returned with peltries from the interior. Here new expeditions were fitted out, and took the post of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi; Lake Superior and the northwest; and here the peltries brought in return were embarked for Montreal.

The French merchant at his trading post, in these primitive days, of Canada, was a kind of commercial patriarch. With the lux habits and easy familiarity of his race, he had a little world of self-indulgence and misrule around him. He had his clerks, canoe-men, and retainers of all kinds, who lived with him on terms of perfect sociability, always calling him by his Christian name; he had his harem of Indian beauties, and his troop of half-breed children; nor was there ever wanting a loutish train of Indians, hanging about the establishment, eating and drinking at his expense in the intervals of their hunting expeditions.

The Canadian traders, for a long time, had troublesome competitors in the British merchants of New York, who employed the coureurs des bois to trade, and the coureurs des bois to their posts, and traded with them on more favorable terms. A still more formidable opposition was organized in the Hudson Bay Company, chartered by Charles II., in 1670, with the exclusive privilege of establishing trading houses on the shores of that bay and its tributary rivers; a privilege which they have maintained to the present day. Between this British company and the French merchants of Canada feuds occurred, and rivalries led to infringements of territorial limits, and acts of violence and bloodshed occurred between their agents.

In 1762 the French lost possession of Canada, and the trade fell principally into the hands of British subjects. For a time, however, it shrank within narrow limits. The old coureurs des bois were broken up and dispersed, or, where they could be met with, were slow to accustom themselves to the habits and employment of their English employers. They missed the freedom, indulgence, and familiarity of the old French trading houses, and did not relish the sober exactness, reserve, and method of the new-comers. The British traders, with whom they were naturally to confidence, and distrustful of the natives. They had reason to be so. The treacherous and bloody affairs of Detroit and Michilimackinac showed them the lurking hostility cherished by the savages, who had too long been taught by the French to regard them as enemies.

It was not until the year 1766 that the trade regained its old channels; but it was then pursued with much avidity and emulation by individual merchants, and soon transcended its former bounds. Expeditions were fitted out by various persons from Montreal and Michilimackinac, and rivalries and jealousies of course ensued. The trade was injured by their artifices to outbid and undermine each other; the Indians were daunted by the sale of spirituous liquors, which had been prohibited under the French rule. Scenes of drunkenness, brutality, and brawl were the consequence, in the Indian villages and around the trading houses; while bloody feuds took place between rival trading parties when they happened to encounter each other in the lawless depths of the wilderness.

To put an end to these sordid and ruinous contentions, several of the principal merchants of
Montreal entered into a partnership in the winter of 1783, which was augmented by amalgamation with a rival company in 1787. Thus was constituted the famous "Northwest Company," which for a time held a lordly sway over the wintry lakes and boundless forests of the Canadas, almost equal to that of the East India Company over the vantageous climes and magnificent realms of the Orient.

The company consisted of twenty-three share-holders or partners, but held in its employ about two thousand persons as clerks, guides, interpreters, and "voyageurs," or boatmen. These were distributed at various trading posts, established far and wide on the interior lakes and rivers, at immense distances from each other, and in the heart of trackless countries and savage tribes.

Several of the partners resided in Montreal and Quebec, to manage the main concerns of the company. These were called agents, and were personages of great weight and importance; the other partners took their stations at the interior posts, where they remained throughout the winter, to superintend the intercourse with the various tribes of Indians. They were hence called wintering partners.

The goods destined for this wide and wandering people were put up at the warehouses of the company at Montreal, and conveyed in bateaux, or boats and canoes, up the River Attawa, or Ottawa, which falls into the St. Lawrence near Montreal, and by other rivers and portages to Lake Huron, Lake Superior, and thence, by several chains of great and small lakes, up to Lake Winnipeg, Lake Athabasca, and the Great Slave Lake. This singular and beautiful system of internal seas, which renders an immense region of wilderness so accessible to the frail bark of the Indian or the trader, was studded by the remote posts of the company, where they carried on their traffic with the surrounding tribes.

The company, as we have shown, was at first a spontaneous association of merchants; but after it had been regularly organized, admission into it became extremely difficult. A candidate had to enter, as it were, "before the mast," to undergo a long probation, and to rise slowly by his merits and attainments. He began as a clerk, and served an apprenticeship of seven years, for which he received one hundred pounds sterling, was maintained at the expense of the company, and furnished with suitable clothing and equipments. His probation was generally passed at the interior trading posts; removed for years from civilized society, leading a life almost as wild and precarious as the savages around him; exposed to the severities of a northern winter, often suffering from a scarcity of food, and sometimes destitute for a long time of both bread and salt. When his apprenticeship had expired, he received a salary according to his deserts, varying from eighty to one hundred and sixty pounds sterling; and was now eligible to the greater object of his ambition, a partnership in the company; though years might yet elapse before he attained to that enviable station.

Most of the clerks were young men of good families, from the Highlands of Scotland, characterized by a strong sense of honor, and fitted by their native hardihood to encounter the rigorous climate of the north, and to endure the trials and privations of their lot; though it must not be concealed that the constitutions of many of them became impaired by the hardships of the wilderness, and their stomachs injured by occasional famines, and especially by the want of bread and salt. Now and then, at an interval of years, they were permitted to come down on a visit to the establishment at Montreal, to recruit their health, and to have a taste of civilized life; and these were brilliant spots in their existence.

As to the principal partners or agents, who resided in Montreal and Quebec, they formed a kind of commercial aristocracy, living in lordly and hospitable style. Their early associations with clerks at the remote trading posts, and the pleasures, dangers, adventures, and mishaps which they had shared together in their wild wood life, had linked them heartily to each other, so that they formed a convivial fraternity. Few travelers that have visited Canada some thirty years since, in the days of the M'Tavishes, the M'Clenzas, the Froshipers, and the other magnates of the northwest, when the company was in all its glory, but must remember the round of festivities and conviviality kept up among these hyperborean nobobs.

Sometimes one or two partners, recently from the interior posts, would make their appearance in New York, in the course of a tour of pleasure and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On these occasions, great merriment and curiosity. On the other hand, the conduct at Montreal, as well as the manners, was always a degree of magnificence of the purse about them, and a peculiar propensity to expenditure at the goldsmith's and jeweller's, for rings, chains, brooches, necklaces, jewelled watches, and other trifles, which presents to their female acquaintances; a gorgeous prodigality, such as was often to be noticed in former times in southern planters and West India creoles, when flush with the profits of their plantations.

To behold the Northwest Company in all its state and grandeur, however, it was necessary to witness an annual gathering at the great interior place of conference established at Fort William, near what is called the Grand Portage, on Lake Superior. Here two or three of the leading partners from Montreal proceeded once a year to meet the partners from the various trading posts of the wilderness, to discuss the affairs of the company during the preceding year, and to arrange plans for the ensuing one.

On these occasions might be seen the change since the unceremonious times of the old French traders; now the aristocratical character of the Briton shone forth magnificently, or rather the feudal spirit of the Highlander. Every partner who had charge of an interior post, and a score of retainers at his command, felt like the chieftain of a Highland clan, and was almost as important in the eyes of his dependents as of himself. To him a visit to the grand conference at Fort William was a most important event; and he repaired there as to a meeting of parliament.

The partners from Montreal, however, were the lords of the ascendant; coming from the midst of luxurious and ostentatious life, they quite eclipsed the company, and, in their persons, and conducted themselves in suitable style. They ascended the rivers in great state, like sovereigns making a progress; or rather like Highland chieftains navigating their
subject lakes. They were wrapped in rich furs, their huge canoes freighted with every convenience and luxury, and manned by Canadian voyageurs, as obedient as Highland clansmen. They carried up with them cooks and bakers, together with delicacies of every kind, and abundance of choice wines for the banquets which attended this great convocation. Happy were they, too, if they could meet with some distinguished stranger; above all, some titled member of the British nobility, to accompany them on this statey occasion and grace their high role in its festivities.

Fort William, the scene of this important annual meeting, was a considerable village on the banks of Lake Superior. Here, in an immense wooden building, was the great council hall, as also the banqueting chamber, decorated with Indian arms and accoutrements, and the trophies of the fur trade. The house swarmed at this time with traders and voyageurs, some from Montreal, bound to the interior posts; some from the interior posts, bound to Montreal. The councils were held in great state, for every member felt as if sitting in parliament, and every retainer and dependent looked up to the assemblage with awe, as to the house of lords. There was a vast deal of talking and deliberation, and hard Scotch reasoning, with an occasional swell of pompous declamation.

These grave and weighty councils were alternated by huge feasts and revels, some of the old French character - banquets in the great banqueting room groaned under the weight of game and all kinds of venison from the woods, and fish from the lakes, with hunters' delicacies, such as buffalo's tongues and bearers' tails; and vast luxuries from Montreal, all served up by experienced cooks brought for the purpose. There was no stint of generous wine, for it was a hard-drinking period, a time of loyal toasts, and bacchanalian songs, and brimming basons.

While the chiefs thus revelled in hull, and made the rafters resound with bursts of loyalty and old Scottish songs, chanted in voices cracked and sharpened by the northern blast, their merriment was echoed and prolonged by a mongrellegion of garderobes, and hangers-on, and vagabond hangers-on, who feasted sumptuously without on the crumbs that fell from their table, and made the wellkin ring with old French ditties, mingled with Indian yells and yowls.

Thus was the Northwest Company in its powerful and prosperous days, when it held a kind of feudal sway over a vast domain of lake and forest. We are dwelling too long, perhaps, upon these individual pictures, tendered to us by the associations of early life, when, as yet a stripling, we had at the hospital boards of the "mighty Northwesterns," the lords of the ascendancy at Montreal, and gazed with wonder and experienced eye at the baronial war-slaughter, and listened with attention to their tales of hardships and adventures. It is one object of our task, however, to present scenes of the rough life of the wilderness, and we are tempted to fix these few memorials of a transient state of things past passing into the annals of the history of this part of the American continent. William is at an end; its council-chamber is silent and deserted; its banquet-hall no longer echoes to the burst of loyalty, or the "auld world" ditty; the lords of the lakes and forests have passed away; and the hospitable magnates of Montreal - where are they?
can market, he embarked, in the month of November, 1783, in a ship bound to Baltimore, and arrived in Hampton Roads in the month of January. The winter was extremely severe, and the ship, with many others, was detained by the ice in and about Chesapeake Bay for nearly three months. During this period the passengers of the various ships used occasionally to go on shore, and mingle sociably together. In this way Mr. Astor became acquainted with a countryman of his, a carrier by trade. Having had a previous impression that this might be a lucrative trade in the New World, he made many inquiries of his new acquaintance on the subject, who cheerfully gave him all the information in his power as to the quality and value of different furs, and the mode of carrying on the traffic. He subsequently accompanied him to New York, and, by his advice, Mr. Astor was induced to invest the proceeds of his merchandise in furs. With these he sailed from New York to London in 1784, disposed of them advantageously, made himself further acquainted with the course of the trade, and returned the same year to New York, with a view to settle in the United States.

He now devoted himself to the branch of commerce with which he had thus casually been made acquainted. He began his career, of course, on the narrowest scale; but he brought to the task a persevering industry, rigid economy, and strict integrity. To these was added an aspiring spirit that always looked upward; a genius bold, fertile, and expansive; a sagacity quick to grasp and convert every circumstance to its advantage, and a singular and never-waverling confidence of signal success.

As yet trade in peltries was not organized in the United States, and could not be said to form a regular line of business. Furs and skins were casually collected by the country traders in their dealings with the Indians or the white hunters, but the main supply was derived from Canada. As Mr. Astor's means increased he made annual visits to Montreal, where he purchased furs from the houses at that place engaged in the trade. These he shipped from Canada to London, no direct trade being allowed from that colony to any but the mother country.

In 1794 or '95, a treaty with Great Britain removed all restrictions imposed upon the trade with the colonies, and opened a direct commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States. Mr. Astor was in London at the time, and immediately made a contract with the agents of the Northwest Company for furs. He was now enabled to import them from Montreal into the United States for the home supply, and to be shipped thence to different parts of Europe, as well as to China, which has ever been the best market for the richest and finest kinds of peltry.

The treaty in question provided, likewise, that the military posts occupied by the British within the territorial limits of the United States should be surrendered; viz., Fort George, Niagara, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other posts on the American side of the lakes were given up. An opening was thus made for the American merchant to trade on the confines of Canada, and within the territories of the United States. After an interval of some years, about 1807, Mr. Astor embarked in this trade on his own account. His capital and resources had by this time greatly augmented, and he had risen from small beginnings to take his place among the first merchants and financiers of the country. His genius had ever been in advance of his circumstances, prompting him to new and wide fields of enterprise beyond the scope of ordinary merchants. With all his enterprise and resources, however, he soon found the power and influence of the Michilimackinac (or Mackinaw) Company too great for him, having engrossed most of the trade within the American borders.

A plan had to be devised to enable him to enter into competition with this company. He was aware of the wish of the American government, already stated, that the fur trade within its boundaries should be in the hands of American citizens, and of the ineffectual measures it had taken to accomplish that object. He offered, if aided and protected by government, to turn the whole of that trade into American channels. He was invited to unfold his plans to government, and they were warmly approved, though the executive could give no direct aid.

Thus counseled, however, he obtained, in 1809, a charter from the Legislature of the State of New York, incorporating a company under the name of "The American Fur Company," with a capital of one million of dollars, with the privilege of increasing it to two millions. The capital was furnished by himself—he, in fact, constituted the company; for, though he had a board of directors, they were merely nominal; the whole business was conducted on his plans, and with his resources, but he preferred to do so under the imposing and formidable aspect of a corporation rather than in his individual name, and his policy was sagacious and effective.

As the Mackinaw Company still continued its rivalry, and as the fur trade would not advantageously admit competition, he made a new arrangement in 1811, by which, in conjunction with certain partners of the Northwest Company, and other persons engaged in the fur trade, he bought out the Mackinaw Company, and merged that and the American Fur Company into a new association, to be called "The Southwest Company." This he likewise did with the privity and approval of the American government.

By this arrangement Mr. Astor became proprietor of one half of the Indian establishments and goods which the Mackinaw Company had within the territory of the Indian country in the United States, and it was understood that the whole was to be surrendered into his hands at the expiration of five years, on condition that the American Company would not trade within the British dominions.

Unluckily, the war which broke out in 1812 between Great Britain and the United States suspended the association; and after the war it was entirely dissolved; Congress passed a law prohibiting British fur traders from prosecuting their enterprises within the territories of the United States.
ASTORIA.

CHAPTER III.

While the various companies we have noticed were pushing their enterprises far and wide in the wilds of Canada, and along the course of the great western waters, other adventurers, intent on the same end, were traversing the wilderness, the backwoods, and the wastes of the Pacific and skirting the northwest coast of America. The last voyage of that renowned but unfortunate discoverer, Captain Cook, had made known the vast quantities of the sea-water consumed in the fisheries of the coast, and the immense prices to be obtained for its fur in China. It was as if a new gold coast had been discovered. Individuals from various countries dashed into this lucrative traffic, so that in the year 1792 there were twenty-one vessels under different flags, plying along the coast and trading with the natives. The greater part of them were American, and owned by Boston merchants. They generally remained on the coast and about the adjacent seas for two years, carrying on a wandering and adventurous commerce on the water as did the traders and trappers on land. Their trade extended along the whole coast from California to the high northern latitudes. They would run in near shore, anchor, and wait for the natives to come in along the coast in canoes. The trade exhausted at one place, they would up anchor and off to another. In this way they would consume the summer, and when winter came on, would run down to the Sandwich Islands and winter in some friendly and plentiful harbor. In the following year they would resume their summer trade, commencing at California and proceeding north, and, having in the course of the two seasons collected a sufficient cargo of peltries, would make the best of their way to China. There they would sell their furs, take in teas, mancanes, and other merchandise, and return to Boston, after an absence of two or three years.

The people, however, who entered most extensively and effectively in the fur trade of the Pacific were the Russians. Instead of making casual voyages, in transit ships, they established regular trading houses in the high latitudes, along the northwest coast of America, and upon the chain of the Aleutian Islands between Kamtchatka and the promontory of Alaska.

To promote and protect these enterprises a company was incorporated by the Russian government with exclusive privileges, and a capital of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; and the sovereignty of that part of the American continent along the coast of which the posts had been established, was claimed by the Russian crown, on the plea that the land had been discovered and occupied by its subjects.

As China was the grand mart for the furs collected in these quarters, the Russians had the advantage over their competitors in the trade. The latter had to take their peltries to Canton, which, however, was a mere receiving mart, from whence they had to be distributed over the interior of the empire and sent to the northern parts, where there was the chief consumption. The Russians, on the contrary, carried their furs, by a shorter voyage, directly to the northern parts of the empire, and to the countries, so as to afford them in the market without the additional cost of internal transportation.

We come now to the immediate field of operation of the great enterprise we have undertaken to illustrate.

Among the American ships which traded along the northwest coast in 1792 was the Columbia, Captain Gray, of Boston. In the course of her voyage she discovered the mouth of a large river in lat. 40° 19' north. Entering it with some difficulty, on account of sand-bars and breakers, she came to anchor at the entrance of the river, which was well named, and sent on shore to a village on the beach, but all the inhabitants fled excepting the aged and infirm. The kind manner in which these were treated, and the presents given to them, gradually lured back the others, and a friendly intercourse took place. They had never seen a ship or a white man. When they had first described the Columbia, they had supposed it a floating island; then some monster of the deep; but when they saw the boat putting for shore with human beings on board, they considered them cannibals sent by the Great Spirit to ravage the country and devour the inhabitants. Captain Gray did not ascend the river farther than the bay in question, which continues to hear his name.

After putting to sea he fell in with the celebrated discoverer, Vancouver, and informed him of his discovery, furnishing him with a chart which he had made of the river. Vancouver visited the river, and his lieutenant, Broughton, explored it by travelling up the river for two months, descending it upward of one hundred miles, until within view of a snowy mountain, to which he gave the name of Mount Hood, which it still retains.

The existence of this river, however, was known long before the visits of Gray and Vancouver, but the information concerning it was vague and indefinite, being gathered from the reports of the Indians. It was spoken of by travellers as the Oregon, and as the great river of the west. A Spanish ship is said to have been wrecked at the mouth, several of the crew of which lived for some time among the natives. The Columbia, however, is believed to be the first ship that made a regular discovery and anchored within its waters, and it has since generally borne the name of that vessel.

As early as 1763, shortly after the acquisition of the Canadians by Great Britain, Captain Jonathan Carver, who had been in the British provincial army, projected a journey to the northwest coast of America. The latitude, between the forty-third and forty-sixth degrees of northern latitude, to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. His objects were to ascertain the breadth of the continent at its broadest part, and to determine on some place on the shores of the Pacific where government might establish a post to facilitate the discovery of a northwest passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean. This place he presumed would be somewhere about the Straits of Aninn, at which point he supposed the Oregon disembogued itself. It was his opinion also that a settlement on this extremity of America would disclose new sources of trade, promote many useful discoveries, and open a more direct communication with China and the European settlements in the East Indies, than that by the Cape of Good Hope or the Straits of Magellan. This enterprising and intrepid traveller was twice baffled in individual efforts to accomplish his great journey. In 1774 he was joined by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, a man of worth, a member of Parliament, and a man of wealth. Their enterprise was projected on a broad and bold plan. They were to take with
them fifty or sixty men, artificers and mariners. With these they were to make their way up one of the branches of the Missouri, explore the
mountains for the source of the Oregon, or river of the west, and sail down that river to its sup-
posed exit near the Straits of Anian. Here they were to erect a fort, and build the vessels necessary
to carry their discoveries by sea into effect. Their plan had the sanction of the British gov-
ernment, and grants and other requisites were
severely completed when the breaking out of the Ar-
gonaut Expedition more decided the undertaking.

The expedition of Sir Alexander Mackenzie in
1793, across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, which he reached in lat. 52° 20' 48", again sug-
gested the possibility of linking together the trade of both sides of the continent. In lat. 32° 30' he had descended a river for some distance which flowed toward the south, and was called by the natives Tacouche Tesco, and which he errone-
ously supposed to be the Columbia. It was afterward ascertained that it emptied itself in lat.
40°, whereas the mouth of the Columbia is about three degrees farther south.

When Mackenzie some years subsequently pub-
lished his Narratives, he suggested the policy of opening an intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and forming regular establishments through the interior and at both extremes, as well as along the coasts and islands. By this means, he observed, the entire commerce of the far trade of North America might be obtained from lat. 48° north to the pole, excepting that portion held by the Russians, for as to the American adventurers who had hitherto enjoyed the traffic along the northwest coast, they would instantly disappear, he added, before a well regulated trade.

A scheme of this kind, however, was too vast and hazardous for individual enterprise; it could only be undertaken by a company under the sanction and protection of a government; and as there might be a clashing of claims between the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Company, the one holding by right of charter, the other by right of possession, he proposed that the two companies should co-operate in this great undertaking. The long-cherished jealousies of these two companies, however, were too deep and strong to allow them to listen to such counsel.

In the mean time the attention of the American government was attracted to the subject, and the memorable expedition under Messrs. Lewis and Clarke fitted out. These gentlemen, in 1804, ac-
accomplished the enterprise which had been pro-
ounced by Carver and Whithworth in 1774. They
ascended the Missouri, passed through the stup-
endous gates of the Rocky Mountains, hitherto unknown to white men; discovered and explored the upper waters of the Columbia, and followed that river down to its mouth, where their country-
man, Gray, had anchored about twelve years previous. Here they passed the winter, and re-
turned across the mountains in the following spring. The reports published by them of their expedition demonstrated the practicability of estab-
lishing a line of communication across the con-

inent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.
It was then that the idea presented itself to the mind of Mr. Astor, of grasping with his individ-
ual hand this great enterprise, which for years had been dubiously yet desirously contemplated by

* Carver's Travels, p. 360. Philad. 1796

powerful associations and maternal governments. For some time he revolved the idea in his mind, gradually extending and maturing his plans as his means of executing them augmented. The main feature of his scheme was to establish a line of trading posts along the Missouri and the Colum-
bia, to the mouth of the latter, which should be founded the chief trading house or mart. In-
terior posts would be established in the interior, and on all the tributary streams of the Columbia, to trade with the Indians; these posts would draw their supplies from the Columbia and the Missouri, and bring to it the peltries they collected. Coast-
ing craft would be built and fitted out, also at the mouth of the Columbia, to trade, at favorable seasons, all along the northwest coast, and return, with the proceeds of their voyages, to this place of deposit. Thus all the Indian trade, both of the interior and the coast, would converge to this point, and there derive its sustenance.

A ship was to be sent annually from New York to this main establishment with reinforcements and supplies, and with merchandise suited to the trade. It would take on board the furs collected during the preceding year, carry them to Canton, invest the proceeds in the rich merchandise of China, and return to New York.

As, in extending the American trade along the coast to the northward, it might be brought into the vicinity of the Russian Fur Company, and produce a hostile rivalry, it was part of the plan of Mr. Astor to conciliate the good will of that company by the most amicable and beneficial ar-
rangements. The Russian establishment was chieflv dependent for its supplies upon transient trading vessels from the United States. These vessels, however, were often of more harm than advantage. Being owned by private adventurers or casual voyagers, who cared only for present profit, and had no interest in the permanent prosperity of the trade, they were reckless in their dealings with the natives, and made no scruple of supplying them with firearms. In this way several fierce tribes in the vicinity of the Russian posts, or within the range of their trading excursions, were furnished with deadly weapons of warfare, and rendered troublesome and dangerous neighbors.

The Russian government had made representa-
tions to that of the United States of these mal-
practices on the part of its citizens, and urged to
have this traffic in arms prohibited; but, as it offered no protection against them, the Ameri-
can government could not interfere. Yet still it regarded, with solicitude, a traffic which, if persisted in, might give offence to Russia, at that time almost the only power friendly to us. In this dilemma the government had applied to Mr. Astor, as one
conversant in this branch of trade, for informa-
tion that might point out a way to remedy the evil. This circumstance had suggested to him the idea of supplying the Russian establishment regularly by means of the annual ship that should visit the settlement at the mouth of the Columbia (or Oregon); by this means the casual trading vessels would be excluded from those parts of the coast where their malpractices were so injurious to the Russians.

Such is a short outline of the enterprise projected by Mr. Astor, but which continually expanded in his mind. Indeed it is due to him to say that he was not actuated by mere motives of individ-
ual profit. He was already wealthy beyond the ordinary desires of man, but he now aspired to that honorable fame which is awarded to men of
similar scope of mind, who by their great commercial enterprises have enriched nations, peoples, and the world. He considered his projected establishment at the mountains to be a step toward an immense commerce; as a colony that would form the germ of a wide civilization; that would, in fact, carry the American population across the Rocky Mountains and spread itself along the shores of the Pacific, as it already animated the shores of the Atlantic.

As Mr. Astor, by the magnitude of his commercial and financial relations, and the vigor and scope of his self-taught mind, had elevated himself into the consideration of government and the commerce and correspondence with leading statesmen, he, at an early period, communicated his schemes to President Jefferson, soliciting the countenance of government. How highly they were esteemed by that eminent man, we may judge by the following passage, written by him some time afterward to Mr. Astor.

"I remember well having invited your proposition on this subject, and encouraged it with these assurances of every facility and protection which the government could properly afford. I considered, as a great public acquisition, the commencement of a settlement on that point of the Western coast of America, and looked forward with gratification to the time when its descendants should spread themselves through the whole length of that coast, covering it with free and independent Americans, not only with the ties of blood and interest, and enjoying like us the rights of self-government."

The cabinet joined with Jefferson in warmly approving the plan, and held out assurance of every protection that could be given, consistently with general policy, and be afforded.

Mr. Astor now prepared to carry his scheme into prompt execution. He had some competition, however, to apprehend and guard against. The Northwest Company, acting feebly and partially upon the suggestions of its former agent, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, had pushed one or two advanced trading posts across the Rocky Mountains, into a tract of country visited by that enterprising traveler, and since named New Caledonia. This tract lay about two degrees north of the Columbia, and intervened between the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company and those of the Russian Empire. Its length was about five hundred and fifty miles, and its breadth, from the mountains to the Pacific, from three hundred to three hundred and fifty geographical miles.

Should the Northwest Company persist in extending their trade in that quarter, their competition might be of serious detriment to the plans of Mr. Astor. It is true they would contend with him to a vast disadvantage, from the checks and restrictions to which they were subjected. They wanted trading posts across the Rocky Mountains, to trade with the Indians, and to establish themselves beyond the mountains; nor, if they had one, could they ship their furs thence to China, as that great market for peltries; the Chinese trade being comprised in the monopoly of the East India Company. Their post beyond the mountains had to be supplied in yearly expeditions, like caravans, from Montreal, or other places, and the furs collected thereon was a long, precarious, and expensive route, across the continent. Mr. Astor, on the contrary, would be able to supply his proposed establishment at the mouth of the Columbia by sea, and to ship the furs collected there directly to China, so as to undersell the Northwest Company in the great Chinese market.

Still, the competition of two rival companies west of the Rocky Mountains could not but prove detrimental to both, and fraught with those evils, both to the trade and to the Indians, that had attended similar rivalries in the Canadas. To prevent any contest of the kind, therefore, he made known his plan to the agents of the Northwest Company, and proposed to interest them, to the extent of one third, in the trade thus to be opened. Some correspondence and negotiation ensued. The company were aware of the advantages which would be possessed by Mr. Astor should he be able to carry his scheme into effect; but they anticipated the monopoly of the trade as carried on by the companies already established in New Caledonia, and were loath to share it with an individual who had already proved a formidable competitor in the Atlantic trade. They hoped, too, by a timely move, to secure the mouth of the Columbia before Mr. Astor would be able to put his plans into operation; and, that key to the internal trade once in their possession, the whole country would be at their command. After some negotiation and delay, therefore, they declined the proposition that had been made to them, but subsequently dispatched a party for the mouth of the Columbia, to establish a post there before any expedition sent out by Mr. Astor might arrive.

In the mean time Mr. Astor finding his overtures rejected, proceeded fearlessly to execute his enterprise in face of the whole power of the Northwest Company. His main establishment once planted at the mouth of the Columbia, he looked to the Hudson's Bay Company for assistance, which he obtained by reinforecement and supply it being supplied by them, he would push his interior posts in every direction up the rivers and along the coast; supplying the natives at a lower rate, and thus gradually oblige the Northwest Company to relinquish New Caledonia, and retire to the other side of the mountains. He would then have possession of the trade, not merely of the Columbia and its tributaries, but of the regions farther north, quite to the Russian possessions. Such was a part of his brilliant and comprehensive plan.

He now proceeded, with all diligence, to procure proper agents and coadjutors, habituated to the Indian trade and to the life of the wilderness. Among the candidates for ultimate success, there were several of great capacity and experience, who had served out their probationary terms, but who, either through lack of interest and influence, or a want of vacancies, had not been promoted. They were consequently ready and prepared for any employment in which their talents and acquirements might be turned to better account.

Mr. Astor made his overtures to several of these persons, and of three of them carried him to Beijing. One of these, Mr. Alexander M'Kay, had accompanied Sir Alexander Mackenzie in both of his expeditions to the northwest coast of
America in 1789 and 1793. The other two were Duncan M'Dougal and Donald M'Kenzie. To these were subsequently added Mr. Wilson Price Hunt, of New Jersey. As this gentleman was a native born citizen of the United States, a person of great probity and worth, he was selected by Mr. Astor to be his chief agent, and to represent him in the contemplated establishment.

On the 26th of October, 1810, articles of agreement were entered into between Mr. Astor and those four gentlemen, acting for themselves and for the several persons who had already agreed to become, or should thereafter become associated under the firm of "The Pacific Fur Company."

According to these articles Mr. Astor was to be the head of the company, and to manage its affairs in New York. He was to furnish vessels, goods, provisions, arms, ammunition, and all other requisites for the enterprize at first cost and charges, provided that they did not, at any time, involve an advance of more than four hundred thousand dollars.

The stock of the company was to be divided into a hundred equal shares, with the profits accruing thereon. Fifty shares were to be at the disposition of Mr. Astor, and the other fifty to be divided among the partners and their associates.

Mr. Astor was to have the privilege of introducing persons into the connection as partners, two of whom, at least, should be conversant with the Indian trade, and none of them entitled to more than three shares.

A general meeting of the company was to be held annually at Columbia River, for the investigation and regulation of its affairs; at which absent members might be represented, and might vote by proxy under certain specified conditions.

The association, if successful, was to continue for twenty years; but the parties had full power to abandon and dissolve it within the first five years, should it be found unprofitable. For this term Mr. Astor covenanted to bear all the loss that might be incurred; after which it was to be borne by all the partners, in proportion to their respective shares.

The parties of the second part were to execute faithfully such duties as might be assigned to them by a majority of the company on the northwest coast, and to repair to such place or places as the majority might direct.

An agent, appointed for the term of five years, was to reside at the principal establishment on the northwest coast, and Wilson Price Hunt was the one chosen for the first term. Should the interests of the concern at any time require his absence, a person was to be appointed, in general meeting, to take his place.

Such were the leading conditions of this association; we shall now proceed to relate the various hardy and eventful expeditions, by sea and land, to which it gave rise.

CHAPTER IV.

In prosecuting his great scheme of commerce and colonization, two expeditions were devised by Mr. Astor, one by sea, the other by land. The former was to carry out the people, stores, ammunition, and merchandise requisite for establishing a fortified trading post at the mouth of Columbia River. The latter, conducted by Mr. Hunt, was to proceed up the Missouri, and across the Rocky Mountains, to the same point; exploring a line of communication from the continent, and noting the places where interior trading posts might be established. The expedition by sea was the one which comes first under consideration.

A fine ship was provided, called the Tonquin, of two hundred and ninety tons burden, mounting ten guns, with a crew of twenty men. She was fitted out with the requisite for trading with the natives of the seaboard and of the interior, together with the frame of a schooner, to be employed in the coasting trade. Seeds also were provided for the cultivation of the soil, and nothing was neglected for the necessary supply of the establishment. The command of the ship was intrusted to Jonathan Thorn, of New York, a lieutenant in the United States Navy, on leave of absence. He was a man of courage and firmness who had distinguished himself in our Tripolitan war, and, from being accustomed to naval discipline, was considered by Mr. Astor as well fitted to take charge of an expedition of the kind.

Four of the partners were to embark in the ship, namely, Messrs. M'Cay, M'Dougal, David Stuart, and his nephew, Robert Stuart. Mr. M'Dougal was empowered by Mr. Astor to act as his proxy, in the absence of Mr. Hunt, to vote for him and in his name, on any question that might come before any meeting of the persons interested in the voyage.

Besides the partners, there were twelve clerks to go out in the ship, several natives of Canada, who had some experience in Indian trade. They were bound to the company for five years, at the rate of one hundred dollars a year, payable at the expiration of the term, and an annual equipment of clothing to the amount of forty dollars. In case of id &ct they were liable to forfeit their wages and be dismissed; but, should they acquit themselves well, the confident expectation was held out to them of promotion, and partnership. Their interests were thus, to some extent, identified with those of the company.

Several artisans were likewise to sail in the ship, for the supply of the colony; but the most peculiar and characteristic part of this most enterprising embarkment consisted of thirteen Canadian voyageurs, who had enlisted for the term of four years. As this class of functionaries will continually recur in the course of the following narrations, and as they form one of those distinct and strongly marked castes or orders of men springing up in this vast continent out of geographical circumstances, or the varied pursuits, habits, and origins of its population, we shall sketch a few of their characteristics for the information of the reader.

The voyageurs form a kind of confederacy in the Canadas, like the arrieros, or carriers of Spain, and, like them, are employed in long internal expeditions of travel and traffic: with this difference, that the arrieros travel by land, the voyageurs by water; the former with mules and horses, the latter with batteaux and canoes. The voyageurs may be said to have sprung up out of the fur traders, having originally been employed by the early French merchants in their trading expeditions through the labyrinth of rivers and lakes of the boundless interior. They were employed in the conipany of the voyageurs, or runners of the woods, already noticed, and, like them, in the intervals of their long, arduous, and laborious expeditions, were prone to pass their time in idleness and revelry about the trading posts or settlements, squandering their hard earnings in heedless con-
vitality, and rivaling their neighbors, the Indians, in indolent indulgence and an impudent disregard of the morrow.

When Canada passed under British domination, and the old French trading houses were broken up, the voyageurs, like the couriers des bois, were for a time disheartened and disconsolate, and with difficulty could reconcile themselves to the service of the new-comers, so different in habits, manners, and language from their former employers. By degrees, however, they became accustomed to the change, and at length came to consider the British fur traders, and especially the members of the Northwest Company, as the legitimate lords of creation.

The dress of these people is generally half civilized, half savage. They wear a capot or surcoat, made of a blanket, a striped cotton shirt, cloth trousers, or leather leggings, mocassins of deerskin, and a belt of variegated worsted, from which are suspended the knife, tobacco-pouch, and other implements. Their language is of the same piquel character, being a French patois, embroideried with Indian and English words and phrases.

The lives of the voyageurs are passed in wild and extensive roving, in the service of individuals and the company, from the banks of the Hudson to the shores of Lake Champlain; traversed the lake in it, from end to end; hoisted it again in a wagon and wheeled it off to Lansingburgh, and there launched it upon the waters of the Hudson. This river they plied their course merrily on a fine summer's day, making its banks resound for the first time with their old French boat songs; passing by the villages with whom and hallo, so as to make the honest Dutch farmers mistake them for a crew of savages. In this way they swept, in full song, and with regular flourish of the paddle, round New York, in a still summer evening, to the wonder and admiration of its inhabitants, who had never before witnessed on their waters a nautical apparition of the kind.

Such was the variegated band of adventurers about to embark in the Tonquin on this arduous and doubtful enterprise. While yet in port and on dry land, in the lustre of preparation and the excitement of novelty, all was sunshine and promise. The Canadians, enriched by the shelter of the two expeditions, the more advanced towards the west, the more enriched by the success of the expedition, all were confident that, with their hardihood and capacity to endure privations, if Mr. Astor ventured to hint at the difficulties they might have to encounter, they treated them with scorn. They were 'northerners'; men seasoned to hardships, who cared for neither wind nor weather. They could live hard, lie hard, sleep hard, eat dogs! — in a word they were ready to do and suffer anything for the good of the enterprise. With all this profusion of zeal and devotion, Mr. Astor was not over-confident of the stability and firm faith of these mercurial beings. He had received information, also, that an armed brig from Halifax, probably at the instigation of the Northwest Company, was lying off the coast of the Tonquin, with the purpose of impressing the Canadians on board of her, as British subjects, and thus interrupting the voyage. It was a time of doubt and anxiety, when the relations between the United States and Great Britain assumed a more precarious aspect and verging toward that war which shortly ensued. As a pre
cautious measure, therefore, he required that the
voyageurs, as they were about to enter into the
service of an American association, and to reside
within the limits of the United States, should take
their oaths of naturalization as American citizens.
To this they readily agreed, and shortly afterward
assured him that they had actually done so.
It was not until after they had sailed that he discov-
ered that they had entirely deceived him in the
matter.

The confidence of Mr. Astor was abused in an-
other quarter. Two of the partners, both of
them Scotchmen, and recently in the service of
the Northwest Company, had misgivings as to an
terprise which might clash with the interests
and establishments protected by the British flag.
They privately waited upon the British minister,
Mr. Jackson, then in New York, laid open to him
the whole scheme of Mr. Astor, though intrusted
to them in confidence, and dependent, in a great
measure upon secrecy at the outset for its suc-
cess, and inquired whether they, as British sub-
jects, could lawfully engage in it. The reply satis-
ified their scruples, while the information they
received excited the surprise and admiration of Mr.
Jackson, and the private indulgence of the indi-
vidual should have conceived and set on foot at his own risk and
expense so great an enterprise.

This step on the part of those gentlemen was
not known to Mr. Astor until some time after
which it might have modified the trust and
confidence reposed in them.

To guard against any interruption to the voy-
age by the armed brig, said to be off the harbor,
Mr. Astor applied to Commodore Rodgers, at
the same time desiring at New York, to give the
Tonquin safe convoy off the coast. The com-
modore having received from a high official source
assurance of the deep interest which the govern-
ment took in the enterprise, sent directions to Cap-
tain Hall, at that time cruising off the harbor in
the frigate Constitution, to afford the Tonquin
the required protection when she should put to
sea.

Before the day of embarkation, Mr. Astor ad-
dressed a letter of instruction to the officers and
men in the ship. In this he enjoined them, in the most earnest manner, to cultivate
harmony and unanimity, and recommended that
different questions of opinion should be discussed
by the whole, and decided by a majority of votes.
He, moreover, gave them especial caution as to their conduct on arriving at their
destined port; exhorting them to be careful to
make a favorable impression upon the wild people
among whom their lot and the fortunes of the
enterprise would be cast. "If you find them
kind," said he, "as I hope you will, be so to them.
If otherwise, act with caution and forbearance,
and convince them that you come as friends.
"With the same anxious thought I wrote a
letter of instructions to Captain Thorn, in which he
urged the strictest attention to the health of
himself and his crew, and to the promotion of good-
humor and harmony on board his ship. "To pre-
vent any misunderstanding," added he, "will re-
quite your particular good management." His
letter closed with an injunction of wariness in his
intercourse with the natives, a subject on which
Mr. Astor was justly sensible he could not be too
earnest. "I must recommend you," said he, "to be par-
cially careful on the coast, and not to rely too much on the friendly disposition of
the natives. All accidents which have as yet hap-

pened there arose from too much confidence in the
Indians."
The reader will bear these instructions in mind,
as events will prove their wisdom and impor-
tance, and the disasters which ensued in con-
sequence of the neglect of them.

CHAPTER V.

On the eighth of September, 1810, the Tonquin
put to sea, where she was soon joined by the frig-
ate Constitution. The wind was fresh and fair
from the southwest, and the ship was soon out of
sight of land and free from the apprehended dan-
ger of interruption. The frigate, therefore, gave
her "God speed," and left her to her course.

The harmony so earnestly enjoined by Mr. As-
 tor on this heterogeneous crew, and which had
been so confidently promised in the hasty moments of preparation, was doomed to meet with
a check at the very outset.

Captain Thorn was an honest, straightforward,
but somewhat dry and dictatorial commander,
who, having been nurtured in the system and
discipline of a ship of war, and in a sacred opinion
of the supremacy of the quarter-deck, was dis-
pensed to be absolute lord and master on board of
his ship. He appears, moreover, to have had no
great opinion, from the first, of the persons en-
trusted with him. He had stood by with surly
contempt while they ventured so bravely to Mr.
Astor of all they could do and all they could
undergo; how they could face all weathers, put
up with all the like, and even eat dogs with a
relish, when no better food was to be had. He
had set them down as a set of landlubbers and
haggard, and was disposed to treat them accord-
ingly. Mr. Astor, was, in his eyes, his only
real employer, being the father of the enterprise, who
furnished all funds borne all losses. The
others were mere agents and subordinates, who
lived at his expense. He evidently had but a nar-
row idea of the scope and nature of the enterprise,
limiting his views merely to his part of it; every-
thing beyond the concerns of his ship being out of
his sphere; and anything that interfered with the
routine of his nautical duties put him in a passion.

The partners, on the other hand, had been
brought up in the service of the Northwest Com-
pany, and in a profound idea of the importance,
dignity, and authority of a partner. They already
began to consider themselves on a par with the
McTavish, the McGillivray, the Frohsters, and
the other magnates of the northwest, whom they
had been accustomed to look up to as the great
ones of the earth; and they were a little disposed,
perhaps, to wear their suddenly-acquired honors
with some air of pretension. Mr. Astor, too, had
put them on their mettle with respect to the cap-
tain, describing him as a gunpowder fellow who
would command his ship in fine style, and, if there
was any fighting to do, would "blow all out of
the water."

Thus prepared to regard each other with a very
cordial eye, it is not to be wondered at that the
parties soon came into collision. On the very
first night Captain Thorn began his man-of-war
discipline by ordering the lights in the cabin to be
extinguished at eight o'clock.

The pride of the partner was immediately
long. This was an invasion of their rights and
dignities not to be borne. They were on board
of their own ship, and entitled to consult their ease

...
and enjoyment. M'Dougal was the champion of their cause. He was an active, irritable, fuming, valiant, and pert fellow, in his own opinion, by being the proxy of Mr. Astor. A violent altercation ensued, in the course of which Thorn threatened to put the partners in iron; should they prove refractory; upon which M'Dougal seized a pistol and swore that the death of the captain should he ever offer such an indignity. It was some time before the irritated parties could be pacified by the more temperate bystanders.

Such was the captain's outset with the partners. Nor did the clerks stand much higher in his good graces; indeed, he seems to have regarded all the landsmen on board his ship as a kind of live lumber, continually in the way. The poor voyagers, too, continually irritated his spleen by their "lubberly" and unseemly habits, so abhorrent to one accustomed to the cleanliness of a man-of-war. These poor fresh-water sailors, so vainglorious on shore, and almost amphibious when on lakes and rivers, took all heart and stomach the moment they were at sea. For days they suffered the doleful rages and retchings of sea-sickness, lurking below in their herds in squad state, or emerging now and then like spectres from the hatches. They made various expedients, with dire nightcaps, grizzly heard, lantern visage and unhappy eye, shivering about the deck, and ever and anon crawling to the sides of the vessel, offering up their tributes to the windward, to the infinite glee of the ladies.

His letters to Mr. Astor, wherein he pours forth the bitterness of his soul, and his seamanlike impatience of what he considers the "lubberly" character and conduct of those around him, are before us, and are amusingly characteristic. The honest captain is full of vexation on his own account, and solicitude on account of Mr. Astor, whose property he considers at the mercy of a most heterogeneous and wasteful crew.

As to the clerks, he pronounces them mere pretenders, not one of whom had ever been among the Indians, nor farther to the northwest than Montreal, nor of higher rank than barkeeper of a tavern or marker of a billiard-table, excepting one, who, it seems, is a schoolmaster, and whom he emphatically sets down for "as foolish a poltist as ever lived."

Then as to the artisans and laborers who had been brought from Canada and shipped at such expense, the three most respectable, according to the captain's account, were curriers, who had fled from Canada on account of their misdeeds; the rest had figured in Montreal as draymen, barbers, waiters and carriole drivers, and were the most helpless, worthless beings "that ever broke sea-biscuit."

It may easily be imagined what a series of misunderstandings and cross-purpose would be likely to take place between such a crew and such a commander. The captain, in his zeal for the health and cleanliness of his ship, would make sweeping visitations to the "lubber nests" of the unlucky voyagers and their companions in misery, terrorize them out of their herds, make them air and wash themselves and their accouterments, and oblige them to wear whalfshirts till exercise. Nor did his disgust and vexation cease when all hands had recovered from sea-sickness, and become accustomed to the ship, nor broke out an alarming keeness of appetite that threatened home to the provisions. What especially irritated the captain was the dininess of some of his cabin passengers. They were loud in their complaints of the ship's fare, though their table was served with an ample portion of provisions, with smoked beef, and puddings. "When thwarted in their cravings for delicacies," said he, "they would exclaim that it was d—d hard they could not live as they pleased upon their own property, being on board of their own ship, governed by their own merchandise. And these," added he, "are the fine fellows who made such boast that they could eat dogs."

In his indignation at what he termed their effrontery, he would swear that he would never take them to sea again "without having Fly-market on the forecastle, Covent-garden on the poop, and a cool spring from Canada in the maintop." As they proceeded on their voyage and got into the smooth seas and pleasant weather of the tropics, other annoyances occurred to vex the spirit of the captain. He had been crossed by the irritable mood of one of the partners; he was now excessively annoyed by the good-humor of another. This was the elder Stuart, who was an easy soul, and of a social disposition. He had seen life in Canada, and on the coast of Labrador; had been a fur trader in the former, and a fisherman on the latter; and in the course of his experience had made various expeditions and voyages. He was now flourishing, therefore, to the familiarity which prevails between that class and their superiors, and the gossips which take place among them when seated round a fire at their encampments. Stuart, now that he could seat himself on the deck with a number of these men round him, in camping style, smoke together, passing the pipe from mouth to mouth, alter the manner of the Indians, sing Canadian boat-songs, and tell stories of their hardships and adventures, in the course of which he rivalled Sinbad in his long tales of the sea, about his fishing exploits on the coast of Labrador. This gossipping familiarity shocked the captain's notions of rank and subordination, and nothing was so abhorrent to him as the community of pipe between master and man, and their mingling in chorus in the outlandish boat-songs.

Then there was another whimsical source of annoyance to him. Some of the men, who were making their first voyage, and to whom everything was new and strange, were, very naturally, in the habit of taking notes and keeping journals. This was a sore abomination to the honest captain, who held for literary pretensions in great contempt. "The collecting of materials for long histories of their voyages and travels," said he, in his letter to Mr. Astor, "appears to engross most of their attention. We can conceive what must have been the crusty impatience of the worthy navigator, when, on any trifling occurrence in the course of the voyage, quite commonplace in his eyes, he saw these young landsmen running to record it in their journals; and what indignant glances he must have cast to right and left, as he worried about the deck, giving out his orders for the management of the ship, surrounded by singing, smoking, gossipping, scribbling groups, all, as he thought, intent upon the amusement of the passing hour, instead of the great purposes of the voyage."

It is possible the captain was in some degree right in his notions. Though some of the passengers had much to gain by the voyage, none of them had anything positively to lose. They were mostly young men, in the heyday of life; and having got into fine latitudes, upon smooth seas,
with a well-stored ship under them, and a fair wind in the shoulder of the sail, they seemed to have got into a holiday world, and were disposed to enjoy it. That craving desire, natural to untravelled men of fresh and lively minds, to see stranger lands, and to visit scenes formerly in history or fable, was expressed by some of the partners and clerks, with respect to some of the storied coasts and islands that lay within their route. The captain, however, who regarded every coast and island with a matter-of-fact eye, and had more associations connected with them than those laid down in his sea-chart, considered all this curiosity as exceedingly idle and childish. "In the first part of the voyage," says he in his letter, "they were determined to have it said they had been in Africa, and therefore insisted on my stopping at the Cape de Verdes. Next they said the ship should stop on the coast of Patagonia, for they must see the large and uncommon inhabitants of that place. Then they must go to the islands where Robinson Crusoe had so long lived. And lastly, they were determined to see the handsome inhabitants of Easter Island." To all these resolves the captain opposed his peremptory veto, as "contrary to instructions." Then he broke forth with an unwrapping expression of wrath on the part of certain of the partners, in the course of which they did not even spare Mr. Astor for his act of supererogation in furnishing orders for the control of the ship while they were on the part, instead of leaving them to the judges where it would be best for her to touch, and how long to remain. The choleric Mr. M'Dougal took the lead in these railings, being, as has been observed, a little puffed up with the idea of being Mr. Astor's proxy.

The captain, however, became only so much the more crusty and dogged in his adherence to his orders, and touchy and harsh in his dealings with his passengers, and frequent altercations ensued. He may in some measure have been influenced by his seamanlike impatience of the interference of landsmen, and his high notions of naval etiquette and quarter-deck authority; but he evidently had an honest, trusty concern for the interests of his employer. He pictured to himself the anxious protector of the enterprise who had disbursed sums munificently in its outlay, calculating on the zeal, fidelity, and singleness of purpose of his associates and agents; while they, on the other hand, having a good ship at their disposal, and a deep pocket at home to bear them out, seemed ready to loiter on every coast, and amuse themselves in every port.

On the fourth of December they came in sight of the Falkland Islands. Having been for some time on an allowance of water, it was resolved to anchor here and obtain a supply. A boat was sent into a small bay to take soundings. Mr. M'Dougal and Mr. M'Kay took this occasion to go on shore, but with a request from the captain that they would not detain the ship. Once on shore, however, they were in no haste to obey his orders, but ran about in search of curiosities. The anchorage proving unsafe, and water difficult to be procured, the captain stood out to sea, and made repeated signals for those on shore to return the ship, but it was not until nine at night that they went aboard.

The wind being adverse, the boat was again sent on shore on the following morning, and the same gentlemen again landed, but promised to come off at a moment's warning; they again forgot their promise in their eager pursuit of wild geese and sea-wolves. After a time the wind hauled tair, and signals were made for the boat. Half an hour elapsed, but no boat put off. The captain reconnoitred the shore with his glass, and, to his infinite vexation, saw the lodgers in the full enjoyment of their wild chase. Next to the quick, he immediately made sail. When those on shore saw the ship actually under way, they embarked with all speed, but had a hard pull of eight miles before they got on board, and then experienced but a girlish reception, notwithstanding that they came well laden with the spoils of the chase.

Two days afterward, on the seventh of December, they anchored at Port Egmont, in the same island, where they remained four days taking in water and making repairs. This was a joyous time for the landsmen. They pitched a tent on shore, had a boat at their command, and passed their time merrily in rambling about the island, and coasting along the shores, shooting sea-lions, porpoises, foxes, geese, ducks, and penguins. None were keener in pursuit of this kind of game than M'Dougal and David Stuart; the latter was rewarded of aquatic sports on the coast of Labrador, and his hunting exploits in the northwest.

In the mean time Mr. M'Dougal was busily engaged in settling the business of his ship, scoring the holiday spirit and useless pursuits of his emancipated messmates, and warning them, from time to time, not to wander afar nor be out of hail. They promised, as usual, that they should never experience a moment's detention on their account, but as usual forgot their promise.

On the morning of the 11th, the repairs being all finished, and the water-casks replenished, the signal was given to embark, and the ship began to weigh anchor. At this time several of the passengers were dispersed about the island, amusing themselves in various ways. Some of the young men had found two inscriptions, in English, over a place where two unfortunate mariners had been buried in this desert island. As the inscriptions were neatly worn by time and weather, they were playing the part of "Old Mortality," and piously renewing them. The signal from the ship summoned them from their labors; they saw the sails unfurled, and the vessel making way. The two sporting partners, however, Mr. M'Dougal and David Stuart, had strayed away to the south of the island in pursuit of penguins. It would never do to put off without them, as there was but one boat to convey the whole.

While this delay took place on shore, the captain was storming on board. This was the third time his orders had been treated with contempt, and the ship wantonly detained, and it should be the last; so he spread all sail and put to sea, swearing he would leave the laggards to shift for themselves. It was in vain that those on board made remonstrances and entreaties, and represented the horrors of abandoning men upon a sterile and uninhabited island: the sturdy captain was inflexible.

In the mean time the penguin hunters had joined the engravers of tombstones, but not before the ship was already out at sea. They all, to the number of eight, threw themselves into their boat, which was about twenty feet in length, and rowed with might and main. For two hours and a half did they tug anxiously and severely at the oar, swashed occasionally by the surging waves of the open sea, while the ship inexorably kept on her course, and seemed determined to leave them behind.
On board of the ship was the nephew of David Stuart, a young man of spirit and resolution. Seeing, as the captain observed, the captain obstinately bent upon abandoning his uncle and the others, he seized a pistol, and in a paroxysm of wrath swore he would blow out the captain's brains unless he put about or shortened sail. By the advice of all parties, the wind just then came ahead, and the boat was enabled to reach the ship; otherwise, disastrous circumstances might have ensued. We can hardly believe that the captain really intended to carry his threat into full effect, and rather think he made it to seem the laggards off for a long pull and a hearty fright.

He declared, however, in his letter to Mr. Astor, that he was serious in his threats; and there is no knowing how far such an iron man may push his notions of authority.

"Had the wind," he writes, "(unfortunately) not hauled ahead soon after leaving the harbors mouth, I should positively have left them; and, indeed, I cannot but think it an unfortunate circumstance that to happen, for the first act in this instance would have proved the best, as they seem to have no idea of the value of property, nor any apparent regard for your interest, although interolved with their own."

This must be confessed, was acting with a high hand, and carrying a regard to the owner's property to a dangerous length. Various petty feuds occurred also between him and the partners in respect to the goods on board the ship, some articles of which they wished to distribute for clothing among the men, or for other purposes which they deemed essential. The captain, however, kept a mastiff watch upon the cargo, and grewl and snapped if they but offered to touch box or hale. "It was contrary to orders; it would forfeit his insurance; it was out of all rule." It was in vain they insisted upon their right to do so, as part owners, and as acting for the good of the enterprise; the captain only stuck to his point the more stanchly. They conspired themselves, therefore, by declaring that as soon as they made land they would assert their rights, and do with ship and cargo as they pleased.

Besides these feuds between the captain and the partners, there were feuds between the partners themselves without aid and assistance, by jealousies of rank. M'Dougal and M'Kay began to draw plans for the fort, and other buildings of the intended establishment. They agreed very well as to the outline and dimensions, which were on a sufficiently grand scale; but when they came to arrange the details, fierce disputes arose, and they would quarrel by the hour about the distribution of the doors and windows. Many were the hard words and hard names handled between them on these occasions, according to the captain's account. Each accused the other of endeavoring to assume unwarrantable power, and to take the lead; upon which Mr. M'Dougal would cautiously lay down Mr. Astor's letter, constituting him his representative and proxy, a document not to be disputed.

These worst contests, though violent, were "brief and within fifteen minutes," says the captain, "they would be caressing each other like children."

But all this petty anarchy was agitating the little world within the Tonquin, the good ship prosperously pursued her course, doubled Cape Horn on the 25th of December, careered across the bosom of the Pacific, until, on the 11th of February, the snowy peaks of Owhyee were seen brightening above the horizon.

CHAPTER VI.

OWYHEE, or Hawaii, as it is written by more exact orthographers, is the largest of the cluster, ten in number, of the Sandwich Islands. It is about ninety-seven miles in length and seventy-eight in breadth, rising gradually into three pyramidal summits or cones: the highest, Mount Moana, being eighteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, so as to dominate over the whole Archipelago, and to be a landmark over a wide extent of ocean. It remains a lasting monument of the enterprise and unfortunate Captain Cook, who was murdered by the natives of this island.

The Sandwich Islanders, when first discovered, evinced a character superior to most of the savages of the Pacific Isles. They were frank and open in their deportment, friendly and liberal in their dealings, with an ingenuity apparent in all their rude inventions.

The tragic fate of the discoverer, which, for a time, brought them under the charge of ferocity, was, in fact, the result of sudden exasperation, caused by the seizure of their chief.

At the time of the visit of the Tonquin, the islanders had profited, in many respects, by occasional intercourse with white men; and had shown a quickness to observe and cultivate those arts important to their mode of living. Originally, they had no means of navigating the seas by which they were surrounded, superior to light prauges which were little competent to contend with the storms of the broad ocean. As the islanders are not in sight of each other, there could, therefore, be no casual intercourse between them. The traffic with white men had put them in possession of vessels of superior description; they had made themselves acquainted with their management, and had even made rude advances in the art of ship-building.

These improvements had been promoted, in a great measure, by the energy and sagacity of one man, the famous Tamaahmaah. He had originally been a petty chief, or chief; but, being of an industrious and aspirible nature, he had risen in rank, and, availing himself of the superior advantages now afforded in navigation, had brought the whole Archipelago in subjection to his arms. At the time of the arrival of the Tonquin he had about forty schooners, of from twenty to thirty tons burden, and one old American ship. With these he maintained undisputed sway over his innumerous domains, and carried on an intercourse with the chiefs or governors whom he had placed in command of the several islands.

The situation of this group of islands, far in the bosom of the vast Pacific, and their abundant fertility, rendered them important stopping places on the highway to China, or to the northwest coast of America. Here the vessels engaged in the lucrative trade made repairs and procure provisions; and here they often sheltered themselves during the winters that occurred in their long coasting expeditions.

The British navigators were, from the first, aware of the valuable nature of these islands, and of the purposes of commerce; and Tamaahmaah, after he had attained the sovereign sway, was persuade by us, the celebrated discoverer, to acknowledge, on behalf of himself and subjects,
allegiance to the King of Great Britain. The reader cannot but call to mind the visit which the royal family and court of the Sandwich Islands paid to the United States, induced to come to the court of St. James; and the serio-comic ceremonials and mock parade which attended that singular travesty of monarchal style.

It was a part of the wide and comprehensive policy of Mr. Astor to establish a friendly intercourse between these islands and his intended colony, which might, for a time, have occasion to draw supplies thence; and he even had a vague idea of, some time or other, getting possession of one of their islands as a rendezvous for his ships, and a link in the chain of his commercial establishments.

On the evening of the 12th of February the Tonquin anchored in the bay of Kahakuloa, in the island of Owyhee. The surrounding shores were wild and broken, with overhanging cliffs and precipices of black volcanic rock. Beyond these, however, the country was fertile and well cultivated, with inclosures of yams, plantains, sweet potatoes, sugar-canes, and other productions of warm climates; and the numerous huts of the natives were pleasantly sheltered beneath clumps of coconut and bread-fruit trees, which afforded both food and shade. This mingled variety of garden and grove swept gradually up the sides of the mountains until succeeded by dense forests, which in turn gave place to naked and craggy rocks, until the summits rose into the regions of perpetual snow.

The royal residence of Tamaalma was at this time on another island named Waihoo. The island of Owyhee was under the command of one of his chiefs, who resided at the village of Hima, situated on a different part of the coast from the bay of Kahakuloa.

On the morning after her arrival, the ship was surrounded by canoes and pirogues, filled with the islanders of both sexes, bringing off supplies of fruits and vegetables, bananas, plantains, watermelons, yams, cabbages, and taro. The captain was desirous, however, of purchasing a number of hogs, but there were none to be had. The trade in pork was a royal monopoly, and no subject of the great Tamaalma dared to meddle with it. Such provisions as they could furnish, however, were brought by the natives in abundance, and a lively intercourse was kept up during the day, in which the women mingled in the kindest manner.

The islanders are a comely race, of a copper complexion. The men are tall and well made, with forms indicating strength and activity; the women with regular and occasionally handsome features, and a lascivious expression, characteristic of their temperament. Their style of dress was nearly the same as in the days of Captain Cook. The men wore the maile, a band one foot in width and several feet in length, wound round the loins, and formed of tapa, or cloth of bark; the kahili, or mantle, about six feet square, tied in a knot over one shoulder, passed under the opposite arm, so as to leave it bare, and falling in graceful folds before and behind, to the knee, so as to bear some resemblance of a shawl.

The female dress consisted of the pua, a garment formed of a piece of tapa, several yards in length and one in width, wrapped round the waist and reaching, like a petticoat, to the knees. Over this, the woman, in common with the men, wore sometimes over both shoulders, like a shawl, sometimes over one only. These mantles were seldom worn by either sex during the heat of the day, when, the exposure of their persons was at first very revolting to a civilized eye.

Toward evening the partners and clerks went ashore, where they were well received and hospitably entertained. A dance was performed for their amusement, in which nineteen young women and one man figured very gracefully, singing in concert, and moving to the cadence of their song.

All this, however, was nothing to the purpose in the eyes of Captain Thorn, who, being disappointed in his hope of obtaining a supply of pork, or finding good water, was anxious to be off. This it was not so easy to effect. The passengers, once on shore, were disposed, as usual, to profit by the occasion. The partners had many inquiries to make relative to the island, with a view to business; while the young clerks were delighted with the charms and graces of the dancing damsels.

To add to their gratifications, an old man offered to conduct them to the spot where Captain Cook was massacred. The proposal was eagerly accepted, and all hands set out on a pilgrimage to the place of the catastrophe. They met the old man, and drew from him all the particulars he had to relate respecting this memorable event; while the honest captain stood by and listened with patience. To add to his vexation, they employed themselves in knocking off pieces of the rocks, and cutting off the bark of the trees marked by the balls, which they conveyed back to the ship as precious relics.

Right glad, therefore, was he to get them and their treasures fairly on board, when he made all this unprofitable place and steered away to the Bay of Hima, the residence of the chief of the island, where he hoped to be successful in obtaining supplies. On coming to anchor the captain went on shore, accompanied by Mr. D'Urville and Mr. M'Kay, and paid a visit to the governor. This dignitary proved to be an old sailor, by the name of John Young; who, after having been tossed about the seas like another Sinbad, had, by one of the whimsical freaks of fortune, been elevated to the dignity of an heir. He received his visitors with more hearty familiarity than personages in his high station are apt to indulge, but soon gave them to understand that provisions were scanty at Tocaia, and that there was no good water, no rain having fallen in the neighborhood in three years.

The captain was immediately for breaking up the conference and departure, but the partners were not so willing to part with the nautical governor, who seemed disposed to be extremely communicative, and from whom they might be thred to procure some useful information. A long conversation accordingly ensued, in the course of which they made many inquiries about the affairs of the islands, their natural productions, and the possibility of turning them to advantage in the way of trade; on which they fell to discussing the individual history of John Young, and how he came to be governor. This he gave with great condescension, running through the whole course of his fortunes, 'even from his boyish days.'
sion as to be boatswain of an American ship called the Eleanor, commanded by Captain Metcalf. In this vessel he had sailed in 1789, on one of those casual expeditions to the northwest coast in quest of furs. In the course of the voyage the crew, whether of business, as the Fair American, at Nootka, with a crew of five men, commanded by his son, a youth of eighteen. She was to follow on in the track of the Eleanor.

In February, 1790, Captain Metcalf touched at the Island of Mecles, one of the Sandwich group. While anchored here, a boat which was astern of the Eleanor was stolen, and a seaman who was in it was killed. The natives, generally, disclaimed the outrage; and brought the shattered remains of the boat and the dead body of the seaman to the ship. Supposing that they had thus appeased the anger of the captain, they throned, as usual, in great numbers about the vessel, to trade. Captain Metcalf, however, determined on a bloody revenge. The Eleanor mounted ten guns. All these he ordered to be loaded with musket-balls, nails, and pieces of old iron, and then fired them, and the small arms of the ship, among the nates. The havoc was dreadful; more than a hundred, according to Young's account, were slain.

In May, and again in July, the American vessel was followed by a French ship under Captain Metcalf sailed from Mouee, and made for the island of Owyhee, where he was well received by Tamaahmaah. The fortunes of this warlike chief were at that time on the rise. He had originally been of inferior rank, ruling over only one or two districts of Owyhee, but had gradually made himself sovereign of his native island.

The Eleanor remained some days at anchor here, and an apparently friendly intercourse was kept up with the inhabitants. On the 17th March, John Young obtained permission to pass the night on shore. On the following morning a signal gun summoned him to return on board.

He went to the shore to embark, but found all the canoes hauled up on the beach and rigorously tabooed, or interdicted. He would have launched one himself, but was informed by Tamaahmaah that he should presume to do so, and was put to death.

Young was obliged to submit, and remained all day in the ship, waiting to account for this mysterious taboo, and fearful that some hostility was intended. In the evening he learned the cause of it, and his uneasiness was increased. It appeared that the vindictive act of Captain Metcalf had recoiled upon his own head. The schooner Fair American, commanded by his son, following in his track, had fallen into the hands of the natives to the southward of Toraeh, Bay, and young Metcalf and four of the crew had been massacred.

On receiving intelligence of this event, Tamaahmaah had immediately launched all the canoes, and interdicted all intercourse with the ship lest the captain should learn the fate of the schooner, and take his revenge upon the island. For the same reason Young refused to join his countrymen. The Eleanor continued to fire signals from time to time for two days, and then sailed; concluding, no doubt, that the boatswain had deserted.

John Young was in despair when he saw the ship make sail, and found himself abandoned among savages; and that was for the best, inasmuch as he had no heart, and became at a great condescension, of his fortunes, in England, and good, until, by dint of too far in his profession.

should escape and relate what he had passed; but at other times he was treated with entire confidence and great distinction. He became a prime favorite, cabinet counselor, and active coadjutor of Tamaahmaah, attending him in all his excursions, and assisting his warlike and ambitious enterprises. By degrees he rose to the rank of a chief, espoused one of the beauties of the island, and became habituated and reconciled to his new way of life; thinking it better, perhaps, to rule among savages than serve among white men; to be a leathered chief than a tarprising boat's man. His favor with Tamaahmaah never declined; and when that sagacious, intrepid, and aspiring chieftain had made himself sovereign over the whole group of islands, and removed his residence to Waohoo, he left his faithful adherent John Young in command of Owyhee.

Such is an outline of the history of Governor Young, as furnished by himself; and we regret that we are not able to give any account of the state maintained by this seafaring worthy, and the manner in which he discharged his high functions; though it is evident he had more of the hearty familiarity of the recapture than the dignity of the governor.

These long conferences were bitter trials to the patience of the captain, who had no respect either for the governor or his island, and was anxious to push on in quest of provisions and water. As soon as he could get his large boat open more on board, he weighed anchor, and made sail for the island of Waohoo, the royal residence of Tamaahmaah.

This is the most beautiful island of the Sandwich group. It is forty-six miles in length, and twenty-three in breadth. A ridge of volcanic mountains extends through the centre, rising into lofty peaks, and skirted by undulating hills and rich plains, where the cabins of the natives peep out from beneath groves of coconut and other luxuriant trees.

On the 21st of February the Tonquin cast anchor in the beautiful bay before the village of Waititi, (pronounced Whyeteete), the abode of Tamaahmaah. This village contained about two hundred habitations, composed of poles set in the ground, tied together at the roof, and covered with grass, and was situated in an open grove of coconuts. The royal palace of Tamaahmaah was a large house of two stories; the lower of stone, the upper of wood. Round this his body-guard kept watch, composed of twenty-four men, in long blue cassocks turned up with yellow, and each armed with a musket.

While at anchor at this place, much ceremonious visiting and long conferences took place between the potentate of the islands and the partners of the company. Tamaahmaah came on board of the ship in royal style, in his double pirogue. He was between fifty and sixty years of age, above the middle size, large and well made, though somewhat corpulent. He was dressed in an old suit of uniforms, with a sword by his side, and seemed somewhat embarrassed by his magnificent attire. Three of his wives accompanied him. They were almost as tall, and quite as corpulent as himself; but by no means to be compared with him in grandeur of habitations, wearing no other dress than the suit. With him also came his great favorite and confidential councillor, Kraimaker; who, from holding a post equivalent to that of prime minister, had been familiarly named Billy Pitt by the British visitors to the islands.
The sovereign was received with fitting ceremonial. The American flag was displayed, four guns were fired, and the partners appeared in scarlet coats, and conducted their illustrious guests to the cabin, where they were regaled with wine. In this interview the partners endeavored to impress the monarch with a sense of their importance, and of the importance of the association to which they belonged. They let him know that they were eris, or chiefs, of a great company about to be established on the northwest coast, and they looked forward to the probability of opening a trade with his islands, and of sending ships there occasionally. All this was gratifying and interesting to him, for he was aware of the advantages of trade, and desirous of promoting frequent intercourse with white men. He encouraged Europeans and Americans to settle in his islands, and intermarry with his subjects. There were between twenty and thirty white men at that time resident in the island, but many of them were mere vagabonds, who remained there in hopes of leading a lazy and an easy life. For such Tamaahaa had a great contempt; those only had his esteem and countenance who knew some trade or mechanic art, and were sober and industrious.

On the day subsequent to the monarch’s visit, the partners landed and waited upon him in return. Knowing the effect of show and dress upon men in savage life, and wishing to make a favorable impression as the eris, or chiefs, of the great American Fur Company, some of them appeared in Highland plaid and kilts, to the great admiration of the natives.

While visits of ceremony and grand diplomatic conferences were going on between the partners and the king, the captain, in his plain, matter-of-fact way, was pushing what he considered a far more important negotiation—the purchase of a supply of hogs. He found that the king had profited in more ways than one by his intercourse with white men. Above all other arts he had learned the art of driving a bargain. He was a magnanimous monarch, but a shrewd pork merchant, and perhaps thought he could not do better with his future allies, the American Fur Company, than by closing the sale. Several other interviews were requisite, and much bargaining, before he could be brought to part with a bristle of his bacon, and then he insisted upon being paid in hard Spanish dollars, giving as a reason that he could not, in honor, purchase a frigate from his brother George, as he affectionately termed the King of England.

At length the royal bargain was concluded: the necessary supply of hogs obtained, besides several goats, two sheep, a quantity of poultry, and vegetables in abundance. The partners now urged to recruit their forces from the natives of this island. They declared they had never seen watermen equal to them, even among the voyageurs of the northwest; and indeed they are remarkable for their skill in managing their light craft, and can swim and dive like water-fowl. The partners were inclined, therefore, to take thirty or forty with them to Columbia, to be employed in the service of the company. The captain, however, objected that there was not room in his vessel for the accommodation of such a number. Twelve, only, were therefore enlisted for the company, and as many more for the service of the ship. The former engaged to serve for the term of three years, during which they were to be fed and clothed, and at the expiration of the time were to receive one hundred dollars in merchandise.

And now, having embarked his live stock, fruits, vegetables, and water, the captain made ready to set sail. How much the honest man had suffered in spirit by what he considered the freaks and vagaries of his passengers, and how little he had understood their humors and intentions, is amusingly shown in a letter written to Mr. Astor from Waahhoo, which contains his comments on the scenes we have described.

"It would be difficult," he writes, "to imagine the frantic gambols that are daily played off here; sometimes dressing in red coats, and otherwise very fantastically, and collecting a number of ignorant natives around them, telling them that they are the great eris of the northwest, and making arrangements for sending three or four vessels yearly to them from the coast with spars, etc.; while those very natives cannot even furnish a hog to the ship. Then dressing in Highland plaid and kilts, and making similar arrangements, with presents of rum, wine, or anything that is at hand. Then taking a number of clerks and men on shore to the very spot on which Captain Cook was killed, and each fetching off a piece of the rock or tree that was touched by the shot. Then dressing in the eris of negro, of some native who can be a little understood, and collecting the history of those islands, of Tamiahav’s wars, the curiosities of the islands, etc., preparatory to the histories of their voyages; and the collection is indeed a ridiculous one. To enumerate the thousand instances of ignorance, filth, etc., or to particularize all the frantic gambols that are daily practised, would require volumes.

"Before embarking the great eris of the American Fur Company took leave of their illustrious ally in due style, with many professions of lasting friendship and promises of future intercourse; while the matter-of-fact captain anathematized him in his heart for a grasping, trafficking savage, as shrewd and sordid in his dealings as a white man. As one of the vessels of the company will, in the course of events, have to appeal to other countries derived large revenues in this manner, to the great cost of the merchant. "Well," cried he, "then I will have harbor fees also. He established other charges amounting to three thousand dollars. It was some time before he could be made to comprehend certain of the most important items of the bill, such as pilotage, anchorage, and custom-house fees; but when he discovered that maritime states in
to the justice and magnanimity of this island potentate, we shall see how far the honest captain was right in his opinion.

CHAPTER VII.

It was on the 28th of February that the Tonquin set sail from the Sandwich Islands. For two days the wind was contrary, and the vessel was detained in their neighborhood; at length a favorable breeze sprang up, and in a little while the rising groves, green hills, and snowy peaks of those happy islands one after another sank from sight, or melted into the blue distance, and the Tonquin ploughed her course toward the sterner regions of the Pacific.

The misunderstandings between the captain and his passengers still continued; or rather, increased in gravity. By his alterations and his moody humors he had cut himself off from all community of thought or freedom of conversation with them. He declined to ask any questions as to their proceedings, and could only guess at the meaning of their movements, and in so doing indulged in conjectures and suspicions which produced the most whimsical self-torture.

Thus, in one of his disputes with them, relative to the goods or malecontents of the packages of which they wished to open, to take out articles of clothing for the men, or presents for the natives, he was so harsh and peremptory that they lost all patience, and hinted that they were the strongest party, and might reduce him to a very ridiculous dilemma, by taking from him the command.

A thought now flashed across the captain's mind that they really had a design to dispose him, and that, having picked up some information at Owyhee, possibly of war between the United States and England, they meant to alter the destination of the voyage, perhaps to seize upon ship and cargo for their own use.

Once having conceived this suspicion, everything went to foster it. They had distributed firearms among some of their men, a common precaution among the fur traders when mingling with the natives. This, however, looked like preparation. Then several of the partners and clerks again made an appearance before the Gaelic, and held long discussions together in that language. These conversations were considered by the captain of a "mysterious and unwarrantable nature," and related, no doubt, to some foul conspiracy that was brewing among them. He frankly avows such suspicions in his letter to Mr. Astor, but intimates that he stood ready to resist any treasonous outbreak, and seems to think that the evidence of preparation on his part had an effect in overawing the conspirators.

The fact is, as we have since been informed by one of the parties, it was a mischievous pleasure with some of the partners and clerks to play upon the suspicious temper and sullen新房们 of the captain. To this we may ascribe many of the whimsical pranks and absurd propositions, and, above all, their mysterious colloquies in Gaelic.

In this sord and irritable mood did the captain pursue his course, watching a wary eye on every movement, and bristling up whenever the de testable sound of the Gaelic language grated upon his ear. Nothing occurred, however, materially to disturb the residue of the voyage, excepting a violent storm; and on the twenty-second of March the Tonquin arrived at the mouth of the Oregon or Columbia.

The aspect of the river and the adjacent coast was wild and dangerous. The mouth of the Columbia is upward of four miles wide, with a peninsula and promontory on one side, and a long shallow spire on the other. A sand-bar and chain of breakers almost block up the entrance. The interior of the country rises into successive ranges of mountains, which, at the time of the arrival of the Tonquin, were covered with snow.

A fresh wind from the northwest sent a rough tumbling sea upon the cook, which broke upon the bar in furious surges, and extended a sheet of foam almost across the mouth of the river. Under these circumstances the captain did not think it prudent to approach within three leagues, until the bar should be sounded and the channel ascertained. Mr. Fox, the chief mate, was ordered to this service in the whaleboat, accompanied by John Martin, an old seaman, who had formerly visited the river, and three Canadi ans. Fox requested to have regular sailors to man the boat, but the captain would not spare them from the service of the ship, and supposed the Canadians, being expert boatmen on lakes and rivers, were competent to the service, especially when directed and aided by Fox and Martin. Fox seems to have lost all firmness of spirit on the occasion, and to have regarded the service with a misgiving heart. He came to the partners for a loan of a man, and otherwise to sustain the dignity of the captain, and the tears were in his eyes as he represented his case. "I am sent off," said he, "without seamen to man my boat, in boisterous weather, and on the most dangerous part of the northwest coast." My uncle was lost a few years ago on this same bar, and I am now going to lay my bones alongside of his." The partners sympathized with his apprehensions, and remonstrated with the captain. The latter, however, was not to be moved. He had been displeased with Mr. Fox in the earlier part of the voyage, considering him indolent and inactive, and probably thought his present repugnance arose from a want of true nautical spirit. The interference of the partners in the business of the ship, also, was not pleasing to him, to act on an Mstickler for authority like himself, especially in his actual state of feeling toward them.

At one o'clock P.M., therefore, Fox and his comrades set off in the whaleboat, which is represented as small in size and cary in condition. All eyes were strained after the little bark as it pulled for shore, rising and sinking with the huge rolling waves, until it entered, a mere speck, among the foaming breakers, and was soon lost to view. Evening set in, night succeeded, and passed away, and morning returned, but without the return of the boat.

As the wind had moderated, the ship stood near to the land, so as to command a view of the river's mouth. Nothing was to be seen but a wild chaos of tumbling waves breaking upon the bar, and apparently forming a foaming barrier from shore to shore. Toward night the ship again stood out to gain sea-room, and a gloom was visible in every countenance. The captain himself shared in the general anxiety, and repeatedly altered his peremptory orders. Another weary and watchful night succeeded, during which the wind subsided, and the weather became serene.

On the following day, the ship, having drifted
near the land, anchored in fourteen fathoms water, to the northward of the long peninsula or promontory which forms the north side of the entrance, and is called Cape Disappointment. The pinnace was then manned, and two of the partners, Mr. David Stuart and Mr. Mackay, set off in the hope of learning something of the fate of the whaleboat. The surf, however, broke with such violence along the shore that they could find no landing place. Several of the natives appeared on the beach and made signs to them to row round the cape, but they thought it most prudent to return to the ship.

The wind now springing up, the Tonquin got under way, and stood to see the channel, but was again deterred, by the frightful aspect of the breakers, from venturing within a league. Here she hove to, and Mr. Mummford, the second mate, was dispatched with four hands, in the pinnace, to sound across the channel until he should find four fathoms depth. The pinnace entered among the breakers, but was near being lost, and with difficulty got back to the ship. The captain insisted that Mr. Mummford had steered too much to the southward. He now turned to Mr. Aiken, an able mariner, destined to command the schooner intended for the coming trip, and ordered him, together with John Coles, sailmaker, Stephen Wekes, armer and two Sandwich Islanders, to proceed ahead and take soundings while the ship should follow under easy sail. In this way they proceeded until Aiken had ascertained the channel, when signal was given from the ship for him to return on board. He was then within pistol-shot, but so furious was the current, and tumultuous the breakers, that the boat became unmanageable, and was hurried away, the crew crying out piteously for assistance. In a few moments they could not be seen from the ship's deck. Some of the passengers climbed to the mizzen top, and beheld her struggling to reach the ship; but shortly after she broached broadside to the waves, and her case seemed desperate. The attention of those on board of the ship was now called to their own safety. They were in shallow water; the vessel struck repeatedly, the waves broke over her, and there was danger of her long being swamped. At length she got two or three fathoms water, and the wind lulling, and the night coming on, cast anchor. With the darkness their anxieties increased. The wind whistled, the sea roared, the gloom was only broken by the gleam of seaweed on the foaming breakers. The minds of the seamen were full of treacherous apprehensions, and some of them fancied they heard the cries of their lost comrades mingling with the roar of the elements. For a time, too, the rapidly ebbing tide threatened to sweep them from their precarious anchorage. At length the reflux of the tide and the springing up of the wind enabled them to quit their dangerous situation and take shelter in a small bay within Cape Disappointment, where they rode in safety during the respite of a stormy night, and enjoyed a brief interval of refreshing sleep.

With the light of day returned their cares and anxieties. They looked out from the mainmast over a wild coast and wilder sea, but could discover no trace of the two boats and their crews that were missing. Several of the natives came on board with peltries, but there was no disposition to trade. They were interrogated by signs after the lost boats, but could not understand the inquiries.

Parties now went on shore and scoured the neighborhood. One of these was headed by the captain. They had not proceeded far when they beheld a person at a distance in civilized garb. As he drew near he proved to be Wekes, the armorer. There was a burst of joy, for it was hoped his comrades were near at hand. His story, however, was one of disaster. He and his companions had found it impossible to govern their boat, having no rudder, and being beset by rapid and whirling currents and boisterous surges. After long struggling they had let her go at the mercy of the waves, sometimes with her broad-side to the surges, threatened each instant with destruction, yet repeatedly escaping, until a huge sea broke over and swamped her. Wekes was overwhelmed by the boiling waves, but emerging above the surface, looked round for his companions. Aiken and Coles were not to be seen; near him were the two Sandwich Islanders, stripping themselves of their clothing that they might swim more freely. He did the same, and the boat floating near to him, he seized hold of it. The two islanders joined him, and, uniting their forces, they succeeded in turning the boat upon her keel; then hearing down her stern and rocking her, they forced her stern up. While thus engaged, she was able to clear the weight of a man without sinking. One of the islanders now got in and in a little while bailed out the water with his hands. The other swam about and collected the oars, and they all three got once more on board.

By this time the tide had swept them beyond the breakers, and Wekes called on his companions to row for land. They were so chilled and hobbled by the cold, however, that they lost all heart, and absolutely refused. Wekes was equally chilled, but had superior sagacity and self-command. He counteracted the tendency to drowsiness and stupor which cold produces by keeping himself in constant exercise; and seeing that the vessel was advancing, and that everything depended upon himself, he set to work to stem the boat clear of the bar, and into quiet water.

Toward midnight one of the poor islanders expired; his companion threw himself on his corpse and could not be persuaded to leave him. The dismasted boat, which was without both oars; as the day dawned, Wekes found himself near the land. He steered directly for it, and at length, with the aid of the surf, ran his boat high upon a sandy beach.

Finding himself near the Sandwich Islanders yet gave signs of life, he aided him to leave the boat, and set out with him toward the adjacent woods. The poor fellow, however, was too feeble to follow him, and Wekes was soon obliged to abandon him to his fate and provide for his own safety. Falling upon a beaten path, he pursued it, and after a few hours came to a part of the coast where, to his surprise and joy, he beheld the ship at anchor, and was met by the captain and his party.

After Wekes had related his adventures, three parties were dispatched to heat up the coast in search of the unfortunate islander. They returned at night without success, though they had used the utmost diligence. On the following day the search was renewed, and the poor fellow was at length discovered lying beneath a group of rocks, his legs swollen, his feet torn and bloody, in walking through bushes and briars, and himself half dead with cold, hunger, and fatigue. Wekes and this islander were the only survivors of the crew of the jolly-boat, and no trace was ever dis-
covered of Fox and his party. Thus eight men were lost on the first approach to the coast—a commencement that cast a gloom over the spirits of the whole party, and was regarded by some of the superstitious as an omen that boded no good to the venture.

Toward night the Sandwich Islanders went on shore to bury the body of their unfortunate countryman who had perished in the boat. On arriving at the place where it had been left, they dug a grave in the sand, in which they deposited nearly the corpse, with a biscuit under one of the arms, some sand, under the chin, and a small quantity of tobacco, as provisions for its journey in the land of spirits. Having covered the body with sand and flints, they knelted along the grave in a double row, with their faces turned to the east, while one who officiated as a priest sprinkled them with water from a hat. In so doing he recited a kind of prayer or invocation, to which, at intervals, the others made responses. Such were the simple rites performed by these poor savages at the grave of their comrade on the shores of a strange land; and when these were done, they rose and returned in silence to the ship, without once casting a look behind.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Columbia, or Oregon, for the distance of thirty or forty miles from its entrance into the sea, is, properly speaking, a mere estuary, indented by deep bays so as to vary from three to seven miles in width, and is rendered extremely intricate and small by the narrowness of its channel from shore to shore, on which, at times, the waves and currents produce foaming and tumultuous breakers. The mouth of the river proper is but about half a mile wide, formed by the contracting shores of the estuary. The entrance from the sea, as we have already observed, is bounded on the south side by a flat, sandy spit of land stretching into the ocean. This is commonly called Point Adams. The opposite or northern side is Cape Disappointment, a long and narrow neck of peninsula, terminating in a steep knoll or promontory crowned with a forest of pine trees, and connected with the mainland by a low and narrow neck. Immediately within this cape is a wide, open bay, terminating at Chinook Point, so called from a neighboring tribe of Indians. This was called Baker's Bay, and here the Tonquin was anchored.

The natives inhabiting the lower part of the river, and with whom the company was likely to have the most frequent intercourse, were divided at this time into four tribes—the Chinooks, Clatsops, Wakhiaheums, and Cathlamats. They resembled each other in person, dress, language, and manners, and were probably from the same stock, but broken into tribes, or rather hordes, by those feuds and schisms frequent among Indians.

These people generally live by fishing. It is true they occasionally hunt the elk and deer, and JP

tribes of the coast excel in the management of canoes, and are never more at home than when riding upon the waves. Their canoes vary in form and size. Some are up to fifty feet long, cut out of a single tree, either from pine or cedar, and capable of carrying thirty persons. They have thwart pieces from side to side about three inches thick, and their gunwales flare outward, so as to cast off the surf of the waves. The bow and stern are decorated with grotesque figures of men and animals, sometimes five feet in height.

In managing their canoes they kneel two and two along the bottom, sitting on their heels, and wielding paddles from four to five feet long, while one sits on the stern and steers with a paddle of the same kind. The women are equally expert with the men in managing the canoe, and generally take the helm.

It is surprising to see with what fearless unconcern these savages venture in their light barks upon the roughest and most tempestuous seas. They seem to ride upon the waves like sea-fowl. Should a surge throw the canoe upon its side and endanger its overturn, those to windward lean over the upper gunwale, while their paddles are thrust out of the wave, apparently catch the water and force it under the canoe, and by this action not merely regain an equilibrium, but give their bark a vigorous impulse forward.

The effect of different modes of life upon the human frame and human character is strikingly instanced in the contrast between the hunting tribes of the plains and the piscatory tribes of the coast. The former, continually on horseback scouting the plains, gaining their food by hardy exercise, and subsisting chiefly on flesh, are generally tall, sinewy, meagre, but well formed, and of bold and fierce disposition; the latter, lounging about the river banks, or squattting and curled up in their canoes, are generally low in stature, ill-shaped, with crooked legs, thick ankles, and broad flat feet. They are inferior also in muscular power and activity, and in game qualities and appearance, to their hard-riding brethren of the plains.

Having, however, these few particulars concerning the neighboring Indians, we will return to the immediate concerns of the Tonquin and her crew.
stores of the schooner that was to be built for the use of the settlement.

This decided determination on the part of the sturdy captain gave high offence to Mr. M'Dougal, who now considered himself at the head of the concern, as Mr. Astor's representative and proxy. He set off the same day (April 5th), accompanied by his friend, David Stuart, for the south shore, intending to be back by the seventh. Not having the captain to contend with, they soon pitched upon a spot which appeared to them favorable for the intended establishment. It was on a bluff of land called Point George, having a very good harbor, where vessels, not exceeding two hundred tons burden, might anchor within fifty yards of the shore.

After a day thus profitably spent they recrossed the river, but landed on the northern shore several miles above the anchoring ground of the Tonquin, in the neighborhood of Ch innovate and visited the village of that tribe. Here they were received with great hospitality by the chief, who was named Comconmy, a shrewd old savage, with but one eye, which will occasionally figure in this narrative. Each village forms a petty sovereignty, governed by its own chief, who, however, possesses but little authority, unless he be a man of wealth and substance—that is to say, possessed of clothes, slaves, and wives. The greater number of theses is the chief. How many wives this one-eyed potentate maintained we are not told, but he certainly possessed great sway, not merely over his own tribe, but over the neighboring.

Having mentioned slaves, we would observe that slavery exists among several of the tribes beyond the Rocky Mountains. The slaves are well treated while in good health, but occupied in all kinds of drudgery. Should they become useless, however, by sickness or old age, they are totally neglected, and left to perish; nor is any respect paid to their bodies after death.

A singular custom prevails, not merely among the Chinooks, but among most of the tribes about this part of the coast, which is the flattening of the forehead. The process by which this deformity is effected commences immediately after birth. The infant is laid in a wooden trough, by way of cradle. The end on which the head reposes is higher than the other. A pad is placed on the forehead of the infant, with a piece of bark above it, and is pressed down by cords, which pass through holes on each side of the trough. As the tightening of the pad and the pressing of the head to the board is gradual, the process is said not to be attended with much pain. The appearance of the infant, however, while in this state of compression, is whimsically hideous, and "its little black eyes," we are told, "is being forced by the tightness of the bandages, resemble those of a mouse choked in a trap."

About a year's pressure is sufficient to produce the desired effect, at the end of which time the child emerges from its bandages a complete flathead, and continues so through life. It must be noted, however, that this flattening of the head has something in it of aristocratical significance, like the clipping of the feet among Chinese ladies of quality. At any rate it is a sign of freedom. No slave is permitted to bestow this enviable prerogative upon his child; all the slaves, therefore, are roundheads.

With this worthy tribe of Chinooks the two partners passed a part of the day very agreeably. M'Dougal, who was somewhat vain of his official rank, had given it to be understood that they were two chiefs of a great trading company, about to be established here, and the quick sighted though one-eyed chief, who was somewhat accustomed in traffic with white men, immediately perceived the policy of cultivating the friendship of the two important visitors. He regaled them, therefore, with the best of his ability, with abundance of salmon and wapatoos. The next morning, March 7th, they prepared to return to the vessel, according to promise. They had eleven miles of open bay to traverse; the wind was fresh, the waves ran high. Comconmy remonstrated with them on the hazard to which they would be exposed. They were resolute, however, and launched their boat, while the wary chieftain followed at some short distance in his canoe. Scarcely had they rode a mile when a wave broke over their boat and upset it. They were in imminent peril of drowning, especially Mr. M'Dougal, who could not swim. Comconmy, however, came bounding over the waves in his light canoe, and snatched them from a watery grave.

They were frequently visited by the Chinnocks and were treated with kindness. They were frequently snatched by the elder chief, who was very fond of fresh meat, but the men who accompanied them would not give him any. They were however, given some fish to give additional lustre to their charms. Mr. M'Dougal seems to have a heart susceptible to the influence of the gentler sex. Whether or not it was first touched on this occasion we do not learn; but it will be found, in the course of this work, that one of the daughters of the hospitable Comconmy eventually made a conquest of the great fi of the American Fur Company.

When the weather had moderated and the sea become tranquil, the one-eyed chief of the Chinooks manned his state canoe, and conducted his guests in safety to the ship, where they were welcomed with joy, for apprehensions had been felt for their safety. Comconmy and his people were then entertained on board of the Tonquin, and conducted to the chief guest. They were highly acceptable, and the officers of the ship, in particular, remonstrated with the owners to prevent their departure. The visitors were therefore given every possible hospitality, and after much delay were conducted to the chief guest of the ship, the commodore. They were then conducted to the guest-hall, and treated with kindness and respect. They returned home highly satisfied, promising to remain faithful friends and allies of the white men.

CHAPTER IX.

From the report made by the two exploring partners, it was determined that Point George should be the site of the trading house. These gentlemen, it is true, were not perfectly satisfied with the place, and were desirous of continuing their search; but Captain Thorn was impatient to land his cargo and continue his voyage, and protested against any more of what he termed "sporting establishment" among them, and a fire was accordingly set.

Accordingly, on the 12th of April the launch was fitted out with all things necessary for the purpose, and sixteen persons departed in her to commence the establishment, leaving the Tonquin to follow as soon as the harbor could be sounded.

Crossing the wide mouth of the river, the party landed, and encamped at the bottom of a small bay within Point George. The situation chosen
for the fortified post was on an elevation facing
to the north, with the wide estuary, its sand-bars
and ummulous breakers spread out before it, and
the promontory of Cape Disappointment,
fifteen miles distant, closing the prospect to the left.
The surrounding country was in all the
freshness of spring; the trees were in the young
leaf, the weather was superlub, and everything
looked delightful to men just emancipated from a
long confinement on shipboard. The Tonquin
shortly afterward made her way through the
intrinsic channel, and came to anchor in the little
bay, and was saluted from the encampment with
three volleys of musketry and three cheers. She
returned the salute with three cheers and three guns.

All hands now set to work cutting down trees,
clearing away thickets, and marking out the place
for the residence, storehouse, and powder maga-
azine, which were to be built of logs and covered
with bark. Others landed the timbers intended
for the frame of the coasting vessel, and proceeded
to put them together, while others prepared a
garden plot, and sowed the seeds of various
vegetables.

The next thought was to give a name to the
embryo metropolis; the one that naturally pre-
sented itself was that of the projector and sup-
porter of the whole enterprise. It was accordingly
named Astoria.

The neighboring Indians now swarmed about
the place. Some brought a few hard-Otter and sea-
otters, a dozen seals, in very sorry condition;
the greater number came prying about to gratify
their curiosity, for they are said to be impatiently
inquisitive; while not a few came without other
design than to piffer; the laws of mean and
decaying but slightly respected among them.
Some of them beset the ship in their cara-
ones among whom was the Chinook chief Con-
comly and his liege subjects. These were well
received by Mr. M'Dougal, who was delighted
with an opportunity of entering upon "his func-
tions and acquiring importance in the eyes of his
future neighbors. The confusion thus produced
on board, and the derangement of the cargo
caused by this petty trade, stirred the spleen of
the captain, who had a sovereign contempt for
the shallow-minded Chindon and his fellows; he
complained loudly of having his ship lumbered by
a host of "Indian ragamuffins," who had not a
skin to dispose of, and at length put his positive
interdict upon all trafficing on board. Upon
this Mr. M'Dougal was secreted in his quarters at the encampment, where he could
courage his rights and enjoy his dignities without
control.

The feud, however, between these rival powers
still continued, but was chiefly carried on by letter.
Day after day and week after week elapsed, yet
the storehouses requisite for the reception of the
cargo were not completed, and the ship was de-
tained in port; while the captain was beset by frequent
requests for various articles for the use of the
establishment of the trade with the natives.
An angry correspondence took place, in which
he complained bitterly of the time wasted in "smoking and sporting parties," as he termed
the recommencing expeditions, and in clearing
and restocking them with the supplies carried
instead of dispatching his ship. At length all
these jarring matters were adjusted, if not to the
satisfaction, at least to the acquiescence of all
parties. The part of the cargo destined for the
use of the vanishing crews was landed, and the ship left free
to proceed on her voyage.

As the Tonquin was to coast to the north,
to trade for peltries at the different harbors, and to
visit Astoria on her return in the autumn, it
was uniformly determined that Mr. M'Kay
should go in her as supercargo, taking with him
Mr. Lewis as ship's clerk. On the first of June
the ship got under way, and anchored off
Baker's Bay, where she was detained for a few
days by a head wind; but early in the morning
of the fifth, went to sea with a fine breeze and
swelling canvas, and swept off gaily on her fatal
voyage, from which she was never to return!

On reviewing the conduct of Captain Thornt,
and examining his peevish and somewhat whimsi-
cal correspondence, the impression left upon
my mind is upon the whole decisively in his favor.
While we smile at the simplicity of his heart and
the narrowness of his views, which made him reg-
d everything out of the direct path of his daily
work, and the rigid exigencies of the service, as triv-
ial and imperfect, which inspired him with a
contempt for the swelling vanity of some of his
conditors, and the literary exercises and curious
researches of others, we cannot but applaud that
strict and conscientious devotion to the interests
of his employer, and to what he considered the
true objects of the enterprise with which he was
engaged. He certainly was to blame occasionally
for the asperity of his manners and the arbitrary
nature of his measures, yet much that is excep-
tional in this part of his conduct may be traced
to the inflations of d'urban acquired in that tradi-
tional school, a ship with war, and to the construc-
tion given by his companions to the orders of Mr.
Astor, so little in conformity with his own.

His mind, too, appears to have become almost dis-
seased by the suspicions he had formed as to the
loyalty of his associates and the nature of their
ultimate designs; yet on that point there were
circumstances to, in some measure, justify him.
The relations between the United States and Great Britain were at that time in a critical state;
in fact, the two countries were on the eve of a
war. Several of the partners were British sub-
jects, and might be ready to desert the flag under
which they acted, should a war take place.
Their application to the British minister at New York
shows the dubious conduct of which they had
embarked in the present enterprise. They
had been in the employ of the Northwest Company,
and might be disposed to rally again under that
association, should events threaten the prosperity
of this embryo establishment of Mr. Astor. Be-
cides, we have the fact, averred to us by one of
the partners, that some of them, who were young
and heedless, took a mischievous and unwarrant-
able pleasure in playing upon the jealous temerity
of the captain, and affecting mysterious consultations
and sinister movements.

These circumstances are cited in palliation of
the doubts and surmises of Captain Thornt, which
might otherwise appear strange and unreason-
able. That most of the partners were perfectly
mystified and faithful in the discharge of the trust
posed in them we are fully satisfied; still the
honest captain was not invariably wrong in his
suspicions; and that he formed a pretty just
opinion of the integrity of that aspiring person-
age, Mr. M'Dougal, will be substantially proved in
the sequel.

CHAPTER X.

While the Astorians were busily occupied in
completing their factory and fort, a report was
brought to them by an Indian from the upper part of the river, that a party of thirty white men had appeared on the banks of the Columbia, and were actually building houses at the second rapids. This information caused much disquiet. We have already mentioned that the Northwest Company had established posts to the west of the Rocky Mountains, in a district called by them New Caledonia, which extended from lat. 52° to 55° north, being within the British territories. It was therefore apprehended that they were advancing within the American limits, and were endeavoring to seize upon the upper part of the river and forestall the American Fur Company in the surrounding trade; in which case bloody deeds might be anticipated, such as had prevailed between the rival fur companies in former days.

A reconnoitring party was sent up the river to ascertain the truth of the report. They ascended to the foot of the first rapid, about two hundred miles, but could hear nothing of any white men being in the neighborhood.

Not long after their return, however, further accounts were received, by two wandering Indians, which established the fact that the Northwest Company had actually erected a trading house on the Spokan River, which falls into the north branch of the Columbia.

What rendered this intelligence the more disquieting was the inability of the Astorians, in their present reduced state as to numbers, and the exigencies of their new establishment, to furnish detachments to penetrate the country in different directions, and fix the posts necessary to secure the interior trade.

It was resolv'd, however, at any rate, to advance a counter-check to this post on the Spokan, and one of the partners, Mr. David Stuart, prepar'd to set out for the purpose with eight men and a small assortment of goods. He was to be guided by the two Indians, who knew the country, and promised to take him to a place not far from the Spokan River, and in a neighborhood abounding with beaver. Here he was to establish himself and to remain for a time, provided he found the situation advantageous and the natives friendly.

On the 15th of July, when Mr. Stuart was nearly ready to embark, a canoe made its appearance, standing for the harbor, and manned by nine white men. Much speculation took place when these strange men could be, for it was too soon to expect their own people, under Mr. Hunt, who were to cross the continent. As the canoe drew near the British standard was distinguished: on coming to land, one of the crew stepped on shore, and announced himself as Mr. David Thompson, astronomer, and partner of the Northwest Company. According to his account, he had set out in the preceding year with a tolerably strong party, and a supply of Indian goods, to cross the Rocky Mountains. A part of his party, however, had deserted him on the eastern side, and returned with the goods to the nearest north-west post. He had persisted in crossing the mountains with eight men, who remained true to him. They had traversed the higher regions, and ventured near the mouth of the Columbia, where, in the spring, they had constructed a cedar canoe, the same in which they had reached Astoria.

This, in fact, was the party dispatched by the Northwest Company to anticipate Mr. Astor in his intention of reaching a satisfactory point at the mouth of the Columbia River. It appears, from information subsequently derived from other sources, that Mr. Thompson had pushed on his course with great haste, calling at all the Indian villages in his march, presenting them with British flags, and even planting them at the forks of the rivers, proclaiming formally that he took possession of the country in the name of Great Britain for the Northwest Company. As his original plan was defeated by the desertion of his people, it is probable that he descended the river simply to reconnoitre, and ascertain whether an American settlement had been commenced.

Mr. Thompson was, no doubt, the first white man who descended the northern branch of the Columbia from so near its source. Lewis and Clarke struck the main body of the river at the forks, about four hundred miles from its mouth. They entered it from Lewis River, its southern branch, and thence descended.

Though Mr. Thompson could be considered as little better than a spy in the camp, he was received with great cordiality by Mr. M'Dougal, who had a lurking feeling of companionship and good-will for all of the Northwest Company. He invited him to head-quarters, where he and his people were hospitably entertained. Nay, further; being somewhat pressed for goods, he was furnished by Mr. M'Dougal with goods and provisions for his journey back across the mountains, much against the wishes of Mr. David Stuart, who did not think the object of his visit entitled him to any favor.

On the 23rd of July Mr. Stuart set out upon his expedition to the interior. His party consisted of four of the clerks, Messrs. Pilet, Ross, M'Lenon, and Montigny, two Canadian voyageurs, and two natives of the Sandwich Island. They had three canoes well laden with provisions, and with goods and necessaries for a trading establishment.

Mr. Thompson and his party set out in company with them, its being his intention to proceed direct to Montreal. The partners at Astoria forwarded him a short letter to Mr. Astor informing him of their safe arrival at the mouth of the Columbia, and that they had not yet heard of Mr. Hunt. The little squadron of canoes set sail with a favorable breeze, and soon passed Tongue Point, a long, high, and rocky promontory, covered with trees, and stretching far into the river, opposite this, on the northern shore, is a deep bay, where the Columbia anchored at the time of the discovery, and which is still called Gray's Bay, from the name of her commander.

From hence the general course of the river for about seventy miles was nearly southeast, varying in breadth according to its bays and indentations, and navigable for vessels of three hundred tons. The shores were in some places high and rocky, with low, marshy islands at their feet, subject to inundation, and covered with willows, poplars, and other trees that love an alluvial soil. Sometimes the mountains receded, and gave place to beautiful plains and noble forests. While the river margin was richly fringed with trees and deciduous foliage, the rough uplands were crowned by majestic pines, and fis of gigantic size, some towering to the height of between two and three hundred feet, with proportionate circumference.

Out of these large trees the Indians wrought their great canoes and pirogues.

At one part of the river, they passed, on the northern side, a small isolated rock, about one hundred and fifty feet high, rising from a low, marshy shore, and resembling in its appearance the seen of mountains. This was held in great reverence by the neighboring Indians, being one of their prin-
spherical places of sepulture. The same provident care for the deceased that prevails among the hunting tribes of the prairies is observable among the piscatory tribes of the rivers and sea-coast. Among the former the favorite horse of the hunter is buried with him in the same funeral mound, and the bow and arrows laid by his side, that he may be perfectly equipped for the "happy hunting grounds" of the land of spirits. Among the latter, the Indian is wrapped in his mantle of skins, laid in his canoe, with his paddle, his fishing spear, and the implements beside him, and placed on some rock or other eminence overlooking the river, or bay, or lake, that he has frequented. He is thus fitted out to launch away upon those placid streams and sunny lakes, stocked with all kinds of fish and waterfowl, which are prepared in the next world for those who have acquired themselves as good sons, good fathers, good husbands, and, above all, good fishermen, during their mortal sojourn.

The isolated rock on which a present of tallow and numerous dead bodies being deposited in canoes on its summit; while on poles around were trophies, or, rather, funeral offerings of trinkets, garments, baskets of roots, and other articles for the use of the deceased. A reverential bent supplicates them from the spirits of the rocks. The friends of the deceased, especially the women, repair here at sunrise and sunset for some time after his death, singing his funeral dirge, and uttering loud wailings and lamentations.

From the number of dead bodies in canoes observed upon this rock by the first explorers of the river, it received the name of Mount Cofin, which it continues to bear. Beyond this rock they passed the mouth of a river on the right bank of the Columbia, which appeared to take its rise in a distant mountain covered with snow. The Indian name of this river was the Cowleskee. Some miles further on they came to the great Columbia valley, so called by Lewis and Clarke. It is sixty miles in width, and extends far to the south-southwest between parallel ridges of mountains, which bound it on the east and west. The river which issues from this valley is a large and beautiful stream, called the Wallamoot^ which came wandering for several hundred miles, through a yet unexplored wilderness. The sheltered situation of this immense valley had an obvious effect upon the climate. It was a region of great beauty and luxuriance, with lakes and pools, and green meadows shaded by noble groves. Various tribes were said to reside in this valley and along the banks of the Wallamoot. The falls of the river for twenty miles, and the forest and mountains of the four miles, are so thickly wooded as to make the landscape appear almost like a forest. The river is divided into several branches, and the banks are densely covered with trees.

About eight miles above the mouth of the Wallamoot the little squadron arrived at Vancouver's Point, so called in honor of that celebrated voyager by his lieutenant (Broughton) when he explored the river. This point is said to present one of the loveliest scenes on the Columbia—a lovely meadow, with a large sheet of limpid water in the centre, enlivened by wild-fowl, a range of hills crowned by forests, while the prospect is closed by Mount Hood, a magnificent mountain rising into a lofty peak, and covered with snow; the ultimate landmark of the first explorers of the river.

Point Vancouver is about one hundred miles from Astoria. Here the reflux of the tide ceases to be perceptible. To this place vessels of two and three hundred tons burden may anchor. The party under the command of Mr. Stuart had been three or four days in reaching it, though we have forborne to notice their daily progress and nightly encampments.

On his way Vancouver the river turned toward the northeast, and became more contracted and rapid, with occasional islands and frequent sand-banks. These islands are furnished with a number of ponds, and at certain seasons abound with swan, goose, brant, geese, gulls, swans, and other water-fowl. The shores, too, are low, and closely wooded, and covered with such an undergrowth of vines and rushes as to be almost impassable.

About thirty miles above Point Vancouver the mountains again approach on both sides of the river, which is bordered by stupendous precipices, covered with the fir and the white cedar, and enlivened occasionally by beautiful cascades leaping from a great height, and sending up wreaths of vapor. One of these precipices, or cliffs, is so seriously worn by time and weather as to have the appearance of a ruined fortress, with towers and battlements heeling high above the river; while two small cascades, one hundred and fifty feet in height, pitch down from the mountains.

The turbulence and rapidity of the Columbia continue fluctuating as they advanced, gave the voyagers intimation that they were approaching the great obstructions of the river, and at length they arrived at Strawberry Island, so called by Lewis and Clarke, which lies at the foot of the first rapid. As this part of the Columbia will be repeatedly mentioned in the course of this work, being the scene of some of its incidents, we shall give a general description of it in this place.

The falls or rapids of the Columbia are situated about one hundred and eighty miles above the mouth of the river. The first is a perpendicular cascade of twenty feet, after which there is a swift descent for a mile, between islands of hard black rock, to another pitch of eight feet divided by two rocks. About two and a half miles below this the river expands into a wide basin, seemingly dammed up by a perpendicular ridge of black rock. A current, however, issues from the height of this rocky barrier, where there is a channel four to five yards in width. Through this the whole body of the river roars along, swirling and whirling and boiling for some distance in the wildest confusion. Through this tremendous channel the intrepid explorers of the river, Lewis and Clarke, passed safely in their boats; the danger being, not from the rocks, but from the great surges and whirlpools.

At the distance of a mile and a half from the foot of this narrow channel is a rapid, formed by two rocky islands; and two miles beyond is a second and great fall, over a ledge of rocks twenty feet high, extending nearly from shore to shore. The river is again compressed into a channel from fifty to a hundred feet wide, worn through a rough bed of hard black rock, along which it boils and roars with great fury for the distance of three miles. This is called "The Long Narrows."

Here is the great fishing place of the Columbia. In the spring of the year, when the water is high, the salmon ascend the river. As they pass through this narrow strait, the Indians, standing on the rocks, or on the end of wooden stakes projecting from the banks, scoop them up with small nets suspended on hoops and attached to long handles, and cast them on the shore.
They are then cured and packed in a peculiar manner. After having been opened and disembowelled, they are exposed to the sun on scaffolds erected on the river banks. When sufficiently dry, they are pounded fine between two stones, pressed into the smallest compass, and packed in baskets or bags of grass, splendid about two feet long and one in diameter, lined with the cured skin of a salmon. The top is likewise covered with fish-skins, secured by cords passing through holes in the side of the basket. Packages are then made, each containing twelve of these bales, seven at bottom, five at top, pressed close to each other, with the corded side upward, wrapped in mats and corded. These are placed in dry situations, and again covered with matting. Each of these packages contains from ninety to a hundred pounds of dried fish, which in this state will keep sound for several years.*

We have given this process at some length, as furnished by the first explorers, because it marks a practical ingenuity in preparing articles of traffic for a more general use, seldom seen among our aboriginals. For like reasons we would make especial mention of the village of Wishram, at the head of the Long Narrows, as being a solitary instance of a tribal trading mart, or emporium. Here the salmon caught in the neighboring rapids were "warehouse" to await customers. Hither the tribes from the mouth of the Columbia repaired with the fish of the sea-coast, the roots, berries, and especially the wapato, gathered in the lower parts of the river, together with goods and trinkets obtained from the ships which casually visit the coast. Hither also the tribes from the Rocky Mountains brought down horses, bear-grass, quash, and other commodities of the interior. The merchant fishermen at the falls acted as middlemen or factors, and passed the objects of traffic, as it were, cross-handed: trading away part of the wares received from the mountain tribes to those of the river and the plains, and vice versa: their packages of pounded salmon entered largely into the system of barter, and being carried off in opposite directions found their way to the savage hunting camps far in the interior, and to the casual white traders who touched on the coast.

We find that between the Indian tribes, produced by their diet and mode of life; and nowhere are they more apparent than about the falls of the Columbia. The Indians of this great fishing mart are represented by the earliest explorers as sleeker and fatter, but less hardy and active, than the tribes of the mountains and the plains, and vice versa: their packages of salmon entered largely into the system of barter, and being carried off in opposite directions found their way to the savage hunting camps far in the interior, and to the casual white traders who touched on the coast.

"By such worthless dogs as these," says an honest trader in his journal, which now lies before us, "by such worthless dogs as these are so many fishing places people, which, like our great cities, may with propriety be called the head-quarters of veneration principles."

The avarice of trade and the avidity of gain have their corrupting effects even in the wilderness, as may be instanced in the members of this aboriginal emporium; for the same journal denotes them as "sauces, impudent rascals, who will steal when they can, and pilfer whenever a weak party falls in their power."

That he does not believe them will be evidenced hereafter, when we have occasion again to touch at Wishram and navigate the rapids. In the present instance the observer was struck with the laborious ascent of this part of the river, with all its various portages, without molestation, and once more launched away in smooth water above the high falls.

The two parties continued together, without material impediment, for three or four hundred miles further up the Columbia; Mr. Thomson appearing to take great interest in the success of Mr. Stuart, and pointing out places favorable, as he said, to the establishment of his contemplated trading post.

Mr. Stuart who distrusted his sincerity, at length pretended to adopt his advice, and, taking leave of him, remained as if to establish himself, while the other proceeded on his course toward the mountains. No sooner, however, had he fairly departed than Mr. Stuart again pushed forward, under guidance of the two Indians, nor did he stop until he had arrived within about one hundred and forty miles of the spokan, which he considered near enough to keep the rival establishment in view.

The place which he pitched upon for his trading post was a point of land about three miles in length and two in breadth, formed by the junction of the Okanogan with the Columbia. The Columbia is a river which has its source in a considerable lake about one hundred and fifty miles west of the point of junction. The two rivers, about the place of their confluence, are bordered by immense prairies covered with herbage but destitute of trees. The point itself was ornamented with wild flowers of every hue, in which innumerable humming-birds were "banqueting nearly the live-long day.

The situation of this point appeared to be well adapted for a trading post. The climate was salubrious, the soil fertile, the rivers well stocked with fish, the natives peaceable and friendly. There were easy communications with the interior by the upper waters of the Columbia and the lateral stream of the Okanogan, while the downward current of the Columbia furnished a highway to Astoria.

Availing himself, therefore, of the driftwood which had collected in quantities in the neighboring bays of the river, Mr. Stuart and his men set to work to erect a house, which in a little while was sufficiently completed for their residence; and thus was established the first interior post of the company. We will now return to notice the progress of affairs at the mouth of the Columbia,

* Lewis and Clarke, vol. ii. p. 32.
A gathering of warriors in a neighboring bay, under pretext of fishing for sturgeon; and fleets of canoes were expected to join them from the north and south. Even Concomly, the one-eyed chief, not withstanding his preserved friendship for Mr. M'Dougal, was strongly suspected of being concerned in this general combination.

Alarmed at rumors of this impending danger, the Astorians suspended their regular labor, and set to work, with all haste, to throw up temporary works and fortifications about the shore. In a few days they surrounded their dwelling-house and magazines with a picket fence ninety feet square, flanked by bastions, on which were mounted four-pounders. Every day they exercised themselves in the use of their weapons, so as to qualify themselves for military duty, and at night esconced themselves in their fortress and posted sentinels, to guard against surprise. In this way they hoped, even in case of attack, to be able to hold out until the arrival of the party to be conducted by Mr. Hunt across the Rocky Mountains, or until the return of the Tonquin. The latter dependence, however, was doomed soon to be destroyed. Early in August a wandering band of savages, being John Fitch making his appearance at the mouth of the Columbia, where they came to fish for sturgeon. They brought disastrous accounts of the Tonquin, which were at first treated as mere fables, but which were too badly confirmed by a different tribe that arrived a few days subsequently. We shall relate the circumstances of this melancholy affair as correctly as the casual discrepancies in the statements that have reached us permit.

We have already stated that the Tonquin set sail from the mouth of the river on the 5th of June. The whole number of persons on board amounted to twenty-three. In one of the outer bays they picked up, from a fishing boat, an Indian named Lamazee, who had already made two voyages along the coast, and knew something of the language of the various tribes. He agreed to accompany them as interpreter.

Steering to the north, Captain Thorn arrived in a few days at Vancouver's Island, and anchored in Nootka Sound. Against the advice of his Indian interpreter, who warned him against the perfidious character of the natives of this part of the coast. Numbers of canoes soon came off, bringing sea-otter skins to sell. It was too tedious to refuse or punish, but Mr. M'Kay, accompanied by a few of the men, went on shore to a large village to visit Wicucus, the chief of the surrounding territory, six of the natives remaining on board as hostages. He was received with great professions of friendship, entertained hospitably, and a canoe of sea-otter skins was prepared for him in the dwelling of the chief, where he was prevailed upon to pass the night.

In the morning, before Mr. M'Kay had returned to the ship, great numbers of the natives came off in their canoes to trade, headed by two of Wicucus, in them they brought abundance of sea-otter skins, and there was every appearance of a brisk trade. Captain Thorn did not wait for the return of Mr. M'Kay, but spread his threads upon deck, making a tempting display of blankets, cloths, knives, beads, and fish-hooks, expecting a prompt and profitable sale. The Indians, however, were not so eager and simple as he had supposed, having learned the art of bargaining and the value of merchandise from the casual traders along the coast. They were guided, too, by a shrewd old chief named Nookamis, who had grown gray in traffic with New England skippers, and prided himself upon his acuteness. His opinion seemed to regulate the market. When Captain Thorn made what he considered a liberal offer for an otter-skin, the witty old Indian snatched it with scorn, and asked more than double. His comrades all took their cue from him, and not an otter-skin was to be had at a reasonable rate.

The old fellow, however, overshot his mark, and mistook the character of the canoe of otter that Mr. M'Kay had brought across the bar. With Thorn was a plain, straightforward sailor, who never had two minds nor two prices in his dealings, was deficient in patience and pliability, and totally wanting in the chicanery of trade. He had a vast deal of stern but honest pride in his nature, and, moreover, held the whole savage race in sovereign contempt. Abandoning all further attempts, therefore, to bargain with his shuffling customers, he thrust his hands into his pockets, and paced up and down the deck in sullen silence. The cunning old Indian followed him to and fro, holding out a sea-otter skin to him at every turn, and pestering him to trade. Finding other means unavailing, he suddenly changed his tone, and began to parley and haggle upon lower prices than he offered. This was too much for the patience of the captain, who was never remarkable for relishing a joke, especially when at his own expense. Turning suddenly upon his persecutor, he snatched the proffered otter-skin from his hands, rubbed it in his face, and dismissed him over the side of the ship with no very complimentary application to accelerate his exit. He then picked the pelts to the right and left about the deck, and broke up the market in the most ignominious manner. Old Nookamis made for shore in a furious passion, in which he was joined by Shewish, one of the sons of Wicucus, who went off bearing vengeance, and the ship was soon abandoned by the natives.

When Mr. M'Kay returned on board, the interpreter related what had passed, and begged him to prevail upon the captain to continue the voyage, as, from his knowledge of the temper and pride of the people of the place, he was sure they would not depart from their intentions. Mr. M'Kay, who himself possessed some experience of Indian character, went to the captain, who was still pending the deck in moody humor, represented the danger to which his hasty act had exposed the vessel, and the dangers attendant. The captain made light of his counsels, and pointed to his cannon and firearms as a sufficient safeguard against naked savages. Further remonstrances only provoked taunting replies, and sharp alterations. The day passed away without any signs of hostility, and at night the captain retired as usual to his cabin, taking no more than the usual precautions.

On the following morning, at daybreak, while the captain and Mr. M'Kay were yet asleep, a canoe came alongside, in which several Indians, commanded by young Shewish, who were unarmed, their aspect and demeanor friendly, and they held up otter-skins, and made signs indicative of a wish to trade. The caution enjoined by Mr. Astor, in regard to the admission of strangers on board of the ship had been neglected for some time past, and the officer of the watch, perceiving those in the canoe to be without weapons, and having received no orders to the contrary, readily permitted them to mount the deck. Another canoe soon succeeded, the crew of which was like-
wise admitted. In a little while other canoes came off, and Indians were soon clambering into the vessel on all sides.

The officer of the watch now felt alarmed, and called to Captain Thorn and Mr. M'Kay. By the time they came down deck, it was thronged with Indians. The interpreter noticed to Mr. M'Kay that many of the natives wore short mantles of skins, and intimated a suspicion that they were secretly armed. Mr. M'Kay urged the captain to clear the deck and get under way. He again made light of the advice, but the augmented swarm of canoes about the ship, and the numbers still putting off from shore, at length awakened his distrust, and he ordered some of the crew to weigh anchor, while some were sent aloft to make sail.

The Indians now offered to trade with the captain on his own terms, prompted, apparently, by the approaching departure of the ship. Accordingly, a hurried trade was commenced. The main articles sought by the savages in barter, were knives; as fast as some were supplied they moved off, and others succeeded. By degrees they were thus distributed about the deck, and all with weapons.

The anchor was now nearly up, the sails were loose, and the captain, in a loud and peremptory tone, ordered the ship to be cleared. In an instant a signal yell was given; it was echoed on every side, knives and war-clubs were brandished in every direction, and the savages rushed upon their marked victims.

The first that fell was Mr. Lewis, the ship's clerk. He was leaning, with folded arms, over a bale of blankets, engaged in bargaining, when he received friendly signs, and fell down the companion-way.

Mr. M'Kay, who was seated on the taffrail, sprang on his feet, but was instantly knocked down with a war-club and flung backward into the sea, where he was dispatched by the women in the canoes.

In the mean time Captain Thorn made desperate fight against fearful odds. He was a powerful as well as a resolute man, but he had come upon deck without weapons. Shewish, the young chief, singled him out as his peculiar prey, and rushed upon him at the first outburst. The captain had barely time to draw a clasp-knife, with one blow of which he laid the young savage dead at his feet. Several of the stoutest followers of Shewish now set upon him. He defended himself vigorously, dealing crippling blows to right and left, and strewing the quarter-deck with the slain and wounded. His object was to fight his way to the cabin, where there were firearms; but he was hemmed in with foes, covered with wounds, and faint with loss of blood. For an instant he leaned upon the tiller wheel, when a blow from behind, with a war-club, felled him to the deck, where he was dispatched with knives and thrown overboard.

While this was transacting upon the quarter-deck, a chance-medley fight was going on throughout the ship. The crew fought desperately with knives, handspikes, and whatever weapon they could seize upon in the moment of surprise. They were overpowered, overrun, overpowered by numbers, and mercilessly butchered.

As to the seven who had been sent aloft to make sail, they contemplated with horror the carnage that was going on below. Being destitute of weapons, they let themselves down by the running rigging, in hopes of getting between decks. One fell in the attempt, and was instantly dispatched; another received a death-blow in the back as he was descending; a third, Stephen Weckes, the armorer, was mortally wounded as he was getting down the hatchway.

The remaining four made their retreat into the cabin where they found Mr. Lewis, still alive, though mortally wounded. Barricading the cabin door, they broke holes through the companion-way, and, with the muskets and ammunition which were at hand, opened a brisk fire that soon cleared the deck.

Thus far the Indian interpreter, from whom these particulars are derived, had been an eyewitness of the deadly conflict. He had taken no part in it, and had been spared by the natives as being of their race. In the confusion of the moment he took refuge with the rest in the canoes. The survivors of the crew now rallied forth, and discharged some of the deck guns, which did great execution among the canoes, and drove all the savages to shore.

For the remainder of the day no one ventured to put off to the ship, deterred by the effects of the firearms. The night passed away without any further attempt on the part of the natives. When the day dawned, the Tonquin was lying off in the bay, her sails all loose and flapping in the wind, and no one apparently on board of her. After a time, some of the canoes ventured forth to reconnoitre, taking with them the interpreter.

They paddled about her, keeping cautiously at a distance, but growing more and more emboldened at seeing her quiet and lifeless. One man at length made his appearance on the deck, and was recognized by the interpreter as Mr. Lewis. He made friendly signs, and invited them on board. It was long before they ventured to comply. Those who mounted the deck met with no opposition; no one was to be seen on board; for Mr. Lewis, after inviting them, had disappeared. Other canoes now pressed forward to board the prize; the decks were soon crowded, and the sides covered with clambering savages, all intent on plunder.

In the midst of their eagerness and exultation, the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion. Arms, legs, and mutilated bodies were blown into the air, and dreadful havoc was made in the surrounding canoes. The interpreter was in the main-chains at the time of the explosion, and was thrown unhurt into the water, where he succeeded in getting into one of the canoes. According to his statement, the bay presented an awful spectacle after the catastrophe. The ship had disappeared, but the bay was covered with fragments of the wreck, with shattered canoes, and Indians swimming for their lives, or struggling in the agonies of death; while those who had escaped the danger remained aghast and stupefied, or made with frantic panic for the shore. Upward of a hundred savages were destroyed by the explosion, many more were shockingly mutilated, and for days afterward the limbs and bodies of the slain were thrown upon the beach.

The inhabitants of Neweetee were overwhelmed with consternation at this astounding calamity, which had burst upon them in the very moment of triumph. The warriors sat mute and mournful, while the women fled the air with loud lamentations. Their weeping and wailing, however, was suddenly changed into yells of fury at the sight of four unfortunate white men, brought captive into the village. They had been driven on shore in one of the ship's boats, and taken at some distance along the coast.

The interpreter was permitted to converse with
blow in the third, Stephen being wounded as his retreat into his, still alive, they left the cabin in the companionship of an ammunition fire that soon from whom an eye had taken no notice of the natives as the motion of the canoes. Being left, and driven, and which did not embolden any one ventured to the effects of the attack without any opposition. To Mr. Lewis, who was to be industrious in the task of keeping the interpreter conscious at a time when the emboldened One man at the deck, and was shot by Mr. Lewis. He rushed on the ship, and was promptly. Those were no opposition; they were no one for Mr. Lewis, until they were enlivened. Other causes were the prize; the sides covered with plunder. There was an explosion. Arms, goods, and the surrounding were blown into the air. The ship's chains were thrown under the deck. The passengers were shot through, except the interpreter after the ship appeared, but tales of the wreck, as swimming for lives of death, was frantic panic. A hundred savages and many more were thrown upon the shore, overwhelmed with the calamity, and very moment of it, and monstrous, loud lamentation. However, woman and child on shore, in at some distance and conversed with

They proved to be the four brave fellows who had made such desperate defence from the cabin. The interpreter gathered from them some of the particulars already related. They told him further, that, after they had been and went to the enemy, and were advised that they should slip the cable and endeavor to get to sea. They declined to take his advice, alleging that the wind set too strongly into the bay, and would drive them on shore. They resolved, as soon as it was dark, to put off quietly in the ship's boat, which they would be able to do unperceived, and to coast along back to Astoria. They put their resolution into effect; but Lewis refused to accompany them, being disabled by his wound, hopeless of escape, and determined on a terrible revenge. On the voyage out, he had repeatedly expressed a presentiment that he should die by his own hands; thinking it highly probable that he should engage in some contest with the natives, and be resolved, in case of extremity, to commit suicide rather than be made a prisoner. He now declared his intention to remain on board of the ship until daylight, to decoy as many of the savages on board as possible, then to set fire to the powder magazine, and terminate his life by a signal act of self-destruction. So severe an intention had been shown. His companions bade him a melancholy advice, and set off on their precarious expedition. They strove with might and main to get out of the bay, but found it impossible to work the ship, and were overtaken at length compelled to take shelter in a small cove, where they hoped to remain concealed until the wind should be more favorable. Exhausted by fatigue and watching, they fell into a sound sleep, and in that state they were shot by the savages. Better had it been for those unfortunate men had they remained with Lewis, and shared his heroic death: as it was, they perished in a more painful and protracted manner, being sacrificed by the natives to the ancients of their friends with all the lingering tortures of savage cruelty. Some time after their death, the interpreter, who had remained a kind of prisoner at large, effected his escape, and brought the tragic tidings to Astoria.

Such is the melancholy story of the Tonquin. and it is incredible to think that her heartless headstrong commander, and her adventurous crew. It is a catastrophe that shows the importance, in all enterprises of moment, to keep in mind the general instructions of the sagacious heads which devise them. Mr. Astor was well aware of the peril to which ships were exposed on this coast from quarrels with the natives, and from pernicious attempts of the latter to surprise and capture them in unguarded moments. He had repeatedly enjoined it upon Captain Thorn, in conversation, and at parting, in his letter of instructions, to be courteous and kind in his dealings with the savages, but by no means to confide in their apparent friendship, nor to admit more than a few on board of his ship at a time.

Had the department of Captain Thorn been properly regulated, the insult so wounding to savage pride would never have been given. Had he enforced the rule to admit but a few at a time, the savages would not have been able to get the mastery, and Lewis would have been forced, as a necessary self-command, and, having been nurtured in a proud contempt of danger, thought it beneath him to manifest any fear of a crew of unarmed savages.

With all his faults and foibles, we cannot but speak of him with esteem, and deplore his untimely fate; for we remember him well in early life, as a companion in pleasant scenes and joyous hours. When on shore, among his friends, he was a frank, manly, sound-hearted sailor. On board ship he evidently assumed the hardness of deportment, and sternness of demeanour which might be deemed essential to naval service. Throughout the whole of the expedition, however, he showed himself loyal, single-minded, straightforward, and fearless; and if the fate of his vessel may be charged to his harshness and imprudence, we should recollect that he paid for his error with his life.

The loss of the Tonquin was a grievous blow to the infant establishment of Astoria, and one that threatened to bring after it a train of disasters. The intelligence of it did not reach Mr. Astor until many months afterward. He felt it in all its force, and was aware that it must cripple, if not entirely defeat, the great scheme of his ambition. In his letters, written at the time, he speaks of it as "a calamity, the length of which he could not foresee." He indulged, however, in no weak and vain lamentation, but sought to devise a prompt and efficient remedy. The very same evening he appeared at the theatre with his usual serenity of countenance, and the quickness of intelligence he had received, expressed his astonishment that he could have calmness of spirit sufficient for such a scene of light amusement.

What would you have me do?" was his characteristic reply: "would you have me stay at home and weep for what I cannot help?"

CHAPTER XII.

The tidings of the loss of the Tonquin, and the massacre of her crew, struck dismay into the hearts of the Astorians. They found themselves a mere handful of men, on a savage coast, surrounded by hostile tribes, who would doubtless incite and encourage to deeds of violence by the late fearful catastrophe. In this juncture Mr. M'Dougal, we are told, had recourse to a stratagem by which to avail himself of the ignorance and credulity of the savages, and which certainly does credit to his ingenuity.

The natives of the coast, and, indeed, of all the regions west of the mountains, had an extreme dread of the smallpox, that terrific scourge having, a few years previously, appeared among them, and almost swept off entire tribes. Its origin and nature were wrapped in mystery, and they conceived it an evil inflicted upon them by the Great Spirit, or brought among them by the white men. The last idea was seized upon by Mr. M'Dougal. He assembled several of the chieftains whom he believed to be in the conspiracy. When they were all seated around, he informed them that he had heard of the treachery of some of their northern brethren toward the Tonquin, and was determined to avenge it. "The white men among you," said he, "are few in number, are in truth they are mighty in medicine. See here," continued he, drawing forth a small bottle and holding it before their eyes. "in this little bottle I hold the smallpox, safely corked up; I have the power to draw it out and to confer life to man, woman, and child from the face of the earth."

The chiefs were struck with horror and alarm. They implored him not to uncork the bottle, since they and all their people were firm friends of the white men, and would always remain so; but,
should the smallpox be once let out, it would run like wildfire throughout the country, sweeping off the good as well as the bad, and surely he would not be so unjust as to punish his friends for crimes committed by his enemies.

Mr. Douglass pretended to be convinced by their reasoning, and assured them that, so long as the white people should be unmolested, and the conduct of their Indian neighbors friendly and hospitable, the phial of wrath should remain sealed up; but, on the least hostility, the fatal current would be turned.

From this time, it is added, he was much dreaded by the natives, as one who held their fate in his hands, and was called, by way of pre-eminence, "the Great Smallpox Chief."

All this while, the laborers at the infant settlement went on with unremitting assiduity, and, by the 26th of September, a commodious mansion, spacious enough to accommodate all hands, was completed. It was built of stone and clay, and, being no calcareous stone in the neighborhood from which lime could be procured, the schooner was also finished, and launched, with the accustomed ceremony, on the second of October, and took her station below the fort. She was named for one of the three, and was the first American vessel launched on this coast.

On the 5th of October, in the evening, the little community at Astoria was enlivened by the unexpected arrival of a detachment from Mr. David Stuart's party at Makinak. It consisted of two of the clerks and two of the privates. They brought favorable accounts of the settlement, but reported that, as Mr. Stuart was apprehensive there might be a difficulty of subsisting his company throughout the winter, he had sent one half back to Astoria, retaining with him only Ross Montguy, and two others. Such is the hard-ship of the Indian trader.

In the heart of a savage and unknown country, seven hundred miles from the main body of his fellow-adventurers, Stuart had dismissed half of his little number, and was prepared with the residue to brave all the perils of the wilderness, and the rigors of a long and dreary winter.

With the return party came a Canadian creole named to Brugiere, and an Iroquois hunter, with his wife and the two children. As these two personages belong to certain classes which have derived their peculiar characteristics from the fur trade, we deem some few particulars concerning them pertinent to the nature of this work.

Brugiere was one of a class of beaver trappers and hunters technically called freemen, in the language of the traders. They are generally Canadians by birth, and of French descent, who have been employed for a term of years by some fur company, but, their term being expired, continue to hunt and trap on their own account, trading with the company like the Indians. Hence they derive their appellation of freemen, to distinguish them from the trappers who are bound for a number of years, and receive wages, or hunt on shares.

Having passed their early youth in the wilderness, separated almost entirely from civilized man, and in frequent intercourse with the Indians, they return with a facility common to human nature, into the habits of savage life. Though no longer bound by engagements to continue in the interior, they have become so accustomed to the freedom of the forest and the prairie, that they look with repugnance upon the restrictions of civilization. Most of them intermarry with the natives, and, like the latter, have often a plurality of wives. Wanderers of the wilderness, according to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the migrations of animals, and the plenty or scarcity of game, they lead a precarious and unsettled existence; exposed to sun and storm and all kinds of hardships, until they resemble Indians in complex as well as in tastes and habits. From time to time they bring the peltries they have collected to the trading houses of the company in whose employ they have been brought up. Here they traffic, or barter away for such articles as merchandise or ammunition as they may stand in need of. At the time when Montreal was the great emporium of the fur trader, one of these free- men of the wilderness would suddenly return, after an absence of many years, among his old friends and comrades. He would be greeted as one risen from the dead; and with the greater welcome, as he returned flush of money. A short time, however, spent in revelry would be sufficient to drain his purse and sate him with civilized life, and he would return with new relish to the unshackled freedom of the forest.

Numbers of men of this class were scattered throughout the northwest territories. Some of them retained a little of the spirit of the civilized man, and became wealthy among their improvident neighbors; their wealth being chiefly displayed in large bands of horses, which covered the prairies in the vicinity of their abodes. Most of them, however, long continued to the red man in their heedlessness of the future.

Such was Regis Brugiere, a freeman and rover of the wilderness. Having been brought up in the service of the Northwest Company, he had followed the traders throughout the Rocky Mountains, and undertaken to trap for the trading post established on the Spokan River. In the course of his hunting expeditions he had neither accidentally, or designly, found his way to the post of Mr. Stuart, and been prevailed upon to descend the Columbia, and "try his luck" at Astoria.

Ignace Shonowane, the Iroquois hunter, was a specimen of a different class. He was one of those aborigines of Canada who had partially conformed to the habits of civilization, and the doctrines of Christianity, under the influence of the French colonists and the Catholic priests; who seem generally to have been more successful in conciliating, taming, and converting the savages, than their English and Protestant rivals. These half-civilized Indians retained some of the good and many of the evil qualities of their original stock. They were first rate hunters, and dexterous in the management of the canoe. They could undergo great privations, and were admirable for the service of the rivers, lakes, and forests, provided they could be kept sober, and in proper subordination; but, once inflamed with liquor, to which they were madly addicted, all the dormant passions inherent in their nature were prone to break forth, and to hurry them into the most vindictive and bloody acts of violence.

Though they generally professed the Roman Catholic religion, yet it was mixed, occasionally, with some of their ancient superstitions; and they retained much of the ceremony and formalities of the observances. Numbers of these men were employed by the Northwest Company as trappers, hunters, and canoe-men, but on lower terms than were allowed to white men. Ignace Shonowane had, in this way, followed the enterprises of the traders to the banks of the Spokan, being, probably, one
of the first of his tribe that had traversed the Rocky Mountains.

Such were some of the motley populace of the wilderness, incident to the fur trade, who were gradually attracted to the new settlement of Astoria.

The month of October now began to give indications of approaching winter. Hitherto the colonists had been well pleased with the climate. The summer had been temperate, the mercury ranging between 50° and 60°, and the intervening rains had prevailed during the spring and the early part of summer, and been succeeded by fresh breezes from the northwest. In the month of October the southerly winds set in, bringing with them frequent rain.

The Indians now began to quit the borders of the ocean, and to retire to their winter quarters in the sheltered bosom of the forests, or along the small rivers and brooks. The rainy season, which commences in October, continues, with little intermission, until April; and though the winters are generally mild, the mercury seldom sinks below the freezing point, yet the tempests of wind and rain are terrible. The sun is sometimes obscured for weeks, the brooks swell into rivers, and the country is threatened with a deluge.

The departure of the Indians to their winter quarters gradually rendered provisions scanty, and obliged the colonists to send out largeing expeditions in the Dolly. Still, the little band of adventurers kept up their spirits in their lonely fort at Astoria, looking forward to the time when they should be animated and reinforced by the party under Mr. Hunt, that was to come to them across the Rocky Mountains.

The year gradually wore away. The rain, which had poured down almost incessantly since the first of October, cleared up toward the evening of the 31st of December, and the morning of the first of January ushered in a day of sunshine. The hereditary French holiday spirit of the Canadian voyageurs is hardly to be depressed by any adversities; and they can manage to get up a fête in the most squalid situations, and under the most circumstanced. An extra allowance of rum, and a little flour to make cakes and puddings, constitute a "regale;" and they forget all their toils and troubles in the song and dance.

At the present occasion the partners endeavored to celebrate the new year with some effect. At sunrise the drums beat to arms, the colors were hoisted with three rounds of small arms and three discharges of cannon. The day was devoted to games of agility and strength, and other amusements; and grosg was temporarily distributed, together with bread, butter, and cheese. The best dinner their circumstances could afford was served up at midday. At sunset the colors were lowered, with another discharge of artillery. The night was spent in dancing; and, though there was a lack of female partners to excite their gaiety, the voyageurs kept up the ball, with true French spirit, until three o'clock in the morning. So passed the new year festival of 1812 at the infant colony of Astoria.

CHAPTER XIII.

We have followed up the fortunes of the maritime part of this enterprise to the shores of the Pacific, and have conducted the affairs of the em-

bryo establishment to the opening of the new year; let us turn now back to the adventurous band to whom was intrusted the land expedition, and who were to make their way to the mouth of the Columbia, up vast rivers, across trackless plains, and over the rugged barriers of the Rocky Mountains.

The conduct of this expedition, as has been already mentioned, was assigned to Mr. Wilson Price Hunt, of Trenton, New Jersey, one of the partners of the Astoriana, who was ultimately to be at the head of the establishment at the mouth of the Columbia. He is represented as a man scrupulously upright and faithful in his dealings, amicable in his disposition, and of most accommodating manners; and his whole conduct will be found in union with such a character. He was not practically experienced in the Indian trade; that is to say, he had never made any expeditions of traffic into the heart of the wilderness, but he had been engaged in commerce at St. Louis, then a frontier settlement on the Mississippi, where the chief branch of his business had consisted in furnishing Indian traders with goods and equipments. In this way he had acquired much knowledge of the trade at second hand, and of the various tribes, and the interior country over which it extended.

Another of the partners, Mr. Donald M'Kenzie, was associated with Mr. Hunt in the expedition, and excelled on those points in which the other was deficient; for he had been ten years in the interior, in the service of the Northwest Company, and valued himself on his knowledge of "woodcraft," and the strategy of Indian trade and Indian warfare. He had a frame seasoned to toils and hardships, a spirit not to be intimidated, and was reputed to be a "remarkable shot," which of itself was sufficient to give him renown upon the frontier.

Mr. Hunt and his conductor repaired, after the latter part of July, 1810, to Montreal, the ancient emporium of the fur trade, where everything requisite for the expedition could be procured. One of the first objects was to recruit a complement of Canadian voyageurs from the disbanded herd usually employed in this service. A degree of jockeyship, however, is required for this service, for a Canadian voyager is as full of latent tricks and vice as a horse; and when he makes the greatest external promise, is prone to prove the greatest cheat. Besides, the Northwest Company, who maintained a long established control at Montreal, and knew the qualities of every voyager, secretly interdicted the prime hands from engaging in this new service; so that, although liberal terms were offered, few presented themselves but such as were not worth having.

From these Mr. Hunt engaged a number sufficient, as he supposed, for present purposes; and, having laid in a supply of ammunition, provisions, and Indian goods, embarked on board one of those great canoes at that time universally used by the fur traders for navigating the intricate and often-obstructed rivers. The canoe was between thirty and forty feet long, and several feet in width; constructed of birch bark, sewed with fibres of the roots of the spruce tree, and daubed with resin of the pine, instead of tar. The cargo was made up in packages, weighing from ninety to one hundred pounds each, for the facility of loading and unloading, and of transportation portages. The canoe itself, though capable of sustaining a freight of upward of four tons, could
readily be carried on men's shoulders. Canoes of this size are generally managed by eight or ten men, two of whom are picked veterans, who rock the paddles, and are stationed, one at the bow and the other at the stern, to keep a lookout and to steer. They are termed the foremen and the steersman. The rest, who paddle, are called middle-men. When there is a favorable breeze, the canoe is occasionally navigated with a sail.

The expedition took its regular departure, as usual, from St. Anne's, near the extremity of the island of Montreal, the great starting place of the traders to the interior. Here stood the ancient chapel of St. Anne, the patroness of the Canadian voyageurs, where they made confession, and offered up their vows, previous to departing on any hazardous expedition. The shrine of the saint was decorated with relics and votive offerings hung up by these superstitious beings, either to propitiate her favor, or in gratitude for some signal deliverance in the wilderness.

It was the custom, too, of these devout vaga-bonds, after leaving the chapel, to have a grand ceremony in honor of the saint and for the prosperity of the voyage. In this part of their devotions, the crew of Mr. Hunt proved themselves by no means deficient. Indeed, he soon discovered that his recruits, enlisted at Montreal, were fit to vie with the ragged regiment of Falstaff. Some were able-bodied, but inept, others were expert, but lazy; while a third class were expert and willing, but totally worn out, being broken down veterans, incapable of toil.

With this inefficient crew he made his way up the Ottawa River, and by the ancient route of the fur traders along a succession of small lakes and rivers to Michilimackinac. Their progress was slow and tedious. Mr. Hunt was not accustomed to the management of voyageurs, and he had a crew admirably disposed to play the old soldier and bulk their work, and ever ready to come to a halt, land, make a fire, put on the great coat, and smoke, and gossip, and sing by the hour.

It was not until the 22d of July that they arrived at Mackinaw, situated on the island of the same name, at the mouth of lakes Huron and Michigan. This famous old French trading post continued to be a rallying point for a multiform and motley population. The inhabitants were ambivalent in their habits, most of them being, or having been, voyageurs or canoe-men. It was the great place of arrival and departure of the southwest fur trade. Here the Mackinaw Company had established its principal post, from whence it communicated with the interior and with Montreal. Hence its various traders and trappers set out for their respective destinations about Lake Superior and its tributary waters, or for the Mississippi, the Arkansas, the Missouri, and the other regions of the west. Here, after the absence of a year or more, they returned with their peltries, and settled their accounts; the furs rendered in by them being transmitted, in canoes, from hence to Montreal. Mackinaw was, therefore, for a great part of the year, very scantily peopled; but at certain seasons the traders arrived from all points, with their crews of voyageurs, and the place swarmed like a hive.

Mackinaw, at that time, was a mere village, stretching along a small bay, with a fine broad beach in front of its principal row of houses, and dominated by the old fort, which crowned an imposing height. This was a kind of public promenade, where were displayed all the vagaries of a seaport on the arrival of a fleet from a long cruise. Here voyageurs frolicked away their wages, huddling and dancing in the bows and cabins, or sitting on the fenders, dressing themselves out finely, and pacing up and down, like arrant braggarts and coxcombs. Sometimes they met with rival coxcombs in the young Indians from the opposite shore, who would appear on the beach painted and decorated in fantastic style, and stagger around,utter up and down, to be gazed at and admired, perfectly satisfied that they eclipsed their pale-faced competitors.

Now and then a chance party of "Northwesters" appeared at Mackinaw from the rendezvous at Fort William. These held themselves up as the chivalry of the fur trade. They were men of iron; proof against cold weather, hard fare, and perils of all kinds. Some would wear the northwest button, and a formidable dirk, and assume something of a military air. They generally wore feathers in their hats, and affected the "brave."

"Je suis un homme du nord!"—"I am a man of the north," one of these swelling fellows would exclaim, sticking his arm in the general, tacitly admitted by the Southwesterners, whom he regarded with great contempt, as men softened by mild climates and the luxurious fare of bread and bacon, and whom he stigmatized with the ignoble name of pork-eaters. The superiority assumed by these vainglorious and glorious voyageurs, was, in general, tacitly admitted. Indeed, some of them had acquired great notoriety for deeds of hardihood and courage; for the fur trade had its heroes, whose names resounded throughout the wilderness.

In such a Mackinaw at the time of which we are treating. It now, doubtless, presents a totally different aspect. The fur companies no longer assemble there; the navigation of the lakes is carried on by steamboats and various shipping, and the race of traders, and trappers, and voyageurs, and Indian dandies, have vaporized out their brief hour and disappeared. Such changes does the lapse of a handful of years make in this ever-changing country.

At this place Mr. Hunt remained for some time, to complete his assortment of Indian goods, and to increase his number of voyageurs, as well as to engage some of a more efficient character than those enlisted at Montreal.

And now commenced another game of jockeyship. There were able and efficient men in abundance at Mackinaw, but for several days not one presented himself. If offers were made to any, they were listened to with a shake of the head. Should any one seem inclined to enlist, there were officious idlers and busybodies, of that class who are ever ready to dissuade others from any enterprise in which they themselves have no concern. These would pull him by the sleeve, take him on one side, and murmur in his ear, or would suggest difficulties outright.

It was objected that the expedition would have to navigate unknown rivers, and pass through howling wildnesses infested by savage tribes, who had already cut off the unfortunate voyageurs that had ventured among them; that it was to climb the Rocky Mountains and descend into desolate and famished regions, where the traveller was often obliged to subsist on grasshoppers and crickets, or to kill his own horse for food.

At length one man was hardly enough to engage, and he was used like a "stool-pigion," to decoy others; but several days elapsed before
any more could be prevailed upon to join him. A few then came to terms. It was desirable to engage them for five years, but some refused to engage for more than three. Then they must have part of their pay in advance, which was usually two-thirds of the whole. These men, however, pocketed the amount, and squandered it in regales or in out- fits, they began to talk of pecuniary obligations at Mackinaw, which must be discharged before they would be free to depart; or engagements with other persons, which were only to be cancelled by a "reasonable consideration." It was in vain to argue or remonstrate. The money advanced had already been sucked and spent, and must be lost and the recruits left behind, unless they could be freed from their debts and engagements. Accordingly, a fine was paid for one; a judgment for another; a tavern bill for the third; and almost all had to be bought off from some prior engagement, either real or pretended.

Mr. Hunt groaned in spirit at the incessant and unreasonable demands of these worthies upon his purse; yet with all this outlay of funds, the number recruited was but scanty, and many of the most desirable still held themselves aloof, and would neither be bought nor be goaded into battle. With these he tried another temptation. Among the recruits who had enlisted he distributed feathers and ostrich plumes. These they put in their hats, and thus figured about Mackinaw, as suaviter in modo, pero in re, as "voyageurs in a new company, that was to eclipse the North-west." The effect was complete. A French Canadian is too vain and mercenary a being to withstand the finery and ostentation of the feather. Numbers immediately pressed into the service. One must have an ostrich plume; another, a white feather with a red end; a third, a bunch of cocks' tails. Thus all paraded about in vain-glorious style, more delighted with the feathers in their hats than with the money in their pockets; and considering themselves fully equal to the boastful "men of the north."

While thus recruiting the number of rank and file, Mr. Hunt was joined by a person whom he had invited, by letter, to engage as a partner in the enterprise. This was Mr. Crooks, a young man, a native of Scotland, who had served under the Northwest Company, and been engaged in trading expeditions upon his individual account, among the tribes of the Missouri. Mr. Hunt knew him personally, and had conceived a high and merited opinion of his judgment, enterprise, and integrity; he was rejoiced, therefore, when the latter consented to accompany him. Mr. Crooks, however, drew from experience a picture of the dangers to which they would be subjected, and urged the importance of going with a considerable force. In ascending the upper Missouri they would have to pass through the country of the Sioux Indians, who had manifested repeated hostility to the white traders, and cut their expeditions extremely perilous; firing upon them from the river banks as they passed beneath in their boats, and attacking them in their encampments. Mr. Crooks himself, when voyaging in company with another trader of the name of M'Lellan, had been interrupted and viciously treated; but he found himself fortunate in escaping down the river without loss of life or property, but with a total abandonment of his trading voyage.

Should they be fortunate enough to pass through the country of the Sioux without molesta-

### CHAPTER XIV.

ST. LOUIS, which is situated on the right bank of the Mississippi River, a few miles below the mouth of the Missouri, was, at that time, a frontier settlement, and the last fitting-out place for the Indian trade of the southwest. It possessed a motley population composed of the creole descendants of the early emigrants, and the keener traders from the Atlantic States; the back, wood-men of Kentucky and Tennessee; the Indians and half-breds of the prairies; together with a singular aquatic race that had grown up from the navigation of the rivers—the "boatmen
of the Mississippi," who possessed habits, manners, and almost a language, peculiarly their own, and strongly technical. They, at that time, were extremely numerous, and conducted the chief navigation and commerce of the Ohio and the Mississippi, as the voyagers did of the Canadian waters; but, like them, their consequence and characteristics are rapidly vanishing before the all-prevailing intrusion of steamboats.

The old French houses engaged in the Indian trade had gathered round them a train of dependents, mongrel Indians, and mongrel Frenchmen, who had intermarried with Indians. These they employed in their various expeditions by land and water. Various individuals of other countries had of late years, pushed the trade farther into the interior, to the upper waters of the Mississippi, and had swelled the number of these hangers-on. Several of these traders had, two or three years previously, formed themselves into a company, composed of twelve partners, with a capital of about forty thousand dollars, called the Missouri Fur Company, the object of which was to establish posts along the upper part of that river, and monopolize the trade. The leading partner of this company was Mr. Samuel I. Smith, a Spaniard by birth, and a man of bold and enterprising character, who had ascended the Missouri almost to its source and made himself well acquainted and popular with several of its tribes. By his exertions, trading posts had been established, in 1808, in the Sioux country, and among the Arikara and Mandan tribes; and a principal one, under Mr. Smith's command, one of the hunters, at the forks of the Missouri. This company had in its employ about two hundred and fifty men, partly American hunters, and partly creoles and Canadian voyageurs.

All these circumstances combined to produce a place at St. Louis even still more moody than that at Mackinaw. Here were to be seen about the river banks, the hectoring, extravagant, braggart boatmen of the Missouri, with the gay, grimacing, singing, good-humored Canadian voyageurs. Vagrant Indians, of various tribes, loitered about the streets. Now and then a black Kentucky hunter, in leathern hunting-dress, with rifle on shoulder and knife in belt, strode along. Here and there were new brick houses and shops, just set up by bustling, driving, and eager minds of traffic from the Atlantic States; while, on the other hand, the old French mansions, with open casements, still retained the easy, indolent air of the original colonists; and now and then the scraping of a fiddle, a strain of an ancient French song, or the sound of billiard balls, showed that the happy Gallic turn for gayety and amusement still lingered about the place.

Such was St. Louis at the time of Mr. Hunt's arrival there, and the appearance of a new fur company, with ample funds at its command, produced a strong sensation among the Indian traders of the place, and awakened keen jealousy and opposition on the part of the Missouri Company. Mr. Hunt proceeded to strengthen himself against this opposition. For this purpose, he secured to the interests of the association another of those enterprising men, who had been engaged in individual traffic with the tribes of the Missouri. This was a Mr. Joseph Miller, a gentleman well educated and thoroughly experienced, and of a respectable family of Baltimore. He had been an officer in the army of the United States, but had resigned in disgust, on being refused a furlough, and had taken to trapping beaver and trading among the Indians. He was easily induced by Mr. Hunt to join as a partner, and was considered by him, on account of his education and acquirements, and his experience in Indian trade, a valuable addition to the company.

Several additional men were likewise enlisted in St. Louis, some as boatmen, and others as hunters. These last were engaged, not merely to kill game for provisions, but also, and indeed chiefly, to trap beaver and other animals of rich fur, valuable in the trade. They enlisted on different terms. Some were to have a fixed salary of three hundred dollars; others were to be fitted out and maintained at the expense of the company, and were to hunt and trap on shares.

As Mr. Hunt met with much opposition on the part of rival traders, especially the Missouri Fur Company, it took him some weeks to complete his preparations. The delays which he had previously experienced at Montreal, Mackinaw, and on the way, added to those at St. Louis, had thrown him much behind his original calculations, so that it would be impossible to effect his voyage up the Missouri, on the river, flowing from high and cold latitudes, and through wide and open plains, exposed to chilling blasts, freezes early. The winter may be dated from the first of November; there was every prospect, therefore, that it would be closed with ice before Mr. Hunt could reach its upper waters. To avoid, however, the expense of wintering at St. Louis, he determined to push up the river as far as possible, to some point above the settlements, where game was plenty, and whose his whole party could be subsisted by hunting, until the breaking up of the ice in the spring should permit them to resume their voyage.

Accordingly, on the twenty-first of October he took his departure from St. Louis. His party was distributed in three boats. One was the large which he had brought from Mackinaw; another was of a larger size, such as was formerly used in navigating the Mohawk River, and known by the generic name of the Schenectady large; the other was a large keel boat, at that time the grand conveyance on the Mississippi.

In this way they set out from St. Louis, in buoyant spirits, and soon arrived at the mouth of the Missouri. This vast river, three thousand miles in length, and capable of draining such an immense extent of country, was as yet but casually and imperfectly navigated by the adventurous bark of the fur trader. A steamer had never yet steamed its turbulent current. Sails were but of casual assistance, for it required a strong wind to conquer the force of the stream. The main dependence was on bodily strength and manual dexterity. The boats, in general, had to be propelled by oars and setting poles, or drawn by the hand, and by grappling hooks from one root or overhanging tree to another; or towed by the long cordelle, or towing line, where the shores were sufficiently clear of woods and thickets to permit the men to pass along the banks.

During this slow and tedious progress the boat would be exposed to the perils of the .river, the falling trees and great masses of drift-wood, or to be impaled upon snags and sawyers; that is, say, sunken trees, presenting a jagged or pointed end above the surface of the water. As the channel of the river frequently shifted, trees lodged on either side, according to the bends and sand-banks, the boat had, in the same way, to advance in a zigzag course. Often a part of the crew would have to leap into the water at the shallows, and wade
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On this his second visit to St. Louis, Mr. Hunt was again impeded in his plans by the opposition of the Missouri Fur Company. The affairs of that company were, at this time, in a very dubious state. During the winter and spring of 1809, the principal establishment at the forks of the Missouri had been so much harassed by the Blackfeet Indians that its commander, Mr. Henry, one of the partners, had been compelled to abandon the post and cross the Rocky Mountains, with the intention of fixing himself upon one of the upper branches of the Columbia. What had become of him and his party was unknown. The most intense anxiety was felt concerning them, and apprehensions that they might have been cut off by the savages. At the time of Mr. Hunt's arrival at St. Louis, the Missouri Company were fitting out an expedition to go in quest of Mr. Henry. It was to be conducted by Mr. Manuel Lisa, the enterprising partner already mentioned.

There being thus two expeditions on foot at the same moment, an unusual demand was occasioned for hunters and voyageurs, who accordingly profited by the circumstance, and stipulated for high terms. Mr. Hunt found a keen and subtle competitor in Lisa, and was obliged to secure his recruits by liberal advances of pay, and by other pecuniary indulgences.

The greatest difficulty was to procure the Sioux interpreter. There was but one man to be met with at St. Louis who was fitted for the purpose, but to secure him would require much management. The individual in question was a half-breed, named Pierre Dorion; and, as he figures hereafter in this narrative, and is, withal, a striking specimen of the hybrid race on the frontier, we shall give a few particulars concerning him. Pierre was the son of Dorion, the French interpreter, who accompanied Messrs. Lewis and Clarke in their famous exploring expedition across the Rocky Mountains. Old Pierre was one of those French creoles, descendants of the ancient Canadian stock, who abode on the western frontier, and amalgamated or cohabited with the savages. He had sojourned among various tribes, and perhaps left progeny among them all; but his regular or habitual wife was a Sioux squaw. By her

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Leaving, therefore, the encampment in charge of the other partners, Mr. Hunt set off on foot on the first of January (1810), for St. Louis. He was accompanied by eight men as far as Fort Osage, about one hundred and fifty miles below Nodowa. Here he procured a couple of horses, and proceeded on the remainder of his journey with two men, sending the other six back to the encampment. He arrived at St. Louis on the 20th of January.

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he had a hopeful brood of half-breed sons, of whom Pierre was one. The domestic affairs of old Dorion were conducted on the true Indian plan. Father and sons would occasionally get drunk together, and then the cabin was a scene of ruffian brawling and fighting, in the course of which the old Frenchman was apt to get soundly beaten himself. In a fair Mr. Dorion, of the kind, one of the sons got the old man upon the ground, and was upon the point of scalp him. "Hold! my son," cried the old fellow, in imploring accents, "you are too brave, too bubble-headed to scalp your father!" This last appeal touched the French side of the half-breed's heart, so he suffered the old man to wear his scalp unharmed.

Of this hopeful stock was Pierre Dorion, the man whom it was now the desire of Mr. Hunt to engage as an interpreter. He had been employed in that capacity by the Missouri Fur Company during the preceding year, and had conducted their traders in safety through the different tribes of Indians. He had proved himself a faithful and serviceable while sober; but the love of liquor, in which he had been nurtured and brought up, would occasionally break out, and with it the savage side of his character.

It was his love of liquor which had embroiled him with the Missouri Company. While in their service at Fort Mandan on the frontier, he had been seized with a whiskey mania; and as the beverage was only to be procured at the company's store, it had been charged in his account at the rate of ten dollars a quart. This item had ever remained unsettled, and a matter of furious dispute, the mere mention of which was sufficient to put him in a passion.

The moment it was discovered by Mr. Lisa that Pierre Dorion was in treaty with the new rival company, he endeavored, by threats as well as promises, to prevent his engaging in their service. His promises might, perhaps, have prevailed; but his threats, which related to the whiskey debt, by Mr. Lisa, as agent of the Missouri Company, and that it was the intention to execute a warrant against him on the Missouri, before its arrival at St. Charles, and have his whiskey debt, was prepared to occasion him. The knowing Pierre immediately landed and took to the woods, followed by his squaw laden with their papooses, and a large bundle containing their most precious effects, promising to rejoin the party some distance above St. Charles. There seemed little dependence to be placed upon the promises of a loose adventurer of the kind, who was at the time playing an evasive game with his former employers; who had already received two thirds of his year's pay, and had his promise to back it as well his family and worldly fortune at his heels, and the wild woods before him. There was no alternative, however, and it was hoped his pique against his old employers would render him faithful to his new ones.

When Mr. Hunt had got everything ready for leaving St. Louis, new difficulties rose. Five of the American hunters from the encampment at Nodaw, suddenly made their appearance. They alleged that they had been ill treated by the partners at the encampment, and had come off clandestinely, in consequence of a dispute. It was useless at the present moment, and under present circumstances, to attempt any compulsory measures with these deserters. Two of them Mr. Hunt prevailed upon, by mild means, to return with him. The rest refused; nay, what was worse, they spread such reports of hardships and dangers to be apprehended in the course of the expedition, that they struck a panic into those hunters who had recently engaged at St. Louis, and, when the hour of departure arrived, all but one refused to embark. It was in vain Mr. Hunt endeavored to dissuade them, shouting to their rifles and turning their back upon the expedition, Mr. Hunt was left to put off from shore with the single hunter and a number of voyageurs whom he had engaged. Even Pierre Dorion, at the last moment, refused to enter the boat until Mr. Hunt consented to take his squaw and two children on board, to render the party more valuable, on account of this worthy individual, did not end here.

Among the various persons who were about to proceed upon the Missouri with Mr. Hunt, were two scientific gentlemen; Mr. Nuttall, a Universal man of mature age, but great enterprise and personal activity, who had been sent out by the Linnaean Society of Liverpool, to make a collection of American plants; the other, a Mr. Nuttall, likewise an Englishman, young in years, who has since made himself known as the author of "Travels in Arkansas," and a work on the "Genus of American Plants." Mr. Hunt had offered them the protection and facilities of his party, in their scientific researches upon the Missouri. As they were not ready to depart at the moment of embarkation, they put their trunks on board of the boat, but remained at St. Louis until the next day, for the arrival of the post, intending to join the expedition at St. Charles, in a short distance above the mouth of the Missouri.

The same evening, however, they learned that a writ had been issued against Pierre Dorion for his whiskey debt, by Mr. Lisa, as agent of the Missouri Company, and that it was the intention to execute a warrant against him on the Missouri, before its arrival at St. Charles, and have his whiskey debt, was prepared to occasion him. The knowing Pierre immediately landed and took to the woods, followed by his squaw laden with their papooses, and a large bundle containing their most precious effects, promising to rejoin the party some distance above St. Charles. There seemed little dependence to be placed upon the promises of a loose adventurer of the kind, who was at the time playing an evasive game with his former employers; who had already received two thirds of his year's pay, and had his promise to back it as well his family and worldly fortune at his heels, and the wild woods before him. There was no alternative, however, and it was hoped his pique against his old employers would render him faithful to his new ones.

The party reached St. Charles in the afternoon, but the harpies of the law looked in vain for their expected prey. The boats resumed their course on the following morning, and had not proceeded far when Pierre Dorion made his appearance on the shore. He was gladly taken on board, but he came without his squaw. They had quarrelled in the night; Pierre had administered the Indian discipline of the cudgel, whereupon she had taken to the woods, with their children and all their worldly goods. Pierre was deeply grieved and disconsolate at the loss of his wife and his knapsack, wherefore Mr. Hunt dispatched one of the Canadian voyageurs in search of the fugitive; and the whole party, after proceeding a few miles further, encamped on an island to await his return. The Canadian rejoined the party, but without the squaw; and Pierre Dorion passed a solitary and anxious night, bitterly regretting his indiscretion in having exercised his conjugal authority by breaking a squaw's heart. However, a break, however, a well-known voice reached his ears from the opposite shore. It was his repentant squaw, who had been wandering the woods all night in quest of the party, and had at length
described it by its fires. A boat was dispatched for her, the interesting family was once more united, and Mr. Hunt now flattered himself that he had won his first triumph with Pierre Dorsay.

Bad weather, very heavy rains, and an unusually early rise in the Missouri rendered the ascent of the river toilsome, slow, and dangerous. The rise of the Missouri does not generally take place until the middle of February, but in 1825, the present swelling of the river must have been caused by a freshet in some of its more southern branches. It could not have been the great annual flood, as the higher branches must still have been ice-bound.

And here we cannot but pause, to notice the admirable arrangement of nature, by which the annual swellings of the various great rivers which empty themselves into the Mississippi have been made to precede each other at considerable intervals. Thus, the flood of the Red River precedes that of the Arkansas by a month. The Arkansas, also, rising in a much more southern latitude than the Missouri, takes the lead of it in its annual excess, and its superabundant waters are disgorged and disposed of long before the breaking up of the ice. As a consequence, the north and mighty streams rise simultaneously, and discharges their vernal floods into the Mississippi, an inundation would be the consequence, that would submerge and devastate all the lower country.

On the afternoon of the third day, January 17th, the boats touched at Charete, one of the old villages founded by the original French colonists. Here they met with Daniel Boone, the renowned patriarch of Kentucky, who had kept in the advance of civilization, and had the borders of the wilderness, still leading a hunter's life, though now in his eighty-fifth year. He had but recently returned from a hunting and trapping expedition, and had brought nearly sixty beaver skins as trophies of his skill. The old man was still erect in form, strong in limb, and unimpaired in spirit, and as he stood on the river bank, watching the departure of an expedition destined to traverse the wilderness to the very shores of the Pacific, very probably felt a thrill of his old pioneer spirit, impelling him to shoulder his rifle and join the adventurous band. Boone flourished several years after this meeting, in a vigorous old age, the Netro of hunters and backwoodsmen; and died, full of sylvan honor and renown, in 1818, in his ninety-third year.

The next morning early, as the party were yet encamped at the mouth of a small stream, they were visited by another of these heroes of the wilderness, one John Colter, who had accompanied Lewis and Clarke in their memorable expedition. He had recently made one of those vast internal voyages so characteristic of this fearless class of men, and of the immense regions over which they hold their lonely wanderings; having come from the head-waters of the Missouri to St. Louis in a small canoe. This distance of three thousand miles he had accomplished in thirty days. Colter kept with the party all the morning. He had many particulars to give them concerning the Blackfeet Indians, a restless and predatory tribe, who had conceived an inextinguishable hostility to the white men, in consequence of one of their warriors having been killed by Captain Lewis, while attempting to steal horses. Through the country infested by these savages the expedition would have to proceed, and Colter was urgent in reiterating the precautions necessary to guard against them. He had himself experienced their vindictive cruelty, and his story deserves particular citation, as showing the hairbreadth adventures to which these solitary rovers of the wilderness are exposed.

Colter, with the hardihood of a regular trapper, had cast himself loose from the party of Lewis and Clarke in the very heart of the wilderness, and had remained to trap beaver alone on the head-waters of the Missouri. Here he fell in with another lonely trapper, like himself, and they agreed to keep together. They were in the very region of the terrible Blackfeet, at that time thirsting to revenge the death of their companion, and knew that they had to expect no mercy at their hands. They were obliged to keep concealed all day in the woody margins of the rivers, setting their traps after nightfall, and taking them up before daybreak. It was running a fearful risk for the sake of a few beaver skins; but such is the life of the trapper.

They were on a branch of the Missouri called Jefferson's Fork, and had set their traps at night, about six miles up a small river that emptied into the fork. Early in the morning they ascended the river in a canoe, to examine the traps. The banks on each side were high and thickly wooded, and cast a shade over the stream. As they were softly padding along, they heard the trampling of many feet upon the banks. Colter immediately gave the alarm of "Indians!" and was for instant retreat. Potts scoffed at him for being frightfully superstitious in the trampling of a herd of buffaloes. Colter checked his uneasiness and paddled forward. They had not gone much further when frightful whoops and yells burst forth from each side of the river, and several hundred Indians appeared on either bank. Signs were made to the unfortunate trappers to come on shore. They were obliged to comply. Before they could get out of their canoes, a savage seized the rifle belonging to Potts. Colter sprang on shore, wrested the weapon from the hands of the Indian, and restored it to his companion, who was still in the canoe, and immediately pushed into the stream. There was the sharp twang of a bow, and Potts cried out that he was wounded. Colter urged him to come on shore and submit, as his only chance for life; but the other knew there was no prospect of mercy, and determined to die game. Levering his rifle, he shot one of the savages dead on the spot. The next moment he fell himself, pierced with innumerable arrows. The vengeance now turned upon Colter. He was stripped naked, and, having some knowledge of the Blackfoot language, overheard a consultation as to the mode of dispatching him, so as to derive the greatest amusement from his death. Some were for setting him up as a mark, and having a trial of skill at his expense. The chief, however, was for nobler sport. He seized Colter by the shoulder, and demanded if he could run fast. The unfortunate trapper was too well acquainted with Indian customs not to understand the spirit of the question. He knew he was to run for his life, to furnish a kind of human hunt to his persecutors. Though in reality he was noted among his brother hunters for swiftness of foot, he assured the chief that he was a very bad runner. His stratagem gained him some vantage ground. He was led by the chief into the prairie, about four hundred yards from the main body of savages, and then turned loose to save himself if he could. A tremendous yell went up, and that the whole pack of bloodthirsty savages were off in hot pursuit. Colter flew, rather than ran; he was astonished at his own speed; but he had six miles of prairie to traverse before he should
reach the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri; how could he hope to hold out such a distance with the few men and scanty supplies at his command? day after day, month after month, he persisted, and at length came upon a bend of the river, where a small island, or rather a shoal, projected into the stream. Colter turned his head with a triumphant smile. Here was a stopping-place for his men, and a sheltered place for the winter quarters. They pitched their tents, and made their camp, and Colter, with the Indians, went up to the island to bring down some timber, and make a log-house to defend them from the wild beasts. The Indians were delighted with the new home, and the white men were contented to rest for a little while. But Colter was restless. He saw the river, and he knew that it was the key to the world. He determined to follow it, and see what lay beyond. He set out with a small party of men, and marched up the river, until they came to a large island, which they called Fort Osage. Here they built a fort, and made a treaty with the Indians, and Colter became the chief of the tribe. He lived there for many years, and became a rich and powerful man. He was bold, and fearless, and independent, and he was beloved by all who knew him. The plain too abounded with the prickly pear, which wounded his naked feet. Still he held on, dreading each moment to hear the twang of a bow, and to feel an arrow quivering at his heart. He did not even dare to look round, lest he should lose an inch of that distance on which his life depended. He had run nearly half way across the plain when the sound of pursuit grew somewhat fainter, and he ventured to turn his head. The whole body of his pursuers were a considerable distance behind; several of the fastest runners were scattered in the advance; while a swift-footed warrior, armed with a spear, was not more than a hundred yards behind him.

Inspired with new hope, Colter redoubled his exertions, but strained himself to such a degree that the blood gushed from his mouth and nostrils and streamed down his breast. He arrived within a mile of the river. The sound of footsteps gathered upon him. A glance behind showed his pursuers within twenty yards, and preparing to launch their spear. Stopping short, he turned round and spread out his arms. The savage, confounded by this sudden action, attempted to stop and hurl his spear, but fell in the very act. His spear stuck in the ground, and the shaft broke in his hand. Colter plucked up the pointed pin, pinned the savage to the earth, and continued his flight. The Indians, as they arrived at their slaughtered companions, stopped to howl over him. Colter made the best of this precious delay, gained the skirt of cotton-wood bordering the river, dashed through it, and plunged into the stream. He swam to a neighboring island, against the upper end of which the driftwood had lodged in such quantities as to form a natural jetty; under this he dived, and swam below water until he succeeded in getting a breathing place between the floating trunks of trees, whose branches and bushes formed a covert several feet above the level of the water. He had scarcely drawn breath after all his toils, when he heard his pursuers on the river bank, whooping and yelling like so many fiends. They plunged in the river, and swam to the raft. The raft of Colter almost died within him as he saw them, through the chinks of his concealment, passing and repassing, and seeking for him in all directions. They at length gave up the search, and he began to rejoice in his escape, when the idea presented itself that they might set the raft on fire. Here was a new source of horrible apprehension, in which he remained until nightfall. Fortunately, the idea did not suggest itself to the Indians. As soon as it was dark, finding by the silence around that his pursuers had departed, Colter dived again and came up beyond the raft. He then swam silently down the river for a considerable distance, when he landed, and kept on all night, to get as far off as possible from this dangerous neighborhood.

By this time the Indians had gained sufficient distance to relieve him from the terrors of his savage foes; but now new sources of inquietude presented themselves. He was naked and alone, in the midst of an abandoned wilderness; his only chance was to reach a trading post of the Missouri, and to escape to the banks of the Yellowstone River. Even should he elude his pursuers, days must elapse before he could reach this post, during which he must traverse immense prairies destitute of shade, his naked body exposed to the burning heat of the sun by day, and the dews and chills of the night season; and his feet incased by the thorns of the prairie, which he might see game in abundance around him, he had no means of killing any for his sustenance, and must depend for food upon the roots of the earth. In defiance of these difficulties he pushed resolutely forward, gaining course by those signs and indications known only to Indians and backwoodsmen; and after braving dangers and hardships enough to break down any spirit but that of a western pioneer, arrived safe at the solitary post in question.*

Such is a sample of the rugged experience which Colter had to relate of savage life; yet, with all these perils and terrors fresh in his recollection, he could not see the present band on their way to those regions of danger and adventure, without feeling a vehement impulse to join them. A western trapper is like a sailor; past hazards only stimulate him to further risks. The vast prairie is to the one what the ocean is to the other, a boundless field of enterprise and exploit. However he may have suffered in his last cruise, he is always ready to join a new expedition; and the more adventurous its nature, the more attractive it is to his vagrant spirit.

Nothing seems to have kept Colter from continuing with the party to the shores of the Pacific, but the circumstance of his having recently married. All the morning he kept with them, balancing in his mind the charms of his bride against those of the Rocky Mountains; the former, however, prevailed, and in the afternoon he went with several miles, when he took a reluctant leave of the travellers, and turned his face homeward.

Continuing their progress up the Missouri, the party encamped, on the evening of the 21st of March, in the neighborhood of a little frontier village of French creoles. Here Pierre Dorian met with some of his old comrades, with whom he had a long gossip, and returned to the camp with rumors of bloody feuds between the Osages and the Ioways, or Ayaways, Potowatomies, Sioux, and Sawkees. Blood had already been shed, and scalps been taken. A war party, three hundred strong, were prowling in the neighborhood; others might be met with higher up the river; it behoved the travellers, therefore, to set up a guard against robbery or surprise, for an Indian war party on the march is prone to acts of outrage.

In consequence of this report, which was subsequently confirmed by further intelligence, a guard was kept up at night round the encampment, and they all slept on their arms. As they were sixteen in number, and well supplied with weapons and ammunition, they trusted to be able to give any marauding party a warm reception. Nothing occurred, however, to molest them on their voyage, and on the 8th of April they came in sight of Fort Osage. On their approach the flag was hoisted on the fort, and they saluted it by a discharge of firearms. Within a short distance of the fort was an Osage village, the inhabitants of which, men, women, and children, thronged down to the water side to witness their landing. One of the first persons they met on the river bank was Mr. Crooks, who had come down in a boat, with nine men, from the winter encampment at Nodowa, to meet them.

They remained at Fort Osage a part of three days, during which they were hospitably enter-
from the dews and their telltace lacerated

Though he had them, he had his hercules, and the

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the Osage village, followed by the warriors decked out in

all their savage ornaments, and hideously painted as

if for battle.

By the Osage warriors, Mr. Hunt and his compan-

nies were again warned to be on the guard

in ascending the river, as the Sioux tribe meant to

lay in wait and attack them.

On the 10th of April they again embarked, their

party being now augmented to twenty-six, by the

addition of Mr. Crooks and his boat's crew. They

had not proceeded far, however, when there was

a great outcry from one of the boats; it was occa-

sioned by a little domestic discipline in the Dorton

family. The squaw of the worthy interpeter, it

appeared, had been so delighted with the scalp-

dance, and other festivities of the Osage village,

that she had taken a strong inclination to remain

there. This had been as strongly opposed by her

husband as by the other ladies, but both had

made good time; she had been seen so often since,

whereupon Pierre, seeing no other mode of exor-

cising the evil spirit out of her, and being, per-

haps, a little inspired by whiskey, had resolved to

the Indian remedy of the cudgel, and, before his

neighbors could interfere, had belabored her so

suddenly that there is no record of her having

shown any refractory symptoms throughout the

remainder of the expedition.

They provided their voyage, exposed to almost incessant rains. The bodies of
drowned buffaloes floated past them in vast numbers; many had drifted upon the shore,
or against the upper ends of the rills and islands. These attracted great flights of turkey-buzz-

ards; some were banquetting on the carcasses, others were soaring far aloft in the sky, and

other were perched on the trees, with their backs to the sun, and their wings stretched out to
dry, like so many vessels in harbor, spreading their sails after a shower.

The turkey-buzzard (vultur aura, or golden vulture), when on the wing, is one of the most

peculiar and imposing of birds. Its flight in the upper regions of the sky is really

describing its immense wings, and wheeling slowly and majestically to and fro, seemingly without exerting

a muscle or fluttering a feather, but moving by mere volition, and sailing on the bosom of the air as a ship upon

the ocean. Surprisingly the empyreal realm of the eagle, he assumes for a time the port and dignity of that majestic bird, and

is often mistaken for him by ignorant crawlers upon earth. It is only when he descends from the clouds to pounce upon carrion that he betrays his

low propensities, and reveals his catihf character. Near at hand he is a disgusting bird, ragged in plumage, base in aspect, and of loathsome odor.

On the 17th of April Mr. Hunt arrived with his party at the station near the Nodowa River,

where the main body had been quartered during the winter.

CHAPTER XVI.

The weather continued rainy and ungenial for some days after Mr. Hunt's return to Nodowa;

yet spring was rapidly advancing and vegetation was putting forth with all its early freshness and

beauty. The snakes began to recover from their torpor and crawl forth into day, and the

neighborhood of the wintering house seems to have been much infested with serpents. Mr. Hunt,
in the course of his botanical researches, found a surprising number in a half torpid state, under flat

stones upon the banks which overhang the canton-

tment, and narrowly escaped being struck by a rattlesnake, which started at him from a crevice in

the rock, but fortunately gave him warning by its

rattle.

The pigeons too were filling the woods in vast migratory flocks. It is almost incredible to
describe the prodigious flights of these birds in the western wildnesses. They appear absolutely in

clouds, and move with astonishing velocity, their wings making a whistling sound as they fly. The

rapid evolutions of these flocks, wheeling and shifting suddenly as if with one mind and one

impulse; the flashing changes of color they present, as their backs, their breasts, or the under part of

their wings are turned to the spectator, are singularly pleasing. When they alight, if on the

ground, they cover whole acres at a time; if upon trees, the branches break to weight. If suddenly startled while feeding in

the midst of a forest, the noise they make in getting on the wing is like the roar of a cataract or the

sound of distant thunder.

A flight of this kind is like an Egyptian flight of locusts devours everything that serves for its food

as it passes along. So great were the numbers in the vicinity of the camp that Mr.Bradbury,

in the course of a morning's excursion, shot nearly three hundred with a bowfishing-piece.

Indeed, though apparently a faithful, account of the kind of discipline observed in these immense

flocks, so that each may have a chance of picking up food. As the front ranks must meet with the greatest abundance, and the rear ranks must have

scanty pickings, the instant a rank finds itself the hindmost, it rises in the air, flies over the whole flocks, and takes its place in the advance. The

next rank follows in its course, and thus the last is continually becoming first, and all by turns have a front place at the banquet.

The rains having at length subsided, Mr. Hunt broke up the encampment and resumed his course up the Missouri.

This party now consisted of nearly sixty persons: of whom five were partners; one, John Reel,

was a clerk; forty were Canadian "voyageurs," or "ouajijes," and there were several hunters.

They embarked in four boats, one of which was of a large size, mounting a sail and two how-

itzers. All were furnished with masts and sails, to be used when the wind was sufficiently favor-

able and strong to overpower the current of the river. Such was the case for the first four or five
days, when they were waited steadily up the stream by a strong southeaster.

Their encampments at night were often pleasant and picturesque: on some beautiful bank be-

neath spreading trees, which afforded them shelter and fuel. The tents were pitched, the fires

made and the meals prepared by the voyageurs, and many a story was told, and joke passed, and

song sung, round the evening fire. All, however, were asleep at an early hour. Some under the

tents, others wrapped in blankets before the fire, or beneath the trees; and some few in the

boats and canoes.

On the 28th they breakfasted on one of the islands which lie at the mouth of the Nebraska or

Platte River, the largest tributary of the Missouri,
and about six hundred miles above its confluence with the Mississippi. This broad but shallow stream flows for an immense distance through a wilderness of prairies. It draws its main supplies, by several forks or branches, from the Rocky Mountains. The mouth of this river is established as the dividing point between the upper and lower Missouri; and the earlier pionees, in their toil-some ascent, before the introduction of steamboats, considered one half of their labors accomplished when they reached this place. The passing of the mouth of the Nebrasca, therefore, was equivalent among boatmen to the crossing of the line among sailors, and was celebrated with like ceremonials of a rough and waggish nature, practised upon the uninstructed; among which was the old nautical joke of shaving. The river deities, however, like those of the sea, were to be propitiated by a bribe, and the infliction of these rude honors to be carried by a treat to the adepts.

At the mouth of the Nebrasca new signs were met with of war parties which had recently been in the vicinity. There was the frame of a skin canoe, in which the warriors had traversed the river. At night, also, the lurid reflection of immense fires hung in the sky, showing the conflagration of great tracts of the prairies. Such fires must have been caused by the hunters so late in the season; it was supposed they were caused by some wandering war parties. These often take the precaution to set the prairies on fire behind them to conceal their traces from their enemies. This is clearly a war party of the party has been unsuccessful, and is on the retreat, and apprehensive of pursuit. At such time it is not safe even for friends to fall in with them, as they are apt to be in savage humor, and disposed to vent their spleen in capricious outrage. These signs, therefore, of a band of marauders on the prowl, called for some degree of vigilance on the part of the travellers.

After passing the Nebrasca, the party halted for part of two days on the bank of the river, a little above the Capillan Creek, to supply themselves with a stock of oats and poles from the rough woods of the ash, which is not met with higher up the Missouri. While the voyageurs were thus occupied, the naturalists rambled over the adjacent country, from the banks of a range of bluffs on the opposite side of the river, about two hundred and fifty feet high, they had one of those vast and magnificent prospects which sometimes unfold themselves in these boundless regions. Below them was the valley of the Missouri, about seven miles in breadth, clad in the fresh verdure of spring; enameled with flowers and interspersed with clumps and groves of noble trees, between which the mighty river poured its turbulent and turbid stream. The interior of the country presented a singular scene; the immense waste being broken up by innumerable green hills, not above eighty feet in height, but extremely steep, and acutely pointed at their summits. A long range of bluffs extended for upward of thirty miles parallel to the Missouri, with a shallow bay stretching along their base, which had evidently once formed a bed of the river. The surface of this lake was covered with aquatic plants, on the broad leaves of which numbers of water-snakos, drawn forth by the perennial warmth of spring, were basking in the sunshine.

On the 2d of May, at the usual hour of embarking, the camp was thrown into some confusion by two of the hunters, named Harrington, expressing their intention to abandon the expedition and return home. One of these had joined the party in the preceding autumn, having been hunting for two years on the Missouri, and then pushed on to Lake of the Woods. While on the Lakes he spent the winter at St. Louis, in the following March, and had come up from thence with Mr. Hunt. He now declared that he had enlisted merely for the purpose of following his brother, and persuading him to return; having been enjoined to do so by his mother, whose anxiety had been awakened by the idea of his going on such a wild and distant expedition.

The loss of two star hunters and prime riled men was a serious affair to the party, for they were approaching the region where they might expect hostilities from the Sioux; indeed, throughout the whole of their perilous journey, the services of such men would be all important, for little reliance was to be placed upon the valor of the Canadians in case of attack. Mr. Hunt endeavored by arguments, expostulations, and entreaties, to shake the determination of the two brothers. He represented to them that they were between six and seven hundred miles above the mouth of the Missouri; that they would have four hundred miles to go before they could reach the habitation of a white man, throughout which they would be exposed to all kinds of risks; since he declared, if they persisted in abandoning him and breaking their faith, he would not furnish them with a single round of ammunition. All was in vain; they obstinately persisted in their resolution; whereupon Mr. Hunt, partly incited by indignation, partly by the very tenacity of the party in their purpose, put his threat in execution, and left them to find their way back to the settlements without, as he supposed, a single bullet or charge of powder.

The boats now continued their slow and toilsome course for several days, against the current of the river. The late signs of roaming war parties caused a vigilant watch to be kept up at night when the crews encamped on shore; nor was this vigilance superficial; for on the night of the seventh instant there was, within an easy shot, an eleven Sioux warriors, stark naked, with tomahawks in their hands, rushed into the camp. They were instantly surrounded and seized, whereupon their leader called out to his followers to desist from the attack and go no further in the pursuit of the white man. This proved, however, that they were part of the war party, the skeleton of whose canoes had been seen at the mouth of the river Platte, and the reflection of whose fires had been described in the air. They had been disappointed or defeated in their foray, and in their rage and mortification these eleven warriors had "devoted their clothes to the medicine." This is a desperate act of Indian braves when failed in war, and in dread of scolds and snears. In such case they sometimes throw off their clothes and ornaments, and decorate themselves to the Great Spirit, and attempt some reckless exploit with which to cover the disgrace. Woe to any defenseless party of white men that may then fall in their way!

Such was the explanation given by Pierre Dorion, the half-breed interpreter, of this wild intrusion into the camp; and the party were so exasperated when apprised of the sanguinary intentions of the prisoners, that they were for showing them on the spot. Mr. Hunt, however, exerted his usual moderation and humanity, and ordered that they should be conveyed across the river in one of the boats, threatening them, however,
with certain death, if again caught in any hostile act.

On the 10th of May the party arrived at the Omaha (pronounced Omahaw) village, about eighty miles below the mouth of the Missouri, and encamped in its neighborhood. The village was situated under a hill on the bank of the river, and consisted of about eighty lodges. These were of a circular and conical form, and covered with reeds in diane or dré, and ornamented with rude figures of horses, deer, and buffaloes, and with human faces, painted like full moons, four and five feet broad.

The Omahas were once one of the numerous and powerful tribes of the prairies, vying in warlike might and prowess with the Sioux, the Pawnees, the Sauks, the Kanzas, and the Iowas. Their wars with the Sioux, however, had thinned their ranks, and the small-pox in 1862 had swept off two-thirds of their number. At the time Mr. Hunt's visit they still boasted about two hundred warriors and hunters, but they are now fast melting away, and before long will be numbered among those extinguished nations of the west that exist in tradition.

In his correspondence with Mr. Astor, from this point of his journey, Mr. Hunt gives a sad account of the Indian tribes bordering on the river. They were in continual war with each other, and their wars were of the most harassing kind; consisting, not merely of main conflicts and expeditions of movement, involving the sackings, burnings and massacres of towns and villages, but of individual acts of treachery, murder, and cold-blooded murder; and often the bloody exploits of single warriors, either to avenge some personal wrong, or gain the vainglorious trophy of a scalp. The lonely hunter, the wandering wayfarer, the poor squaw cutting wood or gathering corn, was liable to be surprised and slaughtered. In this way tribes were either swept away at once, or gradually thinned out, and savage life was surrounded with constant horrors and alarms. That the race of red men should diminish from year to year, and so few should survive of the numerous who had been dispossessed and driven away, and in their turn turned into the wilderness to which they had been driven by the white man, is a cruel and undeserved fate. This is what I conclude when I read the history of the Omahas, and I can only say that their fate is not an isolated case.

By Pierre Dorion, this wild intruder was so exasperated by the constant refusal of the Oma-ans to give up their lands that he made a speech to the tribe, in which he threatened to drive them over the river. The tribe was then in a state of panic, and the whites began to talk of force. However, the whites, after some deliberation, decided to use force to drive the Omahas over the river. TheOmaha

The expedition and the war party were hunting for game in the vicinity of the village, and were engaged in a dispute with the Osage Indians. He now set out for the purpose of persuading the Osages to make peace so that he could return to theOmaha.

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In their more prosperous days, the Omahas looked upon themselves as the most powerful and populous tribe in the region. They boasted of their numbers, and the vast extent of their lands. They had a proud and independent spirit, and were determined to live as independent people. However, the Omahas were eventually driven over the river, and the whites took possession of their lands. This event marked the beginning of a series of conflicts between the Omahas and the whites, which lasted for many years.

It is this tribe of whose chief, the famous Wash-ing-guh-sah-ba, or Blackbird, such savage and romantic stories are told. He had died about ten years previous to the arrival of Mr. Hunt's party, but his name was still mentioned with awe by theOmaha. He was the first among the Indian chiefs on the Missouri to deal with the white traders, and showed great sagacity in levying his royal dues. When a trader arrived in his village, he caused all his goods to be brought into the lodge, turned it into a ball, and there selected whatever suited his sovereign pleasure—blankets, tobacco, whiskey, powder, ball, heads, and red paint—and laid the articles on one side, without desiring to give any compensation. Then calling to him his herald or crier, he would order him to mount on top of the lodge and summon all the tribe to bring in their peltries, and trade with the white man. The lodge would soon be crowded with Indians bringing bear, beaver, otter, and other skins. No one was allowed to dispute the prices fixed by the white trader upon his articles, who took care to indemnify himself five times over for the goods set apart by the chief. In this way the Blackbird enriched himself, and enriched the white man, and became the most powerful of all the traders of the Missouri. His people, however, were not equally satisfied by a regulation of trade which worked so manifestly against them, and began to show signs of discontent. Upon this a crafty and unprincipled trader revealed a secret to the Blackbird, by which he might acquire unbounded sway over his ignorant and superstitious subjects. He instructed him in the poisonous qualities of arsenic, and furnished him with an ample supply of that fearful drug. From this time the Blackbird seemed endowed with supernatural powers, to possess the gift of prophecy, and to hold the disposal of life and death within his hands. Woe to any one who questioned his authority or dared to dispute his commands! The Blackbird prophesied his death within a certain time, and he had the secret means of verifying his prophecy. Within the lapsed period the offender was smitten with strange and sudden disease, and perished from the face of the earth. Every one stood aghast at these multiplied examples of his superhuman might, and dreaded to displease so omnipotent and vindictive a being; and the Blackbird enjoyed a wide and undisputed sway.

It was not, however, by terror alone that he ruled his people; he was a warrior of the first order, and his exploits in arms were the theme of young and old. His career had begun by hardships, having been taken prisoner by the Siouxs, in early youth. Under his command the Omahas had obtained great character for military prowess, nor did he permit an insult or injury to one of his tribe to pass unrevenged. The Pawnees had inflicted a gross indignity on a favorite of the Great Spirit, and perished from the face of the earth. He assembled his warriors, led them against the Pawnee town, attacked it with irresistible fury, slaughtered a great number of its inhabitants, and burnt it to the ground. He waged fierce and bloody war against the Osages, many of whom had sought refuge in theOmaha.

He kept up in war the same idea of mysterious and supernatural power. At one time, when pur
A war party of the Poncas had made a foray into the lands of the Omahas, and carried off a number of women and horses. The Blackbird was roused to fury, and took the field with all his braves, swearing to "eat up the Ponca nation"—the Indian threat of exterminating war. The Poncas, sorely pressed, took refuge behind a rude bulwark of earth; but the Blackbird kept up so gallant a fire that he seemed likely to execute his menace. In their extremity they sent forth a herald, bearing the calumet or pipe of peace, but he was shot down by order of the Blackbird. Another herald was sent forth in similar guise, but he shared a like fate. The Ponca chief then took a calumet, and held it to his beautiful daughter in her finest ornaments, and sent her forth with a calumet, to sue for peace. The charms of the Indian maid touched the stern heart of the Blackbird; he accepted the pipe at her hand, and, from that time a peace took place between the Poncas and the Omahas.

This beautiful damsel, in all probability, was the favorite wife whose fate makes so tragic an incident in the story of the Blackbird. Her youth and beauty had gained an absolute sway over his rugged heart, so that he distinguished her above all his other wives. The habitual gratification of his vindictive impulses, however, had taken away from him all mastery over his passions, and rendered him liable to the most furious transports of rage. In one of these his beautiful wife had the misfortune to offend him, when suddenly drawing his knife, he laid her dead at his feet with a single blow.

In an instant his frenzy was at an end. He gazed for a time in mute bewilderment upon his victim. Having his buffalo robe over his head, he sat down beside the corpse, and remained brooding over his crime and his loss. Three days elapsed, yet the chief continued silent and motionless; tasting no food, and apparently sleepless. It was apprehended that he intended to starve himself to death; his people approached him in trembling awe, and entreated him once more to uncover his face and be comforted; but he remained unmoved. At length one of his warriors brought in a small child, and laying it on the ground, placed the foot of the Blackbird upon its neck. The heart of the gloomy savage was touched by this appeal; he threw aside his robe, made a harangue upon war, and went away; and from that time forward seemed to have thrown the load of grief and remorse from his mind.

He still retained his fatal and mysterious secret, and with it his terrific power; but, though able to deal death to his enemies, he could not avert it from himself or his friends. In 1802 the small-pox, that dreadful pestilence, which swept over the prairies, made its appearance in the village of the Omahas. The poor savages saw with dismay the ravages of a malady, loathsome and agonizing in its details, and which set the skill and experience of their conjurers and medicine men to flight. By the heads of their horses, assuring his followers that he would thereby cripple the fugitives, so that they would easily be overtaken. He in fact did overtake them, and destroyed them almost to a man; and his war-cry was considered miraculous, both by friend and foe. By these and similar exploits, he made himself the pride and boast of his people, and became popular among them, notwithstanding his death-denouncing fiat.

When the general horror and dismay was at its height, the Blackbird himself was struck down with the malady. The poor savages, when they saw their chief in danger, forgot their own miseries, and surrounded his dying face. His dominant spirit, and his love for the white men, were evinced in his latest breath, with which he designated his place of sepulture. It was to be on a hill or promontory, upward of four hundred feet in height, overlooking a great extent of the Missouri, from which he had been accustomed to watch for the barks of the white men. The Missouri washes the base of the promontory, and after winding and doubling through many links and mazes in the plain below, returns to within nine hundred yards of its starting place; so that for thirty miles navigating with sail and oar, the voyager finds himself continually near to this singular promontory as if spell-bound.

It was the dying command of the Blackbird that his tomb should be upon the summit of this hill, in which he should be interred, seated on his favorite horse, that he might overlook his ancient domain, and behold the barks of the white men as they came up the river to trade with his people.

His dying orders were faithfully obeyed. His corpse was placed astride of his war-streel, and a mound raised on it; the mound was marked with a great tree, and a number of bones, to the number of several hundred, were laid on the body; and this was the last resting-place of the Blackbird:

CHAPTER XVII.

While Mr. Hunt and his party were sojourning at the village of the Omahas, three Sioux Indians of the Yankton Ahna tribe arrived, bringing unpleasant intelligence. They reported that certain bands of the Sioux Teton, who inhabited this region many leagues further up the Missouri, were near at hand, awaiting the approach of the party, with the avowed intention of opposing their progress.

The Sioux Teton were at that time a sort of pirates of the Missouri, who considered the well-armed bark of the American trader fair game.
They had their own traffic with the British merchants of the northwest, who brought them regular supplies of tobacco, rum, blankets, knives, and other articles, which they exchanged for buffalo hides and peltry. As soon as the river vessels had had sufficient time to ascend beyond the hostile country of the Sioux, Mr. Crooks suddenly broke up his feigned trading establishment, and left his men and effects, and, having given the astonished traders a farewell, took a warm and cordial message to take his countrymen, pushed down the river with all speed, sparing neither oar nor paddle, day nor night, until fairly beyond the sweep of these river hawks.

What increased the irritation of Messrs. Crooks and M'Lellan at this mortifying check to their gainful enterprise, was the information that a rival trader was at the bottom of it; but, the Sioux, it is said, having been instigated to this outrage by Mr. Manuel Lisa, the leading partner and agent of the Missouri Fur Company, already mentioned. This intelligence, whether true or false, so roused the fiery temper of M'Lellan, that he swore, if ever he fell in with Lisa in the Indian country, he would shoot him on the spot; a mode of redress perfectly natural to an Irishman, and of the mettle, and the code of honor prevalent beyond the frontier.

If Crooks and M'Lellan had been exasperated by the insolent conduct of the Sioux Teetons, and the like instances that had occurred, those freebooters had been no less indignant at being outwitted by the white men, and disappointed of their anticipated gains, and it was apprehended they would be particularly hostile against the present expedition, when they should learn that these gentlemen were engaged in it.

All these causes of uneasiness were concealed as much as possible from the Canadian voyageurs, lest they should become intimidated; it was impossible, however, to prevent the rumors brought by the Indians from leaking out, and they became subjects of gossiping and exaggeration. The chief of the Omahas, too, on returning from a hunting excursion, reported that two men had been killed some distance above, by a band of Sioux. This added to the fears that already began to be excited. The voyageurs pictured to themselves bands of fierce warriors stationed along each bank of the river, by whom they would be exposed to be shot down in their boats; and further, that no place could be reached without encountering hostility from attempting to proceed up the river, but offered to trade peacefully with them if they would halt where they were. The party, being principally composed of voyageurs, was too weak to contend with so superior a force, and one so easily augmented; they pretended, therefore, to comply cheerfully with their arbitrary dictation, and immediately proceeded to cut down trees and erect a trading house. The warrior band departed for their village, which was about twenty miles distant, to collect objects of trade; they left six or eight of their number, however, to keep watch upon the white men, and scouts were continually passing to and fro with intelligence.

Mr. Crooks saw that it would be impossible to prosecute his voyage without the sight of having his boats plundered, and a great part of his men massacred; he determined, however, not to be entirely frustrated in the objects of his expedition. While he continued, therefore, with great apparent earnestness and assiduity, the construction of canoes and boats, he instructed his hunters and trappers of his party in a canoe, to make their way up the river to the original place of destination, to busy themselves in trapping and collecting peltries, and to await his arrival at some future period.

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ning to rise, and to increase in rapidity, betokened the commencement of the annual flood, caused by the melting of the Rocky Mountains, and the vernal rains of the upper prairies.

As they were now entering a region where foes might be lying in wait on either bank, it was determined, in hunting for game, to confine themselves primarily to the islands, which extend to considerable length, and are beautifully wooded, affording abundant pasture and shade. On one of these they killed three buffaloes and two elk, and, halting on the edge of a beautiful prairie, made a sumptuous hunter’s repast. They had not long resumed their boats and pulled along the river banks, when they descried a canoe approaching, navigated by two men, whom, to their surprise, they ascertained to be white men. They proved to be two of those strange and fearless wanderers of the wilderness, the trappers. Their names were Benjamin Jones and Alexander Carson. They had been for two years past hunting and trapping near the head of the Missouri, and were thus floating for thousands of miles in a crockle-shell, down a turbid stream, through regions infested by savage tribes, yet apparently as easy and unconcerned as if navigating securely in the midst of civilization.

The acquisition of two such hardly, experienced, and dangerous companions was peculiarly desirable at the present moment. They needed but little persuasion. The wilderness is the home of the trapper; like the sailor, he cares but little to which point of the compass he steers; and Jones and Carson, resolute hunters, had abandoned their voyage to St. Louis and turned their faces toward the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific.

The two naturalists, Mr. Bradford and Mr. Nuttall, who had joined the expedition at St. Louis still accompanied it, and pursued their researches on all occasions. Mr. Nuttall seems to have been exclusively devoted to his scientific pursuits. He was a zealous botanist, and all his enthusiasm was awakened at beholding a new world, as it were, opening upon him in the boundless prairies, clad in the varied and variegated robe of unknown flowers. Whenever the boats landed at meal times, or for any temporary purpose, he would spring on shore, and set out on a hunt for new specimens. Every plant or flower of a rare or uncommon species was eagerly seized and carried off with the treasures spreading themselves out before him, he went groping and stumbling along among a wilderness of sweets, forgetful of everything but his immediate pursuit, and had often to be sought after when the boats were about to resume their course. At such times he would be found far off in the prairies, or up the course of some petty stream, laden with plants of all kinds.

The Canadian voyagers who are a class of people that know nothing out of their immediate line, and with constitutional levity make a jest of anything they cannot understand, were extremely puzzled by this passion for collecting what they considered mere useless weeds. When they saw the worthy botanist coming hack heavy laden with his specimens andtreasuring them up as carefully as a miser would his hoard, they used to make merry among themselves at his expense, regarding him as some whimsical kind of madman.

Mr. Bradford was less exclusive in his tastes and habits, and combined the hunter and sportsman with the naturalist. He took his rifle or his fowling-piece with him in his geological researches, conformed to the hardy and rugged habits of the men around him, and of course gained favor in their eyes. He knew the secrets of the river, and adventure, was curious in observing savage manners and savage life, and ready to join any hunting or other excursion. Even now, that the expedition was proceeding through a dangerous neighborhood, he had not been in the habit of sitting by the river.

Having observed, on the evening of the 22d of May, that the river ahead made a great bend which would take up the navigation of the following day, he determined to profit by the circumstance, and, instead of embarking, he filled his shot-pouch with parched corn, lor provisions, and set off to cross the neck on foot and meet the boats in the afternoon at the opposite side of the bend. Mr. Hunt felt uneasy at his venturing thus alone, and reminded him that he was in an enemy’s country; but Mr. Bradford made light of the danger, and started off cheerily upon his ramble.

His day was passed pleasantly in traversing a beautiful tract, making botanical and geological researches, and observing the habitations of extensive villages of prairie dogs, at which he made several ineffectual shots, without considering the risk he ran of attracting the attention of any savages that might be lurking in the neighborhood. In the act of shooting, he encountered the principal village and all the other perils of the country, when, about the middle of the afternoon, as he stood near the river bank, and was looking out for the boat, he suddenly felt a hand laid on his shoulder. Starting and turning round, he beheld a savage with a bow bent, and the arrow pointed at his breast. In an instant his gun was levelled and his hand upon the lock. The Indian drew his bow still further, but forbore to launch the shaft. Mr. Bradford, with admirable presence of mind, reflected that the savage, if hostile in his intents, would have shot him without giving him a chance of defence; he paused, therefore, and held out his hand. The other took it in sign of friendship, and demanded in the Osage language whether he was a Big Knife, or American. He answered in the affirmative, and inquired whether the other were a Sioux. To his great relief he found that he was a Ponca. By this time two other Indians came running up, and all three held up Mr. Bradford and seemed disposed to go off with them among the hills. He resisted, and sitting down on a sand-hill, contrived to amuse them with a pocket compass. When the novelty of this was exhausted, they again seized him, but he now produced a small microscope. This new wonder again fixed the attention of the savages, who have far more curiosity than it has been the custom to allow them. While thus engaged one of them suddenly leaped up and gave a warwhoop. The hand of the hardy naturalist was again on his gun, and he was prepared to make battle, when the Indian pointed down the river and revealed the true cause of his yell. It was the mast of one of the boats appearing above the low willows which bordered the stream. Mr. Brad-

bury felt infinitely relieved by the sign. The Indians on their part now showed signs of apprehension, and were disposed to run away; but he assured them of good treatment and something to drink if they would accompany him on board of the boats. They lingered for a time, but disappeared before the boats came to land.

On the following morning they appeared at the camp accompanied by several of their tribe. With them came also a white man, who announced
himself as a messenger bearing missives for Mr. Hunt. In fact he brought a letter from Mr. Manuel Lisa, partner and agent of the Missouri Fur Company. As has already been mentioned, this gentleman was going in search of Mr. Henry and his party, who had been driven from the forks of the Missouri by the Blackfeet Indians, and had shifted his post somewhere beyond the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Lisa had left St. Louis three weeks after Mr. Hunt, and having heard of the hostile intentions of the Sioux, had made the greatest exertions to overtake him, that they might pass through the dangerous part of the river together. He had twenty stout oarsmen in his service, and they ploied their oars so vigorously that he had reached the Omaha village just four days after the departure of Mr. Hunt. From this place he dispatched the messenger in question, trusting to his overtaking the barges as they toiled up against the stream, and were delayed by the windings of the river. The purport of his letter was to entreat Mr. Hunt to wait until similar conditions might come up with them, that they might unite their forces and be a protection to each other in their perilous course through the country of the Sioux. In fact, as it was afterward ascertained, Lisa was acquainted with Mr. Hunt, and his personal friendship for the latter turned his course, and some ill office with the Sioux bands, securing his own passage through their country by pretending that he with whom they were accustomed to trade was on his way to them with a plentiful supply of goods. 

He feared, too, that Crooks and M'Lellan would take this opportunity to retort upon the perfidy which accused him of having used, two years previously, among these very Sioux. In this respect, however, he did them signal justice. There was no such thing as covert design or treachery in their thought; but M'Lellan, when he heard that Lisa was on his way up the river, renewed his open threat of shooting him the moment he met him on Indian land.

The representations made by Crooks and M'Lellan of the treachery they had experienced, or fancied, on the part of Lisa, had great weight with Mr. Hunt, especially when he recollected the obstacles that had been thrown in his own way by the heretofore fair dealing of Lisa, and feared that, should they enter the Sioux country together, the latter might make use of his influence with that tribe, as he had in the case of Crooks and M'Lellan, and instigate them to oppose his progress up the river.

He sent back, therefore, an answer calculated to beguile Lisa, assuring him that he would wait for him at the Poncas village, which was but a little distance in advance; but no sooner had the messenger departed, than he pushed forward with all diligence, barely stopping at the village to procure a supply of dried buffalo meat, and hastening to leave the other party as far behind as possible, thinking there was less to be apprehended from the open hostility of Indian foes than from the quiet strategy of an Indian trader.

In the evening camp the voyageurs gossiped, as usual, over the events of the day, and especially over intelligence picked up among the Poncas. These Indians had confirmed the previous reports of the hostile intentions of the Sioux, and had assured them that five tribes, or rather nations, were actually assembled higher up the river, and waiting to cut them off. This evening gossip, and the terrific stories of Indian warfare to which it gave rise, produced a strong effect upon the imaginations of the irresolute, and in the morning it was discovered that the two men who had joined the party at the Omaha village, and been so bounteously fitted out, had deserted in the course of the night, carrying with them all their equipment. As it was known that one of them could not swim, it was hoped that the banks of the Quicourt River would bring them to a halt. A general pursuit was therefore instituted, but without success.

On the following morning (May 26th), as they were all on shore, breakfasting on one of the beautiful banks of the river, they observed two canoes descending along the opposite side. By the aid of spy-glasses they ascertained that there were two white men in one of the canoes, and one in the other. A gun was discharged by one of the attention of the voyagers, who crossed over. They proved to be three Kentucky hunters, of the tribe "dreadnought" stamp. Their names were Edward Robinson, John Holback, and Jacob Kizer. Robinson was a veteran backwoodsman, sixty-six years of age. He had been one of the first settlers of Kentucky, and engaged in many of the conflicts of the Indians on "The Bloody Ground." In one of these battles he had been scalped, and he still wore a handkerchief bound round his head to protect the part. These men had passed several years in the upper wilderness. They had been in the service of the Missouri Company under Mr. Henry, and had crossed the Rocky Mountains with him in the preceding year, when driven from his post on the Missouri by the hostilities of the Blackfeet. After crossing the mountains, Mr. Henry had established himself on one of the head branches of the Columbia River. There they had remained with him for some months, hunted, traded, and ascertained all the sallies,

CHAPTER XVIII.

It was about noon when the party left the Poncas village, about a league beyond which they passed the mouth of the Quicourt, or Rapid River (called, in the original French, l'Eau Qui Court). After having proceeded some distance further, they landed, and encamped for the night.

The addition of three such staunch recruits was extremely acceptable at this dangerous part of the
ASTORIA.

The knowledge of the country which they had acquired, also, in their journeys and hunting excursions along the rivers and among the Rocky Mountains, was all important; in fact, the information derived from them induced Mr. Hunt to alter his future course. He had hitherto intended to proceed by the route taken by Lewis and Clarke in their famous exploring expedition, ascending the Missouri to its forks, and thence going, by land, across the mountains. These men informed him, however, that on taking that course he would have to pass through the country infested by the savage tribe of the Blackfeet, and be exposed to their hostilities; they being, as has already been observed, exasperated to deadly animosity against the whites, on account of the death of one of their tribe by the hands of Captain Lewis. They advised him rather to pursue a route more to the southward, being the same by which they had returned. This would carry them over the mountains about an hour later than by the route taken by Lewis and Clarke had crossed. In pursuing this course, also, he would pass through a country abounding with game, where he would have a better chance of procuring a constant supply of provisions than by the other route, and would run less risk of molestation from the Blackfeet. Should he adopt this advice, it would be better for him to abandon the river at the Aracara town, at which he would arrive in the course of a few days. As the Indians at that town possessed horses in abundance, he might purchase a sufficient number of them for his great journey overland, which would commence at that place.

After reflecting on this advice, and consulting with his associates, Mr. Hunt came to the determination to follow the route thus pointed out, in which the hunters engaged to pilot him.

The party continued their voyage with delightful May weather. The prairies bordering on the river were gayly painted with innumerable flowers, exhibiting the motley confusion of colors of a Turkey carpet. The beautiful islands also, on which they occasionally halted, presented the appearance of mingled grove and garden. The trees were often covered with clustering grapevines, in which perfumed the air. The stately masses of the grasse grassy lawns and glades, studded with flowers, or interspersed with rose-bushes in full bloom. These islands were often the resort of the buffalo, the elk, and the antelope, who had made innumerable paths among the trees and thickets, which had the effect of the mazy walks and alleys of parks and shrubberies. Sometimes, where the river passed between high banks and bluffs, the roads, made by the tramp of buffaloes for many ages along the face of the heights, looked like so many well-travelled highways. At other places the banks were bordered with great veins of iron ore, laid bare and turned by the abrasion of the river. Around each bank, for the whole fifteen miles, extended a stripe, one hundred yards in width, of a rich brown, indicating an abundance of iron, through the centre of which the Missouri had worn its way. Indications of the continuance of this bed were afterwards observed higher up the river. It is, in fact, one of the mineral magazines which nature has provided in the heart of this vast realm of fertility, and which, in connection with the immense beds of coal on the same river, seem garnered up as the elements of the future wealth and power of the mighty West.

The sight of these mineral treasures greatly excited the curiosity of Mr. Bradbury, and it was tantalizing to him to be checked in his scientific researches, and obliged to forego his usual rambles on shore; but they were now entering the famous country of the Sioux Tetons, in which it was dangerous to wander alone. This country extends for some days' journey along the river, and consists of vast prairies, here and there diversified by swelling hills, and cut up by ravines, the channels of turbid streams in the rainy seasons, but also at times, lying in the flat of the river, on the sides of the hills, or along the alluvial borders and bottoms of the ravines, are groves and skirts of forest; but for the most part the country presented to the eye a boundless waste, covered with herbage, but without trees. The soil of this immense region is strongly impregnated with sulphur, coppers, alum, and glauber salts; its various earths impart a deep tinge to the streams which drain it, and these, mingle their colours with the spreading, and the Missouri give to the waters of that river much of the coloring matter with which they are clouded.

Over this vast tract the rolling bands of the Sioux Tetons hold their vagrant sway, subsisting by the chase of the buffalo, the elk, the deer, and the antelope, and waging ruthless warfare with other wandering tribes.

As the boats made their way up the stream bordered by this land of danger, many of the Canadian voyageurs, whose fears had been awakened, would regard with a distrustful eye the boundless waste extending on each side. All, however, was silent, and apparently unattended by a human being. Now and then a herd of deer would be seen feeding tranquilly among the flowery herbage, or a line of buffaloes, like a caravan on its march, moving across the distant profile of the prairie. The Canadians, however, began to apprehend an ambush in every thicket, and to regard the broad, tranquil plain as a sailor eyes some shallow and perilous river, which, though the water may conceal the lurking rock or treacherous shoal.

The very name of a Sioux became a watchword of terror. Not an elk, a wolf, or any other animal, could appear on the hills, but the boats resounded with exclamations from stern to stern, "Voila des Sioux!" "Voila des Sioux!" (there are the Sioux). Whenever it was practicable, the night encampment was on some island in the centre of the stream.

On the morning of the 1st of May, as the travellers were breakfasting on the right bank of the river, the usual alarm was given, but with more reason, as two Indians actually made their appearance on a bluff on the opposite or northerm side, and harangued them in a loud voice. As it was impossible to distinguish at a distance what they said, Mr. Hunt, after breakfast, crossed the river with Pierre Dorion, the interpreter, and advanced boldly to converse with them, while the rest remained in the breeze, and with the movement of the parties. As soon as Mr. Hunt landed, one of the Indians dropped his pipe into the river, but shortly reappeared on horseback, and went scowling off across the heights. Mr. Hunt held some conference with the remaining savages, and then recrossed the river to his party.
These two Indians proved to be spys or scouts of a large war party encamped about a league off, and numbering two hundred and eighty lodges, or about six hundred warriors, of three different tribes. The Tetonas, the Teton Bois-brulés, and the Teton Min-na-kine-azo. They expected daily to be reinforced by two other tribes, and had been waiting eleven days for the arrival of Mr. Hunt's party, with a determination to oppose their progress up the river; being resolved that with the help of their enemies the Arickaras, Mandans, and Minatares. The Indian who had galloped off on horseback had gone to give notice of the approach of the party, that they might now look out for some heroic scenes with those piratical savages, of whom they had received so many formidable accounts.

The party braced up their spirits to the encounter, and re-embarking, pulled resolutely up the stream. An island for some time intervened between them and the opposite side of the river; but on clearing the upper end, they came in full view of the hostile shore. There was a ridge of hills, down which the savages were pouring in great numbers, to come to the bank, and some on foot. Reconsidering them with the aid of glasses, they perceived that they were all in warlike array, painted and decorated for battle. Their weapons were bows and arrows, and a few short handguns, and most of them had round shields. Altogether they had a wild and alarming appearance, and, taking possession of a point which commanded the river, ranged themselves along the bank as if prepared to dispute their passage.

At sight of this formidable front of war, Mr. Hunt and his companions held counsel together. It was plain that the rumors they had heard were correct, and the Sioux were determined to oppose their progress by force of arms. To attempt to elude them and continue along the river was out of the question. The strength of the mid-current was too violent to be withstood, and the boats were obliged to ascend along the river banks. These banks were often high and perpendicular, affording the savages frequent stations, from whence, safe themselves, and almost unseen, they might overawe and dishearten the party below, and retreat at will, without danger from pursuit. Nothing apparently remained, therefore, but to fight or turn back. The Sioux far outnumbered them, it is true, but their own party was about sixty strong, well armed and supplied with ammunition; and besides their guns and rifles, they had a swivel and two howitzers mounted in the boats. Should they succeed in breaking this Indian force by one vigorous assault, it was likely they would be deterred from making any future attack of consequence. The fighting alternative was, therefore, instantly adopted, and the boats pulled to shore nearly opposite to the hostile force. Here the arms were all examined and put in order. The swivel and howitzers were then loaded with powder and discharged, to let the savages know by the report how formidable they were provided. The noise echoed along the shores of the river, and must have startled the warriors, who were only accustomed to sharp reports. The Indians were frighted, and loaded with as many bullets as they would probably bear; after which the whole party embarked and pulled across the river. The Indians remained watching them in silence, their painted forms and visages glaring in the sun, and their feathers flustered in the breeze. The poor Canadians eyed them with rueful glances, and now and then a fearful ejaculation would escape them. "Parbleu! this is a sad scrape we are in, brother!" would one mutter to the next oarsman. "Ay, ay!" the other would reply, "we are not going to a wedding, my friend!"

When the boats arrived within rifle shot, the hunters and other fighting personages on board seized their weapons, and prepared for action. As they rose to fire, a confusion took place among the savages. They imagined their enemies to be so near, they raised their hands high above their heads, and then spread them before them on the ground. At sight of this Pierre Dorion eagerly cried out to the party not to fire, as this movement was a peaceful signal, and an invitation to a parley. Immediately about a dozen of the principal warriors, separating from the rest, descended to the edge of the river, lighted a fire, seated themselves in a semicircle round it, and, displaying the calumet, invited the party to land. Mr. Hunt now called a council of the partners on board of his boat. The question was, whether to trust to the amiable overtures of these ferocious people? It was determined in the affirmative; for, otherwise, there was no resource. The latter part of the party were ordered to remain on board of the boats, keeping within shot, and prepared to fire in case of any signs of treachery; while Mr. Hunt and the other partners (M'Kenzie, Crooks, Miller, and M'Lellan), proceeded to land, accompanied by the interpreter and Mr. Bradbury. The chiefs who awaited them on the margin of the river, remained seated in their semicircle without stirring a limb or moving a muscle, motionless as so many statues. Mr. Hunt and his companions advanced without hesitation, and took their seats on the sand so as to complete the circle. The hand of warriors who lined the banks above stood looking down in silent groups and clusters, some ostentatiously equipped and decorated, others entirely naked, but fantastically painted, and all variously armed.

The pipe of peace was now brought forward with due ceremony. The bowl was of a species of red stone resembling porphyry; the stem was six feet in length, decorated with a ribbon of earth trodden within the circle, and lighted the pipe, held it toward the sun, then toward the different points of the compass, after which he handed it to the principal chief. The latter smoked a few whiffs, then, holding the head of the pipe in his hand, offered the other end to Mr. Hunt, and to each one successively in the circle. When all had smoked, it was considered that an assurance of good faith and amity had been interchanged. Mr. Hunt now made a speech in French, which was interpreted as he proceeded by Pierre Dorion. He informed the Sioux of the real object of the expedition, of himself and his companions, which was, not to trade with any of the tribes up the river, but to cross the mountains to the great salt lake in the west, in search of some of their brothers, whom they had not seen for eleven months. That he had heard of the intention of the Sioux to oppose his passage, and was prepared, as they might see, to effect it at all hazards; nevertheless his feelings toward the Sioux were friendly; nor had they brought him a present of tobacco and corn. So saying, he ordered about fifteen carouses of tobacco, and as many bags of corn, to be brought from the boat and laid in a heap near the council fire.

The sight of these presents mollified the chief-
tain, who had doubtless been previously rendered considerate by the resolute conduct of the white men, the judicious disposition of their little armament, the completeness of their equipments, and the compact array of battle which they presented. He made a speech in reply, in which he stated the object of their hostile assemblage, which had been merely to prevent supplies of arms and ammunition from going to the Arickaras, Mandans, and Minatarees, with whom they were at war; but being now convinced that the party were carrying no supplies of the kind, but merely proceeding in quest of their brothers beyond the mountains, they would not impede them in their voyage. He concluded by thanking them for their present, and advising them to encamp on the opposite side of the river, as he had some young men among his warriors for whose discretion he could not be answerable, and who might be troublesome.

Here ended the conference: they all arose, shook hands, and parted. Mr. Hunt and his companions re-embarked, and the boats proceeded on their course un molested.

CHAPTER XIX.

On the afternoon of the following day (June 1st) they arrived at the great bend, where the river winds for about thirty miles round a circular peninsula, the neck of which is not above two thousand yards in width. On the preceding evening, at an early hour, the assailants appeared standing on a high bank of the river, waving and spreading their buffalo robes in signs of amnesty. They immediately pulled to shore and landed. On approaching such savages, however, the latter showed evident symptoms of alarm, spreading out their arms horizontally, according to their mode of supplicating clemency. The reason was soon explained. They proved to be two chiefs of the very war party that had brought Messrs. Crooks and M'Lellan to a stand two years before, and obliged them to escape down the river. They ran to embrace these gentlemen, as if delighted to meet with them; yet evidently feared some retaliation of their past misconduct, nor were they quite at ease until the pipe of peace had been smoked.

Mr. Hunt having been informed that the tribe to which these men belonged had killed three white men during the preceding summer, reproached them with the crime, and demanded their reasons for such savage hostility. "We kill white men," replied one of the chiefs, "because white men kill us. That very man," added he, pointing to Carson, one of the new recruits, "killed one of our brothers last summer. The three white men were slain to avenge his death.

The chief was correct in his reply. Carson admitted that, being with a party of Arickaras on the banks of the Missouri, and seeing a war party of Siouxs on the opposite side, he had fired with his rifle at them. When questioned Mr. Hunt, without much expectation of effect, for the river was but half a mile in breadth. Unluckily it brought down a Sioux warrior, for whose wanton destruction the chief had been taken, and in his war atrocities are frequently committed on the natives by thoughtless or mischievous white men; the Indians retaliate according to a law of their code, which requires blood for blood; their act, of what with them is pious vengeance, resounds throughout the land, and is represented as wanton and unprovoked; the neighborhood is roused to arms; war ensues, which ends in the destruction of half the tribe, the ruin of the rest, and their expulsion from their hereditary homes. Such is too often the real history of Indian warfare, which in general is traced up to some vindictive act of a savage, while the outrage of the scoundrel white man that provoked it is sunk in silence.

The two chiefs, having smoked their pipe of peace and received a few presents, departed well satisfied. In a little while two others appeared on horseback, and rode up abreast of the boats. They had seen the presents given to their comrades, but were dissatisfied with them, and came after the boats to ask for more. Being somewhat peremptory and insolent in their demands, Mr. Hunt gave them a flat refusal, and threatened, if they or any of their tribe followed him with similar demands, to treat them as enemies. They turned and rode off in a furious passion. As he was ignorant what force these chiefs might have behind the hills, and as it was very possible they might take advantage of some pass of the river to attack the boats, Mr. Hunt called all stragglers on board and prepared for such emergency. It was agreed that the large boat commanded by Mr. Hunt, should ascend along the channel of the river, and the three smaller boats along the south side. By this arrangement each party would command a view of the opposite heights above the heads and out of the sight of their companions, and were not likely to perceive any Indians lurking them. The signal of alarm was to be two shots fired in quick succession.

The boats proceeded for the greater part of the day without seeing any signs of an enemy. About four o'clock in the afternoon the large boat, commanded by Mr. Hunt, came to where the river was divided by a long sand-bar, which apparently, however, left a sufficient channel between it and the shore along which they were advancing. He kept up this channel, therefore, for some distance, until the water proved too shallow for the boat. It was necessary, therefore, to put about, return down the channel, and pull round the lower end of the sand-bar into the main current. Just as he had given orders, mounted to his men, two signal guns were fired from the boats on the opposite side of the river. At the same moment a file of savage warriors was observed pouring down from the upland bank, and gathering on the shore at the lower end of the bar. They were evidently a war party, being armed with bows and arrows, battle-clubs, and carbines, and round bucklers of buffalo hide, and their naked bodies were painted with red and white stripes. The natural inference was that they belonged to the two tribes of Siouxs which had been expected by the great war party, and the great war party which had been invited to hostility by the two chiefs who had been enraged by the refusal and the menace of Mr. Hunt. Here then was a fearful dilemma, which Mr. Hunt and his crew seemed to see, as it were, in a trap. The Indians, to the number of about a hundred, had already taken possession of a point near which the boat would have to pass; others kept pouring down the bank, and it was evident the boats would remain posted on the top of the height.

The hazardous situation of Mr. Hunt was perceived by those in the other boats, and they hastened to his assistance. They were at some distance above the sand-bar, however, and on the op
on the opposite side of the river, and, with intense anxiety, the number of savages continually augmenting, at the lower end of the channel, so that the boat would be exposed to a fearful attack before they could render it any assistance. Their anxiety increased as they saw Mr. Hunt and his party descending the channel and dauntlessly approaching the point of danger; but it suddenly changed into surprise on beholding the boat pass close by the savage horde un molested, and steer out of the mouth of the break river.

The next moment the whole band of warriors was in motion. They ran along the bank until they were opposite to the boats, then throwing by their weapons and buffalo robes, plunged into the river, landed and swam off to the boats and surrounded them in crowds, seeking to shake hands with every individual on board; for the Indians have long since found this to be the white man's token of amity, and they carry it to an extreme.

All uneasiness was now at an end. The Indians proved to be a war party of Arikaras, Mandans, and Minutarees, consisting of three hundred warriors, and bound on a foray against the Sioux. Their war plans were abandoned for the present, and they determined to return to their Arikara town, where they hoped to obtain from the white men arms and ammunition that would enable them to take the field with advantage over their enemies.

The boats now sought the first convenient place for encamping. The tents were pitched; the warriors fixed their camp at about a hundred yards distant; provisions were furnished from the boats sufficient for all parties; there was hearty cordiality in both camps, and in the evening the red warriors entertained their white friends with dances and songs, that lasted until after midnight.

On the following morning (July 3d) the travelers re-embarked, and took a temporary leave of their Indian friends, who intended to proceed immediately for the Arikara town, where they expected to arrive in three days, long before the boats could reach there. Mr. Hunt had not proceeded far before the Indian warriors, who had been watching from the shore and made signs for a parley. He said to his people: "We have come to see you, and we would be happy to have you with us."

The chief of the Arikaras then took a piece of wood and three knives, which he was highly pleased. While the chief was receiving presents from the Indians came running along the shore, and announced that a boat, filled with white men, was coming up the river. This was by no means agreeable tidings to Mr. Hunt, who correctly concluded it to be the boat of Mr. Manuel L., and he was vexed to find that it was the boat of his friends, who had left him behind.

L. however, was too much experienced in the viles of Indian trade to be fooled by the promise of waiting for him at the Ponca village; on the contrary, he had allowed himself no repose, but had striven every nerve to overtake the rival party, and availing himself of the moonlight, had even sailed during a considerable part of the night. In this he was partly prompted by his apprehensions of the Sioux, having met a boat which had probably passed Mr. Hunt's party in the night and which had been fired into by these savages.

On hearing that Lisa was so near at hand, Mr. Hunt perceived that it was useless to attempt any longer to evade him; after proceeding a few miles further, therefore, he came to a halt and waited for him to come up. In a little while the larger of Lisa made its appearance, and it came out boldly up the river, manned by its twenty stout oarsmen, and armed with a swivel mounted at the bow. The whole number on board amounted to twenty-six men; among whom was Mr. Henry Breckenridge, then a young, enterprising man, who was a mere passenger, too engrossed by curiosity to accompany Mr. Lisa. He has since made himself known by various writings, among which may be noted a narrative of this very voyage.

The approach of Lisa, while it was regarded with uneasiness by Mr. Hunt, roused the ire of M'Lellan; who calling to mind old grievances, began to look round for his rifle, as if he really intended to carry his threat into execution and shoot him on the spot; and it was with some anxiety that Mr. Hunt was enabled to restrain his ire, and prevent a scene of outrage and confusion.

The meeting between the two leaders, thus mutually distrustful, could not be very cordial; and as to Messrs. Crooks and M'Lellan, though they refrained from any outbreak, yet they regarded in grim defiance their old rival and underplotter. In truth, a general distrust prevailed throughout the party concerning Lisa and his intentions. They considered him artful and slippery, and secretly anxious for the failure of their expedition. There being now nothing more to apprehend from the Sioux, they supposed that Lisa would take advantage of his twenty-oared boat to leave them and gain the Arikaras. As he had traded with those people and possessed great influence over them, it was feared he might make use of it to impede the business of Mr. Hunt and his party. It was resolved, therefore, to keep a sharp lookout upon his movements; and M'Lellan swore that if he saw the least sign of treachery on his part, he would instantly put his threat into execution.

Notwithstanding these secret jealousies and heart-burnings, the two parties maintained an outward appearance of civility, and for two days continued forward in company with some degree of harmony. On the third day, however, an expedition took place, and it was proposed to send a personage than Pierre Dorion, the half-breed interpreter. It will be recollected that this worthy had been obliged to steal a march from St. Louis, to avoid being arrested for an old whiskey debt which he owed to the Missouri Fur Company, and by which Mr. Lisa had hoped to prevent his enlisting in Mr. Hunt's expedition. Dorion, since the arrival of Lisa, had kept aloof, and regarded him with a sullen and dogged aspect. On the fifth of July, the two parties were brought to a halt by a heavy rain, and remained encamped about a hundred yards apart. In the course of the day Lisa undertook to tamper with the faith of Pierre Dorion, and, inviting him on board of his boat, regarded him with his favorite whiskey. When he thought him sufficiently melted, he proposed to him to quit the service of his new employers and return to his old allegiance. Finding him not to be moved by soft words, he called to mind his old debt to the company, and threatened to carry him off by force, if necessary.

The mention of this debt always stirred up the ire of Pierre Dorion, bringing with it the remen
brance of the whiskey extortion. A violent quarrel arose between him and Lisa, and he left the boat in high dudgeon to repair to the tent of Mr. Hunt and reveal the attempt that had been made to shake his faith. While he was yet talking Lisa entered the tent, under the pretext of coming to borrow a towing line. High words instantly ensued between him and Dorion, which ended by the half-breeds dealing him a blow. A quarrel in the "Indian country," however, is not to be settled with fists. Lisa immediately rushed to his boat for a weapon. Dorion seized up a pair of pistols belonging to Mr. Hunt, and placed himself in battle array. The noise had roused the camp, and every one pressed to know the cause. Lisa now reappeared upon the field with a knife stuck in his girdle. Mr. Breckenridge, who had tried in vain to mollify his ire, accompanied him to the scene of action. Pierre Dorion's pistols gave him the advantage, and he maintained a most warlike attitude. In the mean time Crooks and M'Cullum had learnt the cause of the affray, and were eager to take the quarrel into their own hands. A scene of uproar and hubbub ensued that defies description. M'Cullum would have brought his rifle into play and settled all old and new grudges by a pull of the trigger, had he not been restrained by Mr. Hunt. The latter, in M'Cullum's active magnanimity, endeavored to prevent a general melee; in the midst of the brawl, however, an expression was made use of by Lisa derogatory to his own honor. In an instant the tranquil spirit of Mr. Hunt was in flame. He no longer was taken by surprise: any one on the ground, and challenged Lisa to settle the dispute on the spot with pistols. Lisa replied to his boat to arm himself for the deadly duel. He was followed by Messrs. Bradbury and Breckenridge, who, novice in Indian life and the "chivalry" of the frontier, had no relish for scenes of blood and brand. By their earnest mediation the quarrel was with great difficulty brought to a close without bloodshed; but the two leaders of the rival camps separated in anger, and all personal intercourse ceased between them.

CHAPTER XX.

The rival parties now coasted along the opposite sides of the river, within sight of each other; the barges of Mr. Hunt always keeping some distance in the advance, lest Lisa should push on and get first to the Arikara village. The scenery and objects, as they proceeded, gave evidence that they were advancing deeper and deeper into the domains of savage nature. Boundless wastes kept extending to the eye, ever more and more animated by herds of buffalo. Sometimes these unwieldy animals were seen moving in long procession across the silent landscape; at other times they were scattered about, singly or in groups, on the broad-enamelled prairies and green activities, some cropping the rich pasture, others reclining amid the flowery herbage; the whole scene realizing in a manner the old scriptural descriptions of the vast pastoral countries of the Orient, with "cattle upon a thousand hills."

At one place the shores seemed absolutely lined with buffaloes; many were making their way across the stream, snorting, and blowing, and floundering. Numbers, in spite of every effort, were borne by the rapid current within shot of the boats, and several were killed. At another place a number were descried on the beach of a small island, under the shade of the trees, or standing in the water, liable to be shot, to avoid the flies and the heat of the day.

Several of the best marksmen stationed themselves in the bow of a barge which advanced slowly and silently, stemming the current with the aid of a broad sail and a large oar. The buffalo stood gazing quietly at the barage as it approached, perfectly unconscious of their danger. The fattest of the herd was selected by the hunters, who all fired together and brought down their victim.

Besides the buffaloes they saw abundance of deer, and frequent gangs of stately elk, together with light troops of sprightly antelopes, the fleetest and most beautiful inhabitants of the prairies. There are two kinds of antelopes in these regions, one nearly the size of the common deer, the other not much larger than a goat. Their color is a light gray, or rather dun, slightly spotted with white; and they have small horns like those of the deer, which they never shed. Nothing can surpass the delicate and exquisite forms, the slender limbs, in which lightness, elasticity, and strength are wonderfully combined. All the attitudes and movements of this beautiful animal are graceful and picturesque, and it is altogether as a subject for the fanciful fancy of the poet, as the offspring of the East.

Their habits are shy and capricious; they keep on the open plains, are quick to take the alarm, and bound away with a fleetness that defies pursuit. When thus skulking across a prairie in the autumn, their light gray or dun color blends with the hue of the withered herbage, the swiftness of their motion baffles the eye, and they almost seem unsubstantial forms, driven like gossamer before the wind.

While they thus keep to the open plain and trust to their speed, they are safe; but they have a prudent curiosity that sometimes betrays them to their ruin. When they have send for some distance and left their pursuer behind, they will suddenly stop and turn to gaze at the object of their alarm. If the pursuit is not followed up they will, after a time, yield to their inquisitive hankering, and return to the place from whence they have been frightened.

John Day, the veteran hunter already mentioned, displayed his experience and skill in entrapping one of these beautiful animals. Taking advantage of his well known curiosity, he laid down flat among the grass, and putting his handkerchief on the end of his ramrod, waved it gently in the air. This had the effect of the fatal fascination of the rattlesnake. The antelope gazed at the mysterious object for some time at a distance, then approached timidly, pausing and reconnoitering with increased curiosity; moving round the point of attraction in a circle, but still drawing nearer and nearer, until being within the range of the deadly rifle, he fell a victim to his curiosity.

On the tenth of June, as the party were making brisk progress with a fine breeze, they met a canoe with three Indians descending the river, and they came to a parley, and brought news from the Arikara village. The war party, which had caused such alarm at the sand-bar, had reached the village some days previously, announced the approach of a party of traders, and displayed with their weapons, to strike terror into them. On further conversation with these three Indians, Mr. Hunt learnt the real danger which he had run, when hemmed up within the
sand-bar. The Mandans who were of the war party, when they saw the boats so completely entrapped and apparently within their power, had been eager for attacking it, and securing so rich a prize. The Minatarees, also, were nothing loath, finding the current favorable to the whites, in consequence of their tribe having killed two white men above the fort of the Missouri Fur Company. Fortunately, the Arickaras, who formed the majority of the war party, proved true to the white flag, and prevented any hostile act, otherwise a bloody affair, and perhaps a horrible massacre, might have ensued.

On the 11th of June Mr. Hunt and his companions encamped near an island about six miles below the Arickara village. Mr. Lisa encamped, as usual, at no great distance; but the same solemn and jealous reserve and non-intercourse continued between them. Shortly after pitching the tents, Mr. Breckenridge made his appearance as an ambassador from the rival camp. He came on behalf of his companions, to arrange the manner of making their entrance into the village and of receiving the chiefs; for everything of the kind is a matter of grave ceremonial among the Indians.

The partners now expressed frankly their deep distrust of the intentions of Mr. Lisa, and their apprehensions, that, out of the jealousy of trade, and resentment of recent disputes, he might seek to instigate the Arickaras against them. Mr. Breckenridge assured them that their suspicions were entirely groundless, and pledged himself that nothing of the kind should take place. He found it difficult, however, to remove their distrust; and the conference, therefore, ended without producing any cordial understanding; and Mr. Lellan recurred to his old threat of shooting Lisa the instant he discovered anything like treachery in his proceedings.

That night the rain fell in torrents, accompanied by thunder and lightning. The camp was deluged, and the bedding and baggage drenched. All hands embarked at an early hour, and set forward for the village. About nine o'clock, when half way, they met a canoe, on board of which were two Arickara dignitaries. One, a fine-looking, tall, and well-built man, called the chief of the village; he was called the Left-handed, on account of a personal peculiarity. The other, a lank-looking savage, was the war chief, or generalissimo; he was known by the name of the Big Man, an appellation he well deserved from his size, for he was of a gigantic frame. Both were of fairer complexion than is usual with savages.

They were accompanied by an interpreter, a French crew, one of those laphazard wights of Gallic origin, who abound upon our frontier, living among the Indians like one of their own race. He had been twenty years among the Arickaras, had a squaw and a troop of half-breed children, and officiated as interpreter to the chiefs. Through this worthy agent the two dignitaries signified to Mr. Hunt their sovereign intention to oppose the further progress of the expedition up the river unless a boat was left to trade with them. Mr. Hunt, in reply, explained the object of his voyage, and assured them that he was passing on his way up the Missouri and would not stop to trade for a moment. They at once consented, and paddled up the river. From this time the parties were making preparations for the reception of the strangers.

The village of the Rikaras, Arikaras, or Ricares, for the name is thus variously written, is between the 46th and 47th parallels of north latitude, and fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth of the Missouri. The party reached it on the 13th of June, at half past nine o'clock, on the opposite side of the river, where they spread out their baggage and effects to dry. From hence they commanded an excellent view of the village. It was divided into two portions, about forty yards apart, being inhabited by two distinct bands. The whole extended about three quarters of a mile along the river bank, and was composed of conical lodges, that looked so like so many small hillocks, being wooden frames interwoven with osier, and covered with earth. The plain beyond the village swept up into hills of considerable height, but the whole country was nearly destitute of trees. While they were regarding the village, they beheld a singular fleet coming down the river. It consisted of a number of canoes, each made of a single buffalo hide stretched on sticks, so as to form a kind of circular trough. Each one was navigated by a single squaw, who knelt in the bottom and paddled, towing after her frail bark a bundle of floating wood intended for firing. This kind of canoe is here in frequent use among the Indians; the buffalo hide being readily made up into a bundle and transported on horseback; it is very serviceable in conveying baggage across the rivers.

The great number of horses grazing around the village, and scattered over the neighboring hills and valleys, bespoke the equestrian habits of the Arickaras, who are admirable horsemen. Indeed, in the number of his horses consists the wealth of an Indian of any rank or standing; and Mr. Lellan is fully equal for this noble animal, and in his adroitness in the management of it.

After a time, the voice of the sovereign chief, the Left-handed, was heard across the river, announcing that the council lodge was prepared, and inviting the white men to come over. The river was half a mile in width, yet every word uttered by the chietain was heard; this may be partly attributed to the distinct manner in which every syllable of the compound words in the Indian languages is sounded; but in truth, a savage warrior might often rival Achilles himself for force of lungs.*

Now came the delicate point of management: how the two rival parties were to conduct their visit to the village with proper circumspection and due decorum. Neither of the leaders had spoken to each other since their quarrel. All communication had been by ambassadors. Seeing the jealousy entertained of Lisa, Mr. Breckenridge, in his negotiation, had arranged that a deputation from each party should cross the river at the same time, so that neither would have the first access to the ear of the Arickaras.

The distrust of Lisa, however, had increased in proportion as they approached the sphere of action, and Mr. Lellan in particular kept a vigilant eye upon his motions, swearing to shoot him if he attempted to cross the river first.

About two o'clock the large boat of Mr. Hunt was manned, and he stepped on board, accompanied by Mr. Lellan. Mr. Hunt, at the same time embarked in his barge; the two deputations amounted in all to fourteen persons, and never was any movement of rival potentates conducted with more wary exactness.

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* Bradbury, p. 110.
They landed amid a rabble crowd, and were received on the bank by the left-handed chief, who conducted them into the village with grave courtesy; driving to the right and left the swarms of old squaws, imp-like boys, and vagabond dogs, with which the place abounded. They wound their way between the cabins, which looked like dirt-heaps huddled together without any plan, and surrounded by old palisades; all filthy in the extreme, and redolent of villainous smells.

At length they arrived at the council lodge. It was surrounded by numerous, and formed of four thick trunks of trees placed upright, supporting cross-beams and a frame of poles interwoven with osiers, and the whole covered with earth. A hole was cut in the centre formed the fireplace, and immediately above was a circular hole in the apex of the lodge, to let out the smoke and let in the daylight. Around the lodge were recesses for sleeping, like the berths on board ships, screened from view by curtains of dressed skins. At the upper end of the lodge was a kind of hunting and war-cabinet, consisting of two buffalo heads garishly painted, surmounted by shields, bows, quivers of arrows, and other weapons.

On entering the lodge the chief pointed to mats on the floor which had been placed around for the strangers, and on which they seated themselves, while he placed himself on a kind of stool. An old man then came forward with the pipe of peace or good-fellowship, lighted and handed it to the chief, and then falling back, squatted himself near the door. The pipe was passed from mouth to mouth, each one taking a whiff, which is equivalent to the invisible pledge of faith, of taking salt together among the ancient Britons. The chief then made a sign to the old pipe-bearer, who seemed to fill, likewise, the station of herald, seneschal, and public crier, for he ascended to the top of the lodge to make proclamation. Here he took his post beside the aperture for the emission of smoke and the admission of light; the chief dictated from within what he was to proclaim, and he handed it forth with a force of lungs that resounded over all the village. In this way he summoned the warriors and great men to council; every now and then reporting progress to the chief from the hole in the roof, and:

In a little while the braves and sages began to enter one by one as their names were called or announced, emerging from under the buffalo robe suspended over the entrance instead of a door, sitting on the lodge to the skins placed on the floor, and crowding down on them in silence. In this way twenty entered and took their seats, forming an assembly worthy of the pencil; for the Arikaras are a noble race of men, large and well formed, and maintain a savage grandeur and gravity of demeanour in their solemn ceremonies.

All being seated, the old seneschal prepared the pipe of ceremony or council, and having lit it, handed it to the chief. He inhaled the sacred smoke, gave a puff upward to the heavens, then downward to the earth, then toward the west, and after this it was as usual passed from mouth to mouth, each holding it respectfully until his neighbour had taken several whiffs; and now the grand council was considered as opened in due form.

The chief gave an harangue welcoming the white men to his village, and expressing his happiness in taking them by the hand as friends; but at the same time complaining of the poverty of himself and his people; the usual prelude among Indians to begging or hard bargaining.

Lisa rose to reply, and the eyes of Hunt and his companions were eagerly turned upon him, those of M’Lellan glaring like a basilisk. He began by the usual expressions of friendship, and then proceeded to explain the object of his own party. Those persons, however, said he, pointing to Mr. Hunt and his companions, are of a different party, and are quite distinct in their views; but, added he, though we are separate parties, we make but one common cause when the safety of either is concerned. Any injury or insult offered to them I shall consider as done to myself accordingly, I trust, therefore, that you will treat them with the same friendship that you have always manifested for me, doing everything in your power to serve them and to help them on their way. The speech of Lisa, delivered with an air of frankness and sincerity, agreeably surprised and disappointed the rival party.

Mr. Hunt then spoke, declaring the object of his journey to the great Salt Lake beyond the mountains, and that he should want horses for the purpose, for which he was ready to trade, having brought with him plenty of goods. Both he and Lisa concluded their speeches by making presents of tobacco.

The left-handed chieftain in reply promised his friendship and aid to the newcomers, and welcomed them to his village. He added that they had not the number of horses to spare that Mr. Hunt required, and expressed a doubt whether they should be able to part with any. Upon this, another chieftain, called Gray Eyes, made a speech, and declared that they could readily supply Mr. Hunt with all the horses he might want, since, if they had not enough in the village, they could easily steal more. This honest expostulation immediately removed the main difficulty; but the chief deferred all trading for a day or two, until he should have time to consult with his subordinate chiefs, as to market rates; for the principal chief of a village, in conjunction with his council, usually fixes the prices at which articles shall be bought and sold, and to them the village must conform.

The council now broke up, Mr. Hunt transferred his camp across the river at a little distance below the lodge, and placed some of his warriors as a guard to prevent the intrusion of any of his people. The camp was pitched on the river bank just above the boats. The tents, and the men wrapped in their blankets and bivouacking on skins in the open air, surrounded the baggage at night. Four sentinels also kept watch within sight of each other outside of the camp until midnight, when they were relieved by four others who mounted guard until daylight. Mr. Lisa encamped near to Mr. Hunt, between him and the village.

The speech of Mr. Lisa in the council had produced a pacific effect in the encampment. Though the sincerity of his friendship and goodwill toward the new company still remained a matter of doubt, he was no longer suspected of an intention to play false. The intercourse between the two leaders was, therefore, resumed, and the affairs of both parties went on harmoniously.

CHAPTER XXI.

A TRADE now commenced with the Arikaras under the regulation and supervision of their two chieftains. Lisa sent a part of his goods to the
lodge of the left-handed dignitary, and Mr. Hunt established his mart in the lodge of the Big Man. The village soon presented the appearance of a busy fair; and as horses were in demand, the plumpest and saltiest plume were set like the victory of a Tartar encampment; horses were put through all their paces, and horsemen were carousing about with that dexterity and grace for which the Arickaras are noted. As soon as a horse was purchased, his tail was trimmed, a mode of dressing him from the horses of the tribe; for the Indians disdain to practise this absurd, barbarous, and indecent mutilation, invented by some mean and vulgar mind, insensible to the merit and perfections of the animal. On the contrary, the Indian horses are suffered to remain in every respect the superlative and beautiful animals which nature formed them.

The wealth of an Indian of the far west consists principally in his horses, of which each chief and warrior possesses a great number, so that the plains about an Indian village or encampment are covered with them. These objects of traffic, or objects of depredation, and in this way pass from tribe to tribe over great tracts of country. The Arickaras are, for the most part, of the wild stock of the prairies; some however, had been obtained from the Poncas, Pawnees, and other tribes to the southwest, who had stolen them from the Spaniards in the course of border raids into the Mexican territories. These were to be known by being branded, a Spanish mode of marking horses not practised by the Indians.

As the Arickaras were meditating another expedition against their enemies the Sioux, the articles of trade most in demand were guns, tomahawks, scalping knives, powder, ball, and other munitions of war. The price of a horse, as regulated by the chiefs, was commonly ten dollars worth of goods at first cost. To supply the demand thus suddenly created, parties of young men and boys had sallied forth on expeditions to steal horses; a species of service among the Indians which takes precedence of hunting, and is considered a department of honorable warfare.

While the leaders of the expedition were actively engaged in preparing for the approaching journey, those who had accompanied it for curiosity or amusement, found ample matter for observation and admiration. There was both physical and mental vigilance, and while they went they were kindly entertained. If they entered a lodge, the buffalo robe was spread before the fire for them to sit down; the pipe was brought, and while the master of the lodge conversed with his guests, the squaw put the earthen vessel over the lire, well filled with dried buffalo meat and pounded corn; for the Indian in his native state, before he has mingled much with white men, and acquired their sordid habits, has the hospitality of the Arab: never does a stranger enter his door without having food placed before him; and never is the food thus furnished made a matter of traffic.

The life of an Indian when at home in his village is a life of indolence and amusement. To the woman is consigned the labors of the household and the field; she arranges the lodge; brings wood for the fire; cooks; jerks venison and buffalo meat; dresses the skins of the animals killed in the chase; cultivates the little patch of maize, potatoes, and pumpkins a part of their provisions. Their time for repose and recreation is at sunset, when, the labors of the day being ended, they gather together to amuse themselves with petty games, or hold gossiping conversations on the tops of their lodges.

As to the Indian, he is a game animal, not to be degraded by useful or mental toil. It is enough for him that he exposes himself to the hardships of the chase and the perils of war; that he brings home food for his family, and watches and fights for its protection. Everything else is beneath his attention. When at home he attends only to his weapons and his horse, and the Mimbres and his mode of life are explored. He engages with his comrades in games of dexterity, agility, and strength; or in gambling games in which everything is put at hazard, with a recklessness seldom witnessed in civilized life.

A great part of the idle leisure of the Indians when at home is passed in groups, squatting together on the bank of a river, on the top of a mound on the prairie, or on the roof of one of their earth-covered lodges, talking over the news of the day, the affairs of the tribe, the events and exploits of their last hunting or fighting expedition; or listening to the stories of old times told by some veteran chronicle, resembling a group of our village quizzines and politicians, listening to the stories of the old days, and discussing the contents of an ancient newspaper.

As to the Indian women, they are far from complaining of their lot. On the contrary, they would despise their husbands could they stoop to any mental effort, and would think it conveyed an imputation upon their own conduct. It is the worst insult one virago can cast upon another in a moment of altercation. "Infamous woman!" will she cry, "I have seen your husband carrying wood into his lodge to make the fire. Where was his squaw that she should be obliged to make a woman of himself?"

Mr. Hunt and his fellow-travelers had not been many days at the Arickara village, when rumors began to circulate that the Sioux had followed them up, and that a war party, four or five hundred in number, were lurking somewhere in the neighborhood. These rumors produced much embarrassment in the camp. The white hunters were deterred from venturing forth in quest of game, neither did the leaders think it proper to expose them to such risk. The Arickaras, too, who had suffered greatly in their wars with this cruel and ferocious tribe, were roused to increased vigilance, and soon formed an expedition to wrong the neighboring hills. This, however, is a general precaution among the tribes of the prairies. Those immense plains present a horizon like the ocean, so that any object of importance can be descried afar, and information communicated to a great distance. The scouts are stationed on the hills, therefore, to look out both for game and for enemies, and are, in a manner, living telegraphs conveying their intelligence by concerted signs. If they wish to give notice of a herd of buffalo in the plain beyond, they gallop backward and forward abreast, on the summit of the hill; if they see an enemy at hand, they gallop to and fro, crossing each other; at sight of which the whole village turns to arms.

Such an alarm was given in the afternoon of the 15th. Four scouts were seen crossing and recrossing each other at full gallop, on the summit of a hill about two miles distant down the river. The cry was up that the Sioux were coming. In an instant the women and children were all bawling and shouting; dogs barking, yelping, and howling. Some of the warriors ran for the horses to gather...
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and drive them in from the prairie, some for their weapons. As fast as they could arm and equip them they sallied forth; some on horseback, some on foot. Some hastily arrayed in their war dress, with coronets of fluttering feathers, and their bodies daubed or painted; others clad and armed, furnished with the weapons they had snatched up. The women and children gathered on the tops of the lodges and heightened the confusion of the scene by their vociferation. Old men who could no longer bear arms took similar garb, and harangued the warriors as they passed, exhorting them to valorous deeds. Some of the veterans took arms themselves, and sallied forth with tottering steps. In this way, the savage chivalry of the village to the number of five hundred, poured forth, helter-skelter, riding and running, with hideous yells and war-whoops, like so many bedlamites or demons le se loose.

After a while the tide of war rolled back, but with far less uproar. Either it had been a false alarm, or the enemy had retreated on finding themselves overawed, and not resumed the fight against the village. The white hunters continuing to be fearful of ranging this dangerous neighborhood, fresh provisions began to be scarce in the camp. As a substitute, therefore, for venison and buffalo meat, they had to purchase several dogs to be shot and cooked for the supply of the camp. Fortunately, however, chary the Indians might be of their horses, they were liberal of their dogs. In fact, these animals swarm about an Indian village as they do about a Turkish town. Not a family but has two or three dozen belonging to it of all sizes and colors; some, of a superior breed, are used for hunting; others, to draw the sledge, while others, of mongrel breed, and idle vagabond nature, are fattened for food. They are supposed to be descended from the wolf, and retain something of his savage but cowardly temper, howling rather than barking; showing their teeth and snarling on the slightest provocation, but sneaking away on the least attack.

The excitement of the village continued from day to day. On the day following the alarm just mentioned, several parties arrived from different directions, and were met and conducted by some of the braves to the council lodge, where they reported the events and success of their expeditions, which had been hunted ever since the war began. They were hastened toward promulgated throughout the village, by certain old men who acted as heralds or towncriers. Among the parties which arrived was one that had been among the Snake nation stealing horses, and returned crowned with success. In their passage they were cheered by the men, women, and children, collected as usual on the tops of the lodges, and were exulted by the Nestors of the village to be generous in their dealings with the white men.

The evening was spent in feasting and rejoicing among the relations of the successful warriors; but sounds of grief and wailing were heard from the hills adjacent to the village: the lamentations of women who had lost some relative in the fray.

An Indian village is subject to continual agitations and excitements. The next day arrived a deputation of braves from the Cheyenne or Shenne nation; a broken tribe, cut up, like the Arickaras, by wars with the Sioux, and driven to take refuge among the Black Hills, near the sources of the Cheyenne River, from which they derive their name. One of these deputies was magnificently arrayed in a buffalo robe, on which

various figures were fancifully embroidered with split quills dyed red and yellow; and the whole was fringed with the splendid hoofs of young horses, that rattled as he walked.

The arrival of this deputation was the signal for another of the friendly dances, in the course of which much of Indian life; for no being is more courtly and punctilious, and more observing of etiquette and formality than an American savage.

The object of the deputation was to give notice of an intended visit of the Shienne (or Cheyenne) to the Arickaras in the course of fifteen days. To this visit Mr. Hunt looked forward, to procure additional horses for his journey; all his bargaining being ineffectual in obtaining a sufficient supply from the Arickaras. Indeed nothing could prevail upon the latter to part with their prime horses, which had been trained to buffalo hunting.

As Mr. Hunt would have to abandon his boats at this place, Mr. Lisa now offered to purchase them, and such of his merchandise as was superfluous, and to pay him resided at a fort belonging to the Missourie Fur Company, situated at the Mandan villages, about a hundred and fifty miles further up the river. A bargain was promptly made, and Mr. Lisa and Mr. Crooks, who now resided at the fort, removed to procure the horses. They returned, after upward of a fortnight's absence, bringing with them the stipulated number of horses. Still the cavalry was not sufficiently numerous to convey the party and the baggage and merchandise, and a few days more were required to complete the arrangements for the journey.

On the 9th of July, just before daybreak, a great noise and vociferation was heard in the village. Being the usual Indian hour of attack and surprise, and the Sioux being known to be in the neighborhood, the camp was instantly on the alert. As the day broke Indians were descried in considerable numbers on the bluffs, three or four miles down the river. The noise and agitation in the village continued. The tops of the lodges were crowded with the inhabitants, all earnestly looking toward the hills, and keeping up a vehement chattering. Presently an Indian warrior galloped past the camp toward the village, and in a little while the legions began to pour forth.

The truth was ascertained. The Indians upon the distant hills were three hundred Arickara braves returning from a foray. They met the war party of Sioux who had been so long hovering about the neighborhood, and fought them the day before, killed several, and defeated the rest with the loss of but two or three of their own men and about a dozen wounded; and they were now halting at a distance until their comrades in the village should come forth to meet them, and swell the parade of their triumphal entry. The warrior who had galloped past the camp was the leader of the party hastening home to give tidings of his victory.

Preparations were now made for this great martial ceremony. All the finery and equipments of the warriors were sent forth to them, that they might appear to the greatest advantage. Those, too, who had remained at home, tasked their wardrobes and toilets to do honor to the procession.

The Arickaras generally go naked, but, like all savages, they have their gait dress, of which they are not a little vain. This usually consists of a gray surcoat and leggins of the dressed skin of the antelope, resembling chamois leather, and em-
broidered with porcupine quills brilliantly dyed. A buffalo robe is thrown over the right shoulder, and across the left is slung a quiver of arrows. They wear gay coronets of plumes, particularly those of the swan; but the feathers of the black eagle are considered the most worthy, being a sacred bird among the Indian warriors. He who has killed an enemy in his own land is entitled to drag at his heels a fox-skin attached to each moccasen; and he who has slain a grizzly bear wears a necklace of his claws, the most glorious trophy that a hunter can exhibit.

An Indian is an operation of some toil and trouble: the warrior often has to paint himself from head to foot, and is extremely capricious and difficult to please, as to the hideous distribution of streaks and colors. A great part of the morning, therefore, passed away before there were any signs of the distant pageant. In the mean time a profound stillness reigned over the village. Most of the inhabitants had gone forth; others remained in mute expectation. All sports and occupations were suspended, excepting that in the lodges the women and children were busily engaged in preparing the repasts for the warriors.

It was near noon that a mingled sound of voices and rude music, faintly heard from a distance, gave notice that the procession was on the march. The Arikaras, who in the squaws as could leave their employment, hastened forth to meet it. In a little while it emerged from behind a hill, and had a wild and picturesque appearance as it came moving over the summit in measured step, and cadence to the solemn chant, and the warriors maintained their fixed and stern demeanor.

Between two of the principal chiefs rode a young warrior who had distinguished himself in the battle. He was severely wounded, so as with difficulty, to keep on his horse, with a serene and unharmed countenance, as if perfectly unharmed. She kept up the spirit and demeanor of a warrior to the last, but expired shortly after he had reached his home.

The village was now a scene of the utmost festivity and triumph. The banners, and trophies, and scalps, and painted shields were elevated on poles near the lodges. There were war feasts and scalp-dances, with warlike songs and savage music; all the inhabitants were arrayed in their festal dresses; while the old heralds went round from lodge to lodge, proclaiming with loud voices the events of the battle and the exploits of the various warriors.

Such was the boisterous revelry of the village; but sounds of another kind were heard on the surrounding hills: piteous wailing of the women, who had received thither to mourn in darkness and solitude for those who had fallen in battle. There was the poor mother of the youthful warrior who had returned home in triumph but to die, gave full vent to the anguish of a mother’s heart. How much does this custom among the Indian women of repairing to the hill tops in the night, and pouring forth their wailings for the dead, call to mind the beautiful and affecting passage of Scripture, “In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.”

CHAPTER XXII.

While Mr. Hunt was diligently preparing for his arduous journey, some of his men began to lose heart at the perilous prospect before them; but, before we accuse them of want of spirit, it is proper to consider the nature of the wilderness into which they were about to adventure. There was a region almost as vast and trackless as the ocean, and, at the time of which we treat, but little known, excepting through the vague accounts of Indian hunters. A part of their route would lay across an immense tract, stretching north, and south for hundreds of miles along the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and drained by the tributary streams of the Missouri and the Mississippi. This region, which resembles one of the immeasurable steppes of Asia, has not improperly been termed “the great American desert.” It spreads forth into undulating and treeless plains, and desolate sandy wastes, wearsomely to the eye the extent and monotony, and which are supposed by geologists to have formed the ancient floor of the ocean, countless ages since, when its primeval waves beat against the granite bases of the Rocky Mountains.

It is a land where no man permanently abides; for in certain seasons of the year there is no food either for the hunter or his stock. The herbage is parched and withered up; the buffaloes, elk, and deer have wandered to distant parts, keeping, within
the verge of expiring verdure, and leaving behind them a vast uninhabited solitude, seamed by ravines hollowed out for mere beauty, and not soaring only to tantalize and increase the thirst of the traveller.

Occasionally the monotony of this vast wilderness is interrupted by mountainous belts of sand and lime, then intertraced, intersected, with precipitous cliffs and yawning ravines, looking like the ruins of a world; or is traversed by lofty and barren ridges of rock, almost impassable, like those denominated the Black Hills. Beyond these rise the stern barriers of the Rocky Mountains, the limits, as it were, of the Atlantic world. The rugged defiles and deep valleys of this vast chain form sheltering places for restless and ferocious bands of savages, many of them the remnants of tribes once inhabitants of the prairies, but broken up by war and violence, and who carry into their mountain haunts the fierce passions and reckless habits of desperadoes.

Such is the nature of this immense wilderness of the far West, which apparently defies cultivation and the habitation of civilized life. Some portions of it along the rivers may partially be subdued by agriculture, others may form vast pastoral tracts, like those of the East; but it is to be feared that a great part of it will form a lawless and wild region, a desert of civilization, like the wastes of the ocean or the deserts of Arabia; and, like them, be subject to the depredations of the marauder. Here may spring up new and mongrel races, like new formations in geology, the amalgamation of the "debris" and "abrasions" of former races, civilized and savage; the remains of broken and almost extinguished tribes; the descendants of wandering hunters and trappers; of fugitives from the Spanish and American frontiers; of adventurers and desperadoes of every class and country, yearly ejected from the bosom of society into the wilderness. We are contributing incessantly to swell this singular and heterogeneous cloud of wild population that is to hang about our frontier, by the transfer of whole tribes of savages from the east of the Mississippi to the great wastes of the far West. Many of these bear with them the smart of real or fancied injuries; many consider themselves expatriated beings, wrongfully exiled from their land of origin and the sepulchres of their fathers, and cherish a deep and abiding animosity against the race that has despoiled them. Some may gradually become pastoral hordes, like those rude and migratory people, half shepherds, half warriors, who, with their flocks and herds, roam the plains of upper Asia; but others, it is to be apprehended, will become predatory bands, mounted on the fleet steeds of the prairies, with the open plains for their marauding grounds, and the mountains for their retreats and lurking-places. Here they may resemble those great hordes of the North—"Gog and Magog with their bands," that haunted the gloomy imaginings of the prophets. "A great company and a mighty host, all riding upon horses, and warring upon those nations which were at rest, and dwelt peaceably, and had gotten cattle and goods." The Spaniards changed the whole character and habits of the Indians when they brought the horse among them. In Chili, Tucuman, and other savage regions, where they had converted them, we are told, they went into Tartar-like tribes, and enabled them to keep the Spaniards out of their country, and even to make it dangerous for them to venture far from their towns and settlements. Are we not in danger of producing such some state of things in the boundless regions of the far West? That these tribes are not mere bands of robbers, but nations that we have sufficient proofs in the dangers already experienced by the traders to the Spanish port of Santa Fé, and to the distant posts of the fur companies. These are obliged to proceed in armed caravans, and kept in constant anxiety to escape from bands of Pawnees, Camanches, and Blackfeet, that come scouring upon them in their weary march across the plains or lie in wait for them among the passes of the mountains.

We are wandering, too, into excursive speculations, when our intention was merely to give an idea of the nature of the wilderness which Mr. Hunt was about to traverse, and which at that time was far less known than at present, though it still remains in a great measure an unknown land. We cannot be surprised, therefore, that some of the least resolute of his party should feel dismay at the thoughts of adventuring into this perilous wilderness, under the uncertain guidance of Indian warriors, who had already passed once through the country and might have forgotten the landmarks. Their apprehensions were aggravated by some of Lisa's followers, who, not being engaged in the expedition, took a mischievous pleasure in exaggerating its dangers. They painted in strong colors the scenes of peril and danger, the waste and solitude of the mountains, the risk they would run of perishing with hunger and thirst; of being cut off by war-parties of the Sioux who scoured the plains; of having their horses stolen by the Liparokas or Crows, who infested the skirts of the Rocky Mountains; or of being butchered by the Blackfeet, who lurked among the defiles. In a word, there was little chance of their getting alive across the mountains; and even if they did, those three guides knew nothing of the howling wilderness that lay beyond.

The apprehensions thus awakened in the minds of some of the men became well-nigh detrimental to the expedition. Some of them determined to desert, and to make their way back to St. Louis. They accordingly purloined several weapons and a barrel of gunpowder, as ammunition for their enterprise, and buried them in the river bank, intending to seize one of the boats and make off in the night. Fortunately their plot was overheard by the Kentucky, and communicated to the partners, who took quiet and effectual means to frustrate it.

The dangers to be apprehended from the Crow Indians had not been overrated by the camp gossips. These savages, through whose mountain haunts the party would have to pass, were noted for daring and excursive habits, and great dexterity in horse stealing. Mr. Hunt, therefore, considered himself fortunate in having met with a man who might be of great use to him in any intercourse he might have with the tribe. This was a wandering individual, named Edward Rose, whom he had picked up somewhere on the Missouri—one of those anomalous beings found on the frontier, who seem to have neither kin nor country. He had lived some time among the Crows, so as to become acquainted with their language and customs; and was, withal, a dogged, sullen, silent fellow, with a sinister aspect, and more of the savage than the civilized man in his appearance. He had lived some time among the Crows, so as to become acquainted with their language and customs; and was, withal, a dogged, sullen, silent fellow, with a sinister aspect, and more of the savage than the civilized man in his appearance.
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ing Mr. Lisa and Mr. Nuttall there, where they intended to await the expected arrival of Mr. Henry Mountains. As to Messrs. Bradbury and Breckenridge, they had departed, some days previously, on a voyage down the river to St. Louis, with a detachment from Mr. Lisa's party. With all his exertions, Mr. Hunt had been unable to obtain a suit, fit horses for the accommodation of all his people. His cavalcade consisted of eighty-two horses, most of them heavily laden with Indian goods, beaver trappers, ammunition, Indian corn, corn meal, and other necessaries. Each of the packers was mounted, and a horse was allotted to the interpreter, Pierre Dorion, for the transportation of his luggage and his two children. His squaw, for the most part of the time, trudged on foot, like the residue of the party; nor did any of the men show more patience and forbearance than this resolute woman in enduring fatigue and hardship.

The veteran trappers and voyageurs of Lisa's party shook their heads as their comrades set out, and took leave of them as of doomed men; and even Lisa himself gave it as his opinion, after the travellers had departed, that they would never reach the shores of the Pacific, but would either perish with hunger in the wilderness, or be cut off by the savages.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The course taken by Mr. Hunt was at first to the northwest, but soon turned and kept generally to the southwest, to avoid the country infested by the Blackfeet. His route took him across some of the tributary streams of the Missouri, and over immense prairies, bounded only by the horizon, and destitute of trees. It was now the height of summer, and these naked plains would be intolerable to the traveller were it not for the breezes which sweep over them during the fervor of the day, bringing with them tempering airs from the distant mountains. To the prevalence of these breezes, and to the want of all leafy covert, may we also attribute the freedom from those flies and other insects so tormenting to man and beast during the summer months, in the lower plains, which are bordered and interspersed with woodland.

In the vicinity of these monotone landscapes, also, would be as wearisome as that of the ocean, were it not relieved in some degree by the purity and elasticity of the atmosphere, and the beauty of the heavens. The sky has that delicious blue for which the sky of Italy is renowned; the sun shines with a splendor, unobscured by any cloud or vapor, and a starlight night on the prairies is glorious. This purity and elasticity of atmosphere increases as the traveller approaches the mountains, and gradually rises into more elevated prairies.

On the second day of the journey Mr. Hunt arranged the party into small and convenient masses, distributing among them the camp kettles. The encampments at night were as before: some sleeping under tents, and others bivouacking in the open air. The Canadians proved as patient of toil and hardship on the land as on the water; indeed, nothing could surpass the patience and good-humor of these men upon the march. They were the cheerful drudges of the party, loading and unloading the baggage, making fires, cooking; in short, performing all those household and menial offices which the Indians usually assign to the squaws; and, like the squaws, they left all the hunting and fighting to others. A Canadian has but little affection for the exercise of the rifle.

The progress of the party was but slow for the first few days. Some of the men were indisposed; Mr. Crooks, especially, was so unwell that he could not keep on his horse. A rude kind of litter was therefore prepared for him, consisting of two long poles, set one on each side; on the horses, with a matting between them, on which he reclined at full length, and was protected from the sun by a canopy of boughs.

On the evening of the 23d (July) they encamped on the banks of what they term Big River; and here we cannot but pause to lament the stupid, commonplace, and often ribald names entailed upon the rivers and other features of the great West, by traders and settlers. As the aboriginal tribes of these magnificent regions are yet in existence, the Indian names might easily be recovered; which, besides being in general more sonorous and musical, would remain memenoes of the primitive lords of the soil, of whom in a little while scarcely any traces will be left. It is to be wished that the whole of our country could be rescued, as much as possible, from the wretched nomenclature inflicted upon it by ignorant and vulgar minds; and this might be done, in a great degree, by restoring the Indian names, wherever significant and euphonious. As there appears to be a spirit of research abroad in respect to our aboriginal antiquities, we would suggest, as a worthy object of enterprise, a map of names, on every part of our country, giving the Indian names wherever they could be ascertained. Whoever achieves such an object worthily, will leave a monument to his own reputation.

To return from this digression. As the travellers were now in a country abounding with buffalo, they remained for several days encamped upon the banks of Big River, to obtain a supply of provisions, and to give the invalids time to recover.

On the second day of their sojourn, as Ben Jones, John Day, and others of the hunters were in pursuit of game, they came upon an Indian camp on the open prairie, near to a small stream which ran through a ravine. The tents or lodges were of dressed buffalo skins, sewn together and stretched on tapering pine poles, joined at top, but radiating at bottom, so as to form a circle capable of admitting fifty people. In grazing among the neighborhood of the camp, or straying at large in the prairie; a sight most acceptable to the hunters. After reconnoitring the camp for some time they ascertained it to belong to a band of Cheyenne Indians, the same that had sent a deputation to the Arikaras. They received the hunters in the most friendly manner; invited them to their lodges, which were more cleanly than Indian lodges are prone to be, and set food before them with true uncivilized hospitality. Several of them accompanied the hunters back to the camp, when a trade was immediately opened. The Cheyennes were astonished and delighted to find a convoy of goods and trinkets thus brought into the very heart of the prairie; while Mr. Hunt and his companions were overjoyed to have an opportunity of obtaining a further supply of horses from these equestrian savages.

During a fortnight that the travellers lingered at this place, their encampment was continually thronged by the Cheyennes, the most well-behaved people, cleanly in their persons and decorous in their habits. The men were tall, straight, and vigorous, with aquiline noses and high cheek bones. Some were almost as naked as
ancient statues, and might have stood as models for statuary; others had leggings and mocassins of deer skin, and a gutta percha roll, which they threw gracefully over their shoulders. In a little while, however, they began to appear in more gorgeous array, tricked out in the finery obtained from the white men—bright cloths, brass rings, beads of various colors, and happy was he who could render himself handsome with vermillion.

The travellers had frequent occasion to admire the skill and grace with which these Indians managed their horses. Some of them made a striking display when mounted, themselves and their steeds decorated in gala style; for the Indians often bestowed more finery upon their horses than upon themselves. Some would hang round the necks, or rather on the breasts of their horses, the most precious ornaments they had obtained from the white men; others interwove feathers in their manes and tails. The Indian horses, too, appear to have an attachment to their wild riders, and indeed it is said that the horses of the plains readily distinguish an Indian from a white man by the smell and prefer to the former. As the Indians, in general, are hard riders, and, however they may value their horses, treat them with great roughness and neglect. Occasionally the Cheyennes joined the white hunters in pursuit of the elk and buffalo; and when in the arid of the chase, when the savages are said to encircle the steeds, scouring the prairies at full speed, and plunging down precipices and frightful ravines that threatened the necks of both horse and horseman. The Indian steel, well trained to the chase, seems as much as its rider, and pursues the game as eagerly as if it were his natural prey, on the flesh of which he was to banquet.

The history of the Cheyennes is that of many of those wandering tribes of the prairies. They were the remnant of a once powerful people called the Sheways, inhabiting a branch of the Red River which flows into Lake Winnipeg. Every Indian tribe has some rival tribe with which it wages implacable hostility. The deadly enemies of the Sheways were the Sioux, who, after a long course of warfare, proved too powerful for them, and drove them across the Missouri. They again took root near the Warricanne Creek, and established themselves there in a fortified village.

The Sioux still followed them with deadly animosity. To drive them from their savage, they compelled them to take refuge in the Black Hills, near the upper waters of the Sheyang or Cheyenne River. Here they lost even their name, and became known among the French colonists by that of the river they frequented.

The heart of the tribe was now broken; its numbers were greatly thinned by their harassing wars. They no longer attempted to establish themselves in any permanent abode that might be an object of attack to their cruel foes. They gave up the cultivation of the fruits of the earth, and became a wandering tribe, subsisting by the chase, and following the buffalo in its migrations.

Their only possessions were horses, which they caught on the prairies, or reared, or captured on predatory incursions into the Mexican territories, as has already been mentioned. With some of these they repaired once a year to the Arikara villages, exchanged them for corn, beans, pumpkins, and articles of European merchandise, and then returned into the heart of the prairies.

Thus, the fluctuating fortunes of these savage nations, War, famine, pestilence, together or singly, bring down their strength and thin their numbers. Whole tribes are rooted up from their native places, wander for a time about these immense regions, are amalgamated with other tribes, or disappear from the face of the earth. There appears to be a tendency to extinction among all the savage nations; and this tendency would seem to have been in operation among the aborigines of this country long before the coming of the white men, if we may judge from the traces and traditions of ancient populosity in regions which were silent and deserted at the time of the discovery; and from the mysterious and perplexing vestiges of unknown races, predecessors of those found in actual possession, and who must long since have become gradually extinguished or been destroyed. The whole history of the aboriginal population of this country, however, is an enigma, and a grand one—will it ever be solved?

CHAPTER XXIV.

On the sixth of August the travellers bade farewell to the friendly band of Cheyennes and resumed their journey. As they had obtained thirty-six additional horses by their recent traffic, Mr. Hunt made a new arrangement. The baggage was made up in smaller loads. A horse was always stationed to receive the baggage if the Indians were distributed among the voyages, a horse for every two infants, so that they could ride and walk alternately. Mr. Crooks, being still too feeble to mount the saddle, was carried on a litter.

Their march this day lay among singular hills and knolls of an indurated red earth, resembling brick, about the bases of which were scattered punice stones and cinders, the whole bearing traces of the action of fire. In the evening they encamped on a branch of Big River.

They were now out of the tract of country infested by the Sioux, and had advanced such a distance into the interior that Mr. Hunt no longer felt apprehensive of the desertion of any of his men. He was doomed, however, to experience a new cause of anxiety. He was seated, in his tent after nightfall, one of the men came to him privately, and informed him that there was mischief brewing in the camp. Edward Rose, the interpreter, whose sinister looks we have already mentioned, was now in the camp, as a designing, treacherous scoundrel, who was tampering with the fidelity of certain of the men, and instigating them to a flagrant piece of treason. In the course of a few days they would arrive at the mountainous district infested by the Uparokas or Crows, the tribe among which Rose was to officiate as interpreter. His plan was that several of the men should join with him, when in that neighborhood, in carrying off a number of the horses with their packages of goods, and deserting to those savages. He assured them of good treatment among the Crows, the principal chiefs and warriors of whom he knew; they would soon become great men among them, and have the finest women, and the daughters of the chiefs, for wives; and the horses and goods they carried off would make them rich for life. As he was seated, in his tent after nightfall, one of the men came to him privately, and informed him that there was mischief brewing in the camp.

The intelligence of this treachery on the part of Rose gave much disquiet to Mr. Hunt, for he knew not how far it might be effective among his men. He had already had proofs that several of them were disposed to the enterprise, and heath to cross the mountains. He knew also that savage life had charms for many of them, especially the
Canadians, who were prone to intermarry and domesticate themselves among the Indians.

And here a word or two concerning the Crow nation, which is a service to the reader, as they will figure occasionally in the succeeding narration.

The tribe consists of four bands, which have their nesting-places in fertile, well-wooded valleys, lying among the Rocky Mountains, and watered by the Big Horse River and its tributary streams; but they live in more than one series of their homes, where they shelter their old people, their wives, and their children, the men of the tribe are almost continually on the foray and the scampyr. They are, in fact, notorious marauders and horse-stealers; crossing and recrossing the mountains, robbing on the one side, and conveying their spoils to the other. Hence, we are told, is derived the name, given to them on account of their unsettled and predatory habits; winging their flight, like the crows, from one side of the mountains to the other, and making free booty of everything that lies in their way. Horses, however, are the especial objects of their depredations, and their skill and audacity in stealing them are said to be astonishing. This is their glory and delight; an accomplished horse-thief is acknowledged as a chief. Many of a horse are obtained by them, also, in barter from tribes in and beyond the mountains. They have an absolute passion for this noble animal; besides which he is with them an important object of traffic. Once a year they make a visit to the Mandans, Minatarees, and other tribes of the Missouri, taking with them droves of horses which they exchange for guns, ammunition, trinkets, vermillion, cloths of bright colors, and various other articles of European manufacture. With these they supply their own wants and caprices, and carry on the internal trade for horses already mentioned.

The plot of Rose to rob and abandon his countrymen when in the heart of the wilderness, and to throw himself into the hands of a host of savages, may appear strange and improbable to those unacquainted with the singular and anomalous characters that are to be found about the borders. This fellow, it appears, was one of those desperadoes of the borders, outlawed by their crimes, who were the object of civilized and savage life, and are ten times more barbarous than the Indians with whom they consort. Rose had formerly belonged to one of the gangs of pirates who infested the islands of the Mississippi, plundering vessels as they went up and down the river, and when they were deserted, to the shore, waylaying travellers as they returned by land from New Orleans with the proceeds of their downriver voyage, plundering them of their money and effects, and often perpetrating the most atrocious murders.

These hordes of villains being broken up and dispersed, Rose had betaken himself to the wilderness, and associated himself with the Crows, whose predatory habits were congenial with his own, had married a woman of the tribe, and, in short, had identified himself with those vagabonds.

Such was the worthy guide and interpreter, Edward Rose. We give his story, however, not as it was known to Mr. Hunt and his companions at the time, but as it has been subsequently ascertained. Enough was known of the fellow and his dark and pernicious character to put Mr. Hunt upon his guard; still, as there was no knowing how far his plans might have succeeded, and as any rash act might blow the mere smouldering sparks of treason into a sudden blaze, it was thought advisable by those with whom Mr. Hunt consulted, to conceal all knowledge or suspicion of the meditated treachery, but to keep up a vigilant watch upon the movements of Rose, and a strict guard upon the horses at night.
hills, on the highest peak of which Mr. Hunt caused a huge pyre of pine wood to be made, which soon sent up a great column of flame that might be seen far and wide over the prairies. This fire, however, was not extinguished at daybreak; so that the towering pillar of smoke could not but be descried by the wanderers if within the distance of a day's journey.

It is a common occurrence in these regions, where the features of the country so much resemble each other, for hunters to lose themselves and wander for many days, before they can find their way back to the main body of their party. In the present instance, however, a more than common solicitude was felt, in consequence of the distress awakened by the sinister designs of Rose.

The route now became excessively toilsome, over a ridge of steep rocky hills, covered with loose stones. These were intersected by deep valleys, formed by two branches of Big River, coming from the south of west, both of which they crossed. These streams were bordered by meadows, well stocked with buffaloes. Loads of meat were brought in by the hunters; but the travellers were rendered dainty by profusion, and could contrive to feed themselves.

They had now travelled for several days at a very slow rate, and had made signal fires and left traces of their route at every stage, yet nothing was heard or seen of the lost men. It began to be feared that they might have fallen into the hands of some lurking band of savages. A party numerous as that of Mr. Hunt, with a long train of pack-horses, moving across open plains or naked hills, is discoverable at a great distance by Indian scouts, who spread the intelligence rapidly to various points, and assemble their friends to hang about the skirts of the travellers, steal their horses, or cut off any stragglers from the main body.

Mr. Hunt and his companions were more and more sensible how much it would be in the power of this sullen and daring vagabond Rose, to do them mischief, when they should become entangled in the defiles of the mountains, with the passes of which they were wholly unacquainted, and which were infested by his freebooting friends, the Crows. There should he succeed in seducing some of the party into his plans, he might carry off the best horses and effects, throw himself among his savage allies, and set all pursuit at defiance. Mr. Hunt resolved therefore to frustrate the knife, divert him, by management, from his plans, and make it sufficiently advantageous for him to remain honest. He took occasion accordingly, in the course of conversation, to inform Rose that, having engaged him chiefly as a guide and interpreter through the country of the Crows, they would not stand in need of his services beyond. Knowing, therefore, his connection by marriage with that tribe, and his predilection for a residence among them, they would put no restraint upon his will, but, whenever they met with a party of that people, would leave him at leisure to remain among his adopted brethren. Furthermore, that, in thus parting with him, they would pay him half a year's wages in consideration of his past services, and would give him a horse, three beaver traps, and sundry other articles calculated to set him up in the world.

This expedient was so acceptable that Rose could not resist it, and made it nearly as profitable and infinitely less hazardous for Rose to remain honest than to play the rogue, completely disarmed him. From that time his whole deportment underwent a change. His brow cleared up and appeared more cheerful; he left off his sullen, skulking habits, and made no further attempts to tamper with the faith of his comrades.

On the 13th of August Mr. Hunt varied his course, and inclined westward, in hopes of finding in with the three lost hunters, who it was now thought, might have kept to the right hand of Big River. This course soon brought him to a fork of the Little Missouri, about a hundred yards wide, and resembling the great river of the same name in the strength of its current, its turbid water, and the frequency of drift-wood and sunken trees.

Rugged mountains appeared ahead, crowding down to the water edge, and offering a barrier to further progress on the side they were ascending. Crossing the river, therefore, they encamped on its northwest bank, where they found good pasturage and buffalo in abundance. The weather was overcast and rainy, and a general gloom pervaded the camp; the voyagers sat smoking in groups, with their shoulders as high as their heads, croaking their forebodings, when suddenly toward evening a shout of joy gave notice that the lost men were again among them, and going into the camp, with weary, and horses laden and wayworn. They had, in fact, been for several days incessantly on the move. In their hunting excursion on the prairies they had pushed so far in pursuit of buffalo as to find it impossible to retrace their steps over plains sprinkled by innumerable herds, and were baffled by the monotony of the landscape in their attempts to recall landmarks. They had ridden on andiro until they had almost lost the points of the compass, and become totally bewildered; nor did they ever perceive any of the signal fires and columns of smoke made by their comrades. At length, about two days previously, when almost spent by anxiety and hard riding, they came, to their great joy, upon the "trail" of the party, which they had since followed up steadily.

Those only who have experienced the warm cordiality that grows up between comrades in wild and adventurous expeditions of the kind, can picture to themselves the hearty cheering with which the party were received in the new camp. Every one crowded round them to ask questions, and to hear the story of their mishaps; and even the squaw of the moody half-breed, Pierre Dorion, forgot the sternness of his domestic rule, and the conjugal discipline of the cudgele, in her joy at his safe return.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Mr. HUNT and his party were now on the skirts of the Black Hills, or Mountains, as they are sometimes called; an extensive chain, lying about a hundred miles east of the Rocky Mountains, and stretching in a northeast direction from the south fork of the Niobrara or Platte River, to the great north bend of the Missouri. The Sierra or ridge of the Black Hills, in fact, forms the dividing line between the waters of the Missouri and those of the Arkansas and the Mississippi, and gives rise to the Chelyene, the Little Missouri, and several tributary streams of the Yellowstone.

The wild recesses of these hills, like those of the Rocky Mountains, are retreats and lurking-places for broken and predatory tribes, and it

was richly}
was among them that the remnant of the Cheyenne tribe took refuge, as has been stated, from their conquering enemies, the Sioux.

The Black Hills are chiefly composed of sandstone, and the softer strata are broken into savage cliffs and precipices, and present the most singular and fantastic forms; sometimes resembling towns, and castellated fortresses. The ignorant inhabitants of plains are prone to clothe the mountains that bound their horizon with fanciful and supernatural attributes. Thus the wandering tribes of the prairies, which so often behold clouds gathering round the summits of these hills, and lightning flashing, and thunder pealing from them, when all the neighboring plains are serene and sunny, consider them the abode of the genii or thunder-spirits, who fabricate storms and tempests. On entering their defiles, therefore, they often hang offerings on the trees, or place them on the rocks, to propitiate the invisible "lords of the mountains," and procure good weather and successful hunting; and they attach unusual significance to the echoes which haunt the precipices. This superstition may also have arisen, in part, from a natural phenomenon of a singular nature which occurs here and there. At all times of the day or night, successive reports are now and then heard among these mountains, resembling the discharge of several pieces of artillery. Similar reports were heard by Messrs. Lewis and Clarke in the Rocky Mountains, which they say were attributed by the Indians to the bursting of the rich mines of silver contained in the bosom of the mountains.

In fact these singular explosions have received fanciful explanations from learned men, and have not been satisfactorily accounted for even by philosophers. They are said to occur frequently in Brazil. Vasconcelles, a Jesuit father, describes one which he heard in the Sierra, or mountain region of Peru, and he compares it to the discharges of a park of artillery. The Indian to whose account the truth of the information, from the very place was found where a rock had burst and exploded from its entrails a stony mass, like a boulder, and was overthrown. This mass was broken either in its ejection or its fall, and wonderful was the internal organization revealed. It had a shell harder even than iron; within which were arranged, like the seeds of a pomegranate, jewels of various colors; some transparent as crystal; others of a fine red, and others of mixed hues. The same phenomenon is said to occur occasionally in the adjacent province of Guayaquil, where stones of the bigness of a man's hand are exploded, with a loud noise, from the bosom of the earth, and scattered about glittering and beautiful fragments that look like precious gems, but are of no value.

The Indians of the Orellana, also, tell of horrible noises heard occasionally in the Paraguanas, which they consider the thrones and groans of the mountain, endeavoring to cast forth the precious stones hidden within its entrails. Others have endeavored to account for these discharges of "mountain artillery" on humbler principles; attributing them to the loud reports made by the disintegration of the rocks, and by the earth being raised and prolonged by the echoes; others, to the disengagement of hydrogen, produced by subterraneous beds of coal in a state of ignition. In whatever way this singular phenomenon may be accounted for, the existence of it appears to be well established. It remains one of the lingering mysteries of nature which throw something of a supernatural charm over the wild mountain solitudes, and we doubt whether the imaginative reader will not rather join in with Clarke in attributing it to the thunder-spirits, or the guardian genii of unsewn treasures, than to any commonplace physical cause.

Whatever might be the supernatural influences among these mountains, the travelers found their physical difficulties hard to cope with. They made repeated attempts to find a passage through or over the chain, but were as often turned back by impassable barriers. Sometimes a defile seemed to open a practicable path, but it would terminate in some wild chaos of rocks and cliffs, which it was impossible to climb. The animals of these solitary regions were different from those they had been accustomed to. The black-tailed deer would bound up the ravines on their approach, and the big horn would gaze fearlessly down upon them from some impeding precipice, or skip playfully from rock to rock. These animals are only to be met with in mountainous regions. The former is larger than the common deer, but its flesh is less delicacy. It has very large ears, and the tip of the tail is black, from which it derives its name.

The bighorn is so named from its horns, which are of a great size, and twisted like those of a ram. It is called by some the argali, by others, the ibex, though differing from both of these animals. The Mandans call it the ahastra, a name much better than the clumsy appellation which it generally bears. It is of the size of a small elk, or large deer, and of a dun color, excepting the belly and round the tail, where it is white. In its habits it resembles the goat, frequenting the roughest precipices, cropping the herbage from their edges; and, like the chamois, bounding lightly and securely among dizzy heights, where the hunter dares not venture. It is difficult, therefore, to get within shot of it. Ben Jones the hunter, however, in one of the passes of the Black Hills, succeeded in bringing down a bighorn from a precipice, the flesh of which was pronounced by the gourmets of the camp to have been of the most delicious flavor.

Baffled in his attempts to traverse this mountain range, Mr. Hunt skirted along to the southwest, keeping it on the right, and still in hopes of finding an opening. At an early hour one day, he encamped in a narrow valley on the banks of a beautifully clear but melancholy river, rounded by thickets bearing abundance of wild cherries, currants, and yellow and purple gooseberries.

While the afternoon's meal was in preparation, Mr. Hunt and Mr. M'Keon ascended to the summit of the nearest hill, from whence, aided by the purity and transparency of the evening atmosphere, they commanded a vast prospect on all sides. Below them extended a plain, dotted with innumerable herds of buffalo. Some were lying down among the herbage, others roaming in their unbounded pastures, while many were engaged in fierce contests like those already described, their low hollowings ringing like the hoarse murmurs of the surf at a distant shore.

Far off in the west, the peak of the great Rocky mountains piercing the clear horizon, some of them evidently capped with snow. These they supposed to be the Big Horn Mountains, so called from the animal of that name, with which they abound. They are a spur of the great Rocky
ASTORIA.

The hill from whence Mr. Hunt had this prospect was, according to his computation, about two hundred and fifty miles from the Arikara village.

On returning to the camp Mr. Hunt found some unseasoness prevailing among the Canadian voyageurs. In straying among the thickets they had beheld tracks of grizzly bears in every direction, doubtless attracted thither by the fruit. To their dismay, they now found that they had encamped in one of the favorite resorts of this dreaded animal. The idea marred all the comfort of the encampment. As night closed, the surrounding thickets were peopled with bears; in fact, so much that, according to Mr. Hunt, they could not help starting at every little breeze that stirred the bushes.

The grizzly bear is the only really formidable quadruped of our continent. He is the favorite theme of the hunters of the far West, who describe him as equal in size to a common cow and of prodigious strength. He makes battle if assailed, and, often, if pressed by hunger, is the most terrible of all our beasts, if enraged, he becomes furious and will pursue the hunter. His speed excels that of a man, and is inferior to that of a horse. In attacking he rears himself on his hind legs, and springs the length of his body. Woe to the horse or rider that comes within the sweep of his terrific claws, which are sometimes nine inches in length, and tear everything before them.

At the time we are treating of, the grizzly bear was still frequent on the Missouri, and in the lower country, but, like some of the broken tribes of the prairie, he has gradually fallen back before his enemies, and is now chiefly to be found in the upland regions, in rugged fastnesses, like those of the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains. Here he lurks in caverns, or holes which he has digged in the sides of hills, or under the roots and trunks of fallen trees. Like the common bear he is fond of fruits, and mast, and roots, the latter of which he will dig up with his fore claws. He is carnivorous also, and will even attack and conquer the lordly buffalo, dragging his huge carcass to the neighborhood of his den, that he may prey upon it at his leisure.

The hunters, both white and red men, consider this the most heroic game. They prefer to hunt him on horseback, and will venture so near as sometimes to singe his hair with the flash of the rifle. This is the mark of the grizzly bear, however; it must be an experienced hand, and know where to aim at a vital part; for of all quadrupeds he is the most difficult to be killed. He will receive repeated wounds without flinching; and rarely is a shot mortal unless through the head or heart.

That the dangers apprehended from the grizzly bear, at this night encampment, were not imaginary, was proved on the following morning. Among the hired men of the party was one William Cannon, who had been a soldier at one of the sieges, and entered into the employ of Mr. Hunt at Mackinaw. He was an inexperienced hunter and a poor shot, for which he was much bantered by his more adroit comrades. Piqued at their laughter, he had been practising ever since he had joined the expedition, but without success.

In the course of the present afternoon, he went forth by himself to take a lesson in venerie, and, to his great delight, had the good fortune to kill a buffalo. As he was a considerable distance from the camp, he cut out the tongue and some of the other choicest parts, packed them into a parcel, and, slipping them on his shoulders by a strap passed round his forehead, as the voyageurs carry pack ages of goods, set out all glorious for the camp, anticipating a triumph over his fears.

In passing through a narrow ravine he heard a noise behind him, and looking round beheld, to his dismay, a grizzly bear in full pursuit, apparently attracted by the scent of the meat. Cannon had been so much struck by the vulnerability of this tremendous animal, that he never attempted to fire, but, slipping the strap from his forehead, let go the buffalo meat and ran for his life. The bear did not stop to regale himself with the game, but kept on after the hunter. He had nearly overtaken him when Cannon reached a tree, and, throwing down his rifle, scrambled up the bank. The next instant Brun includes was at the foot of the tree; but, as this species of bear does not climb, he contented himself with turning the chase into a lock-and-keeplike thrive. Night came on. In the darkness Cannon could not perceive whether or not the enemy maintained his station; but his fears pictured him rigorously mounting guard. He passed the night, therefore, in the tree, a prey to dismal fancies. In the morning the bear was gone. Cannon wrefully descended the tree, gathered his baggage, and made the best of his way back to the camp, without venturing to look after his buffalo meat.

While on this theme we will add another anecdote of an adventure with a grizzly bear, told of John Day, the Kentucky hunter, who has been several times at this difficulty.

Day was hunting in company with one of the clerks of the company, a lively young man, who was a great favorite with the veteran, and whose vivacity he had continually to keep in check. They were in search of deer, when suddenly a huge grizzly bear emerged from a thicket about thirty yards distant, rearing himself upon his hind legs with a terrific growl, and displaying a hideous array of teeth and claws. The rifle of the young man was levelled in an instant, but John Day's iron hand was as quickly upon his arm. "Why, boy! be quiet! - keep quiet! - keep quiet!" exclaimed the hunter, between his clenched teeth, and without turning his eyes from the bear. They remained motionless. The monster regarded them for a time, then, lowering himself on his fore paws, slowly withdrew. He had not gone many paces before he again turned, reared himself on his hind legs, and repeated his menace. Day's hand was still on the arm of his young companion; he again pressed it hard, and kept saying, "Why, boy! - keep quiet! - keep quiet!" though the latter had not made a move since his first prohition. The bear again lowered himself on all fours, retreated some twenty yards further, and again, one and two, showed his teeth, and growled. This third menace was too much for the game spirit of John Day. "By Jove!" exclaimed he, "I can stand this no longer," and in an instant a ball from his rifle whizzed into the foe. The wound was not mortal; but, luckily, it dismayed instead of enraging the animal, and he retreated into the thicket.

Day's young companion reproached him for not practising the caution which he enjoined upon others. "Why, boy," replied the veteran, "caution is caution, but one must not put up too much even from a bear. Would you have me suffer myself to be bullied all day by a varmint?"

CHAPTER XXVII.

For the two following days the travellers pursued a westerly course for thirty-four miles along
a ridge of country dividing the tributary waters of the Missouri and the Yellowstone. As landmarks they guided themselves by the summits of the far distant mountains, which they supposed to belong to the Big Horn chain. They were gradually rising into a higher temperature, for the weather was cold for the season, with a sharp frost in the night, and ice of an eighth of an inch in thickness.

On the twenty-second of August, early in the day, they came upon the trail of a numerous band. Rose and the other hunters examined the larger pieces of animal flesh, and determined it to be the trail of a party of Crows returning from an annual trading visit to the Mandans. As this trail afforded more commodious travelling, they immediately struck into it, and followed it for two days. It led them over rough hills, and through broken gullies, during which time they suffered great fatigue from the ruggedness of the country. The weather, too, which had recently been frosty, was now oppressively warm, and there was a great scarcity of water, insomuch that a valuable dog belonging to Mr. McKenzie died of thirst.

At one time they had twenty-five miles of painful travel, without a drop of water, until they arrived at a small running stream. Here they encountered the first threat of danger, and determined it to be the trail of a party of Crows returning from an annual trading visit to the Mandans. As this trail afforded more commodious travelling, they immediately struck into it, and followed it for two days. It led them over rough hills, and through broken gullies, during which time they suffered great fatigue from the ruggedness of the country. The weather, too, which had recently been frosty, was now oppressively warm, and there was a great scarcity of water, insomuch that a valuable dog belonging to Mr. McKenzie died of thirst.

The next morning they resumed their wayfaring, hungry and jaded, and had a dogged march of eighteen miles among the same kind of hills. At length they emerged upon a stream of clear water, one of the forks of Powder River, and to their great joy beheld once more the wide grassy meadows, stocked with herds of buffalo. For several days they kept along the banks of the river, ascending it about eighteen miles. It was a hunter's paradise; the buffalo were in such abundance that they were enabled to kill as many as they pleased. The supply of meat for several days' journeying. Here, then, they revelled and reposed after their hungry and weary travel, hunting and feeding, and reclining upon the grass. Their quiet, however, was a little marred by the sounds of the Indian camp, who, as they concluded, must be Crows; they were therefore obliged to keep a more vigilant watch than ever upon their horses. For several days they had been directing their march toward the lofty mountain described by Mr. Hunt and Mr. McKenzie on the 17th of August, the height of which rendered it a landmark over a vast extent of country. At first it had appeared to them solitary and detached; but as they advanced toward it, it proved to be the principal summit of a chain of mountains. Day by day it varied in form, and rather its lower peaks, and the summits of others of the chain emerged above the clear horizon, and finally the inferior line of hills which connected most of them rose to view. So far, however, are objects discernible in the pure atmosphere of these elevated plains, that, from the place where they first described the main mountain, they had to travel a hundred and fifty miles before they reached its base. Here they encamped on the thirtieth of August, having come nearly four hundred miles since leaving the Arickara village.

The mountain which now towered above them was one of the Big Horn chain, bordered by a river of the same name, and extending for a long distance rather at the base of it than upon it. It was a part of the great system of granite mountains which forms one of the most important and striking features of North America, stretching parallel to the coast of the Pacific from the mouth of the Columbia River to the Arctic Ocean, and presenting a corresponding chain to that of the Andes in the southern hemisphere.

This vast range has acquired, from its rugged and broken character, and its summits of naked granite, the appellation of the Rocky Mountains. A name by no means distinctive, as all elevated ranges are rocky. Among the early explorers it was known as the range of Chippewyan Mountains, and this Indian name is the one it is likely to retain in poetic usage. Rising from the midst of vast plains and deserts, and traversing a great belt of latitudes, the mountains, rising to snow-clad summits, represent, according to the latitude, the elevation, and extent of the ocean, and seem to bind together the great plains and the western Cordilleras.

The Rocky Mountains do not present a range of uniform elevation, but rather groups and occasionally detached peaks. Some of these rise to the region of perpetual snows, and are covered with an unlimited extent of snow, while their height from their immediate base is not so great as might be imagined, as they swell up from elevated plains, several thousand feet above the level of the ocean. These plains are often of a desolate stony ground, sometimes covered by the debris of the granite peaks, destitute of trees and vegetation, scorched by the ardent and reflected rays of the summer's sun, and in winter swept by chilling blasts from the snow-clad mountains. Such is a great part of that vast region extending north and south along the mountains, several hundred miles in width, which has not improperly been termed the Great American Desert. It is a region that almost discourages all hope of cultivation, and can only be traversed with safety by keeping near the streams which intersect it. Supply must be obtained from the higher regions of the mountains, of considerable fertility. Indeed, these lofty plains of table-land seem to form a peculiar feature in the American continents. Some occur among the Cordilleras of the Andes, where cities and towns and cultivated farms are to be seen eight thousand feet above the level of the sea.

The Rocky Mountains, as we have already observed, occur sometimes singly or in groups, and occasionally in colliding ridges. Between these are deep valleys, with small streams winding through them, which find their way into the lower plains, augmenting as they proceed, and ultimately discharging themselves into those vast rivers which traverse the prairies like great arteries and drain the continent. While the granitic summits of the Rocky Mountains are bleak and bare, many of the inferior ridges are scantily clothed with scrubbed pines, oaks, elms, and firs. Various parts of the mountains also bear traces of volcanic action. Some of the intermediate valleys are strewn with scoria and broken stones, evidently of volcanic origin; the surrounding rocks bear the like char
ASTORIA.

acter, and vestiges of extinguished craters are to be seen on the elevated heights.

We have already noticed the superstitious feelings with which the Indians regard the Black Hills, but this immense range of mountains, which divides all that they know of the world, and gives birth to such mighty rivers, is still more an object of awe and veneration. They call it "the crest of the world," and think that Wakan-tanka, or the master of life, as they designate the Supreme Being, has his residence among these aerial heights. The tribes on the eastern prairies call them the mountains of the setting sun. Some of them place the "happy hunting-grounds," their ideal paradise, among the recesses of these mountains; but say they are invisible to living men. Here also is the "Land of Souls," in which are the "towns of the free and generous spirits," where those who have pleased the master of life while living, enjoy after death all manner of delights.

We are told of these mountains by the distant tribes, whose warriors or hunters have ever wandered in their neighborhood. It is thought by some that, after death, they will have to travel to these mountains and ascend one of their peaks, the most rugged peaks, among rocks, and snows, and tumbling torrents. After many moons of painful toil they will reach the summit, from whence they will have a view over the land of souls. There they will see the happy hunting-grounds, with the souls of the brave and good living in tents in green meadows, by bright running streams, or hunting the herds of buffalo, and elk, and deer, which have been slain on earth. There, too, they will see the villages or towns of the free and generous spirits brightening in the midst of delicious prairies. If they have acquitted themselves well while living, they will be permitted to descend and enjoy this happy country; if otherwise, they will but be tantalized with this prospect of it, and then hurled back from the mountain to wander about the sandy plains, and endure the eternal pangs of unsatisfied thirst and hunger.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The travellers had now arrived in the vicinity of the mountain regions infested by the Crow Indians. These restless marauders, as has already been observed, are apt to be continually on the prowl about the skirts of the mountains; and even when encamped in some deep and secluded glen, they keep scouts upon the cliffs and promontories, who, unseen themselves, can discern every living thing that moves over the adjacent plains and valleys. It was not to be expected that our travellers could pass unseen through a region thus vigilantly sentinelled; accordingly, in the edge of the evening, not long after they had encamped at the foot of the Big Horn Sierra, a couple of wild-looking beings, scantily clad in skins, but well armed, and mounted on horses as wild-looking as themselves, were seen approaching with great caution from among the rocks. They might have been mistaken for two of the evil spirits of the mountains so formidable in Indian tales.

Rose was immediately sent out to hold a parley with them, and invite them to the camp. They proved to be two scouts from the same band that had been tracked for some days past, and which was now encamped at some distance in the folds of the mountain. They were easily prevailed upon to come to the camp, where they were well received, and, after remaining there until late in the evening, the traders were acquainted with the fact that they had seen and experienced to their companions.

The following day had scarce dawned when a troop of these wild mountain scamperers came gallopping with whoops and yells into the camp, bringing an invitation from their chief for the white men to visit him. The tents were accordingly struck, the horses laden, and the party were soon on the march. The Crow horsemen, as they escorted them, appeared to take pride in showing off their equestrian skill and hardihood; careering at full speed on their half-savage steeds, and dashing among rocks and crags, and up and down the most rugged and dangerous places with perfect ease and unconcern.

A ride of sixteen miles brought them, in the afternoon, in sight of the Crow camp. It was composed of leatheren tents pitched in a meadow on the borders of a small clear stream at the foot of the mountain. A great number of horses were grazing in the vicinity, many of them doubtless captured in marauding excursions.

The Crow chief was prepared to meet his guests with great professions of friendship, and conducted them to his tents, pointing out, by the way, a convenient place where they might fix their camp. No sooner had they done so than Mr. Hunt opened some of the packages and made the chief a present of a scarlet blanket, and a quantity of powder and ball; he gave him also some knives, trinkets, and tobacco to be distributed among his warriors, with all which the grim potatore seemed for the time well pleased. As the Crows, however, were reputed to be perfidious in the extreme, and as errant freebooters as the bird after which they were so worthily named, and as their general feelings toward the white men were known to be by no means friendly, the intercourse with them was conducted with great circumspection.

The following day was passed in trading with the Crows for buffalo robes and skins, and in bartering galled and jaded horses for others that were in good condition. Some of the men also purchased horses on their own account, and the number now amounted to one hundred and twenty-one, most of them sound and active and fit for mountain service.

Their wants being supplied, they ceased all further traffic, much to the distress of the Crows, who became extremely urgent to continue the trade, and, finding their importunities of no avail, assumed an insolent and menacing tone. All this was attributed by Mr. Hunt and his associates to the puerile instigations of Rose the interpreter, who they suspected of the desire to foment ill-will between them and the savages, for the promotion of his nefarious plans. M'Lellan, with his usual tranquil mode of dealing out justice, resolved to shoot the desperado on the spot in case of any outbreak. Nothing of the kind, however, occurred. The Crows were probably daunted by the resolute though quiet demeanor of the white men, and the constant vigilance and armed preparations which they maintained; and Rose, if he really harbored his knavish designs, must have been aware that they were suspected, and, if attempted to be carried into effect, might bring ruin on his own head.
ceremonious leave of the Crow chieftain and his vagabond warriors, and, according to previous arrangements, left Mr. Hunt and his companions on the sheltering friendship and fraternal adoption their worthy confederate, Rose; who, having figured among the water pirates of the Mississippi, was well fitted to rise to distinction among the land pirates of the Rocky Mountains.

It is proper to add that the ruffian was well received among the tribe, and appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the compromise he had made, feeling much more at his ease among savages than among white men. It is outcasts from civilization, driven from justice, and heartless desperadoes of this kind, who sow the seeds of enmity and bitterness among the unfortunate tribes of the frontier. There is no enemy so implacable against a country or a community as one of its own people who has rendered himself an alien by his crimes.

Right glad to be relieved from this treacherous companion, Mr. Hunt pursued his course along the skirts of the mountain, in a southern direction, among rocks and precipices which set all their efforts at defiance. The mountain seemed, for the most part, rugged, bare, and sterile; yet here and there it was clothed with pines and with shrubs and flowering plants, some of which were in bloom. In toiling among these weary places their thirst became insatiable, and there was not a living thing to be seen on this part of the mountain. Numbers of the men wandered off into rocky dells and ravines in hopes of finding some brook or fountain; some of whom lost their way and did not return.

A half mile of painful and fruitless scrambling, Mr. Hunt gave up the attempt to penetrate in this direction, and returning to the little stream on the skirts of the mountain, pitched his tent within six miles of his encampment of the preceding night. He now ordered that signals should be made for the strangers in quest of water, but the night passed away without their return.

The next morning, to their surprise, Rose made his appearance at the camp, accompanied by some of his Crow associates. His unwelcome visit revived their suspicions, and he was greeted in a manner worthy of a chief, who, finding they had taken a wrong road, had sent Rose and his companions to guide them to a nearer and better one across the mountain.

Having no choice, being themselves utterly at fault, they gratefully accepted this act of good-will from the chief, and, finding they had taken a wrong road, had sent Rose and his companions to guide them to a nearer and better one across the mountain.

But the party continued on the following morning, Mr. Hunt and his companions continued on westward through a rugged region of hills and rocks, but diversified in many places by grassy little glens, with springs of water, bright sparkling brooks, clumps of pine trees, and a profusion of flowering plants, without however, although the weather was frosty, these beauti-
ful and verdant recesses, running through and
softening the rugged mountains, were cheering
at every turn, and tripping on the way—true travel
ers.
In the course of the morning, as they were en-
tangled in a defile, they beheld a small band of
savages, as wild looking as the surrounding
scenery, who reconnitred them warily from the
rocks before they ventured to advance. Some of
them were mounted on horses rudely caparisoned,
with bridles or halters of buffalo hide, one end
trailing after them on the ground. They proved
to be a mixed party of Flatheads and Shoshones,
or Snakes; and as these tribes are frequently
mentioned in the course of this work, we shall
give a few introductory particulars concerning
them.
The Flatheads in question are not to be con-
founded with those of the name who dwell about
the lower waters of the Columbia; neither do they
flatten their heads as the others do. They in-
habit the banks of a river on the west side of the
mountains, and are described as simple, honest,
and hospitable. Like all people of similar char-
acter, good or bad, they are prone to be imposed upon;
and they especially must be treated by the ruthless Blackfeet, who harass
them in their villages, steal their horses by night,
or openly carry them off in the face of day, without
provoking pursuit or retaliation.
The Shoshones are a branch of the once power-
ful and prosperous tribe of the Snakes, who
possessed a glorious hunting country about the upper
forks of the Missouri, abounding in beaver
and buffalo. Their hunting-ground was occasionally
invaded by the Blackfeet, but the Snakes battled
bravely for their domains, and a long and bloody
feud existed, with variable success. At length the
Hudson's Bay Company, extending their trade
into the interior, had dealings with the Blackfeet,
who were nearest to them, and supplied them
with firearms. The Snakes, who occasionally
traded with the Spaniards, endeavored, but in
vain, to obtain similar weapons; the Spanish
traders wisely refused to arm them so formidably.
The Blackfeet had now a vast advantage, and
soon dispossessed the poor Snakes of their favorite
hunting-grounds, their land of plenty, and drove
them from place to place, until they were fain to
take refuge in the wildest and most desolate
recesses of the Rocky Mountains. Even here they
are subject to occasional visits from their implac-
able enemies, as by fire, disease, or some other property to tempt the plunderer. Thus
by degrees the Snakes have become a scattered, bro-
ken-spirited, impoverished people, keeping about
lonely rivers and mountain streams, and subsist-
ing chiefly upon fish. Such of them as still pos-
sess horses, and occasionally figure as hunters,
are called Shoshones; but there is another class,
the most abject and forlorn, who are called
Shuckers, or more commonly Diggers and Root
Eaters. These are a gray, secret, solitary race, who
keep in the most retired parts of the mountains,
lurking like gnomes in caverns and clefts of the
rocks, and subsisting in a great measure on the
roots of the earth. Sometimes, in passing through
a solitary mountain valley, the traveller comes
per-
chance upon, and bleeding carcasses of a deer or
buffalo that has just been slain. He looks round
in vain for the hunter; the whole landscape is
lifeless and deserted; at length he perceives a
thread of smoke, curling up from among the
crags and cliffs, and scrambling to the place,
a scene of forlorn and skulking brood of Diggers,
terrified at being discovered.

The Shoshones, however, who, as has been ob-
erved, have still "horse to ride and weapon to
wear," are clever at finding ways to make a foray among the buffalo. They
more open and wide in their wanderings. In
the autumn, when salmon disappear from the
rivers, and hunger begins to pinch, they even
venture down into their ancient hunting-ground,
to make a foray among the buffaloes. They
in this perilous enterprise they are occasionally joined by
the Flatheads, the persecutions of the Blackfeet
having produced a close alliance and co opera-
tion between these luckless and maltreated tribes.
Still, notwithstanding their united force, every
step they take within the debatable ground is
taken in fear and trembling, and with the utmost
precaution; and an Indian trader assures us that
he has seen at least five hundred of them, armed
and equipped for action, and keeping watch upon
the hill tops, while about fifty were hunting in the
prairie. Their excursions are brief and hurried;
as soon as they have collected and jerked suf-
fluent buffalo meat for winter provisions, they
pack their horses, the dangerous hunting
grounds, and hasten back to the mountains,
haply without the terrible Blackfeet rattling
after them.

Such a confederate band of Shoshones and
Flatheads was the one met by our travellers.
It was bound on a visit to the Arapahoes, a tribe in-
habiting the banks of the North Platte, and armed
to the best of their scanty means, and some
of the Shoshones had bucklers of buffalo hide,
adorned with feathers and leather fringes, and
which have a charmed virtue in their eyes, from
having been prepared, with mystic ceremonies
by their conjurors. In company with this wandering band our trav-
ellers proceeded all day. In the evening they en-
camped near to each other in a defile of the moun-
tains, on the borders of a stream running north
and falling into Big Horn River. In the vicinity
of the camp they found gooseneckers, strawberries,
and currants in great abundance. The de-
file bore traces of having been a thoroughfare for
countless herds of buffaloes, though not one was
to be seen. The hunters succeeded in killing an
elk and several black-tailed deer.

They were now in the bosom of the second Big
Horn ridge, with another lofty and snow-crowned
mountain full in view to the west. Fifteen miles
of western course brought them on the following
day, in the same valley, well stocked with
buffalo. Here the Snakes and Flatheads
joined with the white hunters in a successful hunt,
that soon filled the camp with provisions.

On the morning of the 9th of September the travellers
pressed on as usual with their Indian
friends, and continued on their course to the west.
A march of thirty miles brought them, in the
evening, to the banks of a rapid and beautifully
clear stream about a hundred yards wide. It
was the north fork of the Big Horn River, but bears its peculiar name of the Wind
River, from being subject in the winter season to a con-
stant blust which sweeps its banks and prevents
the snow from lying on them. This blast is said
to be caused by a narrow gap or funnel in the
mountains, through which a stream of cold air
between perpendicular precipices, resembling cut
rocks.

This river gives its name to a whole range of
mountains consisting of three parallel chains,
eighty miles in length, and a height of twenty-five
feet. One of its peaks is probably a
fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea,
being one of the highest of the Rocky Sierra. These mountains give rise, not merely to the Wind or Big Horn River, but to several branches of the Yellowstone and the Missouri on the east, and of the Columbia and Colorado on the west, thus supplying the streams of these mighty rivers.

For five succeeding days Mr. Hunt and his party continued up the course of the Wind River, to the distance of about eighty miles, crossing and recrossing it, according to its windings and the nature of its banks; sometimes passing through valleys, at other times scrambling over rocks and hills. The country in general was destitute of trees, but they passed through groves of wormwood, eight and ten feet in height, which they used occasionally for fuel, and they met with large quantities of wild flax.

The mountains were destitute of game; they came in sight of two grizzly bears, but could not get near enough for a shot; provisions, therefore, began to be scanty. They saw large flights of the kind commonly called the robin, and many smaller birds of migratory species; but the hills in general appeared lonely and with few signs of animal life. On the evening of the 14th of September they encamped on the forks of the Wind or Big Horn River. The following day, the course of the forks came from the range of Wind River Mountains.

The hunters who served as guides to the party in this part of their route had assured Mr. Hunt that, by following up Wind River, and crossing a single mountain ridge, he would come upon the head waters of the Columbia. The scarcity of game, however, which already had been felt to a pinching degree, and which threatened them with famine among the sterile heights which lay before them, admonished them to change their course. It was determined, therefore, to make a stream, which they were informed, passed the neighboring mountains to the south west, on the grassy banks of which it was probable they would meet with buffalo. Accordingly, about three o'clock on the following day, meeting with a beaten Indian road which led in the proper direction, they struck into it, turning their backs upon Wind River.

In the course of the day they came to a height that commanded an almost boundless prospect. Here they halted for a rest, and after gazing the vast landscape attentively, pointed to three mountain peaks glistening with snow, which, rose, he said, above a fork of Columbia River. They were hailed by the travellers with that joy with which a beacon on a sea-shore is hailed by mariners after a long and dangerous voyage. It is true there was a many a weary league to be traversed before they should reach these landmarks, for, allowing for their evident height and the extreme transparency of the atmosphere, they could not be far short of forty or fifty miles distant. Even after reaching them there would yet remain hundreds of miles of their journey to be accomplished. All these matters were forgotten in the joy at seeing the first landmarks of the Columbia, that river which formed the bourne of the expedition. These remarkable peaks are known to some travellers as the Tetons; as they had been guiding points, for many days, to Mr. Hunt, he gave them the name of the Pilot Knobs.

The hunters continued their course to the south, and after several days of nearly thirty miles, through a region so elevated that patches of snow lay on the highest summits, and on the northern declivities. At length they came to the desired stream, the object of their search, the waters of which flowed to the west. It was, in fact, a branch of the Colorado, which falls into the Gulf of California, and had received from the hunters the name of Spanish River, from information given by the Indians that Spaniards resided upon its lower waters.

The aspect of this river and its vicinity was cheering to the way-worn and hungry travellers. Its banks were green, and there were grassy valleys running from it in various directions, into the heart of the rugged mountains, with herds of buffalo quietly grazing. The hunters sailed forth with keen alacrity, and soon returned laden with provisions.

In this part of the mountains Mr. Hunt met with three different kinds of gooseberries. The common purple, on a low and very thorny bush; a yellow kind, of an excellent flavor, growing on a stock free from thorns; and a deep purple, of the size and taste of our winter grape, with a thorny stalk. There were also three kinds of currants, one very large and well-tasted, of a purple color, and growing on a bush eight or nine feet high. Another of a yellow color, and of the size and taste of the large red currant, the bush four or five feet high; and the third a beautiful scarlet, resembling the strawberry in sweetness, though rather insipid, and growing on a low bush.

On the 17th they continued down the course of the river, making fifteen miles to the southwest. The river abounded with geese and ducks, and there were signs of its being inhabited by beaver and otters; indeed they were now approaching regions where these animals, the great objects of the fur trade, are said to abound. They encamped for the night opposite the end of a side arm in the west, which was probably the last chain of the Rocky Mountains. On the following morning they abandoned the main course of Spanish River, and taking a northwest direction for eight miles, came upon one of its little tributaries, issuing out of the bosom of the mountains, and running through green meadows, yielding pasturage to herds of buffalo. As these were probably the last of that animal they would meet with, they encamped on the grassy banks of the river, determining to spend several days in hunting, so as to be able to jerk sufficient meat to supply them un- til they should reach those regions where they trusted to find fish enough for their support. A little repose, too, was necessary for both men and horses, after their rugged and incessant marching; having in the course of the last seventeen days traversed two hundred and sixty miles of rough, and in many parts sterile mountain country.

CHAPTER XXX.

Five days were passed by Mr. Hunt and his companions in the fresh meadows watered by the bright little mountain stream. The hunters made great havoc among the buffaloes, and brought in quantities of meat; the voyageurs busied themselves about the fires, roasting and stewing for present purposes, or drying provisions for the journey; the pack-horses, eased of their burdens, rolled on the grass, or grazed at large about the ample pastures; those of the party who had no horses, turned in early at night, and were up betimes to meet the moon, dazzling itself with the luxury of perfect relaxation, and the camp presented a picture of rude festivity and revelry, of mingled bustle and repose, characteristic of a halt in a fine hunting country. In the course of one of their
excursions some of the men came in sight of a small party of Indians, who instantly fled in great apparent consternation. They immediately returned to camp with the intelligence; upon which Mr. Hunt and four others flung themselves upon their horses and galloped to reconnoitre. After riding for about eight miles they came upon a wild mountain scene. A lovely green valley stretched before them, surrounded by rugged heights. A herd of buffalo were careering madly through it, with a troop of savage horsemen in full chase, plying them with their bows and arrows. The appearance of Mr. Hunt and his companions put an abrupt end to the hunt; the buffalo scuttled off in one direction, while the Indians plied their lashes and galloped off in another, as fast as their steeds could carry them. Mr. Hunt gave chase; there was a sharp scamper, though of short continuance. Two young Indians, who were indifferently mounted, were soon overtaken. They were terribly frightened, and evidently gave them no chance. A few degrees their fears were allayed by kind treatment; but they continued to regard the strangers with a mixture of awe and wonder; for it was the first time in their lives they had ever seen a white man.

They belonged to a party of Snakes who had come across the mountains on their autumn hunting excursions to provide buffalo meat for the winter. Being persuaded of the peaceable intentions of Mr. Hunt and his companions, they willingly conducted them to their camp. It was pitched in a narrow valley on the margin of a stream. The tents were of dressed skins, some of them fantastically painted, with horses grazing about them. The approach of the party caused a transient alarm in the camp, for these poor Indians were ever on the lookout for cruel foes. So sooner, however, did they recognize the garb and complexion of their visitors than their apprehensions were changed into joy; for some of them had dealt with white men, and knew them to be friendly, and to abound with articles of singular value. They welcomed them, therefore, to their tents, set food before them, and entertained them to the best of their power.

They had been successful in their hunt, and their camp was full of jerked buffalo meat, all of the choicest kind, and extremely fat. Mr. Hunt purchased enough of them, in addition to what had been killed and cured by his own hunters, to load all the horses excepting those reserved for the partners and the wife of Pierre Dorion. He found also a few better skins in their camp, for which he paid liberally, as an inducement to them to hunt for more, informing them that some of his party intended to live among the mountains, and trade with the native hunters for their peltries. The poor Snakes at once comprehended the advantages thus held out to them, and promised to exert themselves to procure a quantity of beaver skins for future traffic.

Being now well supplied with provisions, Mr. Hunt broke up his encampment on the 24th of September, and continued on to the west. A march of fifteen miles, over a mountain ridge, brought them to a stream about fifty feet in width, which Hoback, one of their guides, who had trapped about the neighborhood when in the service of Mr. Henry, recognized for one of the head waters of the Columbia. The travellers greeted it with delight, as the first stream they had encountered tending toward their point of destination. They kept along it for two days, during which,

from the contribution of many rills and brooks, it gradually swelled into a small river. As it meandered among rocks and precipices, they were frequently obliged to ford it, and such was its rapidity that the men were often in danger of being swept away. It was thus that they came in two places close upon the river that they were obliged to scramble up and down their rugged promontories, or to skirt along their bases where there was a safe foothold. Their horses had dangerous falls in some of these places. One of them rolled, with his load, nearly two hundred feet down hill, into the river, but without receiving any injury. At length they emerged from these stupendous defiles, and continued for several miles along the bank of Hoback's River, through one of the stern mountain valleys. Here it was joined by a river of greater magnitude and swifter current, and their united waters swept off through the valley in one impetuous stream, which, from its swiftness and turbulence, had received the name of Portage River. The mountains were of a most singular kind, and the Canadian voyageurs rejoiced at the idea of once more launching themselves upon their favorite element; of exchanging their horses for canoes, and of gliding down the bosoms of rivers, instead of scrambling over the backs of mountains. Oftentimes they had to bear the hardships and toils of portages with more than unskilled patience, and they were yet to be encountered in the frightful wilderness that intervened between them and the shores of the Pacific!

CHAPTER XXXI.

On the banks of Mad River Mr. Hunt held a consultation with the other partners as to their future movements. The wild and impetuous current of the river rendered him doubtful whether it might not abound with impediments lower down, sufficient to render the navigation of canoes slow and perilous. At the impracticability of the streams the travellers encamped. An important point in their arduous journey had been attained, a few miles from their camp rose the three vast snowy peaks called the Tetons, or the Pilot Knobs, the great landmarks of the Columbia, by which it had been shaped their course through this mountain wilderness. By their feet flowed the rapid current of Mad River, a stream ample enough to admit of the navigation of canoes, and down which they might possibly be able to steer their course to the main body of the Columbia. The Canadian voyageurs rejoiced at the idea of once more launching themselves upon their favorite element; of exchanging their horses for canoes, and of gliding down the bosoms of rivers, instead of scrambling over the backs of mountains.

Others of the party, also, interested themselves in this kind of travelling, considered their toils and troubles as drawing to a close. They had conquered the chief difficulties of this great rocky barrier, and now flattered themselves with the hope of an easy downward course for the rest of their journey. Little did they dream of the hardships and perils by land and water, which were yet to be encountered in the frightful wilderness that intervened between them and the shores of the Pacific!

They were now in a richly wooded region in a fertile country, and in all probability had arrived at the head streams of the country. They might pass through a great extent of that country without meeting any of the usual obstacles to navigation. Mr. Hunt and his companions, however, might yet be thrown upon some difficulties, and be unable to proceed as desired. This was their only means of proceeding to the Columbia, and they might, therefore, lose too much time in their journey, and might be compelled to return to the mouth of the river. These were the chief objects of the voyageurs' anxieties and doubts. But Mr. Hunt was of opinion that they would arrive at the Columbia before the winter, and they accordingly continued their journey.

The voyageurs were now in a region where they found themselves on the borders of the United States. The mountains and valleys here seem to have been more thickly populated than in any part of the country hitherto explored by them. The difficulty of crossing these mountains for the purpose of trade was increasing. The canoes, bulging under the weight of the men and many articles of trade, presented a prettymannered appearance as they moved along the river. The scenery was extremely fine, and the voyageurs rejoiced at the idea of once more launching themselves upon their favorite element; of exchanging their horses for canoes, and of gliding down the bosoms of rivers, instead of scrambling over the backs of mountains. Oftentimes they had to bear the hardships and toils of portages with more than unskilled patience, and they were yet to be encountered in the frightful wilderness that intervened between them and the shores of the Pacific!
a scrubbed growth of pines and cedars, aspens, haws, and service-berries, and a small kind of cotton-tree, with a leaf resembling that of the willow. There was a species of large fir, but so full of knots as to endanger the largest ladder. After searching for some time, a growth of timber, of sufficient size, was found lower down the river, whereupon the encampment was moved to the vicinity.

The men were now set to work to fell trees, and the mountains echoed to the unceasing sound of their axes. While preparations were thus going on for a voyage down the river, Mr. Hunt, who still entertained doubts of its practicability, dispatched an exploring party, consisting of John Reed, the clerk, John Day, the hunter, and Pierre Dorion, the interpreter, with orders to proceed several days' march along the stream, and notice its course and character.

After their departure Mr. Hunt turned his thoughts to another object of importance. He had, by this time, collected head waters of the Columbia, which were among the main points embraced by the enterprise of Mr. Astor. These upper streams were reputed to abound in beaver, and as yet unemptioned by the white trappers, and that party, during the recent search for timber gave evidence that the neighborhood was a good "trapping ground." Here then it was proper to begin to cast loose those leashes of hardy trappers, that are detached from trading parties, in the very heart of the wilderness. The men detached in the present instance were: Alexander Carson, Louis St. Michel, Pierre Detayé, and Pierre Delaunay. Trappers generally go in pairs, that they may assist, protect, and comfort each other in their lonely and perilous occupations. Thus Carson and St. Michel formed one couple, and Detayé and Delaunay another. They were fitted out with traps, arms, ammunition, horses, and every other requisite, and were to trap upon the upper part of Mad River, and upon the neighboring streams of the mountains. This would probably occupy them for some months; and, when they should have collected a sufficient quantity of peltries, they were to pack them upon their horses and make the best of their way to the mouth of Columbia to an intermediate post where a larger quantity might be established by the company. They took leave of their comrades and started off on their several courses with stout hearts and cheerful countenances; though these lonely cruisesings into a wild and hostile wilderness seem to the uninhabited equivalent to being cast adrift in the ship's yawl in the midst of the ocean.

Of the perils that attend the lonely trapper, the reader will have sufficient proof, when he comes, in the after part of this work, to learn the hard fortune of these pious fellows in the course of their wild periperegations.

The trappers had not long departed when two Snake Indians wandered into the camp. When they perceived that the strangers were fabricating canoes, they shook their heads and gave them to understand that the river was not navigable. Their information, however, was scoffed at by some of the party, who were obstinately bent on embarking, but was confirmed by the exploring party, who returned after several days' absence. The latter party were obliged to tramp difficultly for two days, and found it a narrow, crooked, turbulent stream, confined in a rocky channel, with many rapids, and occasionally overhanging with precipices. From the summit of one of these they had caught a bird's-eye view of its boisterous career, for a great distance, through the heart of the mountain, with impending rocks and cliffs. Satisfied from this view that it was useless to follow its course either. After repairing for some time, a growth of timber, of sufficient size, was found lower down the river, whereupon the encampment was moved to the vicinity.

These concuring reports determined Mr. Hunt to abandon Mad River, and seek some more navigable stream. This determination was concurred in by all his associates except Mr. Miller, who had become impatient of the fatigue of land travel, and was for immediate embarkation at all hazards. This gentleman had been in a gloomy and irritable state of mind for some time past, being troubled with a bodily malady that rendered travelling on horseback extremely irksome to him, and being, moreover, discontented with having a smaller march by land than was promised, and the party prepared to decamp.

Robinson, Huckle, and Rezner, the three hunters who had hitherto served as guides among the mountains, now stepped forward, and advised Mr. Hunt to make for the post established during the preceding year by Mr. Henry, of the Missouri Fur Company. The two Snake had gone as far as they could judge by the neighboring landmarks, his post could not be far off. They presumed there could be but one intervening ridge of mountains, which might be passed without any great difficulty. Henry's post, or fort, was on an upper branch of the Columbia, down which they made no doubt it would be easy to navigate in canoes.

The two Snake Indians being questioned in the matter, showed a perfect knowledge of the situation of the post, and, offered, with great alacrity, to guide them to the place. Their offer was accepted, greatly to the displeasure of Mr. Miller, who seemed obstinately bent upon the perils of Mad River.

The weather for a few days past had been stormy, with rain and sleet. The Rocky Mountains are subject to tempestuous winds from the west; these, sometimes, come in flaws or currents, making a path through the forests many yards in width, and whirling off trunks and branches to a great distance. These storms subsided on the third of October, leaving all the surrounding heights covered with snow; for while rain had fallen in the valley, it had snowed on the hill tops.

On the 4th they broke up their encampment and crossed the river, the water coming up to the girths of their horses. After travelling four miles, they encamped at the foot of the mountain, the last, as they hoped, which they should have to traverse. Four days more took them across it, and over several plains, watered by beautiful little streams, tributary Mad River. Near one of their encampments there was a hot spring continually emitting a cloud of vapor. These elevated plains, which give a peculiar character to the mountains, are frequented by large gagnes of antelopes, once, and as it afterward appeared, had
fallen in with Mr. Lisa, at the Arickara village on the Missouri, some time after the separation of Mr. Hunt and his party.

The weary travellers gladly took possession of the deserted log huts which had formed the post, and which were on the bank of a stream upwards of a hundred yards wide, on which they intended to embark. There being plenty of suitable timber in the neighborhood, Mr. Hunt immediately proceeded to construct canoes. As he would have to leave his horses and their accoutrements here, he determined to make this a trading post, where the trappers and hunters, to be distributed about the country, might repair; and where the traders might touch on their way through the mountains to and from the establishment at the mouth of the Columbia. He informed the two Snake Indians of this determination, and engaged them to remain in that neighborhood and take care of the horses until the white men should return, promising them ample rewards for their fidelity. It may seem a desperate chance to trust to the faith and honesty of two such vagabonds; but, as the horses would have, at all events, to be abandoned, and would otherwise become the property of the first vagrant horde that should encounter them, it was one chance in favor of their being regained.

At this place another detachment of hunters prepared to separate from the party for the purpose of returning with the beaver. Three of these had already been in this neighborhood, being the veteran Robinson and his companions, Hoback and Reemer, who had accompanied Mr. Henry across the mountains, and who had been picked up by Mr. Hunt on the Missouri, on their way home to Kentucky. According to agreement they were fitted out with horses, traps, ammunition, and everything requisite for their undertaking, and were to bring in all the peltries they should collect, either to this trading post or to the establishment at the mouth of Columbia River. Another hunter, of the name of Cass, was associated with them in their enterprise. It is in this way that small knots of trappers and hunters are distributed about the wilderness by the fur companies, and thus evaded and baffled the chief of all streams. Robinson, the Kentuckian, the veteran of the "bloody ground," who, as has already been noted, had been scaled by the Indians in his younger days, was the leader of this little band. When they were about to depart, Mr. Miller called the partners together, and threw up his share in the company, declaring his intention of joining the party of trappers.

This resolution struck every one with astonishment, Mr. Miller being a man of education and of cultivated habits, and little fitted for the rude life of a hunter. Besides, the precarious and slender profits arising from such a life were beneath the prospects of one who held a share in the general enterprise. Mr. Hunt was especially concerned and mortified at his determination, as it was through his advice and influence he had entered into the concern. He endeavored, therefore, to dissuade him from this sudden resolution; representing its rashness, and the hardships and perils to which it would expose him. He earnestly advised him, however, he might feel dissatisfied with the enterprise, still to continue on in company until they should reach the mouth of Columbia River. There they would find, for the first time, how to come by food, and when, he should still feel disposed to relinquish the undertaking, Mr. Hunt pledged himself to furnish him a passage home in one of the vessels belonging to the company.

To all this Miller replied abruptly, that it was useless to argue with him, as his mind was made up. They might furnish him, or not, as they pleased, with the necessary supplies, but he was determined to part company here, and set off with the trappers. So saying, he flung out of their presence without vouchsafing any further conversation.

Much as this wayward conduct gave them anxiety, the partners saw it was in vain to remonstrate. Every attention was paid to fit him out for his headstrong undertaking. He was provided with four horses and all the articles he required. The two Snakes undertook to conduct him and his companions to an encampment of their tribe, lower down among the mountains, from whom they would receive information as to the best trapping grounds. After thus guiding them, the Snakes were to return to Fort Henry, as the new trading post was called, and take charge of the horses which the party would leave there, of which, after all the hunters were supplied, there remained seventy-seven. These matters being all arranged, Mr. Miller set out with his companions, under guidance of the two Snakes, on the 10th of October; and much did it grieve the friends of that gentleman to see him thus wantonly casting himself loose upon savage life. How he and his comrades fared in the wilderness, and how the Snakes acquiesced in the trust respecting the horses, will hereafter appear in the course of these rambling anecdotes.

CHAPTER XXXII.

While the canoes were in preparation, the hunters ranged about the neighborhood, but with little success. Tracks of buffaloes were to be seen in all directions, but none of a fresh date. There were some elk, but extremely wild; two only were killed. Antelopes were likewise seen, but too shy and fleet to be approached. A few beavers were taken near the streams, and salmon trout of a small size, so that the camp had principally to subsist upon dried buffalo meat.

On the 14th, a poor, half-naked Snake Indian, one of that forlorn caste called the Shuckers, or Diggers, made his appearance at the camp. He came from some lurking-place among the rocks and cliffs, and presented a picture of that famine rinded wretchedness to which these lone fugitives among the mountains are sometimes reduced. Having received wherewith to allay his hunger, he disappeared, but in the course of a day or two returned to the camp, bringing with him his son, a miserable boy, still more naked and forlorn than himself. Food was given to both; they skulked about the camp like hungry hounds, seeking what they might devour, and having gathered up the feet and entrails of some beavers that were lying about, slunk off with them to their den among the rocks.

By the 18th of October fifteen canoes were completed, and on the following day the party embarked with their effects, leaving their horses grazing about the banks, and trusting to the honesty of the two Snakes, and some special turn of good luck for the success and safety of the enterprise. As they were on the way the current bore them along at a rapid rate; the light spirits of the Canadian voyageurs, which had occasionally flagged up land, rose to their
acustomed buoyancy on finding themselves again upon the water. They wielded their paddles with their wonted dexterity, and for the first time made the mountains echo with their favorite boat songs.

In the course of the day the little squadron arrived at the confluence of Henry and Mad Rivers, which, thus united, swelled into a beautiful stream of a light pea-green color, navigable for boats of any size, and which, from the place of junction, took the name of Snake River. A stream destined to be the scene of much disaster to the travellers. The banks were here and there fringed with willow thickets and small cotton-wood trees. The weather was cold, and it snowed all day, and great flocks of ducks and geese, sporting in the water or streaming through the air, gave token that winter was at hand; yet the hearts of the travellers were light, and, as they glided down the little river, they flattened themselves with the hope of soon reaching the Columbia. After making thirty miles in a southerly direction, they encamped for the night in a neighborhood which required some little vigilance, as there were recent traces of grizzly bears among the thickets.

On the following day the river increased in width and beauty, flowing parallel to a range of mountains on the left, which at times were finely reflected in its light green waters. The three snow-summits of the Pilot Knobs or Tetons, were still seen towering in the distance. After pursuing a swift but placid course for twenty miles, the current began to foam and bravel, and assume the wild and broken character common to the streams west of the Rocky Mountains. In fact the rivers which flow them towards the Pacific are essentially different from those which traverse the great prairies on their eastern declivities. The latter, though sometimes boisterous, are generally free from obstructions, and easily navigated; but the rivers to the west of the mountains descend more steeply and impetuously, and are continually liable to cascades and rapids. The latter abounded in the part of the river which the travellers were now descending. Two of the boats were overturned; there were broke his; the crews were saved, but much of the lading was lost or damaged, and one of the canoes drifted down the stream and was broken among the rocks.

On the following day, October 21st, they made but little distance when they came to a dangerous strait, where the river was compressed for nearly half a mile between perpendicular rocks, reducing it to the width of twenty yards, and increasing its violence. Here they were obliged to pass the canoes down cautiously by a line from the impeding banks. This consumed a great part of a day; and after they had reembarked they were soon again impeded by rapids, when they had to unload their canoes and carry them and their cargoes for some distance by land. It is at these places, called "portages," that the Canadian voyageur exhibits his most valuable qualities, carrying heavy burdens, and tilling to and fro, on land and in the water, over rocks and precipices, among brakes and briers, not only without a murmur, but with the greatest cheerfulness and alacrity, joking and laughing and singing scraps of old French ditties.

The spirits of the party, however, which had been enlivened on varying their journeying from land to water, had not been dimmed by their misfortunes. Everything was wrapped in uncertainty. They knew nothing of the river on which they were floating. It had never been navigated by a white man, nor could they meet with an Indian to give them any information concerning it. It kept on its course through a vast wilderness of silent and apparently uninhabited mountains, without a savage wigwam upon its banks, nor bark upon its waters. The difficulties and perils they had already passed made them apprehensive before them that might effectually bar their progress. As they glided onward, however, they regained heart and hope. The current continued to be strong; but it was steady, and though they met with frequent rapids, none of them were hard.

Mountains were constantly to be seen in different directions, but sometimes the swift river glided through prairies, and was bordered by small cotton-wood trees and willows. These prairies at certain seasons are ranged by migratory herds of the wide-wandering buffalo, the tracks of which, though not of recent date, were frequently to be seen. Here, too, were to be found the prickly pear, or Indian fig, a plant which loves a more southern climate. On the land were large flocks of magpies and American robins; whole flocks of ducks and geese navigated the river, or flew off in long streaming files at the approach of the canoes; while the frequent establishment of the painstaking and quiet-loving beaver showed that the solitude of these waters was rarely disturbed, even by the all-pervading savage.

They had now come near a hundred and eighty miles since leaving Fort Henry; yet without seeing a human being or a human habitation; a wild and desert solitude extended on either side of the river, apparently almost destitute of animal life. At length, on the 24th of October, they were gladdened by the sight of some savage tents, and hardened to land and visit them, for they were anxious to procure information to guide them on their route. On their approach, however, the savages fled in consternation. They proved to be a wandering band of Shoshonies. In their tents were great quantities of small fish about two inches long, together with roots and seeds, or grain, which they were drying for winter provisions.

They appeared to be destitute of tools of any kind, yet there were signs of work; the land had been made; the former were formed of pine, cedar, or bone, strengthened by sinews, and the latter of the wood of rose-bushes, and other crooked plants, but carefully straightened, and tipped with stone of a bottle shape.

There were also vessels of willow and grass, so closely wrought as to hold water, and a seine neatly made with meshes, in the ordinary manner, of the fibres of wild flax or nettle. The humble efforts of the poor savages remained un molested by their visitors, and a few small articles, with a knife or two, were left in the camp, and were no doubt regarded as invaluable prizes.

Shortly after leaving this deserted camp, and reembarking in the canoes, the travellers met with three of the Snakes on a triangular raft made of flags or reeds; such was their rude mode of navigating the river. They were entirely naked excepting some small mantles of hare skins over their shoulders. The canoes approached near enough to gain a full view of them, but they were not brought to a parley.

All further progress for the day was barred by a fall in the river of about thirty feet perpendicular; at the head of which the party encamped for the night.

The next day was one of excessive toil and but little progress, the river winding through a wild
rocky country, and being interrupted by frequent rapid streams, among which the canoes were in great peril. On the succeeding day they again visited a camp of wandering Snakes, but the inhabitants fled with terror at the sight of a fleet of canoes, filled with white men, coming down their solitary river.

As Mr. Hunt was extremely anxious to gain information concerning his route, he endeavored by all kinds of friendly signs to entice back the fugitives. At length one, who was on horseback, ventured back with fear and trembling. He was barefooted and clad in better condition than most of his vagrant tribe that Mr. Hunt had yet seen. The chief object of his return appeared to be to intercede for a quantity of dried meat and salmon trout, which he had left behind; on which, probably, he depended for his winter's subsistence. The poor wretch approached with hesitation, the alternate dread of famine and of white men operating upon his mind. He made the most abject signs imploring Mr. Hunt not to carry off his food. The latter tried in every way to reassure him, and out of charity gave him in exchange for his provisions a cask of rum, which the Indian regarded as the temptation, the poor Snake could only prevail upon himself to spare a part, keeping a feverish watch over the rest, lest it should be taken away. It was in vain Mr. Hunt made inquiries of him concerning his route, and the course of the river. The Indian was too much frightened and bewildered to comprehend him or to reply; he did nothing but alternately commend himself to the protection of the Good Spirit, and supplicate Mr. Hunt not to take away his fish and buffalo meat; and in this state they left him, trembling about his treasures.

In the course of that and the next day they made nearly eight miles, the river inclining to the south west, and being clear and beautiful, nearly half a mile in width, with many populous communities of the beaver along its banks. The 28th of October, however, was a day of disaster. The river again became rough and impetuous, and was chafed and broken by numerous rapids. These grew more and more dangerous, and the utmost skill was required to steer among them. Mr. Crooks was set in the second canoe of the squadron, and had an old experienced Canadian for steersman, named Antoine Clappine, one of the most valuable of the voyageurs. The leading canoe had glided safely among the turbulent and roaring streams save where Mr. Crooks perceptively observed that his canoe was bearing toward a rock. He called out to the steersman, but his warning voice was either unheard or unheeded. In the next moment they struck upon the rock. The canoe was split and overturned. There were five persons on board. Mr. Crooks and one of his companions were thrown amid roaring breakers and a whirling current, but succeeded, by strong swimming, to reach the shore. Clappine and two others clung to the shattered bark, and drifted with it to a rock. The wreck struck the rock with one end, and swinging round, flung poor Clappine off into the raging stream, which swept him away, and he perished. His comrades succeeded in getting upon the rock, from whence they then made their escape.

This disastrous event brought the whole squadron to a halt, and struck a chill into every bosom. Indeed, they had arrived at a terrific strait, that forbade all further progress in the canoes, and dismayed the most experienced voyageur. The water body of the river was compressed into a space of less than thirty feet in width, between two ledges of rocks, upward of two hundred feet high, and formed a whirling and seething vortex, so frightfully agitated as to receive the name of 'The Caldron Linn.' Beyond this fearful abyss the river kept raging and roaring on, until lost to sight among impending precipices.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MR. HUNT and his companions encamped upon the borders of the Caldron Linn, and held gloomy counsel as to their future course. The recent wreck had dismayed even the voyageurs, and the fate of their popular comrade, Clappine, one of the most adroit and experienced of their fraternity, had struck sorrow to their hearts, for, with all their levity, these thoughtless beings have great kindness toward each other.

The whole distance they had navigated since leaving Henry's Fort was computed to be about three hundred and forty miles; strong apprehensions were now entertained that the difficulties before them would oblige them to abandon their canoes. It was determined to send exploring parties on each side of the river to ascertain whether it was possible to navigate it farther. Accordingly, on the following morning three men were sent off on the south side, while Mr. Hunt and three others proceeded along the north. The two parties returned after a weary scramble among swamps, rocks, and precipices, and with very disheartening accounts. For nearly forty miles they had explored, the river foamed and roared along through a deep and narrow channel, from twenty to thirty yards wide, which it had worn, in the course of ages, through the heart of a barren, rocky country. The precipices on each side were often two or three hundred feet high, sometimes perpendicular, and sometimes overhanging, so that it was impossible, excepting in one or two places, to get down to the margin of the stream. This dreary strait was rendered the more dangerous by frequent rapids, and occasionally perpendicular falls from ten to forty feet in height; so that it seemed almost hopeless to attempt to pass the canoes down it.

The party, however, who had explored the south side of the river, had found a place, about six miles from the camp, where they thought it possible the river might be crossed, and launched upon the stream, and from whence they might make their way with the aid of occasional portages. Four of the best canoes were accordingly selected for the experiment, and were transported to the place on the shoulders of sixteen of the men. At the same time Mr. Reed, the clerk, and three men were detached to explore the river still further down than the previous scouting parties had been, and at the same time to look out for Indians, from whom provisions might be obtained, and a supply of horses or mules, should it be found necessary to proceed by land.

The party who had been sent with the canoes returned on the following day, weary and dejected. One of the canoes had been swept away with all the men apart, and effects of the voyageurs, in attempting to pass it down a rapid by means of a line. The other three had stuck fast among the rocks, so that it was impossible to move them; the men returned, therefore, in despair, and declared the river unpassable.

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TREACHEROUS CROW INDIANS IN CAMP.
heart of an unknown wilderness, untraversed as yet by a white man. They were at a loss what route to take, and how far they were from the ultimate destination, nor could they forecast, in these uninhabited wilds, with any human being to give them information. The repeated accidents to their canoes had reduced their stock of provisions to five days' allowance, and there was now every appearance of soon having need to resort to their other supplies.

This last circumstance rendered it more perilous to keep together than to separate. Accordingly, after a little anxious but bewildered counsel, it was determined that several small detachments should start off in different directions, headed by the several partners. Should any of them succeed in falling in with friendly Indians, within a reasonable distance, and obtaining a supply of provisions and horses, they were to return to the aid of the main body; otherwise, they were to shift for themselves, and shape their course according to circumstances, keeping the mouth of the Columbia River as the ultimate point of their wayfaring. Accordingly, three parties set off from the camp at Caldron Linn, in opposite directions, with Mr. M'Lellan in one, with three men, kept down along the bank of the river. Mr. Crooks, with five others, turned their steps up it, retracing by land the weary course they had made by water, intending, should they not find relief nearer at hand, to keep on until they should reach Henry's Fort, where they hoped to find the horses they had left there, and to return with them to the main body.

The third party, composed of five men, was headed by Mr. M'Kenzie, who struck to the northward, across the desert plains, in hopes of coming upon the main stream of the Columbia.

Having seen these three adventurous bands depart upon their forlorn expeditions, Mr. Hunt turned his thoughts to provide for the subsistence of the main body left to his charge, and to prepare for their future march. There remained with him thirty-one men, besides the squaw and two children of Pierre Dorion. There was no game to be met with in the neighborhood; but beavers were occasionally trapped about the river banks, which afforded a scanty supply of food; in the mean time they comforted themselves that some one or other of the foraging detachments would be successful, and return with relief.

Mr. Hunt now set to work with all diligence, to prepare a cache in which to deposit the baggage and merchandise, of which it would be necessary to disburden themselves, preparatory to their weary march by land; and here we shall give a brief description of those contrivances, so noted in the wilderness.

A cache is a term, common among traders and hunters, to designate a hiding-place for provisions and effects. It is derived from the French word _cache_, to conceal, and originated among the early colonists of Canada and Louisiana; but the secret depository which it designates was in use among the aboriginals long before the intrusion of the white men. It is, in fact, the only mode that migratory hordes have of preserving their valuables from robbery, during their long absences from their usual haunts, or hunting expeditions, or during the vicissitudes of war. The utmost skill and caution are required to render these places of concealment invisible to the lynx eye of an Indian. The first care is to seek out a proper situation, which is generally some dry low bank of clay, on the margin of a water-course. As soon as the precise spot is pitched upon, blankets, saddle-cloths, and other coverings are spread over the surrounding grass and bushes, to the height of twelve inches, or any other derangement; and as few hands as possible employed. A circle of about two feet in diameter is then nicely cut in the sod, which is carefully removed, with the loose soil immediately beneath it, and laid aside in a place where it will be safe from anything that may change its appearance. The uncovered area is then digged perpendicularly to the depth of about three feet, and is then gradually widened so as to form a conical chamber, six or seven feet deep. The whole of the earth displaced by this process, being of a different color from that on the surface, is handed up in a vessel, and heaped into a skin or cloth, in which it is conveyed to the stream and thrown into the midst of the current, that it may be entirely carried off. Should the cache not be formed in the vicinity of a stream, the earth thus thrown up is carried to a distance, and scattered in such manner as not to leave the minutest trace. The cave, being formed, is well lined with dry grass, bark, sticks, and poles, and occasionally a dried hide. The earth is then thrown in, a little at a time, and gently rolled down, until the pit is filled to the neck. The loose soil which had been put aside is then brought, and rammed down firmly, to prevent its caving in, and is frequently sprinkled with water, to destroy the scent, lest the wolves and bears should be attracted to the place, and root up the concealed treasure. When the neck of the cache is nearly level with the surrounding surface, the soil is again fitted in with the utmost exactness, and any bushes, sticks, or stones, that may have originally been about the spot, are restored to their former places. The blankets and other coverings are then removed from the surrounding herbage; all tracks are obliterated; the grass is gently raised by the hand to its natural position, and the minutest chip or straw is scrupulously gleaned up and thrown into the stream. After all is done, the place is abandoned for the night, and, if all be right next morning, is not visited again, until there be a necessity for reopening the cache. Four men are sufficient, in this way, to conceal the amount of three tons' weight of merchandise in the course of two days.

Nine caches were required to contain the goods and baggage which Mr. Hunt found it necessary to leave at this place.

Three days had been thus employed since the departure of the several detachments, when that of Mr. Crooks unexpectedly made its appearance. A momentary joy was diffused through the camp, for they supposed succor to be at hand. It was soon dispelled. Mr. Crooks and his companions had become completely disheartened by this retrograde march through a bleak and barren country; and had found, computing from their progress and the accumulating difficulties besetting every step, that it would be impossible to reach Henry's Fort and return to the main body in the course of the winter. They had determined, therefore, to rejoin their comrades, and share their lot.

One avenue of hope was thus closed upon the anxious sojourners at the Caldron Linn; their main expectation of relief was now from the two parties under Reed and M'Lellan, which had proceeded down the river, for, as to Mr. M'Kenzie's detachment, which had struck across the plains, they
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thought it would have sufficient difficulty in struggling forward through the trackless wilderness. For five days they continued to support themselves by trapping and fishing. Some fish of tolerable size were speared at night by the light of cedar torches; others, that were very small, were caught in nets with fine meshes. The product of their fishing, however, was very scanty. Their trapping was also precarious, and the tails and bellies of the beavers were dried and put by for the journey.

At length two of the companions of Mr. Reed returned, and were hailed with the most anxious eagerness. Their report served but to increase the general despondency. They had found Mr. Reed for some distance below the point to which Mr. Hunt had explored, but had met with no Indians, from whom to obtain information and relief. The river still presented the same curious aspect, brawling and bolling along a narrow and rugged channel, between rocks that rose like walls.

A lingering hope, which had been indulged by some of the party, of proceeding by water, was now entirely quelled: the long and perilous struggle of the river set all further progress at defiance, and in their disgust at the place, and their vexation at the disasters sustained there, they gave it the indignant though not very decorous appellation of the Devil's Scuttle Hole.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The resolution of Mr. Hunt and his companions was now taken to set out immediately on foot. As to the other detachments that had in a manner gone forth to seek their fortunes, there was little chance of their return; they would probably make their own way through the wilderness. At any rate, to linger in the vague hope of relief from them would be to run the risk of perishing with hunger. Besides, the winter was rapidly advancing, and they had a long journey to make through an unknown country, where all kinds of perils might await them. They were yet, in fact, a thousand miles from Astoria, but the distance was unknown to them at the time; everything before and around them was vague and conjectural, and more an aspect calculated to inspire despondency.

In abandoning the river they would have to launch forth upon vast trackless plains destitute of all means of subsistence, where they might perish of hunger and thirst. A dreary desert of sand and gravel extends from Snake River almost to the Columbia. Here and there is a thin and scanty herbage, insufficient for the pasturage of horse or buffalo. Indeed these treeless wastes between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific are even more desolate and barren than the naked, upper prairies on the Atlantic side; they present vast desert tracts that must ever defy cultivation, and interpose dreary and thirsty wilds between the habitations of man, in traversing which the wanderers must needs be in danger of starvation.

Seeing the hopeless character of these wastes, Mr. Hunt and his companions determined to keep along the course of the river, where they would always have water at hand, and would be able occasionally to procure fish and beaver, and might perchance meet with Indians, from whom they could obtain provisions. They now made their final preparations for the march. All their remaining stock of provisions consisted of forty pounds of Indian corn, twenty pounds of grease, about five pounds of portable soup, and a supply of dried meat to allow each man a pittance of five pounds and a quarter, to be reserved for emergencies. This being properly distributed, they deposited all their goods and superfluous articles in the caches, taking nothing with them but what was indispensable to the journey. With all their management, each man had to carry twenty pounds' weight beside his own articles and equipments.

That they might have the better chance of procuring subsistence in the scanty regions they were to traverse, they divided their party into two bands, Mr. Hunt, with eighteen men, besides Pferre Dorian and his family, was to proceed down the north side of the river, while Mr. Crooks, with eighteen men, kept along the south side.

On the morning of the 16th of October the two parties separated and set forth on their several courses. Mr. Hunt and his companions followed along the right bank of the river, which made its way far below them, brawling at the foot of perpendicular precipices, with a descent of several hundred feet high. For twenty-eight miles that they travelled this day, they found it impossible to get down to the margin of the stream. At the end of this distance they encamped for the night at a place which admitted a gentle descent. It was with the greatest difficulty, however, that they succeeded in getting up a kettle of water from the river for the use of the camp. As some rain had fallen in the afternoon, they passed the night under the shelter of the rocks.

The next day they continued thirty-two miles to the northwest, keeping along the river, which still ran in its deep cut channel. Here and there a sandy beach or a narrow strip of soil fringed with dwarf willows would extend for a little distance along the foot of the cliffs, and sometimes a reach of still water would intervene like a smooth mirror between the foaming rapids.

As through the preceding day, they journeyed on without finding, except in one instance, any place where they could get down to the river's edge, and they were fain to alay the thirst caused by hard travelling, with the water collected in the hollow of the rocks.

In the course of their march on the following morning they fell into a beaten horse path leading along the river, which showed that they were in the neighborhood of some Indian village or encampment. They had not proceeded far along it, when they met with two Shoshonies or Snakes. They approached with some appearance of uneasiness, and accosting Mr. Hunt, held up a knife, which by signs they let him know they had received from some of the white men of the advance parties. It was with some difficulty that Mr. Hunt prevailed upon one of the savages to conduct him to the lodges of his people. Striking into a trail or path which led up from the river, he guided them for some distance in the prairie, until they came in sight of a number of lodges made of straw, and shaped like haystacks. Their approach, as on former occasions, caused the wildest affright among the inhabitants. The women bid such of their children as were too large to be carried, and too small to take care of themselves, under straw, and, clasping their infants to their breasts, fled to the prairie. The men awaited the approach of these strangers, but evidently in great alarm.

Mr. Hunt entered the lodges, and, as he was
Looking about, observed where the children were concealed, their black eyes glistening like those of snakes from beneath the straw. He lifted up the covering to look at them; the poor little beings were frightened, and their fathers stood trembling as if a beast of prey were about to pounce upon the brood.

The friendly manner of Mr. Hunt soon dispelled these apprehensions; he succeeded in purchasing some excellent dried salmon, and a dog, an animal much esteemed as food by the natives; and when he returned to the river one of the Indians accompanied him. He now came to where lodges were frequent along the banks, and, after a day's journey of twenty-six miles to the northwest, encamped in a populous neighborhood. Forty or fifty of the natives soon visited the camp, conducting themselves in a very amicable manner. They were well clad, and had buffalo robes, which they procured from some of the hunting tribes in exchange for salmon. Their habits were very comfortable; each had his pile of woodwork at the door for fuel, and within was abundance of salmon, some fresh, but the greater part cured. When the white men visited the lodges, however, their women were put to work with the utmost diligence, and the houses were made clean and tidy:

Among the supplies obtained here were two dogs, on which our travellers breakfasted, and found them to be very excellent, well flavored, and hearty food.

In the course of the following three days they made about sixty-three miles, generally in a north-west direction. They met with many of the natives in their straw-built cabins who received them without alarm. About their dwellings were immense quantities of the heads and skins of salmon, the best part of which had been cured and hidden in the ground. The women were badly clad; their garments were buffalo robes, or the skins of foxes, wolves, hares, and badgers, and sometimes the skins of ducks, sewed together with the plume on. Most of the skins must have been procured by traffic with other tribes, or in distant hunting excursions, for the naked prairies in the neighborhood afforded few animals, excepting horses, which were abundant. There were also buffalo hides having been there, but a long time before.

On the 15th of November they made twenty-six miles along the river, which was entirely free from rapids. The shores were lined with deep sand dunes, high banks of sand, and thick shrubs of low bushes or Snakes. The peck of unusually fine weather, they had received the change of the advance of an Indian party that passed along the river's edge familiar with and occasionally passed them. The natives whom they met spoke of Mr. Reed's party having passed through that neighborhood.

In the course of the day Mr. Hunt saw a few horses, but the owners of them took care to hurry them out of the way. All the provisions they were able to procure were two dogs and a salmon. On the following day they were still worse off, having to subsist on parched corn and the remains of their dried meat. The river this day had resumed its turbulent character, forcing its way through a narrow channel between steep rocks, and down violent rapids. They made twenty miles over a rugged road, gradually approaching a mountain in the northwest, covered with snow, which had been in sight for three days past.

On the 17th they met with several Indians, one of whom had a horse. Mr. Hunt was extremely desirous of obtaining it as a pack-horse; for the men, worn down by fatigue and hunger, found the loads of twenty pounds' weight which they had to carry, and the groaning of the loaded pack-horse, and their fathers' weight being borne on their own backs, far change of procuring provisions for the party was not such an easy task.

Here the party proceeded along the river, which was by this time so full of rapids and fall, that they had to swim their horses across it. The weather continued rainy and stormy, and the hills so covered with snow that the horses could not proceed, and the party was obliged to remain encamped for three days, without any provisions but parched corn, which was of very small quantity. During this time they heard constant reports of the Indians, and were told that they had been seen in the neighborhood. The men were now reduced to such a state of suffering that they were obliged to leave the horses behind, and continue on foot.

On the 19th they met with an Indian who had a horse, and to whom they offered a pound of tobacco for it. He refused, and the party were compelled to continue on foot. They were now reduced to such a state of suffering that they were obliged to leave the horses behind, and continue on foot. The Indians, however, along this river, were

Never willing to part with their horses, having none to spare. The owner of the steer in question seemed proof against all temptation; article after article of great value in Indian eyes was offered and refused, but the owner of the horse, kettel, however, were irresistible, and a bargain was concluded.

A great part of the following morning was consumed in lightening the packages of the men and arranging the load for the horses. At this encampment there was no wood for fuel, even the woodwork on which they had frequently depended having disappeared. For the two last days they had made thirty miles to the northwest.

On the 19th of November Mr. Hunt was lucky enough to purchase another horse for his own use, giving in exchange a tomahawk, a knife, a fire steel, and some beads and garters. In an evil hour, however, he took the advice of the Indians to abandon the river, and follow a road or trail leading into the prairies. He soon had cause to repent the change. The road led across a dreary waste, without verdure; and where there was neither fountain, nor pool, nor running stream. The men now began to experience the torments of thirst, aggravating their sufferings by the wear and tear. The thirst of the Canadian voyageurs became so insupportable as to drive them to the most revolting means of allaying it. For twenty-five miles they did they toil on across this dismal desert, and laid themselves down at night with many a regret to partake of the wonderful fires; looking forward to still greater sufferings on the following day. Fortunately, it began to rain in the night, to their infinite relief; the water soon collected in puddles, and afforded them delicious draughts.

Refreshed in this manner, they resumed their wayfarings as soon as the first streaks of dawn gave light enough for them to see their path. The rain continued all day, so that they no longer suffered from thirst, but hunger took its place, for after travelling thirty-three miles they had nothing to sup on but a little parched corn.

The next day brought them to the banks of a beautiful little stream, running to the west, and fringed with groves of cotton-wood and willow. On its borders was an Indian, taking care of many horses grazing around it. The inhabitants, too, appeared to be better clad than usual. The scene was altogether a cheering one to the poor half-starved wanderers. They hastened to the lodges, but on the whole atmosphere the natives whom they met spoke of Mr. Reed's party having passed through that neighborhood. The course of the day Mr. Hunt saw a few horses, but the owners of them took care to hurry them out of the way. All the provisions they were able to procure were two dogs and a salmon. On the following day they were still worse off, having to subsist on parched corn and the remains of their dried meat. The river this day had resumed its turbulent character, forcing its way through a narrow channel between steep rocks, and down violent rapids. They made twenty miles over a rugged road, gradually approaching a mountain in the northwest, covered with snow, which had been in sight for three days past.

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squaw of the interpreter. She was now far advanced in her pregnancy, and had two children to take care of, one boy, and the other two years of age. Of course she had frequently to carry on her back, in addition to the burden usually imposed upon the squaw, yet she had borne all her hardships without a murmur, and throughout this weary and painful journey had kept pace with the best of the pedestrians. Indeed on various occasions in the course of this enterprise, she displayed a force of character that won the respect and applause of the white men.

Mr. Hunt endeavored to gather some information from these Indians concerning the country and the course of the rivers. His communications with them had to be by signs, and a few words which he had learnt, and of course were extremely vague. All that he could learn from them was that the great river, the Columbia, was still far distant, but he could ascertain nothing as to the route he ought to take to arrive at it. For the two following days they continued westward upward of forty miles along the little stream, until they crossed it just before its junction with Snake River, which they found still running to the north, being then on a wintry-looking mountain covered with snow on all sides.

In three days more they made about seventy miles, fording two small rivers, the waters of which were very cold. Provisions were extremely scarce; their chief sustenance was porridge soup, a meagre diet for weary pedestrians.

On the 27th of November the river led them into the mountains through a rocky defile where there was scarcely room to pass. They were frequently obliged to unload the horses to get them: them on the narrow places, and sometimes to wade through the water in getting round rocks and buffeting cliffs. All their food this day was a beaver which they had caught the night before; by evening the cravings of hunger were so sharp, and the prospect of any supply among the mountains so faint, that they had to kill one of the horses. "The men," says Mr. Hunt in his journal, "find the meat very good, and indeed, so should I, were it not for the attachment I have to the animal.

Early in the following day, after proceeding ten miles to the north, they came to two lodges of Shoshonies, who seemed in nearly as great an extremity as themselves, having just killed two horses for food. They had no other provisions excepting the seeds of a weed which they gathered in great quantities, and pound fine. It resembles hemp seed. Mr. Hunt purchased a bag of it, and also some small pieces of horse-flesh, which he began to relish, pronouncing them "fat and tender."

From these Indians he received information that several tribes had encamped on the same side, and a good many on the other; these last he concluded to be Mr. Crooks and his party. He was thus released from much anxiety about their safety, especially as the Indians spoke of Mr. Crooks having one of his dogs yet, which showed that he and his men had not been reduced to extremity of hunger.

As Mr. Hunt feared that he might be several days in passing through this mountain defile, and run the risk of famine, he encamped in the neighborhood of Mr. Crooks, after the lapse of two days; and the next day they proceeded to look forward with salutary forebodings to the night's exposure upon this frightful waste. Fortunately they succeeded in reaching a cluster of pines about sunset. Their axes were immediately at work; they cut down trees, piled them up in great heaps, and set huge fires "to cheer their cold and hungry hearts."

and tempting offers, set up such a terrible hue and cry that he was fairly howled and scolded from the ground.

The next morning early, the Indians seemed very desirous to get rid of their visitors, fearing, probably, for the safety of their horses. In reply to Mr. Hunt's inquiries about the mountains, they told him that he would have to sleep but three nights more among them, and that six days' travelling would take him to the falls of the Columbia; information in which he put no faith, believing it was only given to induce him to set forward. These, he was told, were the last Snakes he would meet with, and that he would soon come to a nation called Sciapogas.

Forward then did he proceed on his tedious journey, which at every step grew more painful. The road continued for two days through narrow defiles, where they were repeatedly obliged to unload the horses. Sometimes the river passed through such rocky chasms and under such steep precipices, that they had to leave it, and make their way, with excessive labor, over immense hills, almost impassable for horses. On some of these hills were a few pine trees, and their summits were covered with snow, which on the day of this scramble one of the hunters killed a black-tailed deer, which afforded the half-starved traveller a sumptuous repast. Their progress these two days was twenty-eight miles, a little to the northward of east.

The month of December set in drearily, with rain in the valleys and snow upon the hills. They had to climb a mountain with snow to the midlegs, which increased their painful toil. A small beaver supplied them with a scanty meal, which they eked out with frozen blackberries, haws, and chokecherries, which they found in the course of their scramble. Their journey this day, though excessively fatiguing, was but thirteen miles, and the next day they had to remain encamped, not being able to see half a mile ahead, on account of a snow-storm. Having nothing else to eat, they were compelled to kill another of their horses. The next day they resumed their march in snow and rain, but with all their efforts could only get forward nine miles, having for a part of the distance to unload the horses and carry the packs themselves. On the succeeding morning they were obliged to leave the river and scramble up the hills. From the summit of these, they got a wide view of the Columbia, and was a prospect almost sufficient to make them despair. In every direction they beheld snowy mountains, partially sprinkled with pines and other evergreens, and spreading a desert and desolate world around them. The wind howled over the bleak and wintry landscape, and seemed to penetrate to the marrow of their bones. They waded on through the snow, which at every step was more than knee deep.

After toiling in this way all day, they had the mortification to find that they were but four miles distant from the encampment of the preceding night, such was the meandering of the river among these dismal hills. Pinched with famine, exhausted with fatigue, with evening approaching, and a wintry wild still lengthening as they advanced, all was despondency to look forward with salutary forebodings to the night's exposure upon this frightful waste. Fortunately they succeeded in reaching a cluster of pines about sunset. Their axes were immediately at work; they cut down trees, piled them up in great heaps, and soon had huge fires "to cheer their cold and hungry hearts."

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A terrible hug was felt and scolded.

Some Indians seemed to be in distress, hearing the noise. In reply to their queries, they were asked if they could not see the river and the horses. They all seemed to be in a deep mutter, and after a few minutes of silence, a voice said, "It is not possible to see the river from here."

The horses were restless and agitated, and their movements indicated their desire to go down to the water. The Indians, however, seemed to be content with the explanation given.

The sun was setting, and the sky was darkening. The Indians were soon gone, and the bare rocks and trees around the river were left in silence and stillness.

A chill wind blew, and the cold was felt by all present. The party decided to make camp for the night, and the horses were unhitched and led to the river to drink. The Indians helped in the task, and the work was done quickly.

After dinner, a council was held, and plans were made for the next day's journey. The party was divided into two groups, and each group was assigned a task.

The first group was to follow the river downstream and find a good place to camp for the night. The second group was to continue upstream and scout for any signs of danger.

The night was spent in rest and conversation, with the sounds of the river and the wind in the trees providing a lullaby for the weary travelers.
Here he again met with positive and vehement opposition from the half-breed, who was too sullen and vindictive a fellow to be easily dealt with. What was singular, the men, though suffering such pinchings of hunger, would not attempt to get the horse. They represented that it was better to keep on as long as possible without resorting to this last resource. Possibly the Indians, of whom they were in quest, might have shifted their encampment, in which case it would be time enough to kill the horse to escape starvation. Mr. Hunt, therefore, was prevailed upon to grant Pierre Dorion’s horse a reprieve. 

Fortunately, they had not proceeded much farther, when, toward evening, they came in sight of a lodge of Shoshonies, with a number of horses grazing around it. The sight was as unexpected as it was joyous. Having seen no Indians in this neighborhood as they passed down the river, they must have subsequently come out from among the mountains. Mr. Hunt, who first descried them, checked the eagerness of his men by showing the unwillingness of these Indians to part with their horses, and their aptness to hurry them off and conceal them, in case of alarm. This was no time to risk such a disappointment. Approaching, they discovered a mother, with her children, and the children’s horse, came upon the savages by surprise, who fled in terror. Five of their horses were eagerly seized, and one was dispatched upon the spot. The carcass was immediately cut up, and a part of it hastily cooked and ravenously devoured. A man was now sent on horseback with a supply of the flesh to Mr. Crooks and his companions. He reached them in the night; they were so famished that the supply sent them seemed but to aggravate their hunger, and they were almost tempted to kill and eat the horse that had brought the messenger. Availing themselves of the assistance of the animal, they reached the camp early in the morning.

On arriving there, Mr. Crooks was shocked to find that, while the people on this side of the river were amply supplied with provisions, none had been sent to his own forlorn and famishing men on the opposite bank. He immediately caused a skin canoe to be constructed, and called out to his men to fill their camp-kettles with water and hang them over the fire, that no time might be lost in cooking the meat they had brought. The river was so narrow, though deep, that everything could be distinctly heard and seen across it. The kettles were placed on the fire, and the water was boiling by the time the canoe was completed. When all was ready, however, no one would undertake to ferry the meat across. A vague and almost superstition terror had infected the minds of Mr. Hunt’s followers, enfeebled and rendered imaginative of horrors by the dismal scenes and sufferings through which they had passed. They regarded the haggard crew, hovering like spectres of famine on the opposite bank, with indefinite feelings of awe and apprehension, as if something desperate and dangerous was to be feared from them.

Mr. Crooks tried in vain to reason or shame them out of this singular state of mind. He then attempted to navigate the canoe himself, but found his strength incompetent to brave the impetuous current. The good feelings of Ben Jones, the Kentucky, at length overcame his fears, and he ventured over. As he approached the bank, his soul was roused with trembling avidity. A poor Canadian, however, named Jean Baptiste Prevost, whom famine had rendered wild and desperate, ran frantically about the bank, after Jones had returned, crying...
out to Mr. Hunt to send the canoe for him, and take him from that horrid region of famine, declaring that otherwise he would never cross another step, but would lie down there and die.

The canoe was shortly sent over again under the management of Joseph Delaunay, with further supplies. Prevost immediately pressed forward to meet Mr. Delaunay, refusing to admit him, telling him that there was now a sufficient supply of meat on his side of the river. He replied that it was not cooked, and he should starve before it was ready; he implored, therefore, to be taken where they could find something to appease his hunger immediately. Finding the canoe putting off without him, he forced himself aboard. As he drew near the opposite shore, and beheld meat roasting before the fire, he jumped up, shouted, clapped his hands, and danced a delirium of joy, until he upset the canoe. The poor wretch was swept away by the current and drowned, and it was with extreme difficulty that Delaunay reached the shore.

Mr. Hunt now sent all his men forward excepting three. In the evening he caused another horse to be killed, and a canoe to be made out of the skin, in which he sent over a further supply of meat to the opposite party. The canoe brought back John Day, the Kentucky hunter, who came to his aid something to appease his hunger and mandr. Mr. Crooks. Poor Day, once so active and vigorous, was now reduced to a condition even more feeble and emaciated than his companions. Mr. Crooks had such a value for the man, on account of his past services and faithful character, that he determined not to quit him; he expressed Mr. Hunt, however, to proceed forward, and join the party, as his presence was all important to the conduct of the expedition. One of the Canadians, Jean Baptiste Dubreuil, likewise remained with Mr. Crooks.

Mr. Hunt left two horses with them, and a part of the carcass of the last that had been killed. This, he hoped, would be sufficient to sustain them until they should reach the Indian encampment.

One of the chief dangers attending the enfeebled condition of Mr. Crooks, and this canoe was caused by their being overtaken by the Indians whose horses had been seized, though Mr. Hunt had guarding against any resentment on the part of the savages, by leaving various articles in their lodges. This time, however, for the outrage he had been compelled to commit.

Resuming his onward course, Mr. Hunt came up with his people in the evening. The next day, December 13th, he beheld several Indians, with three horses, on the opposite side of the river, and after a time came to the two lodges which he had seen on going down. Here he endeavored in vain to barter a rifle for a horse, but again succeeded in effecting the purchase with an old tin kettle, aided by a few beads.

The two succeeding days were cold and stormy: the snow was augmenting, and there was a good deal of ice running in the river. Their road, however, was becoming easier; they were getting out of the hills, and finally emerged into the open country, after twenty days of fatigue, famine, and hardship of every kind, in the ineffectual attempts to find a passage down the river.

They now encamped on a little willowed stream, running from the east, which they had crossed on the 26th of November. Here they found a dozen lodges of Shoshones, formerly present. They had all come to them that had they persevered along the river, they would have found their difficulties aug-

ment until they became absolutely insurmountable.

This intelligence added to the anxiety of Mr. Hunt for the fate of Mr. M'Kenzie and his people, who had kept on.

Mr. Hunt now followed up the little river, and encamped at some lodges of Shoshones, from whom he procured a couple of horses, a dog, a few dried fish, and some roots and dried cherry. Two or three days were exhausted in obtaining information of the route, and what time it would take to get to the Sciagous, a hospital tribe on the west side of the mountains, represented as having many horses. The replies were various, but concurred in saying that the distance was great, and would occupy from seventeen to twenty-one nights. Mr. Hunt then tried to procure a guide; but though he sent to various lodges up and down the river, offering articles of great value in Indian estimation, no one would venture. The snow, they said, was waist deep in the mountains; and to all his offers they shook their heads, gave a shiver, and replied, "We shall freeze! We shall freeze!" At the same time they urged him to remain and punish the winter with them. Mr. Hunt was in a distressing dilemma. To attempt the mountains without a guide would be certain death to him and all his people; to remain there, after having already been so long on the journey, and to pay a great expense, was too hard for him, he said, "than to die with the Indians." He now changed his tone with the Indians, charged them with deceiving him in respect to the mountains, and talking with a "forked tongue," or, in other words, lying. He upbraided them with their want of courage, and told them they were women, to shrink from the peril of such a journey. At length one of them, piqued by his taunts, or tempted by his offers, agreed to be his guide; for which he was to receive a gun, a pistol, three knives, two horses, and a little of every article in possession of the party; a reward sufficient to make him one of the wealthiest of his vagabond nation.

Once more, then, on the 21st of December, they set out upon their wayfaring with newly excited spirits. Two other Indians accompanied a guide, who led them immediately back to Snake River, which they followed down for a short distance, in search of some Indian rafts made of reeds, on which they might cross. Finding none, Mr. Hunt caused the horse to be killed and a canoe to be made out of its skin. Here, on the opposite bank, they saw the thirteen men of Mr. Crooks' party, who had continued up along the river. They told Mr. Hunt, across the stream, that they had not seen Mr. Crooks, and the two men, who had remained with him, since the day that he had separated from them.

The canoe proving too small, another horse was killed, and the skin of it joined to that of the first. Night came on before the little bark had made more than two voyages. Being badly made, it was taken apart and put together again, by the light of the fire. The night was cold; the men were weary and disheartened with such varied and incessant toil and hardship. They crouched, dull and drooping, around their fires; many of them began to express a wish to remain where they were for the winter. The very crossing of the river dismayed some of them in their present enfeebled and destitute state. It was rapid and turbulent, and filled with floating ice, and many of them began to express a wish to remain where they were for the winter. The very crossing of the river dismayed some of them in their present enfeebled and destitute state. It was rapid and turbulent, and filled with floating ice, and many of them began to express a wish to remain where they were for the winter. The very crossing of the river dismayed some of them in their present enfeebled and destitute state. It was rapid and turbulent, and filled with floating ice, and many of them began to express a wish to remain where they were for the winter.
journey through lonesome regions that awaited
them, when they should have passed this dreary
flood.

At an early hour of the morning, December
23d, they began to cross the river. Much ice had
formed during the night, and they were obliged to
break it with an axe. When they reached the
length of the river, nearly ten miles, they were
able to pass. Their spirits rose on having achieved this
perilous passage. Here they were rejoined by
the Indians of Mr. Crooks, who had with them a horse
and a dog, which they had recently procured. The
poor fellows were in the most squallid and emaciated
state. Three of them were so completely prostrated
in strength and spirits that they expressed a wish
to remain among the Snakes. Mr. Hunt, there-
fore, gave them the canoe, that they might cross
the river, and a few articles, with which to pro-
cure necessaries until they should meet with
Mr. Crooks. There was another man, named
Michael Carriere, who was almost equally reduced,
but he determined to proceed with his comrades,
whom he had accompanied to the party of Mr. Hunt.
After the day’s exertions they encamped
together on the banks of the river. This was the
last night they were to spend upon its borders.
More than eight hundred miles of hard travelling
and many weary days had cost them, and the
sufferings and hardships with which they were
accustomed in their remembrance, so that the Canadian
voyageurs always spoke of it as “La maitre riviere
enragée”—the accursed mad river, thus coupling
a malediction with its name.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

On the 24th of December, all things being ar-
ranged; Mr. Hunt turned his back upon the disas-
trous banks of Snake River, and struck his course
westward for the mountains. His party, being
augmented by the late followers of Mr. Crooks,
amounted now to thirty-two white men, three In-
dians, and the squaw and two children of Pierre
Dorion. Five jaded, half-starved horses were
laden with their luggage, and, in case of need,
were to furnish them with provisions. They trav-
elled painfully about fourteen miles a day, over
plains and among hills, rendered dreary by occas-
onal falls of snow and rain. Their only sustenance
was a scanty meal of horse-flesh once in
four-and-twenty hours.

On the third day the poor Canadian, Carriere,
one of the famished party of Mr. Crooks, gave up
in despair, and lying down upon the ground de-
dered he could go no farther. Efforts were made
to cheer him up, but it was found that the poor
fellow was absolutely exhausted and could not
keep on his legs. He was mounted, therefore,
upon one of the horses, though the forlorn animal
was in little better plight than himself.

On the 28th they came upon a small stream
winding to the north, through a fine level valley,
the mountains receding on each side. Here their
Indian friends pointed out a chain of woody
mountains to the left, running north and south,
and aspheret kept on without musing or finch-
ing, was suddenly taken in labor, and enriched
her husband with another child. As the fortitude
and good conduct of the poor woman had gained
for her the good-will of the party, her situation
was more satisfactory. Pierre, however, treated
the matter as an occurrence that could
soon be arranged and need cause no delay. He
remained the night in front of the Indians and
their children and his horse, and promised soon to
rejoin the main body, who proceeded on their
march.

Finding that the little river entered the moun-
tains, they abandoned it, and turned off for a few
miles among hills. Here another Canadian,
named La Bonte, gave out, and had to be helped
on horseback. As the horse was too weak to
bear both him and his pack, Mr. Hunt took the
latter upon his own shoulders. Thus, with dif-
culties augmenting at every step, they urged their
tolism way among the hills, half famished and
faint at heart, when they came to where a fair val-
ley spread out before them of great extent, and
several leagues in width, with a beautiful stream
meandering through the glen. Here the party
of mountains, half famished and
faint at heart, when they came to where a fair val-
ley spread out before them of great extent, and
several leagues in width, with a beautiful stream
meandering through the glen. Here the party

The morning ushered in the 29th, Mr. Hunt,
and his party, as they wended their way along
the valley, came to a small settle of more
than a dozen families, who were hospitably re-
ceived. They were placed in a grassy glade
on the brink of a beautiful little stream, clear
and cheerful.

The Indian women and children of the
family were the first to approach, and were
welcomed with their usual friendliness.

Here, after a short stay, they

for the mountains, though the forlorn animal
was in little better plight than himself.

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As the fortitude of man had gained its way, her situation in the mountains, however, advanced, was no delay. He crossed the river, with his other Canadian, who, in consequence, was now too weak to proceed. Hunt took the lead. Thus, with difficulty, they urged their horses on, the snow lying all about them, and with a small quantity of feed. For five days, crossing the valley and entering the mountains, the snow became excessive, and so thickly over the mountains, that for forty days they had not a glimpse of the sun. In traversing the highest ridge they had a wide but chilly prospect over a wilderness of snowy mountains.

On the fifth of January, however, they had crossed the dividing summit of the chain, and were evidently under the influence of a milder climate. The snow began to decrease, the sun once more emerged from the thick canopy of clouds, and shone cheerily upon them, and they caught a sight of what appeared to be a plain stretching out in the west. They hailed it as the poor Israelites hailed the first glimpse of the promised land, for they flattened themselves that this might be the great plain of the Columbia, and that their path of progress might be drawing to a close.

It was now five days since they had left the lodges of the Shoshonis, during which they had come about sixty miles, and their guide assured them that in the course of the next day they would see the Columbia again.

On the following morning, therefore, they pushed forward with eagerness, and soon fell upon a small stream which led them through a deep, narrow defile, between stumpy ridges. Here among the rocks and precipices they saw gangs of mountain-sheep and antelope, the black-tailed deer, and came to where great tracks of horses were to be seen in all directions, made by the Indian hunters.

The snow had entirely disappeared, and the hopes of soon coming upon some Indian encampment induced Mr. Hunt to press on. Many of the men, however, were so enfeebled that they could not keep up with the main body, but lagged, at intervals, behind, and some of them did not arrive at the night encampment. In the course of this day's march the recent birth child of Pierre Dorion died.

The march was resumed early the next morning, without waiting for the stragglers. The stream which they had followed throughout the preceding day was now swollen by the influx of another river; the hills were green and the valleys were clothed with grass. At length the jovial cry was given of "an Indian camp!" It was yet in the distance, in the bosom of the green valley, but they could perceive that it consisted of numerous lodges, and that hundreds of horses were grazing the grassy meadows around it. The prospect of abundance of horse-flesh diffused universal joy, for by this time the whole stock of travelling provisions was reduced to the skeleton steel of Pierre Dorion, and another wretched animal, equally emaciated, that had been repeatedly reprieved during the journey.

A forced march soon brought the weary and hungry travellers to the camp. It proved to be a strong party of Shacagos and Tishe-pas. There were thirty-four lodges, comfortably constructed of mats; the Indians, according to custom, set aside their property. Their horses wereroaded up by some of the wandering hands they had hitherto met on this side of the Rocky Mountains. Indeed they were as well clad as the generality of the wild hunter tribes. Each had a good buffalo or deer skin cap, and a deer skin hunting shirt and leggings. Upon of two thousand horses were ranging the pastures around their encampment; but what delighted Mr. Hunt was, on entering the lodges, to behold brass kettles, axes, copper teakettles, and various other articles of civilized manufacture, which showed that these Indians had an indirect communication with the people of the seacoast who traded with the whites. He made eagerly inquiries of the Shacagos, who informed him that the great river (the Columbia), was but two days' march distant, and that several white people had recently descended it, who he hoped might prove to be M'Lellan, M'Kenzie, and their company.

It was with the utmost joy, and the most profound gratitude to Heaven, that Mr. Hunt found himself and his band of weary and famishing wanderers, thus safely extricated from the most perilous part of their long journey, and within the prospect of a termination of their toils. All the stragglers, who had lagged behind; arrived, one after another, excepting the poor Canadian voyageur, Carriere. He had been seen late in the preceding afternoon, riding behind a Snake Indian, near some lodges of that nation, a few miles distant from the last night's encampment, and it was expected that he would soon make his appearance.

The first object of Mr. Hunt was to obtain provisions for his men. A little venison, of an indifferent quality, and some roots were all that could be procured. But the evening before, he succeeded in purchasing a mare and colt, which were immediately killed, and the carvings of the half-starved people in some degree appeased.

For several days they remained in the neighborhood of these Indians, repassing after all their hardships, and feasting upon horse-flesh and roots, obtained in subsequent traffic. Many of the people ate to such excess as to render themselves sick, others were lame from their past journey; but all gradually recruited in the repose and abundance of the valley. Horses were obtained here much more readily and at a cheaper rate than among the Snakes. A blanket, a knife, or a half pound of blue beads would purchase a steak, and at this rate many of the men bought horses for their individual use.

This tribe of Indians, who are represented as a proud-spirited race, and uncommonly cleanly, never eat horses nor dogs, nor would they permit the raw flesh of either to be brought into their huts. They had a small quantity of venison in each lodge, but set so high a price upon it that the white men, in their impoverished state, could not afford to purchase it. They hunted the deer on horseback, "ringing," or surrounding them, and running them down in a circle. They were admirable archers, and their weapons were bows and arrows, which they managed with great dexterity. They were altogether primitive in their habits, and seemed to cling to the usages of savage life, even when possessed of the aids of civilization. They had axes among them, yet they generally made use of a stone mallet wrought into the shape of a bottle, and wedges of elk-horn, in splitting their wood. Though they might have two or three brass kettles hanging in their lodges, yet they would frequently use vessels made of willow, for carrying water, and would even boil their meat in them, by means of hot stones. Their women wore caps of willow neatly woven and figured.

As Carriere, the Canadian straggler, did not make his appearance for two or three days after the encampment was arrived at, some of them, on horseback in search of him. They returned, however, without success. The lodges of the
Snake Indians near which he had been seen were removed, and they could find no trace of him. Several days more elapsed, yet nothing was seen or heard of the man, and it was concluded that he had been lost.

It was feared, therefore, that he had either perished through hunger and fatigue; had been murdered by the Indians; or, being left to himself, had attacked some hunting tracks for the trail of the party, and been led astray and lost.

The river on the banks of which they were encamped, emptied into the Columbia, which was called by the natives the Eu-o-tal-la, or Umatilla, and along which they continued their progress. During the course of their sojourn in the valley which it watered, they twice shifted their camp, proceeding about thirty miles down its course, which was to the west. A heavy fall of rain caused the river to overflow its banks, dislodged them from their encampment, and caused them to return to the high ground.

Further conversation with the Indians satisfied them that they were in the neighborhood of the Columbia. The number of the white men who had descended down the river, together with that of M'Ellan, M'Kenzie, and their companions, and increased the hope of Mr. Hunt that they might have passed through the wilderness with safety.

The Indians had a vague story that white men were coming to trade among them; and they often spoke of two great men named Ke-Koosh and Jacquen, who gave them tobacco, and smoked with them. Jacquen, they said, had a house somewhere upon the great river. Some of the Canadians supposed they were speaking of one Jacquen Finlay, a clerk of the Northwest Company, and inferred that the house must be some trading post on one of the tributary streams of the Columbia. The Indians were overjoyed when they found this band of white men intended to return and trade with them. They promised to use all diligence in collecting quantities of Beaver skins, and no doubt proceeded to make deadly war upon that sagacious, but ill-fated animal, who, in general, lived in peaceful insignificance among their Indian neighbors, before the intrusion of the white trader.

On the 26th of January, Mr. Hunt took leave of these friendly Indians, and of the river on which they were encamped, and continued westward.

At length, the following day, the wayworn travellers lifted up their eyes and beheld before them the long-sought waters of the Columbia. The sight was hailed with as much transport as if they had already reached the end of their pilgrimage; nor can we wonder at their joy. Two hundred and forty miles had they marched, through wintry wastes and rugged mountains, since leaving Snake River; and six months of perilous wayfaring had they experienced since their departure from the Arikara village on the Missouri. Their whole route by land and water from that point had been, according to their computation, seventeen hundred and fifty-one miles, in the course of which they had endured all kinds of hardships. In fact, the necessity of avoiding the dangerous country of the Blackfeet had obliged them to make a bend to the south, and to traverse a great additional extent of unknown wilderness.

The place where they struck the Columbia was some distance below the junction of its two great branches, Lewis and Clarke Rivers, and not far from the mouth of the Wallahl-Wallahl. It was a beautiful stream, three quarters of a mile wide, totally free from trees; with steep rocks, in others with pebbled shores.

On the banks of the Columbia they found a miserable hovel. In it the men had taken refuge, with no clothing but a scanty mantle of the skins of animals, and sometimes a pair of sleeves of wolf's skin. Their lodges were shaped like a tent, and very tight and warm, being covered with mats of rushes; beside which they had excavations on the ground, lined with mats, and occupied by the women, who were even more slightly clad than the men. These people subsisted chiefly by fishing; having canoes of a rude construction, being merely the trunks of pine trees split, in the hollow end, out by fire. Their lodges were well stored with dried salmon, and they had great quantities of fresh salmon trout of an excellent flavor, taken at the mouth of the Umatilla; of which the travellers obtained a most acceptable supply.

Finding that the road to the side of the river, Mr. Hunt crossed, and continued five or six days travelling rather slowly down along its banks, being much delayed by the straying of the horses, and the attempts made by the Indians to steal them and a pair of their canoes, in which they subsisted with dog's flesh. They had by this time, however, come to consider it very choice food, superior to horse flesh, and the minutes of the expedition speak rather exultingly now and then, of their having made a 'famous repast,' where this viand happened to be unusually plenty.

They again learnt tidings of some of the scattered members of the expedition, supposed to be M'Kenzie, M'Ellan, and their men, who, the previous day, had proceeded down the river, and had overturned one of their canoes, by which they lost many articles. All these floating pieces of intelligence of their fellow adventurers, who had separated from them in the heart of the wilderness, they received with eager interest.

The weather continued to be temperate, marking the superior softness of the climate on this side of the mountains. For a great part of the time, the days were delightfully mild and clear, like the serene days of October, on the Atlantic borders. The country in general, in the neighborhood of the continual plain, low near the water, but rising gradually; destitute of trees, and almost without shrubs or plants of any kind, excepting a few willow bushes. After travelling about sixty miles, they came to the country became very hilly and the river made its way between rocky banks, and down numerous rapids. The Indians in this vicinity were better clad and altogether in more prosperous condition than those above, and, as Mr. Hunt thought, showed their consciousness of ease by something like sauciness of manner. This prosperity is apt to produce arrogance in savage as well as in civilized life. In both conditions, man is an animal that will not hear pampers.

From these people Mr. Hunt for the first time received vague but deeply interesting intelligence of that part of the enterprise which had proceeded by sea to the mouth of the Columbia. The Indians spoke of a number of white men who had built a large house at the mouth of the great river, and surrounded it with palisades. None of them had been down to Astoria themselves; but ru-
mors spread widely and rapidly from mouth to
mouth among the Indian tribes, and are carried
to the heart of the interior, by hunting parties and
migratory hordes.

The establishment of a trading emporium at
such a point, also, was calculated to cause a sen-
sation to the mind remote parts of the vast wilderness
beyond the mountains. It, in a manner,
struck the pulse of the great vital river, and vi-
bilated up all its tributary streams.

It is surprising to notice how well this remote tribe
of savages had attained, through an intermediate
feast which the private feelings of the colonists at
Astoria; it shows that Indians are not the in-
curious and indifferent observers that they have
been represented. They told Mr. Hunt that the
white people at the large house had been looking
anxiously for many of their friends, whom they
had expected to descend the great river; and
had been in much affliction, hearing that they were
lost. Now, however, the arrival of him and his
party would wipe away all their tears, and they
would dance and sing for joy.

On the 31st of January, Mr. Hunt arrived at the
falls of the Columbia, and encamped at the vil-
lage of Wish-ram, situated at the head of that
dangerous pass of the river called "the long nar-
rows."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of the village of Wish-ram, the aborigines fishing
mart of the Columbia, we have given some
account in an early chapter of this work. The
inhabitants held a traffic in the productions of the
fisheries of the falls, and their village was the
trading resort of the tribes from the coast and
from the mountains. Mr. Hunt found the inhab-
itants shrewd and more intelligent than any In-
dians he had met with. Trade had sharpened
their wits, though it had not improved their hon-
esty; for they were a community of arrant rogues
and tricksters. Their habitations were
companied with their circumstances, and were superior to
any the travellers had yet seen west of the Rocky
Mountains. In general the dwellings of the sav-
gages on the Pacific side of that great barrier, were
mere tents and cabins of mats, or skins, or straw,
the houses being in wood, destitute of timber. In Wish-
ram, on the contrary, the houses were built of
wood, with long sloping roofs. The floor was sun-
skirted below six feet below the surface of the
ground, with a low door at the gable end, ex-
tremely narrow, and partly sunk, through which
it was necessary to crawl, and then to descend a
short ladder. This inconvenient entrance was
probably for the purpose of defence; there were
loop-holes also under the caves, apparently for the
discharge of arrows. The houses were large,
generally containing two or three families. Im-
mediately within the door were sleeping places,
ranged along the walls, like berths in a ship; and
furnished with pallets of matting. These ex-
tended along one-half of the building; the re-
mainder of the building was appropriated to the storing of
dried fish.

The trading operations of the inhabitants of
Wish-ram had given them a wider scope of informa-
tion, and rendered their village a kind of
headquarters of intelligence. Mr. Hunt was able,
therefore, to collect more distinct tidings
concerning the settlement of Astoria and its af-
airs. One of the inhabitants had been at the tra-
ding post established by David Stuart, on the
Oakkanagan, and had picked up a few words of
British there. From him, Mr. Hunt gleaned
various particulars about that establishment, as
well as about the general concerns of the entre-
prise. Others repeated the name of Mr. M'Kay,
the partner who perished in the massacre on
board of the Tongquin, and gave so much
melancholy affair. They said, Mr. M'Kay
was a chief among the white men, and had built
a great house at the mouth of the river, but had
left it and sailed away in a large ship to the north-
ward, where he had been attacked by the Indians
in canoes. Mr. Hunt was startled by this intel-
ligence, and made further inquiries. They infor-
mated him that the Indians had dashed their canoes to
the shore, and fought until they killed him and all
his people. This is another instance of the clear-
ness with which intelligence is transmitted from
mouth to mouth among the Indian tribes. These
tidings, though but partially credited by Mr.
Hunt, filled his mind with anxious forebodings.
He now endeavored to procure canoes in which
he might paddle. Being baffled by the vigilance
of the guard, they endeavored to compass their
ends by other means. Toward evening, a num-
ber of warriors entered the camp in ruffling style;
and dressed out as if for battle, and armed
with lances, bows and arrows, and scalping knives.
They informed Mr. Hunt that a party of thirty or
forty brave men were coming up from a village be-
low to attack the camp and carry off the horses, but
that they were determined to stay with him, and
defend him. Mr. Hunt received them with great
coldness, and, when they had finished their story,
gave them a pipe to smoke. He then called up
all the hands, stationed sentinels in different quarters,
but told them to keep as vigilant an eye within
the camp as without.
The warriors were evidently baffled by these
precautions, and, having smoked their pipe, and
vaporized off their valor, took their departure. The
face, however, did not end here. After a little
while the warriors returned, ushering in another
brave, still more savage, still more determined.
He was announced as the chief of the belligerent village,
but as a great pacificator. His people had been
furiously bent upon the attack, and would have
doubtless carried it into effect, but this gallant
chief had stood forth as the friend of the white
men, and had dispersed the throng by his own
authority and prowess. Having waived this
signal piece of service, there was a significant
pause; all evidently expecting some adequate re-
ward. Mr. Hunt again produced the pipe, smoked
with the chiefman and his worthy compatriots; but
they made no further demonstrations of gratitude.
They remained about the camp all night, but at
daylight returned, baffled and crestfallen, to their
homes, with nothing but smoke for their pains.
Mr. Hunt now endeavored to procure canoes, of
which he saw several about the neighborhood,
but not widely well made, with elevated stems and
sterns, some of them capable of carrying three
thousand pounds weight. He found it extremely
difficult, however, to deal with these slippery
people, who seemed much more interested in fur
than in a peaceful settlement. Notwithstanding a strict guard maintained round the
camp, various implements were stolen, and se-
veral horses carried off. Among the latter we have
to include the long-cherished steed of Pierre Dorian. From some willful caprice, that worthy pitched his tent at some distance from the main body, and tethered his invaluable steed beside it, from whence it was abstracted in the night, to the infinite chagrin and mortification of the hybrid interpreter.

Having, after several days' negotiation, procured the requisite number of canoes, Mr. Hunt would gladly have left this thievish neighborhood, but was detained until the 5th of February by contrary winds, accompanied by snow and rain. Even after he was enabled to set under way, he had still to struggle against contrary winds and tempestuous weather. The current of the river, however, was in his favor; having made a portage at the grand rapids, the canoes met with no further obstruction, and, on the afternoon of the 15th of February, swept round an intervening cape, and came in sight of the infant settlement of Astoria. After eleven months wandering in the wilderness, a great part of the time in a trackless waste, where the sight of a savage wigwam was a rarity, we may imagine the delight of the poor weather-beaten travelers, at beholding the embryo establishment, with its magazines, habitations, and picketed bulwarks, seated on a high point of land, dominating a beautiful little bay, in which was a trim-built shallop riding quietly at anchor. A shout of joy burst from each canoe at the long-wished-for sight. They urged their canoes across the bay, and pulled with eagerness for shore, where all hands poured down from the settlement to receive and welcome them. Among the first to greet them on their landing, were some of their old comrades and fellow-sufferers, who, under the conduct of Reed, M'Lellan, and M'Kenzie, had parried from them at the Caldron Linn. These had reached Astoria nearly a month previously, and, judging from their own narrow escape from starvation, had given Mr. Hunt and his followers as lost. Their greeting was the more warm and cordial. As to the Canadian voyageurs, their mutual felicitations, as usual, were loud and vociferous, and it was almost ludicrous to behold these ancient "comrades" and "confreres," hugging and kissing each other on the river bank. When the first greetings were over, the different bands intersected their accounts at the several abodes, after separating at Snake River; we shall briefly notice a few of the leading particulars. It will be recollected by the reader, that a small exploring detachment had proceeded down the river, under the conduct of Mr. John Reed, a clerk of the company; that another had set off under M'Lellan, and a third in a different direction, under M'Kenzie. After wandering for several days without meeting with Indians, or obtaining any supplies, they came together fortuitously among the Snake River mountains, some distance below that disastrous pass or strait, which had received the appellation of the Devil's Scuttle Hole.

When thus united, their party consisted of M'Kenzie, M'Lellan, Reed, and eight men, chiefly Canadians. Being all in the same predicament, without horses, provisions, or information of any kind, they all agreed that it would be worse than useless to return to Mr. Hunt and encumber him with so many starving men, and that their only course was to extricate themselves as soon as possible from this into which, hitherto, with ill success, and made the best of their way for the Columbia. They accordingly continued to follow the downward course of Snake River; clambering rocks and mountains, and defying all the difficulties and dangers of that rugged defile, which subsequently, when the snows had fallen, was found impassable by Messrs. Hunt and Crooks.

Though constantly near to the borders of the river, and for a great part of the time within sight of its current, one of their greatest dangers was thirst. The river had worn its way in a deep channel through rocky mountains, destitute of brooks or springs. Its banks were so high and precipitous, that there was rarely any place where the travelers could procure water. Frequently they suffered for miles the torments of Tantalus; water continually within sight, yet fevered with the most parching thirst. Here and there they met with rain-water collected in the hollows of the rocks, but more than once they were reduced to the utmost extremity; and some of the men had recourse to the last expedient to avoid perishing.

Their sufferings from hunger were equally severe. They could meet with no game, and subsisted for a time on the roots of the reeds and wild rice. They were reduced to the necessity of eating, some of the most abominable animal food, that could be procured on the coals. These were doted out in scanty allowances, barely sufficient to keep up existence, and at length failed them altogether. Still they crept heedlessly, scarce drooping one limb after another, until at length they could bear it no longer, and paused to a pause. To struggle against it, in their exhausted condition, was impossible; so covering under an impending rock at the foot of a steep mountain, they prepared themselves for that wretched fate which seemed inevitable.

At this critical period, when famine stared them in the face, M'Lellan casting up his eyes, beheld an ahsata, or bighorn, sheltering itself under a shelving rock on the side of the hill above them. Being in a more active plight than any of his comrades, and an excellent marksman, he set off to get within shot of the animal. His companions watched his movements with breathless anxiety, for their lives depended upon his success. He made a cautious circuit, scrambled up the hill with the utmost silence, and at length arrived, unperceived, within a proper distance. Here leveling his rifle he took so sure an aim, that the bighorn fell dead on the spot; a fortunate circumstance, for, to pursue it, if merely wounded, would have been impossible in his emaciated state. The deer fell, and his companions, who were too feeble to climb the rocks. They fell to work to cut it up; yet exerted a remarkable self-denial for men in their starving condition, for they contented themselves for the present with a soup made from the bones, reserving the flesh for future repasts. This providential relief gave them strength to pursue their journey, but they were frequently reduced to almost equal straits, and it was only the smallness of their party, requiring a small supply of provisions, that enabled them to get through this desolate region with their lives.

At length, after twenty-one days of toil and suffering, they got through these mountains, and arrived at a tributary stream of that branch of the Columbia called Lewis River, of which Snake River forms the southern fork. In this neighborhood they met with wild horses, the first they had seen west of the Rocky Mountains. From hence they made their way to Lewis River, where they fell in with the expedition to which they had formerly gone, and were freely administered to their necessities. On this river they procured two canoes, in which they dropped down the stream to its confluence with
the Columbia, and then down that river to Astoria, where they arrived haggard and emaciated, and perfectly in want of rest.

Thus, all the leading persons of Mr. Hunt's expedition were once more gathered together, excepting Mr. Crooks, of whose safety they entertained but little hope, considering the leech condition in which they had been compelled to leave him in the heart of the wilderness.

A day was now given up to jubilee, to celebrate the arrival of Mr. Hunt and his companions, and the joyful meeting of the various scattered bands of adventurers at Astoria. The colors were hoisted; the guns, great and small, were fired; there was a feast of fish, of beaver, and venison, which relished well with men who had so long been glad to revel on horse flesh and dogs' meat; a general allowance of grog was issued, to increase the general animation, and the festivities wound up, as usual, with a grand dance at night, by the Canadian voyageurs.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The winter had passed away tranquilly at Astoria. The apprehensions of hostility from the natives had subsided, and the appearance of the Columbia. The Indians for the most part had disappeared from the neighborhood, and abandoned the coast-sea, so that, for want of their aid, the colonists had at times suffered considerably for want of provisions. The hunters belonging to the establishment made frequent and wide excursions, but with very moderate success. There were some deer and a few bears to be found in the vicinity, and elk in great numbers; the country, however, was so rough, and the woods so close and entangled, that it was almost impossible to beat up the game. The prevalent rains of winter, also, rendered it difficult for the hunter to keep his arms in order. The quantity of game, therefore, brought in by the hunters was extremely scanty, and it was frequently necessary to put all hands on very moderate allowance. Toward spring, however, the fishing season commenced - the season of plenty on the Columbia. About the beginning of February, a small kind of fish, about six inches long, called by the natives the thulecan, and resembling the smelt, made its appearance at the mouth of the river. It is said to be of delicious flavor, and so fat as to burn like a candle, for which it is usually used by the natives. It enters the river in immense shoals, like solid columns, often extending to the depth of five or more feet, and is scooped up by the natives with small nets at the end of poles. In this way they will soon fill a canoe, or form a great heap upon the river banks. These fish constitute a principal article of their food; the women drying them and stringing them on cords. As the thulecan is only found in the lower part of the river, the arrival of it soon brought back the natives to the coast; who again resorted to the factory to trade, and from that time returned plentiful supplies of fish.

The sturgeon makes its appearance in the river shortly after the thulecan, and is taken in different ways, by the natives: sometimes they spear it; but oftener they use the hook and line, and the net. Occasionally, they sink a cord in the river by a heavy weight, with a series of floats at its end, to keep it floating. To this cord several hooks are attached by short lines, a few feet distant from each other, and baited with small fish. This apparatus is often set toward night, and by the next morning several sturgeon will be found hooked by it; for though a large and strong fish, it makes but little resistance when ensnared.

The salmon, which are the prime fish of the Columbia, and as important to the piscatorial tribes as are the buffaloes to the hunters of the prairies, do not enter the river until toward the latter part of May, from which time until the middle of August, they abound, and are taken in vast quantities, either with the spear or seine, and mostly in shallow water. An inferior species succeeds, and continues from August to December. It is remarkable for having a double row of teeth, half an inch long and extremely sharp, from whence it has received the name of the dog-toothed salmon. It is generally killed with the spear in small quantities, and smoked for winter provision. We have noticed in a former chapter the mode in which the salmon are taken and cured at the falls of the Columbia; and put up in parcels for exportation. From these different fisheries of the Columbia, the establishment at Astoria had to derive much of its precarious supplies of provisions.

A year's residence at the mouth of the Columbia, and various expeditions in the interior, had now given the Astorians some idea of the country. The whole coast is described as remarkably rugged and mountainous; with dense forests of hemlock, spruce, white and red cedar, cottonwood, white oak, white and swamp ash, willow, and a few walnut. There is likewise an undergrowth of aromatic shrubs, creepers, and clambering vines, that render the forests almost impenetrable; together with berries of various kinds, such as gooseberries, strawberries, raspberries, both red and yellow, very large and finely flavored whortleberries, cranberries, serviceberries, blackberries, currants, sises, and wild and choke cherries.

Among the flowering vines is one deserving of particular notice. Each flower is composed of six leaves or petals, all of a beautiful crimson, the inside spotted with white. Its leaves, of a fine green, are oval, and disposed by threes. This plant climbs upon the trees without attaching itself to them; when it has reached the topmost branches it descends perpendicularly, and as it continues to grow, extends from tree to tree, until its various stalks interlace the grove like the rigging of a ship. The stems or trunks of this vine are tough and more flexible than willow, and are from fifty to one hundred boughs in length. From the fibres, the Indians manufacture baskets of such close texture as to hold water.

The principal quadrupeds that had been seen by the colonists in their various expeditions were the stag, fallow deer, hart, black and grizzly bear, antelope, absahita, or bighorn, beaver, sea and river otter, muskrat, fox, wolf, and panther, the latter extremely rare. The only domestic animals among the natives were horses and dogs.

The country abounded with aquatic and land birds, such as ducks, geese, and wild geese, with almost every description, pelicans, herons, gulls, snipes, curlews, eagles, vultures, crows, ravens, magpies, woodpeckers, pigeons, partridges, peash-
ANTS, GROUSE, AND A GREAT VARIETY OF SINGING BIRDS.

There were few reptiles; the only dangerous kinds were the rattlesnake, and one striped with black, yellow, and white, about four feet long. Astoria was surrounded by a dense growth of trees, and there was one about nine or ten inches in length, exclusive of the tail, and three inches in circumference. The tail was round, and of the same length as the body. The head was triangular, covered with small square scales. The upper part of the body was likewise covered with small scales, green, yellow, black, and blue. Each foot had five toes, furnished with strong nails, probably to aid it in burrowing, as it usually lived underground on the plains.

A remarkable fact, characteristic of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, is the mildness and equability of the climate. That great mountain barrier seems to divide the continent into different climates, even in the same degrees of latitude. The rigorous winters and sultry summers, all of which are interrupted by the equable temperate prevalent on the Atlantic side of the mountains, are but little felt on their western declivities. The countries between them and the Pacific are blessed with milder and steadier temperature, resembling the climates of parallel latitudes in Europe. In the plains and valleys but little snow falls throughout the winter, and usually melts while falling. It rarely lies on the ground more than two days at a time, except on the summits of the mountains. The winters are rainy rather than cold. The rains for five months, from the middle of October to the middle of March, are almost incessant, and often accompanied by tremendous thunder and lightning. The winds prevalent at this season are from the south and southeast, which usually bring rain. Those from the north to the southwest are the harbingers of fair weather and a clear sky. The residue of the year, from the middle of March to the middle of October, an interval of seven months, is serene and delightful. It is not excessively hot, the ground is green, and the air is balmy.

The soil in the neighborhood of the coast is of a brown color, inclining to red, and generally poor; being a mixture of clay and gravel. In the interior, especially in the valleys of the Rocky Mountains, the soil is generally blackish; though sometimes yellow. It is frequently mixed with marl, and with marine substances in a state of decomposition. This kind of soil extends to a considerable depth, as may be perceived in the deep cuts made by ravines, and by the beds of rivers. The vegetation in these valleys is much more abundant than near the coast; in fact, it is in these fertile intervals, locked up between rocky sierras, or mountain ranges, that the population must extend itself, as it were, in veins and ramifications, if ever the regions beyond the mountains should become civilized.

CHAPTER XL

A BRIEF mention has already been made of the tribes or hordes existing about the lower part of the Columbia at the time of the settlement: a few more particulars concerning them may be acceptable. The four tribes nearest to Astoria, and with whom the traders had most intercourse, were, as has heretofore been observed, the Chinook, the Clatsops, and the Cathlamets. The Chinooks resided chiefly along the banks of a river of the same name, running parallel to the sea-coast, through a low country studded with stagnant pools, and emptying itself into Baker's Bay, a few miles from Cape Disappointment. This was the tribe over which Commodore, the one-eyed chieftain, held sway; it boasted two hundred and fourteen fighting men. Their chief subsistence was on fish, with an occasional regale of the flesh of elk and deer, and of wild-fowl from the neighboring ponds.

The Clatsops resided on both sides of Point Adams; they were the mere relics of a tribe which had been nearly swept off by the smallpox, and did not number more than one hundred and eighty fighting men.

The Wawkiacums, or Waak-i-cums, inhabited the north side of the Columbia, and numbered sixty-six warriors. They and the Chinooks were originally the same; but a dispute arising about two generations previous to the time of the settlement between the ruling chief and his brother Wawkiacum, the latter seceded, and with his adherents formed the present horde which continues to go by his name. In this way new tribes or clans are formed, and lurking causes of hostility unexposed.

The Cathlamets lived opposite to the village of the Wawkiacums, and numbered ninety-four warriors.

These four tribes, or rather clans, have every appearance of springing from the same origin, resembling each other in person, dress, language, and manners. They are rather a diminutive race, generally below five feet five inches, with crooked legs and thick ankles; a deformity caused by their passing so much of their time sitting or squatting upon the calves of their legs, and their heels, in the bottom of their canoes; a favorite position, which they retain, even when on shore. The women increase the deformity by wearing tight bandages around the ankles, which prevent the circulation of the blood, and cause a swelling of the muscles of the leg.

Neither sex can boast of personal beauty. Their faces are round, with small, but animated eyes. Their noses are broad and flat at top, and fleshy at the end, with large nostrils. They have wide mouths, thick lips, and short, irregular, and dirty teeth. Indeed, good teeth are seldom to be seen among the tribes west of the Rocky Mountains, who live chiefly on fish.

In the early stages of their intercourse with white
The dense and impenetrable forest that cloaks the hills, which are so high and steep, so abrupt and broken, so bare and barren, that the trees are scarce, and the grasses can only be seen in narrow patches, even between the crevices of the rocks, is a locality which presents a picture of desolation and destitution. In this region, which is so barren and desolate, the only living beings are the wild beasts, the birds, and the reptiles, which are the most abundant and the most numerous. The birds are numerous, and the reptiles are abundant, but the wild beasts are scarce.

The Indians, who are the only inhabitants of this region, are a people of warlike disposition, and are said to be very savage. They are said to be very fierce and warlike, and are said to be very slow and lazy. They are said to be very lazy and slow, and are said to be very warlike and fierce. They are said to be very warlike and fierce, and are said to be very lazy and slow.

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turies into a canoe to hold a consultation. As doctors are prone to disagree, so these medicine men have now and then a violent altercation as to the malady of the patient, or the treatment of it. To settle this they beat their idols soundly against each other; whichever first loses a tooth or breaks his instrument, is considered at fault, and his votary retires from the field.

Polygamy is not only allowed, but considered honorable, and the greater number of wives a man can maintain, the more important he is in the eyes of his tribe. The first wife, however, takes rank of all the others, and is considered mistress of the house. Still the domestic establishment is liable to jealousies and cabals, and the lord and master has much difficulty in maintaining harmony in his jangling household.

In the manuscript from which we draw many of these particulars, it is stated that he who exceeds his neighbors in the number of his wives, male children and slaves, is elected chief of the village; a title to office which we do not recollect ever before to have met with.

Feuds are frequent among these tribes, but are not very deadly. They have occasionally pitched battles, fought on appointed days, and at specified places, which are generally the banks of a rivulet. The adverse parties post themselves on the opposite sides of the stream, and at such distances that the battles often last a long while before any blood is shed. The number of killed and wounded seldom exceed half a dozen. Should the damage he equal on each side, the war is considered as honorably concluded; should one party lose more than the other, it is entitled to a compensation in slaves or other property, otherwise hostilities are liable to be renewed at a future day. They are much given also to predatory inroads into the territories of their enemies, and sometimes of their friendly neighbors. Should they fall upon a band of inferior force, or upon a village, weakly defended, they act with the ferocity of true postrons, slaying all the men, and carrying off the women and children as slaves. As to the property, it is packed upon horses which the owner is left to pursue to the purpose. They are mean and paltry as warriors, and altogether inferior in heroic qualities to the savages of the buffalo plains on the east side of the mountains.

A great portion of their time is passed in revels, music, dancing, and gambling. Their music is coarse, and even the instruments being of the rudest kind. Their singing is harsh and discordant; the songs are chiefly extempore, relating to passing circumstances, the persons present, or any trivial object that strikes the attention of the singer. They have several kinds of dances, some of them lively and pleasing. The women are rarely permitted to dance with the men, but form groups apart, dancing to the same instrument and song.

They have a great passion for play, and a variety of games. To such a pitch of excitement are they sometimes roused, that they gamble away everything they possess, even to their wives and children. They are notorious thieves, also, and proud of their dexterity. He who is frequently successful, gains much applause and popularity; but he who is detected in some bungling attempt, is scoffed at and despised, and sometimes severely punished.

Such are a few leading characteristics of the natives in the neighborhood of Astoria. They appear to us inferior in many respects to the tribes east of the mountains, the bold rovers of the prairies; and to partake much of the Equaclusus character; elevated in some degree by a more genial climate, and more varied style of living.

The habits of traffic engendered at the cataracts of the Columbia, have had their influence along the coast. The Chinooks and other Indians at the mouth of the river, soon proved themselves keen traders, and in their early dealings with the Astorians, never hesitated to ask three times what they considered the real value of an article. They were inquisitive, also, in the extreme, and imperiously intrusive; and were prone to indulge in scoffing and ridicule, at the expense of the strangers.

In one thing, however, they showed superior judgment and self-command to most of their race; this was, in their abstention from ardent spirits, and the abhorrence and disgust with which they regarded a drunkard. On one occasion, a son of Comcomly had been induced to drink freely at the factory, and went home in a state of intoxication, playing all kinds of mad pranks, until he was summoned by his superiors for two days. The old chieftain repaired to his friend M’Dougal, with indignation flaming in his countenance, and bitterly reproached him for having permitted his son to degrade himself into a beast, and to render himself an object of scorn and laughter to his slave.

CHAPTER XL.

As the spring opened, the little settlement of Astoria was in agitation, and prepared to send forth various expeditions. Several important things were to be done. It was necessary to send a supply of goods to the trading post of Mr. David Stuart, established in the preceding autumn on the Okinagan. The cache, or secret deposit, made by Mr. Hunt at the Caldron Linn, was likewise to be visited, and the merchandise and other effects left there, to be brought to Astoria. A third object of moment was to send dispatches overland to Mr. Astor at New York, informing him of the state of affairs at the settlement, and the fortunes of the several expeditions.

The task of carrying supplies to Okinagan was assigned to Mr. Robert Stuart, a spirited and enterprising young man, nephew to the one who had established the cache. The cache was to be sought out by two of the clerks, named Russell Farnham and Donald McGilles, conducted by a guide, and accompanied by eight men, to assist in bringing home the goods.

As to the dispatches, they were confided to Mr. John Reed, the clerk, the same who had conducted one of the exploring detachments of Snake River. He was now to trace back his way across the mountains by the same route by which he had come, with no other companions or escort than Ben Jones, the Kentucky hunter, and Indians. As it was still hoped that Mr. Crooks was in existence, and that Mr. Reed and his party might meet with him in the course of their route, they were charged with a small supply of goods and provisions, to aid that gentleman on his way to Astoria.

When the expedition of Reed was made known, Mr. M’Lellan announced his determination to accompany it. He had long been dissatisfied with the smallness of his interest in the copartnership, and had requested an additional number of shares; his request not being complied with, he
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THE PUNISHMENT FOR COWARDICE.
resolved to abandon the company. M'Ellan was a man of singularly self-willed and decided character, with whom persuasion was useless; he was permitted, therefore, to take his own course without opposition.

As to Reed, he set about preparing for his hazardous journey with the zeal of a true Irishman. He had a tin case made, in which the letters and papers addressed to Mr. Astor were carefully stored. The case he nailed bolt to bolt upon his shoulders, so as to bear it about with him, sleeping and waking, in all changes and chances, by land or by water, and never to part with it but with his life.

The route of these several parties would be the same for nearly four hundred miles up the Columbia, and within that distance would lie through the piratical pass of the rapids, and among the freebooting tribes o' the river, it was thought advisable to start about the same time, and to keep together. Accordingly, on the 22d of March they all set off, to the number of seventeen men, in two canoes—and here we cannot but pause to notice the hardship of these several expeditions, so insignificant in point of force, and so needlessly exposed to travelements and hardships, where larger parties had experienced so much danger and distress. When recruits were sought in the preceding year among experienced hunters and voyageurs at Montreal and St. Louis, it was considered dangerous to attempt to cross the Rocky Mountains with less than sixty men; and yet here we find Reed ready to push his way across those barriers with merely three companions. Such is the fearlessness, the insensibility to danger, which men acquire by the habit of constant risk. The mind, like the body, becomes callous by exposure.

The little associated band proceeded up the river, under the command of Mr. Robert Stuart, and arrived early in the month of April at the Long Narrows, that notorious plundering place. Here it was necessary to unload the canoes, and to transport both them and their cargoes to the head of the Narrows by land. Their party was too few in number for the purpose. They were obliged, therefore, to seek the assistance of the Cathlascos Indians, "who undertook to carry the goods on their horses. Forward then they set, the Indians with their horses well freighted, and the first load conveyed by Reed and five men, well armed; the gallant Irishman striding along at the head, with his tin case of dispatches glittering on his back. In passing, however, through a rocky and intricate defile, some of the freebooting vagrants turned their horses up a narrow path and galloped off, carrying with them two bales of goods and a number of small articles. To follow them was useless; indeed, it was with much ado that the convoy got into port with the residue of the cargoes; for some of the guards were pillaged of their knives and pocket-handkerchiefs, and the lustrous tin case of Mr. John Reed was in imminent jeopardy.

Mr. Stuart heard of these depredations, and hastened forward to the relief of the convoy, but could not reach them before dusk, by which time the head of the village of Wish-ram, already noted for its great fishery, and the knavish propensities of its inhabitants. Here they found themselves benighted in a strange place, and surrounded by savages bent on pilfering, if not upon open attack. Fortunately, what was left to take, they remained under arms all night, without closing an eye, and at the very first peep of dawn, when objects were yet scarce visible, everything was hastily embarked, and, without seeking to recover the stolen effects, they pushed off from shore; "glad to bid adieu," said they, "to this abominable nest of miscreants."

The worthies of Wish-ram, however, were not disposed to part so easily with their visitors. Their cupidity had been quickened by the plunder which they had already taken, and their confidence increased by the large amount of goods which, in the first onslaught, the party had captured. They resolved, therefore, to take further toll of the travellers, and, if possible, to capture the tin case of dispatches; which shining conspicuously from afar, and being guarded by John Reed with such especial care, must, as they supposed, be "a great medicine."

Accordingly, Mr. Stuart and his comrades had not proceeded far in the canoes, when they beheld the whole rabble of Wish-ram stringing in groups along the bank, whooping and yelling, and gibbering in their wild jargon, and when they landed below the falls they were surrounded by upward of four hundred of these river ruffians, armed with bows and arrows, war clubs, and other savage weapons. These now pressed forward, with offers to carry the goods up the portage. Mr. Stuart declined offering the goods, alleging the lateness of the hour; but, to keep them in good humor, informed them, that, if they conducted themselves well, their offered services might probably be accepted in the morning; in the meanwhile he suggested that they might carry up the canoes. They accordingly set off with the two canoes on their shoulders, accompanied by a guard of eight men well armed.

When arrived at the head of the falls, the mischievous spirit of the savages broke out, and they were upon the point of destroying the canoes, doubtless with a view to impede the white men from carrying forward their goods, and laying them open to further pilfering. They were with some difficulty prevented from committing this outrage by the interferences of an old man, who appeared to have authority among them; and, in consequence of his harangue, the whole of the hostile band, with the exception of about fifty, crossed to the north side of the river, where they lay in wait, ready for further mischief.

In the meantime, Mr. Stuart, who had remained at the foot of the falls with the goods, and who knew that the proferred assistance of the savages was only for the purpose of having an opportunity to plunder, determined, if possible, to steal a march upon them, and defeat their machinations. In the dead of the night, therefore, about one o'clock, the moon shining brightly, he roused his party, and proposed that they should endeavor to transport the goods themselves, above the falls, before the sleeping savages could be aware of their operations. All hands sprang to the work with zeal, and hurried it on in the hope of getting all over before daylight. Mr. Stuart went forward with the first loads, and took his station at the head of the portage, while Mr. Reed and Mr. M'Ellan remained at the foot to forward the remainder.

The day dawned before the transportation was completed. Some of the fifty Indians who had remained on the south side of the river, perceived what was going on, and, feeling themselves too weak for an attack, gave the alarm to those on the opposite side, upward of a hundred of whom embarked in several canoes. The rest of goods yet remained to be brought up. Mr. Stuart dispatched some of the people for one of the loads,
with a request to Mr. Reed to retain with him as many men as he thought necessary to guard the remaining load, as he suspected hostile intentions on the part of the Indians. Mr. Reed, however, refused to retain any of his men, saying that Mr. McLellan and himself were sufficient to protect the small quantity that remained. The men accordingly departed with the load, while Reed and Mr. McLellan continued to mount guard over the residue. At that time, a number of the canoes had arrived from the opposite side. As they approached the shore, the unlucky tin box of John Reed, shining afar like the brilliant helmet of Euryalus, caught their eyes. No sooner did the canoes touch the shore, than they leaped forward on the rocks, set up a war-whoop, and sprang forward to secure the glittering prize. Mr. McLellan, who was at the river bank, advanced to guard the goods, when one of the savages attempted to hoodwink him with his buffalo robe, one hand, and to stab him with the other. Mr. McLellan sprang back just far enough to avoid the blow, and raising his rifle, shot the ruffian through the heart.

In the meantime, Reed, who with the want of foresight of an Irishman, had neglected to remove the leather cover from the lock of his rifle, was fumbling at the fastenings, when he received a blow on the head with a war-club that laid him senseless on the ground. In a twinkling he was stripped of his rifle and pistols, and the tin box, the cause of all this onslaught, was borne off in triumph.

At this critical juncture, Mr. Stuart, who had heard the war-whoop, hastened to the scene of action, and when he arrived, Reed was wailing in his blood, and an Indian standing over him and about to dispatch him with a tomahawk. Stuart gave the word, when Ben Jones levelled his rifle, and shot the miscreant on the spot. The men then gave a cheer and charged upon the main body of the savages, who took to instant flight. Reed was now raised from the ground, and borne senseless and bleeding to the upper end of the portage. Preparations were made to launch the canoes and embark in haste, when it was discovered that they were too leaky to be put in the water, and that the casks had been left at the foot of the falls. A scene of confusion now ensued. The Indians were whooping and yelling, and running about like fiends. A panic seized upon the men, at being thus suddenly checked, the hearts of some of the Canadians died within them, and two young men actually fainted away. The moment they recovered their senses Mr. Stuart ordered that they should be deprived of their arms, their under-garments taken off, and that a piece of cloth should be tied round their waists, in imitation of a squaw; an Indian punishment for cowardice. Thus equipped, they were stowed away among the goods in one of the canoes. This ludicrous affair excited the mirth of the Idle-Heads, even in the midst of their perils, and roused the pride of the wavering. The Indians having crossed back again to the north side, order was restored, some of the hands were sent back for the purpose of bringing up the men and launching the canoes, and in a little while all were embarked and were continuing their voyage along the southern shore.

No sooner had they departed, than the Indians returned to the scene of action, bore off their two comrades, who had been shot, one of whom was still living, and returned to their village. Here they killed two horses; and drank the hot blood to give fierceness to their courage. They painted and arrayed themselves hideously for battle; performed the dead dance round the slain, and raised the war song of vengeance. Then mounting their horses, to the number of four hundred and fifty men, and brandishing their weapons, they set off along the northern bank of the river, to get ahead of the canoes, lie in ambush, and take a terrible revenge on the white men who had killed their dead.

They succeeded in getting some distance above the canoes without being discovered, and were crossing the river to post themselves on the side along which the white men were coating, when they were fortunately descried. Mr. Stuart and his companions were immediately on the alert. As they drew near to the place where the savages had crossed, they observed them posted among steep and over-hanging rocks, close along which the canoes would have to pass. Finding that the enemy had the advantage of the ground, the whites stopped short when within five hundred yards of them, and discharged and reloaded their pieces. They then made a fire and dressed the wounds of Mr. Reed, who had received five severe gashes in the head. This being done, the canoes together, fastened them to a rock at a small distance from the shore, and there awaited the menaced attack.

They had not been long posted in this manner, when they saw a canoe approaching. It contained the war-chief of the tribe and three of his principal warriors. He drew near and made a long harangue, in which he informed them that they had killed one and wounded another of his nation; that they were prepared for a vigorous defence. He withdrew, therefore, and returning to his warriors among the rocks held long deliberations. Blood for blood is a principle in Indian equity and Indian honor; but though the inhabitants of Wish-ram were men of war, they were likewise men of peace, and it was suggested that honor for once might give way to profit. A negotiation was accordingly opened with the white men, and after some diplomacy the matter was compromised for a blanket to cover the dead, and some tobacco to be smoked by the living. This being granted, the heroes of Wish-ram crossed the river once more, returned to their village to feast upon the horses whose blood they had so vainly gloriously drunk, and the travellers pursued their voyage without further molestation.

The tin case, however, containing the important dispatches for New York, was irretrievably lost; the very precaution taken by the worthy Hibernal to secure his missives, had, by rendering them conspicuous, produced their robbery. The only thing left to be done was to load the canoes and proceed, and the next day after the Indians had disappeared, Mr. Stuart and his two companions prepared for the battle.

They reached the spot that evening, and the whole party repaired with Mr. Robert Stuart to the establishment of Mr. David Stuart, on the Okinagan River. After remaining there two or three days they set out on their voyage, accompanied by Mr. David Stuart. This gentleman had a large quantity of beaver skins at his disposal.
lishment, but did not think it prudent to take
them with him, fearing the levy of "black mail"
at the falls.

On their way down, when below the forks of the Columbia, they were hailed one day from the
hundred and fifty men, who had been
shocked by famine and fatigue, that Mr. Hunt was obliged
to leave them, in the month of December, on the
banks of the Snake River. Their situation was
the more critical, as they were in the neighborhood
of a band of Shoshonies, whose horses had
been forcibly seized by Mr. Hunt's party for
provisions. Mr. Crooks remained here twenty days,
by the extremely reduced state of John
day, who was utterly unable to travel, and
whom he would not abandon, as Day had been in
his employ on the Missouri, and had always
proved himself most faithful. Fortunately the
Shoshonies did not offer to molest them. They
had never before seen white men, and seemed to
evaporate with some superstitions with regard to them;
for, though they would encamp near them in the
day, they would move off with their tents in
the night; and finally disappeared, without taking
leaves.

On the day was sufficiently recovered to travel,
they kept feebly on, sustaining themselves as well
as they could, until in the month of February,
when three of the Canadians, fearful of perishing
with want, left Mr. Crooks on a small river, on the
road by which Mr. Hunt had passed in quest of
Indians. Mr. Crooks followed Mr. Hunt's
track in the snow for several days, sleeping as
usual on the open air, and suffering all kinds of
hardships. At length, coming to a low prairie,
he lost every appearance of the "trail," and wan-
dered during the remainder of the winter in the
mountains, subsisting sometimes on horse-meat,
sometimes on deer's and their skins, and a part
of the time on roots.

About the 1st of March, the other Canadian
had got a lodge of Shoshonies; but Mr. Crooks and John Day still kept on,
and finding the snow sufficiently diminished, under-
took, from Indian information, to cross the last
mountain ridge. They happily succeeded, and
found the Wallah-Wallahs, a tribe of
Indians inhabiting the banks of a river of the
same name, and reputed as being frank, hospita-
able, and sincere. They proved worthy of
the character, for they received the poor wanderers
kindly, killed a horse for them to eat, and direct-
ed them on their way to the Columbia. They
connected the river about the middle of April, and
advanced down it one hundred miles, until they
came within about twenty miles of the falls.

The men of the "divinity" of that noted pass who received them in a friendly
way, set food before them; but, while they
were satisfying their hunger, perilously seized
their rifles. They then stripped them naked, and
drove them off, refusing the entreaties of Mr. Crooks
for a little return of the hospitality with which they had robbed
him; and threatening his life if he did not
immediately depart.

In this forlorn plight, still worse off than before,
they renewed their wanderings. They now sought
in vain the trail of the Wallahs, and had advanced eighty miles along
the river, when, fortunately, on the very morning
that they were going to leave the Columbia, and
strike inland, the canoes of Mr. Stuart hove in
sight.

It is needless to describe the joy of these poor
men at once finding themselves among countrypeople, and friends, or of the honest
and hearty welcome which they were received by
their fellow adventurers. The whole party now
continued down the river, passed all the danger-
gous places without accident, and arrived safe-
ly at Astoria on the 15th of May.

CHAPTER XLII.

HAVING traced the fortunes of the two expeditions
by sea and land to the mouth of the Colum-
bia, and presented a view of affairs at Astoria,
we will return for a moment to the master-spirit
of the enterprise who regulated the springs of Asto-
ria, at his residence in New York.

It will be remembered that a part of the plan
of Mr. Astor was to furnish the Russian fur estab-
lishment on the north-west coast with regular
vessels, so as to enable them to use all the casual
vessels which cut up the trade and supplied the
natives with arms. This plan had been con-
tinued by our own government, and likewise by
Count Pahlm, the Russian Minister at Washing-
ton. As it views, however, were important and
extensive, and might eventually affect a wide
course of commerce, Mr. Astor was desirous of
establishing a complete arrangement on the sub-
ject with the Russian American Fur Company,
under the sanction of the Russian Government.
For this purpose, in March, 1811, he dispatched
a confidential agent to St. Petersburg, fully em-
powered to enter into the requisite negotiations.
A passage was given to this gentleman by the
Government of the United States, in the John
Adams, one of its armed vessels, bound to a
European port.

The next step of Mr. Astor was, to dispatch the
annual ship contemplated in his general plan. He
had as yet heard nothing of the success of the
expedition, and had no doubt entertained the
hope that everything had been effected according
to his instructions. He accordingly fitted
out a fine ship of four hundred and ninety tons,
called the Beaver, and freighted her with a valu-
able cargo destined for the factory, at the mouth
of the Columbia, the trade along the coast, and
the supply of the Russian establishment. In
this ship embarked a reinforcement, consisting of a
partner, five clerks, fifteen American laborers,
and six Canadian voyageurs. In choosing his
agents for his first expedition, Mr. Astor had been
obliged to have recourse to British subjects expe-
rrienced in the Canadian fur trade; henceforth it
was his intention, as much as possible, to select
Americans, so as to secure an ascendancy of
American influence in the management of the
company, and to make it decidedly national.

Accordingly, Mr. John Clarke, the partner, who
took the lead in the present expedition, was a
native of the United States, though he had passed
much of his life in the north-west, having been
employed in the fur trade since the age of sixteen.
Most of the clerks were young gentlemen of good
connections in the American cities, some of whom
embarked in the hope of gain, others through the
merit, spirit of adventure, incident to youth.

The instructions given by Mr. Astor to Captain
Sowle, the commander of the Beaver, were, in some respects, hypothetical, in consequence of the uncertainty resting upon the previous steps of the enterprise.

He was to touch at the Sandwich Islands, inquire about the fortunes of the Tonquin, and whether an establishment had been formed at the mouth of the Columbia. If so, he was to take as many Sandwich Islanders as his ship would accommodate, and proceed hither. On arriving at the river, he was to observe great caution, for even if an establishment should have been formed, it might have fallen into hostile hands. He was, therefore, to put in as if by casualty or distress, to give himself out as a coaster trading, and to say nothing about his ship being owned by Mr. Astor, until he had ascertained that everything was right. In that case, he was to land such part of his cargo as was intended for the establishment, and to proceed to New Archangel with the supplies intended for the Russian post at that place, where he could receive peltries in payment. With these he was to return to Astoria; take in the furs collected there, and, having completed his cargo by trading along the coast, was to proceed to Canton. The captain received the same injunctions that had been given to Captain Thorn of the Tonquin, of great caution and circumspection in his intercourse with the natives, and that he should not permit more than one or two to be on board at a time.

The Beaver sailed from New York on the 10th of October, 1811, and reached the Sandwich Islands without any occurrence of moment. Here a rumor was heard of the disastrous fate of the Tonquin. Despair and solicitation was felt by every one on board for the fate of both expeditions, by sea and land. Doubts were entertained whether any establishment had been formed at the mouth of the Columbia, or whether any of the company would be found there. After much deliberation, the captain took twelve Sandwich Islanders on board, for the service of the factory, should there be one in existence, and proceeded on his voyage.

On the 6th of May he arrived off the mouth of the Columbia, and running as near as possible, fired two signal-guns. No answer was returned, nor was there any signal to be described. Night coming on, the ship stood out to sea, and every heart drooped as the land faded away. On the following morning they again ran in within four miles of the mouth, and fired the usual signal-guns, but still without reply. A boat was then dispatched, to sound the channel, and attempt an entrance; but returned without success, there being a tremendous swell, and breakers. Signal-guns were fired again in the evening, but equally in vain, and once more the ship stood off to sea for the night. The captain now gave up all hope of finding any establishment at the place, and indulged in the most gloomy apprehensions. He feared his effects had been massacred before they had reached their place of destination; or if they should have erected a factory, that it had been surprised and destroyed by the natives.

In this moment of doubt and uncertainty, Mr. Clarke announced his determination, in case of the non-arrival of the establishment with the present party, and all hands bravely engaged to stand by him in the undertaking. The next morning the ship stood in for the third time, and fired three signal-guns, but with little hope of reply. To the great joy of the crew, three distinct guns, were heard in answer. The apprehensions of all but Captain Sowle were now at rest. That cautious commander recollected the instructions given him by Mr. Astor, and determined to proceed with great circumspection. He was well aware of Indian treachery and cunning. It was not impossible, he observed, that these cannon might have been fired by the savages themselves. They might have surprised the fort, massacred its inmates; and these signal-guns might only be decoys to lure him across the bar, that they might have a chance of cutting him off, and seizing his vessel.

At length a white flag was descanted hoisted as a signal on Cape Disappointment. The passengers pointed it in triumph, but the captain did not yet dismiss his doubts. A beacon fire blazed through the night on the same place, but the captain observed that all these signals might be treacherous.

On the following morning, May 9th, the vessel came to anchor off Cape Disappointment, outside of the bar. Toward noon an Indian canoe was seen making for the ship, and all hands were ordered to be on the alert. A few moments afterward, a barge was perceived following the canoe. The hopes and fears of those on board of the ship were in tumultuous agitation, as the boat drew near that was to let them know the fortunes of the enterprise, and the fate of their predecessors. The captain, who was haunted with the idea of possible treachery, did not suffer his curiosity to get the better of his caution, but ordered a party of his men under arms, to receive the visitors. The canoe came first alongside, in which were Commonly and six Indians; in the barge were M'Dougal, M'Lellan, and eight Canadians. A little conversation with these gentlemen dispelled all the captain's fears, and the Beaver crossing the bar under their pilotage, anchored safely in Baker's Bay.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The arrival of the Beaver with a reinforcement and supplies, gave new life and vigor to affairs at Astoria. These were means for extending the operations of the establishment, and founding interior trading posts. Two parties were immediately set on foot to proceed severally under the command of Messrs. M'Kenzie and Clarke, and establish posts above the forks of the Columbia, at points where it was apprehended from the North-west Company. A third party, headed by Mr. David Stuart, was to repair with supplies to the post of that gentleman on the Olinagan. In addition to these expeditions a fourth was necessary to convey dispatches to Mr. Astor, at New York, in place of those unfortunately lost by John Reed. The safe conveyance of these dispatches was highly important, as by them Mr. Astor would receive an account of the state of the factory, and regulate his reinforcements and supplies accordingly. The mission was one of peril and hardship, and required a man of nerve and vigor. It was confided to Robert Stuart, who, though he had never been across the mountains, and a very young man, had given proofs of his capacity for the task. Four trusty and well-tried men, who had come overland in Mr. Hunt's expedition, were given as his guides and hunters. These were Ben Jones and John Day, the Kentuckians, and Audie Valler and Francis Lamm. Mr. M'Lellan again expressed his determination to take this opportunity of returning to the Atlan-
the instructions determined to proceed. He was well run ning. It was not easy to compute his speed. His attack was unexpected, his activity surprising. They had never encountered such an adversary before. The weapons of every man were put in order, and his cartridge-box replenished. Each one wore a kind of surcoat made of the skin of the elk, reaching from his neck to his knees, and answering the purpose of a shirt of mail. The clothing under it had to be strong, and it could even resist a musket ball at the distance of ninety yards. Thus armed and equipped, they posted their forces in military style. Five of the officers took their stations at each end of the portage, which was between three and four miles in length; a number of men mounted guard at short distances along the heights immediately overlooking the river, while the residue, thus protected from surprise, employed themselves below in dragging the barges and canoes across the rapids.

On the evening of the 6th of July the party arrived at the pithical pass of the river, and encamped at the foot of the first rapid. The next day, before the commencement of the portage, the greatest precautions were taken to guard against the possibility of being surprised. The weapons of every man were put in order, and his cartridge-box replenished. Each one wore a kind of surcoat made of the skin of the elk, reaching from his neck to his knees, and answering the purpose of a shirt of mail. The clothing under it had to be strong, and it could even resist a musket ball at the distance of ninety yards. Thus armed and equipped, they posted their forces in military style. Five of the officers took their stations at each end of the portage, which was between three and four miles in length; a number of men mounted guard at short distances along the heights immediately overlooking the river, while the residue, thus protected from surprise, employed themselves below in dragging the barges and canoes across the rapids.
They were now in the neighborhood where Mr. Crooks and John Day had been so perfidiously robbed and stripped a few months previously, when confiding in the proffered hospitality of a rufian band. On landing at night, therefore, a vigilant Crooks maintained about the camp. On the following morning a number of Indians made their appearance, and came provoking round the party while at breakfast. To his great delight Mr. Crooks recognized among them two of the miscreants by whom he had been robbed. They were instantly seized, bound hand and foot, and thrown into one of the canoes. Here they lay in doleful plight, expecting summary execution. Mr. Crooks, however, was out of a revengful disposition, and agreed to release the culprits as soon as the pillaged property should be restored. Several savages immediately started off in different directions, and before night the rifles of Crooks and Day were produced; several of the smaller articles pillaged from them, however, could not be recovered.

The bands of the culprits were then removed, and they lost no time in taking their departure, still under the influence of abject terror, and scarcely crediting their senses that they had escaped with such punishment of their offences.

The country on each side of the river now began to assume a different character. The hills, and cliffs, and forests disappeared; vast sandy plains, scantily clothed here and there with short tufts of grass, parched by the summer sun, stretched far away to the north and south. The river was occasionally obstructed with rocks and rapids, but often there were smooth, placid intervals, where the current was gentle, and the boatmen were enabled to lighten their labors with the assistance of the sail.

The natives in this part of the river resided entirely on the northern side. They were hunters, as well as fishermen, and had horses in plenty. Some of these were purchased by the party, as provisions, and killed on the spot, though they occasionally found a difficulty in procuring fuel wherewith to cook them. One of the greatest dangers that beset the travellers in this part of their expedition, was the vast number of rattlesnakes, which infested the rocks about the rapids and portages, and on which the men were in danger of treading. They were often found, too, in quantities about the encampments. In one place a nest of them lay coiled together, basking in the sun. Several guns loaded with shot were discharging at them, and thirty-seven killed and wounded. To prevent any unwelcome visits from them in the night, tobacco was occasionally strewn around the tents, a weed for which they have a very proper abhorrence.

On the 28th of July, the travellers arrived at the mouth of the Wallah-Wallah, a bright, clear stream, about six feet deep and fifty-five yards wide, which flows rapidly over a bed of sand and gravel, and "brows itself into the Columbia, a few miles below Lewis River." Here the combined parties that had thus far voyaged together were to separate, each for its particular destination.

On the banks of the Wallah-Wallah lived the hospitable tribe of the same name who had succeeded Mr. Crooks and John Day in the time of their extremity. No sooner did they hear of the arrival of the party, than they hastened to greet them. They built a great bonfire on the bank of the river, before the camp, and men and women danced round it to the cadence of their songs, in which they sung the praises of the white men, and welcomed them to their country.

On the following day a traffic was commenced, to procure horses for such of the party as intended to proceed by land. The Wallah-Wallahs are an equestrian tribe. The equipments of their horses were rude and inconvenient. High saddles, roughly made of deer skin, stuffed with hair, which chafe the horse's back, and leave it raw; wooden stirrups with a thong of raw hide wrapped round them; and for bridles they have cords of twisted horse-hair, which they tie round the under jaw. They are, like most Indians, bold but hard riders, and when on horseback gallop about the most dangerous places, without fear for themselves, or pity for their steeds.

From these people Mr. Stuart purchased twenty horses for his party; some for the saddle, and others to transport the baggage. He was fortunate in procuring a noble animal for his own use, which was praised by the Indians for its great speed and bottom, and a high price set upon it. No people understand better the value of a horse than these equestrian tribes; and nowhere is speed a greater requisite, as they frequently engage in the chase of the antelope, one of the fleetest of animals. The Indians, however, in their boasting horse to Mr. Stuart had concluded his bargain, he lingered about the animal, seeming loth to part from him, and to be sorry for what he had done.

A day or two were employed by Mr. Stuart in arranging packages and pack-saddles, and making other preparations for his long and arduous journey. His party, by the loss of John Day, was now reduced to six, a small number for such an expedition. They were young men, however, full of courage, health, and good spirits, and stimulated, rather than appalled by danger.

On the morning of the 31st of July, all preparations being concluded, Mr. Stuart and his little band mounted their steeds and took a farewell of their fellow-travellers, who gave them three hearty cheers as they set out on their dangerous journey. The course they took was to the southeast, toward the fated region of the Snake River. At an immense distance rose a chain of craggy mountains, which they would have to traverse; they were the same among which the travellers had experienced such sufferings from cold during the preceding winter, and from their azure tints, when seen at a distance, had received the name of the Blue Mountains.

CHAPTER XLIV.

In retracing the route which had proved so disastrous to Mr. Hunt's party during the preceding winter, Mr. Stuart had trusted, in the present more favorable season, to find easy travelling and abundant supplies. On these great wastes and wilds, however, each season has its peculiar hardships. The travellers had not proceeded far, before they found themselves among naked and arid hills, with a soil composed of sand and clay, baked and brittle, that to all appearance had never been visited by the dew of heaven.

Not a spring, in the time of their extremity, was to be seen; the sunburnt country was scamed and cut up by dry ravines, the beds of winter torrents serving only to ballot the hopes of man and beast, with the sight of dusty channels where water had once poured along in floods.
ASTORIA.

For a long summer day they continued onward without halting; a burning sky above their heads, a parched desert beneath their feet, with just wind enough to raise the light sand from the knolls, and envelop them in stifling clouds. The sufferings from thirst became intense; a fine yellow dust from the dry earth or from distant, vast, clean air, became dust in the neighborhood of trees, and there was always water.

They now quickened their pace; the horses seemed to understand their motives, and to partake of their anticipations; for, though before almost ready to give out, they now required neither whip nor spur. With all their exertions it was late in the night before they drew near to the trees. As they approached, they heard with transport, the rippling of a shallow stream. No sooner had they reached the Carroll of the horses, than the poor animals snuffed the air, rushed forward with unquenchable eagerness, and plunging their muzzles into the water, drank until they seemed in danger of bursting. Their riders had been more cautious. They had required repeated draughts to quench their excessive thirst.

Their weary march of that day had been forty-five miles, over a track that might rival the deserts of Africa for aridity. Indeed, the sufferings of the travellers on this part of the route were more severe than in the deserts of Africa or Asia, from being less habituated and prepared to cope with them.

On the banks of this blessed stream the travellers encamped for the night, and so great had been their fatigue, and so sound and sweet was their sleep, that it was a late hour the next morning before they awoke. They now recognized the little river to be the Umalta, the same on the banks of which Mr. Hunt and his followers had arrived after their painful struggle through the Blue Mountains, and experienced such a kind relief in the friendly camp of the Sciatogas.

That range of Blue Mountains now extended in the distance before them; they were the same and darker, for there had perished. They form the south-east boundary of the great plains along the Columbia, dividing the waters of its main stream from those of Lewis River. They are, in fact, a part of a long chain, which stretches over a great extent of country, and includes in its links the Snake River Mountains.

The day was somewhat advanced before the travellers left the shady banks of the Umalta. Their route gradually took them among the Blue Mountains, which assumed the most rugged aspect on a near approach. They were shaded with dense and gloomy forests, and cut up by deep and precipitous ravines, extremely toilsome to the horses. Sometimes the travellers had to follow the course of some braving stream, with a broken route, the edges and cliffs of the high mountains shivering close and promontories on either side, obliged them frequently to cross and recross. For some miles they struggled forward through these savage and darkly wooded defiles, when all at once the whole landscape changed, as if by magic. The rugged and barren hills of the plain, were replaced by beautiful hills, and intervening meadows, with rivulets winding through fresh herbage, and sparkling and murmuring over gravelly beds, the whole forming a verdant and pastoral scene, which derived additional charms from being looked up in the bosom of such a hard-hearted region.

Emerging from the chain of Blue Mountains, they descended upon a vast plain, almost a dead level, sixty miles in circumference, of excellent soil, with fine streams meandering through it in every direction. Their horses, in the vastness of the wide landscape by serpentine lines of cotton-wood trees, and willows, which fringed their banks, and afforded sustenance to great numbers of beavers and otters.

In traversing this plain, they passed, close to the skirts of the hills, a great pool of water, three hundred yards in circumference, fed by a sulphur spring, about ten feet in diameter, boiling up in one corner. The vapor from this pool was extremely noisome, and tainted the air for a considerable distance. The place was much frequented by elk, which were found in considerable numbers in the adjacent mountains, and their horns, shed in the spring time, were strewn in every direction around the pond.

On the 20th of August, they reached the mouth of Woodvile Creek, the same stream which Mr. Hunt had ascended in the preceding year, shortly after his separation from Mr. Crooks.

On the banks of this stream they saw a herd of nineteen antelope, the beautiful gazelle, which is the part of the country, that at first they doubted the evidence of their senses. They tried by every means to get within shot of them, but they were too shy and fleet, and after alternatingly bounding to a distance, it was impossible to go to them, even to gazing with cupricious curiosity at the hunter, they at length scampered out of sight.

On the 12th of August the travellers arrived on the banks of Snake River, the scene of so many trials and mishaps to all of the present party excepting Mr. Stuart. They struck the river just above the place where it entered the mountains, through which Messrs. Stuart and Crooks had vainly endeavored to find a passage. The river was here a rapid stream, four hundred yards in width, with high sandy banks, and here and there a scanty growth of willow. Up the southern side of the river they now bent their course, intending to visit the caches made by Mr. Hunt at the Caledron Linn.

On the second evening a solitory Snake Indian visited their camp, at a late hour, and informed them that there was a white man residing at one of the cantonments of his tribe, about a day's journey higher up the river. It was immediately concluded that he must be one of the poor fellows of Mr. Hunt's party, who had given out, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, in the wretched journey of the preceding winter. All present, who had borne a part in the sufferings of that journey, were eager now to press forward, and bring relief to a lost comrade. Early the next morning, fore, they pushed forward with unusual alacrity. For two days, however, did they travel without being able to find any trace of such a straggler.

On the evening of the second day, they arrived at a place, whose fine government, was, which was renowned among all the wandering horses of the Snake nation for its salmon fishery, that fish being taken in incredible quantities in this neighborhood. Here, therefore, during the fishing season, the Snake Indians resort from far and near, to this point. Here, which, with esculent roots, forms the principal food of the inhabitants of these barren regions.

On the banks of a small stream emptying into Snake River at this place, Mr. Stuart found an
encampment of Shoshonies. He made the usual inquiry of them concerning the white man of whom he had received intelligence. No such person was dwelling among them, but they said there were white men residing with some of their nation on the opposite side of the river. This was more amusing to Mr. Crook, who hoped that these might be the men of his party, who, disheartened by perils and hardships, had preferred to remain among the Indians. Others thought they might be Mr. Miller and the hunters who had left the main body at Henry's Fort, to trap among the mountain streams. Mr. Stuart halted, therefore, in the neighborhood of the Shoshoni lodges, and sent an Indian across the river to seek out the white men in question, and bring them to his camp.

The travellers passed a restless, miserable night. The place swarmed with myriads of mosquitoes, which, with their stings and their music, set all sleep at defiance. The morning dawn found them in a rest, irritable mood, and their spleen was completely aroused by the return of the Indian without any intelligence of the white men. He now considered himself the dupe of Indian falsehoods, and resolved to put no confidence in Snakes. They soon, however, forgot this resolve, and, in the course of the morning, an Indian came galloping after them; Mr. Stuart waited to receive him; no sooner had he come up, than, dismounting and throwing his arms round the neck of Mr. Stuart's horse, he began to kiss and caress the animal, who on his part seemed by no means surprised or displeased with his salutation. Mr. Stuart, who valued his horse highly, was somewhat annoyed by these transports; the cause of them was soon explained. The Snake said the horse had belonged to him, and been the best in his possession, and that it had been stolen by the Wallah-Wallahs. Mr. Stuart was by no means pleased with this recognition of his steed, nor disposed to admit any claim on the part of its ancient owner. In fact, it was a noble animal, admirably shaped, of free and generous spirit, graceful in movement, and fleet as an antelope. It was his intention, if possible, to take the horse to New York, and present him to Mr. Astor.

In the meantime some of the party came up, and immediately recognized in the Snake an old friend and ally. He was in fact one of the two guides who had conducted Mr. Hunt's party, in the preceding autumn, across Mad River Mountain to Fort Henry, and who subsequently departed with Mr. Miller and his fellow-trappers, to conduct them to a good trapping ground. The reader may recollect that these two trusty Snakes were engaged by Mr. Hunt to return and take charge of the horses which the party intended to leave at Fort Henry, when they should embark in canoes.

The party now crowded round the Snake, and began to question him with eagerness. His replies were somewhat vague, and but partially understood. He told a long story about the horses, from which it appeared that they had been stolen by various wandering bands, and scattered in different directions. The cache, too, had been plundered, and the saddles and other equipments carried off. His information concerning Mr. Miller and his crew, was not more satisfactory. They had trapped for some time about the upper streams, but had fallen into the hands of a marauding party of Crows, who had robbed them of horses, weapons, and everything.

Further questioning brought forth further intelligence, but all of a disastrous kind. About ten days previously, he had met with three other white men, in very miserable plight, having one horse each, and but one rifle among them. They also had been plundered and maltreated by the Crows, those unscalable and insatiable thieves, who endeavored to pronounce the names of these three men, and as far as his imperfect sounds could be understood, they were supposed to be three of the party of four hunters, viz., Carson, St. Michael, Detoy, and Deacon, who were detached from Mr. Hunt's party on the 28th of September, to trap beaver on the head waters of the Columbia.

In the course of conversation, the Indian informed them that the route by which Mr. Hunt had crossed the Rocky Mountains, was very bad and circuitous, and that he knew one much shorter and easier. Mr. Stuart urged him to accompany them as guide, promising to reward him with a pistol with powder and ball, a knife, an awl, some blue beads, a blanket, and a looking-glass. Such a catalogue of riches was too tempting to be resisted; besides the poor Snake languished after the prairies; he was tired, he said, of salmon, and longed for buffalo meat, and to have a grand buffalo hunt beyond the mountains. He departed, therefore, with a good stock of equipment for the journey, promising to rejoin the party the next day. He kept his word, and, as he no longer said anything to Mr. Stuart on the subject of the pet horse, they journeyed very harmoniously together; though now and then, the Snake would regard his quandam steed with a wishful eye.

They had not traversed many miles, when they came to a great bend in the river. Here the Snake informed them that, by cutting across the hills they would save many miles distance. The route across, however, would be a good day's journey. He advised them, therefore, to encamp here for the night, and set off early in the morning. They took his advice, though they had only come but nine miles that day.

On the following morning they rose, bright and early, to ascend the hills. On mustering their little party, the guide was missing. They suspected him to be somewhere in the neighborhood, and proceeded to collect the horses. Instead of Mr. Stuart was not to be found. A suspicion flashed upon his mind. Search for the horse of the Snake!—He likewise was gone—the tracks of two horses, one after the other, were found, making off from the camp. They appeared as if one horse had been mounted, and the other led. They were traced for a few miles above the camp, until they both crossed the river. It was plain the Snake had taken an Indian mode of recovering his horse, having quietly decamped with him in the night.

New vows were made never more to trust in Snakes or any other Indians. It was determined, also, to maintain, hereafter, the strictest vigilance over their horses, dividing the night into three watches, and one person mounting guard at a time. They resolved, also, to keep along the river, instead of taking the short cut recommended by the fugitive Snake, whom they now set down for a thorough deceiver. The heat of the weather was oppressive, and their horses were, at times, rendered weak by the prairie flies. The nights were suffocating, and it was almost impossible to sleep, from the swarms of mosquitoes.

On the 20th of August they resumed their
march, keeping along the prairie parallel to Snake River. The day was sultry, and some of the party, being parched with thirst, left the line of march, and scrambled down the bank of the river to drink. The others, without a murmur, followed them, beneath which, to their surprise, they beheld a man fishing. No sooner did he see them, than he uttered an exclamation of joy. It proved to be John Hoback, one of their lost comrades. They had scarcely exchanged greetings, when three others came out from among the willows. They were Joseph Miller, Jacob Rezner, and Robinson, the scalped Kentuckian, the veteran of the Bloody Ground.

The reader will perhaps recollect the abrupt and wilful manner in which Mr. Miller threw up his interest as a partner of the company, and departed from Fort Henry, in company with these three trappers, and a fourth, named Cass. He may likewise recognize in Robinson, Rezner, and Hoback, the trio of Kentucky hunters who had originally been in the service of Mr. Henry, and whom Mr. Hunt found floating down the Missouri, on their way homeward; and prevailed upon, once more, to cross the mountains. The hogs found and murdered the bodies of these men, and proved how much they had suffered. After leaving Mr. Hunt's party, they had made their way about two hundred miles to the southward, where they trapped beaver on a river, which, according to their account, discharged itself into the ocean to the south of the Columbia, but which we apprehend to be Bear River, a stream emptying itself into Lake Bonneville, an immense body of salt water, west of the Rocky Mountains.

Having collected a considerable quantity of beaver skins, they made them into packs, loaded their horses, and steered two hundred miles due east. Here they came upon an encampment of sixty lodges of Arapahoes, an outlaw band of the Arapahoes, and notorious robbers. These fell upon the poor trappers; robbed them of their peltries, most of their clothing, and several of their horses. They were glad to escape with their lives, and without being entirely stripped, and after proceeding about fifty miles further, made for the winter.

Every infant speck they resumed their wayfaring, but were unluckily overtaken by the same rufian horde, who levied still further contributions, and carried off the remainder of their horses, excepting two. With these they continued on, suffering the greatest hardships. They still retained rifles and ammunition, but were in a desert country, where neither bird nor beast was to be found. Their only chance was to keep along the rivers and subsist by fishing; but, at times, no fish were to be taken, and then their sufferings were horrible. One of their horses was stolen among the mountains by the Snake Indians; the other, they said, was carried off by Cass, who, according to their account, "villainously left them in their extremities." Certain dark doubts and surmises were afterward circulated concerning the fate of that poor fellow, which, if true, showed to what a desperate state of famine his comrades had been reduced.

Being now completely unhorsed, Mr. Miller and his companions found themselves over one hundred miles, enduring hunger, thirst, and fatigue, while traversing the barren wastes which abound beyond the Rocky Mountains. At the time they were discovered by Mr. Stuart's party, they were almost famished, and were fishing for a precarious meal. Had Mr. Stuart made the short cut across the hills, avoiding this bend of the river, or had not some of his party accidentally gone down to the margin of the stream to drink, these poor wanderers might have remained undiscovered, and with welfare, beneath which, to their surprise, they beheld a man fishing. No sooner did he see them, than he uttered an exclamation of joy. It proved to be John Hoback, one of their lost comrades. They had scarcely exchanged greetings, when three others came out from among the willows. They were Joseph Miller, Jacob Rezner, and Robinson, the scalped Kentuckian, the veteran of the Bloody Ground.

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bornood where Mr. Hunt and his party had made the caches, intending to take from them such articles as belonged to Mr. Crooks, M'Ellian, and the Canadians. On reaching the spot, they found, to their astonishment, six of the caches open and rifled of the contents, excepting a few books which lay scattered about the vicinity. They had the appearance of having been plundered in the course of the summer. There were tracks of wolves in every direction, to and from the holes, from which Mr. Stuart concluded that these animals had first been attracted to the place by the smell of the skins contained in the caches, which they had probably torn up, and that their tracks had betrayed the secret to the Indians.

The three remaining caches had not been molested: they contained a few dry goods, some ammunition, and a number of beaver traps. From these Mr. Stuart took whatever was requisite for his party; he then deposited within them all his superfluous baggage, and all the books and papers scattered around; the holes were then carefully closed up, and all traces of them effaced. And here we have to record another instance of the indomitable spirit of the western trappers. No sooner did the trio of Kentucky hunters, Robinson, Rezen, and Hoback, and they could once more be fitted out for a campaign of beaver-trapping, than they forgot all that they had suffered, and determined upon another trial of their fortunes; preferring to take their chance in the wilderness, rather than return home ragged and penniless. As to Mr. Miller, he declared his curiosity and his desire of travelling through the Indian countries fully satisfied; he adhered to his determination, therefore, to keep on with the party to St. Chris, and to return to the bosom of civilized society.

The three hunters, therefore, Robinson, Rezen, and Hoback, were furnished as far as the caches and the means of Mr. Stuart’s party afforded, with the requisite munitions and equipments for a “two years’ hunt;” but as their fitting out was yet incomplete, they resolved to wait in this neighborhood until Mr. Reed should arrive; whose arrival might soon be expected, as he was to set out for the caches about twenty days after Mr. Stuart parted with him at the Wallah-Wallah River.

Mr. Stuart gave in charge to Robinson a letter to Mr. Reed, reporting his safe journey thus far, and the state in which he had found the caches, a duplicate of this letter he elevated on a pole, and set it up near the place of deposit.

All things being thus arranged, Mr. Stuart and his little band, now seven in number, took leave of the three hardy trappers, wishing them all possible success in their lonely and perilous sojourn in the wilderness; and we, in like manner, shall leave them to their fortunes, promising to take them up again at some future day, and to close the story of their persevering and ill-fated enterprise.

CHAPTER XLV.

On the 1st of September, Mr. Stuart and his companions resumed their journey, biding their course eastward, along the course of Snake River. As they advanced the country opened. The hills which had hemmed in the river receded on either hand, and great sandy and dusty plains extended before them. Occasionally there were intervals of pastureage, and the banks of the river were fringed with willows and cotton-wood, so that its course might be traced from the hill-tops, winding under an umbrageous covert, through a wide sunburnt landscape. The soil, however, was generally poor; there was in some places a miserable growth of wormwood, resembling mignonoyal; but the summer heat had parched the plains, and left but little pasturage. The game too had disappeared. The hunter looked in vain over the lifeless landscape; for there he found only a few antelopes, not within reach of the rifle. We forbear to follow the travellers in a week’s wandering over these barren wastes, where they suffered much from hunger; having to depend upon a few fish from the streams, and now and then a little dried salmon, or a dog, procured from some forlorn tribe of the Shoshonies.

Tired of these cheerless wastes, they left the banks of Snake River on the 7th of September, under guidance of Mr. Miller, who having acquired some knowledge of the country during his trapping campaign, undertook to conduct them across the mountains by a better route than that by Fort Henry, and one more out of the range of the Blackfeet. He proved, however, but an indifferent guide. The trapper became bewildered among rugged hills and unknown streams, and burnt and barren prairies.

At length they came to a river on which Mr. Miller had trapped, and to which he gave his name; though, as before observed, we presume it to be the same called Bear River, which empties itself into Lake Bonneville. Up this river and its branches they kept for two or three days, supporting themselves precariously upon fish. They soon found that they were in a dangerous neighborhood. On the 12th of September, having encamped early, they saluted forth with their rods to angle for their supper. On returning, they beheld a number of Indians prowling about their camp, whom, to their infinite disquiet, they soon perceived to be Usparokas, or Crows. Their chief came forward with a confident air. He was a dark herculean fellow, full six feet four inches in height, with a mingled air of the Russian and the rogue. He conducted himself peaceably, however, and dispatched some to their camp, which was somewhere in the neighborhood, from whence they returned with a most acceptable supply of buffalo meat. He now signified to Mr. Stuart that he was going to trade with the Crows who reside on the west base of the mountains below Henry’s Fort. Here they cultivated a delicate kind of tobacco, much esteemed and sought after by the mountain tribes. There was something sinister, however, in the look of this Indian, that inspired distrust. By degrees, the number of his people increased, until, by midnight, there were twenty-one of them about the camp, who began to be impudent and troublesome. The greatest uneasiness was now felt for the safety of the horses and effects, and every one kept vigilant watch throughout the night.

The morning dawned, however, without any unpleasant occurrence, and Mr. Stuart, having purchased all the buffalo meat that the Crows had to spare, prepared to depart. His Indian acquaintance, however, were disposed to accompany him and above all, anxious for a supply of gunpowder, for which they offered horses in exchange. Mr. Stuart declined to furnish them with the dangerous commodity. They became more importunate in their solicitations, until they met with a flat refusal.
The gigantic chief now stepped forward, assumed a swelling air, and, slapping himself upon the breast gave Mr. Crooks to understand that he was a chief of great power and importance. He signified further that it was customary for great chiefs when they met, to make each other presents. He requested, therefore, that Mr. Stuart would alight, and give him the horse upon which he was mounted. This was a noble animal, one of the wild races of the prairies; on which Mr. Stuart set great value; he of course shook his head at the request, and turned to the ground the last stove up to him, and taking hold of him, moved him backward and forward in his saddle, as if to make him feel that he was a mere child within his grasp. Mr. Stuart preserved his calmness and still shook his head. The chief then seized the bridle and gave it a jerk that startled the horse, and nearly brought the rider to the ground. Mr. Stuart instantly drew forth a pistol and presented it at the head of the buxom ruffian. In a twinkling, his swaggering was at an end, and he dodged behind his horse to escape the expected shot. As his subject Crows gazed on the affair from a little distance, Mr. Stuart ordered his men to level their rifles at them, but not to fire. The whole crowd of freebooters, and Mr. Stuart's followers, then came bewildered upon the ground, vanquished from sight. The chieftain thus left alone, was confounded for an instant; but recovering himself, with true Indian shrewdness, burst into a loud laugh, and affirmed a chance on his part; the whole, thought Mr. Stuart, was a peaceable enjoyment. Mr. Stuart by no means relished such jocuology therefore, but it was not his policy to get into a quarrel; so he joined with the best grace he could assume, in the merriment of the good-natured, innocent, to console the latter for the refusal of the horse, made him a present of twenty charges of powder. They parted, according to all outward professions, the best friends in the world; it was evident, however, that nothing but the smallness of his own force, and the martial array and alertness of the white men, had prevented the Crow chief from proceeding to open outrage. As it was, his worthy followers, in the course of their brief interview, had contrived to purify a bag containing almost all the culinary utensils of the camp. The travellers kept on their way due east, over a chain of hills. The recent rencontre showed them that they were now in a land of danger, subject to the wide roamings of a predatory tribe, and a great many miles beyond where they beheld such sights calculated to inspire anxiety and alarm. From the summits of some of the loftiest mountains, in different directions, columns of smoke began to rise. These they concluded to be signals made by the runners of the Crow chief to summon the stragglers of his band, so as to pursue them with greater force. Signals of this kind, made by outrunners from one central point, will raise a wide circuit of the mountains in a wonderfully short space of time; and bring the stranglers behind his warriors to the standard of their chieftain.

To keep as much as possible out of the way of these freebooters, Mr. Stuart altered his course to the north, and, quitting the main stream of the Columbia, began a circuit of the mountains. They were encamped beside the Columbia Lake, in sight of the mountains. Here they encamped after a fatiguing march of twenty-five miles. As the night drew on, the horses were bobbled or tethered, and tethered close to the camp; a vigilant watch was maintained until morning and every one slept with his rifle on his arm.
rifle clamor. The horses took fright, and dashed across the camp in the direction of the standard-bearer, attracted by his waving flag. He instantly put spurs to his steed, and spurred off, followed by the panic-stricken herd, their flight being increased by the yells of the savages in their rear.

At the first alarm Mr. Stuart and his comrades seized their rifles, and attempted to cut off the Indians, who were pursuing the horses. Their attention was instantly distracted by white caps and yelling in an opposite direction. They now apprehended that a reserve party was about to carry off their baggage. They ran to secure it. The reserve party, however, galloped by, whooping and yelling in triumph and derision. The last of them proved to be their commander, the identical giant joker already mentioned. He was not cast in the stern poetical mould of fashionable Indian heroism, but on the contrary, was grievously given to vulgar jocularity. As he passed Mr. Stuart and his companions, he checked his horse, raised himself in the saddle, and clapping his hand on the most insulting part of his body, uttered some jeering words, which, fortunately for their delicacy, they could not understand. The rifle fire which fell on their shoulders in an instant, and he was on the point of whizzing a bullet into the target so tauntingly displayed: "Not for your life! not for your life!" exclaimed Mr. Stuart, "you will bring destruction on us all!"

Mr. Stuart could not restrain horsem. Ben, when the mark was so fair and the insult so foul. "Oh, Mr. Stuart," exclaimed he, "only let me have one crack at the infernal rascal, and you may keep all the pay that is due to me."

"By heaven, if you fire," cried Mr. Stuart, "I'll blow your brains out."

By this time the Indian was far out of reach, and had rejoined his men, and the whole dare-devil band, with the captured horses, scuttled off along the defiles, their red flag flaunting over head, and the rocks echoing to their whoops and yells, and demoniac laughter.

The unhorsed travellers gazed after them in silent mortification and despair; yet Mr. Stuart could not but admire the style and spirit with which the party was led. As he had been much buffeted, and pronounced it one of the most daring and intrepid actions he had ever heard of among Indians. The whole number of the Crows did not exceed twenty. In this way a small gang of lancers will hurry off the cavalry of a large war party, for when once a drove of horse are seized with a panic, they become frantic, and nothing short of broken necks can stop them.

No one was more annoyed by this unfortunate occurrence than Ben Jones. He declared he would actually have given his whole arrears of pay, amounting to upward of a year's wages, rather than be baulked of such a capital shot. Mr. Stuart, however, represented what might have been the consequence of such rash an act. Life for life is the Indian maxim. The whole tribe would have made common cause in avenging the death of a warrior. The party were but seven dismounted men, with a wide mountain region to traverse, infested by these people, and which might all be retained by a single file of Indians. In fact, the conduct of the band of marauders in question, showed the perseverance of savages when once they have fixed their minds upon a project. These fellows had evidently been silently and secretly dogging the party for a week past, and a distance of a hundred and fifty miles, keeping out of sight by day, lurking about the encampment at night, watching all their movements, and waiting for a favorable moment when they should be off their guard.

The menace of Mr. Stuart, in their first interview, to shoot the chief with his pistol, and the fright caused among the warriors by presenting the rifles, had probably added the finishing touch to their usual horse-stealing propensities, and in this mood of mind they would doubtless have followed the party throughout their whole course over, the Rocky Mountains, rather than be disappointed in their scheme.

CHAPTER XLVI

Few reverses in this changeful world are more complete and disheartening than that of a traveller, suddenly unhorsed, in the midst of the wilderness. Our unfortunate travellers contemplated their situation, for a time, in perfect dismay. A long journey over rugged mountains and immeasurable plains lay before them, which they must painfully perform on foot, and everything necessary for subsistence or defence must be carried in their packs. This was but transient, and they immediately set to work, with that prompt expedition produced by the exigencies of the wilderness, to fit themselves for the change in their condition.

Their first attention was to select from their baggage such articles as were indispensable to their journey; to make them up into convenient packs, and to deposit the residue in caches. The whole day was consumed in these occupations; at night they made a scanty meal of their remaining provisions, and lay down to sleep with heavy hearts. In the morning, they were up and about at an early hour, and began to prepare their knapsacks for a march, while Ben Jones repaired to an old beaver trap which he had set in the river bank at some little distance from the camp. He rejoiced to find a middle-sized beaver there, sufficient for a morning's meal to his hungry comrades. On his way back with his prize, he observed two heads peering over the edge of an impending cliff, from which he supposed to be a couple of wolves. As he continued on, he now and then cast his eye up; the heads were still there, looking down with fixed and watchful gaze. A suspicion now flashed across his mind that they might be Indians, and that they were not far above the reach of his rifle, he would undoubtedly have resolved them with a shot.

On arriving at the camp, he directed the attention of his comrades to these aerial observers. The same idea was at first entertained, that they were wolves; but their immovable watchfulness soon satisfied every one that they were Indians. It was concluded that they were watching the movements of the party, to discover their place of concealment of such articles as they would be compelled to leave behind. There was no likelihood that the caches would escape the search of such keen eyes and experienced ruminators, and the idea was intolerable that any more booty should fall into their hands. To disappoint them, therefore, the travellers stripped the caches of the articles desired of them, and collected together everything that they could not carry away with them, made a bonfire of all that would burn, and threw the rest into the river. There was a forlorn satisfaction in thus balking the Crows, by the destruction of their own property; and, having thus gratified their
pique, they shouldered their packs, about ten o'clock in the morning, and set out on their ped-astrian wayfarers.

The route of the truck was down along the banks of the Mad River. This stream makes its way through the defiles of the mountains, into the plain below Fort Henry, where it terminates in Snake River. Mr. Stuart was of meeting with Snake encampments in the plain, where he might procure a couple of horses to transport the baggage. In such case, he intended to resume his eastern course across the mountains, and endeavor to reach the Cheyenne River before winter. Should he fail, however, of obtaining horses, he probably was compelled to winter on the Pacific side of the mountains, somewhere on the head waters of the Spanish or Colorado River.

With all the care that had been observed in taking nothing with them that was not absolutely necessary, the poor pedestrians were heavily laden, and their burdens added to the fatigue of their rugged road. They suffered much, too, from hunger. The trout they caught were too poor to yield much nourishment, and when they had cropped beans, which they had procured, they were too small to satisfy their hunger. They were consequently determined to seek respite on a tree branch, which they had placed within easy reach of the river. Whenever they were fortunate enough to entrap a beaver, it was cut up immediately and distributed, that each man might be sure of his share.

After two days of toilsome travel, during which they made but eighteen miles, they stopped on the 21st to build two rafts on which to cross to the other side of the river. On these they embarked the following morning, four on one raft, and three on the other, and pushed boldly from shore. Finding the rafts sufficiently firm and steady to withstand the rough and rapid water, they changed their minds, and instead of crossing, ventured to float down with the current. The river was in general very rapid, and from the two to three hundred yards in width, widening in every direction through mountains of hard black rock, covered with pines and cedars. The mountains to the east of the river were spars of the Rocky range, and of great magnitude; those on the west were little better than hills, bleak and barren, or scantily clothed with stunted grass.

Mad River, though deserving its name from the impetuousness of its current, was free from rapids and falls, except on the more difficult part of its course, where the current was impeded by gravel bars, often fringed with cotton-wood and willow willows in abundance. These gave sustenance to immense quantities of deer and elk, as could be seen from the tracks left by the animals in the snow.

For three days longer they continued to navigate with their rafts. The recent storm had rendered the river unusually swift. They had now floated down the river about ninety-one miles, when, finding the mountains on the right diminishing to moderate height, crossed a preparatory to resume their journey on foot. Accordingly, having spent a day in preparations, making mocassins, and parcelling out their jerked meat in packs of twenty pounds to each man, they turned their backs upon the river on the 29th of September, and struck off to the northeast, keeping along the southern skirt of the mountain on which Henry's Fort was situated.

Their march was slow and toilsome; part of the time through an alluvial bottom, thickly grown with cotton-wood, hawthorn, and willows, some of the time over rough hills. The hills were covered with pine woods, but the trees were rare, and in the evening encamped on the banks of a small stream, on a spot where there was a little water, and the camping place was protected by a cliff, which was supposed to be an impeding cliff, and it was concluded that they would not be able to continue on, he doubted whether the heads were high enough. He warned them, they had better make the camp, and they were not afraid of being shot.

The next morning they still observed the Indian track, but after a time they came to a place where it separated in every direction, and was lost. This showed that the band had dispersed in various hunting parties, and was, in all probability, entering the mountains, to descend the streams, and to proceed with the utmost caution. They kept a vigilant eye as they marched, upon every height where a scout might be posted, and scanned the solitary landscape and the distant ravines, to discover any column of smoke; but nothing of the kind was to be seen; all was indescribably stern and lifeless.

Toward evening they came to where there were several hot springs, strongly impregnated with iron and sulphur, and sending up a volume of vapor that tingled the surrounding atmosphere, and might be seen at the distance of a couple of miles. Near to these they encamped in a deep gulch, which afforded some concealment. To their great concern, Mr. Crooks, who had been indisposed for the two preceding days, had a violent fever in the night.

Shortly after daybreak they resumed their march. On emerging from the glen a consultation was held as to their course. Should they continue round the south part of the mountain they would be in danger of falling in with the scattered parties of Blackfeet, who were probably hunting in the plain. It was thought most advisable, therefore, to strike directly across the mountain,
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since the route, though rugged and difficult, would be most secure. This counsel was indignantly derided by M’Lellan as pusillanimous. Hot-headed and impatient at all times, he had been rendered irascible by the fatigues of the journey, and the condition of his feet, which were chafed and sore. He could not endure the idea of encountering the difficulties of the mountain, and swore he would rather face all the Blackfeet in the country. He was overruled, however, and the party began to climb the mountains, striving with the ardor and emulation of young men, who should be first up. M’Lellan, who was double the age of some of his companions, soon began to lose breath, and fall in the rear. In the distribution of burdens, it was his turn to carry the old-beaver trap. Piqued and irritated, he suddenly came to a halt, swore he would carry it no further, and jerked it half way down the hill. He was offered in place of it a package of dried meat, but this he scornfully threw upon the ground. They might carry it, he said, who needed it. For his part, he could provide his daily food with his rifle. He concluded by flinging off from the party, and keeping along the skirts of the mountain, leaving those, he said, to climb rocks, who were afraid to face a mountain. It was in vain that Mr. Stuart represented to him the rashness of his conduct, and the dangers to which he exposed himself; he rejected such counsel as craven. It was equally useless to represent the dangers to which he subjected his companions; as he could be discovered at a great distance on those naked plains, and the Indians, seeing him, would know that there must be other white men within reach. M’Lellan turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance, and kept on his way.

It seems a strange instance of perseverance in this man thus to fling himself off alone, in a savage region, where solitude itself was dismal, but every encounter with his fellow-man full of peril. Such, however, is the hardness of spirit, and the insensibility to danger, that grow upon men in the wilderness. M’Lellan, moreover, was a man of peculiar temperament, ungovernable in his will, of a courage that absolutely knew no fear, and of a braggart spirit, that took a pride in doing desperate and hair-brained things.

Mr. Stuart and his party found the passage of the mountain somewhat difficult, on account of the snow, which in many places was of considerable depth, though it was now but the 1st of October. They crossed the summit early in the afternoon, and beheld below them a plain about twenty miles wide, bounded on the opposite side by their old acquaintances, the Piott Knobs, those towering mountains which had served Mr. Hunt as landmarks in part of his route of the preceding year. Through the intermediate plain wandered a river about fifty yards wide, sometimes gleaming in open day, but oftener running through willoed banks, which marked its serpentine course.

This old party who had been across these mountains pointed out much of the bearings of the country to Mr. Stuart. They showed him in what direction must lie the deserted post called Henry’s Fort, where they had abandoned their horses and emigrants in canoes, and they informed him that the stream which wandered through the plain below them, fell into Henry River, half way between the fort and the mouth of Mad or Snake River. The character of all this mountain region was decidedly volcanic; and to the northward Henry’s Fort and the source of the Missouri, Mr. Stuart observed several very high peaks covered with snow, from two of which smoke ascended in considerable volumes, apparently from craters, in a state of eruption.

On their way down the mountain, when they had reached the skirts, they descried M’Lellan at a distance, in the advance, traversing the plain. Whether he saw them or not, he showed no disposition to rejoin them, but pursued his sullen and solitary way. After descending into the plain, they kept on about six miles, until they reached the little river that flows among boulders, and richly fringed with willow. Here they encamped for the night. At this encampment the fever of Mr. Crooks increased to such a degree that it was impossible for him to travel. Some of the men were strenuous for Mr. Stuart to proceed without him, urging the imminent danger they were exposed to by delay in that unknown and barren region, infested by the most treacherous and inveterate of foes. They represented that the season was rapidly advancing; the weather for some days had been extremely cold; the mountains were already almost impassable from snow, and would soon present effectual barriers. Their provisions were exhausted; there was no game to be seen, and they did not dare to use their rifles, through fear of drawing upon them the Blackfeet.

The picture thus presented was too true to be contradicted, and made a deep impression on the mind of Mr. Stuart; but the idea of abandoning a fellow-being, and a comrade, in such a forlorn situation, was too repugnant to his feelings to be admitted for an instant. He represented to the men that the malady of Mr. Crooks could not be of long duration, and that in all probability he would be able to travel in the course of a few days. It was with great difficulty, however, that he prevailed upon them to abide the event.

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As the travelers were now in a dangerous neighborhood where the report of a rifle might bring a shower of arrows among them, they abandoned their old beaver-trap for subsistence. The little river on which they were encamped gave many "beaver signs," and Ben Jones set off at daybreak, along the willowed banks, to find a proper trapping-place. As he was making his way among the thickets, with his trap on his shoulder and his rifle in his hand, he heard a crashing sound, and turning, beheld a huge grizzly bear advancing upon him with a terrific growl. The sturdy Kentuckian was not to be intimidated by man or monster. Levelling his rifle, he pulled the trigger. The bear was wounded, but not mortally; instead, however, of rushing upon his assailant, as is generally the case with this kind of bear, he retreated into the bushes. Jones followed him for some distance, but with suitable caution, and Bruin effected his escape.

As there was every prospect of a detention of some days in this place, and as the supplies of the beaver-trap were too precarious to be depended upon, it became necessary to run some risk of discovery by hunting in the neighborhood. Ben Jones, therefore, obtained permission to range with his rifle some distance from the camp, and set off to beat the river banks, in defiance of bear or Blackfoot.

He returned with a great spirit in the course of a few hours, having come upon a gang of elk abou
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him something to eat, for without food he declared he should not be able to proceed much further. But they reached the place, they found the dead man lying on a parcel of withered grass, wasted to a perfect skeleton, and so feeble that he could scarcely raise his head to speak. The presence of his old comrades seemed to revive him, but they had no food to give him, for they themselves were almost starved. They urged him to rise and accompany them, but he shook his head. It was all in vain, he said; there was no prospect of their getting speedy relief, and without it he should perish by the way; but his life was as well, therefore, stay and die where he was. At length, after much persuasion, they got him upon his legs; his rifle and other effects were shared among them, and he was cheered and aided forward. In this way they proceeded for seventeen miles, over a level plain of sand, until, seeing a few antelopes in the distance, they encamped on the margin of a small stream. All now that were capable of the exertion, turned out to hunt for a meal. Their efforts were fruitless, and after dark they returned to their camp, hamstrung almost to desperation.

As they were preparing for the third time to lay down to sleep without a mouthful to eat, Le Clerc, one of the Caligakens, who insisted with hunger to approach Mr. Stuart with his gun in his hand. "It was all in vain," he said, "to attempt to proceed any further without food. They had a barren plain before them, three or four days' journey in every direction, in which nothing was be procured. They must all perish before they could get to the end of it. It was better, therefore, that one should die to save the rest." He proposed therefore, that they should cast lots; adding as an inducement for Mr. Stuart to assent to the proposition, that he, as leader of the party, should be exempted.

Mr. Stuart shouldered at the horrible proposition, and endeavored to reason with the man, but his words were unavailing. At length, snatching up his rifle, he threatened to shoot him on the spot if he persisted. The famished wretch dropped on his knees, begged pardon in the most abject terms, and promised never again to offend him with such a suggestion.

Quiet being restored to the forlorn encampment, each one sought repose. Mr. Stuart, however, was so exhausted by the agitation of the past scene, acting upon his emaciated frame, that he could scarcely crawl to his miserable couch; where, notwithstanding his fatigue, he passed a sleepless night, reviving upon their dreary situation, and the desperate prospect before them.

Before daylight the next morning, they were up and on their way; they had nothing to detain them; no breakfast to prepare, and to linger was to perish. They proceeded, however, but slowly, for all were faint and weak. Here and there they passed the skulls and bones of buffalo, which showed that these animals must have been hunted here during the past season; the sight of these bones served only to mock their misery. After travelling about nine miles along the plain, they ascended a range of hills, and had scarcely gone two miles further when, to their great joy, they discovered the old rancheria of the buffaloes; "it was laggard probably of some herd that had been hunted and harassed through the mountains. They now all stretched themselves out to encompass and make sure of this solitary animal, for their lives depended upon their success. After considerable trouble and infinite anxiety, they at length succeeded in killing him. He was instantly flayed and cut up, and so ravenous were their demands upon the flesh raw. The residue they carried to a brook near by, where they encamped, lit a fire, and began to cook.

Mr. Stuart was fearful that in their famished state they would eat to excess and injure themselves. He caused a soup to be made of some of the meat, and that each should take a quantity of it as a prelude to his supper. This may have had a beneficial effect, for though they sat up the greater part of the night, eating and cramming, no one suffered any inconvenience.

The next morning the feasting was resumed, and about midday, feeling somewhat recruited and refreshed, they set out on their journey with renewed spirits, shaping their course toward a mountain, the summit of which they saw towering in the east, and near to which they expected to find the head waters of the Missouri.

As they proceeded, they continued to see the skeletons of buffaloes scattered about the plain in every direction, which showed that there had been much hunting here by the Indians in the recent season. Further on they crossed a large Indian trail, forming a deep path, about fifteen days old, which convinced Mr. Stuart that it had been concluded to have been made by some numerous band of Crows, who had hunted in this country for the greater part of the summer.

On the following day they forded a stream of considerable size, and camped among the pines and pine trees. Among these they found the traces of a large Indian camp, which had evidently been the headquarters of a hunting expedition, from the great quantities of buffalo bones strewn about the neighborhood. The camp had apparently been abandoned about a month.

In the centre was a singular lodge one hundred and fifty feet in circumference, supported by the trunks of twenty trees, each twelve feet in diameter and forty-four feet in length. These were laid branches of pine and willow trees, so as to yield a tolerable shade. At the west end, immediately opposite to the door, three bodies lay interred with their feet toward the east. At the head of each grave was a branch of a fir tree firmly planted in the ground. At the foot was a large buffalo's skull, painted black. Savage ornaments were suspended in various parts of the edifice, and a great number of children's moccasins. From the manger of the building, and the time and labor that must have been expended in erecting it, the bodies which it contained were probably those of noted warriors and hunters.

The next day, October 17th, they passed two large tributary streams of the Spanish River. They took their rise in the Wind River Mountains, which ranged along to the east, stupendously high and rugged, composed of vast masses of black rock, almost destitute of wood, and covered in many places with snow. This day they saw a few buffalo bulls, and some antelopes, but could not kill any; and their stock of provisions began to grow scanty as well as poor.

On the 18th, after crossing a mountain ridge, and traversing a plain, they waded one of the branches of the Big Horn, the bank of which, met with about a hundred and thirty Snake Indians. They were friendly in their demeanor, and conducted them to their encampment, which was about three miles distant. It consisted of about forty wigwams, constructed principally of the branches of trees. The Snakes, like
most of their nation, were very poor; the marauding Crows, in their late excursion through the country, had picked this unlucky band to the very bone, carrying off their horses, several of their squaws, and most of their effects. In spite of their poverty, they were hospitable in the extreme, and made the hungry strangers welcome to their cabins. A few trinkets procured from them a supply of buffalo meat, and of leather for mocassins, of which the party were greatly in need. The most valuable prize obtained from them, however, was a horse; it was a sorry old animal, in truth, but it was the only one that remained to the poor fellows, after the fell swoop of the Crows; yet this they were prevailed upon to part with to their guests for a pistol, an axe, a knife, and a few other trilling articles.

They had doleful stories to tell of the Crows, who were encamped on a river at no great distance to the east, and were in such force that they dared not venture to seek any satisfaction for their outrages, or to get back a horse or squaw. They endeavored to excite the indignation of their visitors by accounts of robberies and murders committed on lonely white hunters and trappers. These were exaggerations of the outrages already mentioned, sustained by some of the scattered members of Mr. Hunt's expedition; others were in all probability sheer fabrications, to which the Snakes seem to have been a little prone. Mr. Stuart assured them that the day was not far distant when the whites would make their power to be felt throughout that country and take signal vengeance on the perpetrators of these misdeeds. The Snakes expressed great joy at the intelligence, and offered their services to aid the righteous cause, brightening at the thoughts of taking the field with such potent allies, and doubtless anticipating their turn at stealing horses and abducting squaws. Their offers of course were accepted; the tune of peace was produced, and the two powers smoked eternal friendship between themselves, and vengeance upon their common spoilers, the Crows.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

By sunrise on the following morning (October 15th), the travellers had loaded their old horse with buffalo meat, sufficient for five days' provisions, and, taking leave of their new allies, the poor but hospitable Snakes, set forth in somewhat better spirits, though the increasing cold of the weather and the sight of the snowy mountains which they had yet to traverse, were enough to chill their very hearts. The country along this branch of the Spanish River, as far as they could see, was perfectly level, bounded by ranges of lofty mountains, both to the east and west. They proceeded about three miles to the south, where they came again upon the large trail of Crow Indians, which they had crossed four days previously, made, no doubt, by the same marauding band that had plundered the Snakes; and which, according to the account of the latter, was now encamped on a stream to the eastward. The trail kept on to the southeast, and was so well beaten by horse and foot, that they supposed at least a hundred lodges had passed along it. As it formed, therefore, a direct road to the enemy, they turned into it, and determined to keep along it as far as safety would permit; as the Crow encampment must be some distance off, and it was not likely those savages would return upon their steps. They travelled forward, therefore, all that day, in the track of their dangerous predecessors, which led them across mountain streams, and along ridges, and through narrow valleys, all tending gradually toward the southeast. The wind blew coldly from the northeast, with occasional flurries of snow, which made them encamp early, on the sheltered banks of a brook. The two Canadians, Vallee and Le Clerc, killed a young buffalo bull in the evening, which was in good condition, and afforded them a plentiful supply of fresh beef. They loaded their stores, therefore, and crammed their camp kettle with meat, and while the wind whistled, and the snow whirled around them, huddled round a rousing fire, basked in its warmth, and comforted both soul and body with a hearty and invigorating meal. No enjoyments have greater zest than these, snatched in the very midst of difficulty and danger; and it is probable the poor weary and weather-beaten travellers relished these creature comforts the more highly from the surrounding desolation, and the dangerous proximity of the Crows.

The next day, October 16th, having fallen in the nigth, made it late in the morning before the party loaded their solitary pack-horse, and resumed their march. They had not gone far before the Crow trace which they were following changed its direction, and bore to the north of east. They had already begun to feel themselves on dangerous ground in keeping along it, as they might be described by some scouts and spies of that race of Ishmaelites, whose predatory life required them to be constantly on the alert. On seeing the trace turn so much to the north, therefore, they abandoned it, and kept on their course to the southeast for eight miles, through a beautifully undulating country, having the main chain of mountains on the left, and a considerably elevated ridge on the right. Here the mountain ridge which divides Wind River from the head waters of the Columbia and Spanish Rivers ends abruptly, and winding to the north of east, becomes the dividing barrier between a branch of the Big Horn and the Cheyenne Rivers, and those head waters which flow into the Missouri below the Sioux country.

The ridge which lay on the right of the travellers having now become very low, they passed over it, and came into a level plain and a thick growth of grass, and covered at this point, with a growth of willow trees, so as to afford a sheltered camp, and throw the east wind out, three bodies lay to the west. At the foot of the ridge the trees opened, and on ascending a hill of twelve inches in diameter, and traversed by several springs, crossed a stretch of woods, and passed over a low, undulating country, supporting the same vegetation as the plain below. They passed two small springs, which formed a pond, and on ascending a mountain ridge, crossed the line of it, and on ascending a hundred and thirty-five feet, found themselves on a level plain, and distant from the party to which they had previously given chase, about five miles, and distant from the party to which they had previously given chase, about five miles. The Snakes, like
their bleak and toilsome way, keeping to the eastnortheast, toward the lofty summit of a mountain, which it was necessary for them to cross. Before they reached its base they passed another large trail, steering a little to the right of the point of the mountain. This they presumed to have been made by another band of Crooks, who had probably been hunting lower down on the Spanish River.

The severity of the weather compelled them to encamp at the end of fifteen miles, on the skirts of the mountain, where they found sufficient dry grass to supply them with fire, but they sought in vain about the neighborhood for a spring or rill of water.

At daybreak they were up and on the march, scrambling up the mountain side for the distance of eight painful miles. From the casual hints given in the travelling memoranda of Mr. Stuart, this mountain would seem to offer a rich field of speculation for the geologist. Here was a plain three miles in diameter, strewed with pumice stones and traces of volcanic relics, with a lake in the centre, occupying what had probably been the crater. Here were also, in some places, deposits of marine shells, indicating that this mountain crest had at some remote period been below the waves.

After pausing to repose, and to enjoy these grand but savage and awful scenes, they began to descend the eastern side of the mountain. The descent was rugged and romantic, along deep ravines and defiles, overhung with crags and cliffs, among which they beheld numbers of the ahshaht or bighorn, skipping fearlessly from rock to rock. Two of them succeeded in bringing down with their rifles, as they feared fearlessly from the brow of their airy precipices.

Arrived at the foot of the mountain, the travellers found a rill of water oozing out of the earth, and resembling in look and taste the water of the Missouri. Here they encamped for the night, and supped sumptuously upon their mountain mutton, which they found in good condition, and extremely well flavoured.

The morning was bright and intensely cold. Early in the day they came upon a stream running to the east, between low hills of bluish earth, strongly impregnated with copperas. Mr. Stuart supposed the stream to be one of the head waters of the Missouri and determined to follow its banks. After a march of twenty-six miles, however he arrived at the summit of a hill, the prospect of which induced him to alter his intention. He beheld, in every direction south of east, a vast plain, bounded only by the horizon, through which wandered the stream in question, in a south-southeast direction. It could not, therefore, be a branch of the Missouri. He now gave up all idea of taking the stream for his guide, and shaped his course to the base of a range of mountains in the east, about sixty miles distant, near which he hoped to find another stream.

The weather was now so severe, and the hardships of travelling so great, that he resolved to halt for the winter, at the first eligible place. That night they had to encamp on the open prairie, near a scanty pool of water, and without any wood to make a fire. The northeast wind blew keenly across the naked waste, and they were fain to decamp from their inhospitable bivouac before the dawn.

For two days they kept on in an eastward direction, against wintry blasts and occasional snow storms. They suffered, also, from scarcity of water, having occasionally to use melted snow; this, with the want of pasturage, reduced their old pack-horse sadly. They saw many tracks of buffalo, and some few bulls, which, however, got the wind of them, and scampered off.

On the 20th of October they steered east-northeast, for a wooved ravine, in a mountain at a small distance from the base of which, to their great joy, they discovered an abundant stream, running between willowed banks. Here they halted for the night, and Ben Jones having luckily trapped a beaver, and killed two bison bulls, they remained at the next dawn encamped, feasting and reposeing, and allowing their jaded horse to rest from his labors.

The little stream on which they were encamped, was one of the head waters of the Platte River, which flows into the Missouri; it was, in fact, the northern fork, or branch of that river, though this the travellers did not discover until long afterward. Pursuing the course of this stream for about twenty miles, they came to where it forced a passage through a line of hills covered with cedars, into an extensive low country, affording excellent pasture to numerous herds of buffalo. Here they killed three cows, which were the first they had been able to get, having hitherto had to content themselves with bull buffalo; which at this season of the year is very rare. The hump meat afforded them a repast fit for an epicure.

Late on the afternoon of the 30th they came to where the stream, now increased to a considerable size, poured along in a ravine between precipices of red sandstone, two hundred feet in height. For some distance it dashed along, over huge masses of rock, with foaming violence, as it exasperated by being compressed into so narrow a channel, and at length leaped down a chasm that looked dark and frightful in the gathering twilight.

For a part of the next day, the wild river, in its capricious wanderings, led them through a variety of striking scenes. At one time they were upon high plains, like platforms among the mountains, with herds of buffaloes roving among them; at another, among rude rocky defiles, broken into cliffs and precipices, where the black-tailed deer bounded off among the crags, and the bighorn basked on the sunny brow of the precipice.

In the after part of the day they came to another scene surpassingly savage grandeur those already described. They had been travelling for some distance through a pass of the mountains, keeping parallel with the river, as it roared along, out of sight, through a deep ravine. Sometimes their circuitous path approached the margin of cliffs below which the river foamed and boiled and whirled among the masses of rock that had fallen into its channel. As they crept cautiously on, leading their solitary pack-horse along these guilty heights, they all at once came to where the river thundered down a succession of precipices, throwing up clouds of spray, and making a prodigious din and uproar. The travellers remained, for a time, gazing with mingled awe and delight, at this furious cataract, to which Mr. Stuart gave, from the color of the impending rocks, the name of "The Fiery Narrows."

CHAPTER XLIX.

The travellers encamped for the night on the banks of the river below the cataract. The night was cold, with partial showers of rain and sleet.
The morning dawned gloomily, the skies were stormy and threatened further storms; but the little band resumed their journey, in defiance of the weather. The increasing rigor of the season, however, which makes itself felt early in these mountainous regions, and on these naked and elevated plains, brought to them a more deplorable state of destitution. They had descended about thirty miles further along the course of the river.

All were convinced that it was in vain to attempt to accomplish their journey on foot at this inclement season, on whom they had till now proceeded, after they had encamped, to traverse two to three hundred miles to traverse before they should reach the main course of the Missouri, and their route would lay over immense prairies, naked and bleak, and destitute of fuel. The question then was, where to choose their wintering place, and whether or not to proceed further down the river. They had first at imagination it to be one of the head waters, or tributary streams of the Missouri. Afterward, they had believed it to be the Rapid, or Quicourit River, in which opinion they had recovered, but they were, however, persuaded, with equal falacy, by its inclining somewhat to the north of east, that it was the Cheyenne. So, by continuing down it much further they must arrive among the Indians with whom they had till now proceeded. Among these they would be sure to meet some of the Sioux tribe. These would appear to the piratical Sioux of the Missouri, of the approach of a band of white traders; so that, in the spring time, they would be likely to be waylaid and robbed on their way down the river, by some party in ambush upon its banks.

Even should this prove to be the Quicourit or Rapid River, it would not be prudent to winter much further down upon its banks, as, though they might be out of the range of the Sioux, they would be in the neighborhood of the Poncas, a tribe near as dangerous. It was resolved, therefore, since they must winter somewhere on this side of the Missouri, to descend no lower, but to keep up in these solitary regions, where they would be in no danger of molestation.

They were brought the more promptly and unanimously to this decision, by coming upon an excellent wintering place, that promised everything requisite for their comfort. It was on a fine bend of the river, where the ground formed a kind of arch, along a ridge of mountains, and bent toward the northeast. Here was a beautiful low point of land, covered with cottonwood and surrounded by a thick growth of willow, so as to yield both shelter and fuel, as well as materials for building. The river swept by in a strong current, about a hundred and fifty yards wide. To the southeast were mountains of moderate height, the nearest about two miles off, but the whole chain ranging to the east, south, and west, as far as the eye could reach. Their summits were crowned with extensive tracts of pitch pine, checked with small patches of the quivering aspen. Lower down were thick forests of firs and red cedars, growing out in many places from the very fissures of the rocks. The mountains were broken and precipitous, with huge bluffs protruding from among the forests. Their rocky recesses and steep cliffs afforded retreats to innumerable flocks of the big horn, while their woody summits and ravines abounded with bears and black-tailed deer. These, with the numerous herds of buffalo that ranged the lower grounds along the river, promised the travellers abundant cheer in their winter quarters.

On the 2d of November, therefore, they pitched their camp for the winter, on the wooded point, and their first thought was to obtain a supply of provisions. Ben Jones and the two Canadians accordingly sallied forth, accompanied by two others of the party, leaving but one to watch the camp. Their hunting was unsuccessful, however. In the course of two days they killed only forty-two buffaloes, and collected their meat on the margin of a small brook, about a mile distant. Fortunately, a severe frost froze the river, so that the meat was easily transported to the encampment. Latterly, a herd of buffalo came trampling through the woody bottom on the river banks, and fifteen more were killed.

It was soon discovered, however, that there was game of a more dangerous nature in the neighborhood. On one occasion Mr. Crooks had wandered about a mile from the camp, and had ascended a small hill commanding a view of the river. He was without his rifle, a rare circumstance, for in these wild regions, where one may put up a wild animal, or a wild Indian, at any time, it is customary for the trade to be armed. The hill where he stood overlooked the place where the massacre of the buffalo had taken place. As he was looking around on the prospect his eye was caught by an object below, moving directly toward the hill. It was a buffalo, and he brought it to a grizzly bear, with two cubs. There was no tree at hand into which he could climb; to run would only be to provoke pursuit, and he should soon be overtaken. He threw himself on the ground, therefore, and lay motionless, watching the movements of the animal with intense anxiety. It continued to advance until at the foot of the hill, where it turned, and made into the woods, having probably gorged itself with buffalo flesh. Mr. Crooks made all haste back to the camp, rejoicing at his escape, and determining never to stir out again without his rifle. A few days after this circumstance, a grizzly bear was shot in the neighborhood by Mr. Miller.

As the slaughter of so many buffaloes had provided the party with beef for the winter, indeed, they met with no further supply, they now set to work, heart and hand, to build a comfortable wigwam. In a little while the woody promontory rang with the unsounded voice of the axe. Some of its lofty trees were laid low, and by the second evening they were cut, and left as two feet wide, and eighteen feet long. The walls were six feet high, and the whole was covered with buffalo skins. The fireplace was in the centre, and the smoke found its way out by a hole in the roof.

The hunters were next sent out to procure deer skins for garments, moccasins, and other purposes. They made the mountains echo with their rifles, and, in the course of two days' hunting, killed twenty-eight bighorns and black-tailed deer. The party now repelled in abundance. After all that they had suffered from hunger, cold, fatigue, and watchfulness; after all their perils from treacherous and savage men, they exulted in the snugness and security of their isolated cabin, hidden, as they thought, even from the prying eyes of Indian scouts, and stored with creature comforts; and they looked forward to a winter of peace and quietness; of roasting, and boiling, and broiling, and feasting upon venison, and mountain mutton, and bear's meat, and marrow bones, and buffalo humps, and other hunter's dainties, and of dosing and reposing round their fire, and gossiping over past dangers and adven-
tures, and telling long hunting stories, until spring should return; when they would make canoes of buffalo skins and float themselves down the river.

From such halcyon dreams they were startled one morning at daybreak, by a savage yell. They started up, and seized their rifles. The yell was repeated by two or three voices. Carelessly peeping out, they beheld, to their dismay, several Indian warriors among the trees, all armed and painted in warlike style; being evidently bent on some hostile purpose.

Miller changed countenance as he regarded them. "We are in trouble," said he, "these are some of the rascally Arapahays that robbed me last year." Not a word was uttered by the rest of the party, but they silently slung their powder horns and ball pouches, and prepared for battle.

McLellan, who had taken his gun to pieces the evening before, put it together in haste. He proposed that they should break out the clay from between the logs, so as to be able to fire upon the enemy.

"Not yet," replied Stuart; "it will not do to show fear or distrust; we must first hold a parley. Some one must go out and meet them as a friend." Who was to undertake the task? It was full of peril, as the envoy might be shot down at the threshold.

"The leader of a party," said Miller, "always takes the advance."

"Good," said Stuart; "I am ready." He immediately went forth; one of the Canadians followed him; the rest of the party remained in garrison, to keep the savages in check.

Stuart advanced holding his rifle in one hand, and pointing the other to the savage that appeared to be the chief. The latter stepped forward and took it; his men followed his example, and all shook hands with Stuart, in token of friendship. They now explained their errand. They were a war party of Arapahay braves. Their village lay on a stream several days' journey to the eastward. It had been attacked and ravaged during their absence, by a hand of Crows, who had carried off several of their women, and most of their horses. They were in quest of vengeance. For six days they had been tracking the Crows about the mountains, but had not yet come upon them. In the meantime they had met with scarcely any game, and were half famished. About two days previously, they had heard the report of firearms among the mountains, and on searching in the direction of the sound, had come to a place where a deer had been killed. They had immediately put themselves upon the track of the hunters, and by following it up, had arrived at the cabin.

Mr. Stuart now invited the chief and another, who appeared to be his lieutenant, into the hut, but made signs that no one else was to enter. The rest halted at the door; others came straggling up, until the whole party, to the number of two hundred, were gathered before the hut.

They were armed with bows and arrows, tomahawks, and scalping knives, and some few with guns. All were painted and dressed for war, and had a wild and fierce appearance. Mr. Miller recognized that the chief was the very following who had robbed him in the preceding year; and put his comrades upon their guard. Every man stood ready to resist the first act of hostility; the savages, however, conducted themselves peaceably, and showed no sign that swaggering arrogance which a war party is apt to assume.

On entering the hut the chief and his lieutenant cast a wistful look at the rafters, laden with venison and buffalo meat. Mr. Stuart made a merito of necessity, and invited them to help themselves. They did not wait to be pressed. The rafters were soon eased of their burden; venison and beef were passed out to the crew before the door, and a scene of gormandizing commenced, of which few can have an idea, who have not witnessed the gastronomic powers of an Indian, after an interval of fasting. This was kept up throughout the day; they paused now and then, but it is true, for a brief interval, but only to return to the charge with renewed ardor. The chief and the lieutenant surpassed all the rest in the vigor and perseverance of their attacks; as if, from their station, they were bound to signalize themselves in all onslaughts. Mr. Stuart kept them well supplied with choice bits, for it was his policy to overfeed them, and keep them from leaving the hut, where they served as hostages for the good conduct of their followers. Once, only, in the course of the day, did the chief sally forth. Mr. Stuart and one of his men accompanied him, armed with their rifles, but without betraying any distrust. The chiefman soon returned, and renewed his attack upon the savages, in turn. In a word, he and his worthy condutor, the lieutenant, were until then both stumped.

Towards the evening the Indians made their preparations for the night according to the practice of war parties. Those outside of the hut, or on the bank of the river, raised two breastworks, into which they retired at a tolerably early hour, and slept like overfed hounds. As to the chief and his lieutenant, they passed the night in the hut, in the course of which they, two or three times, got up to eat. The travelers took turns, one at a time, to mount guard until the morning.

Scarce had the day dawned, when the gormandizing was renewed by the whole band, and carried on with surprising vigor until ten o'clock, when all prepared to depart. They had six days' journey yet to make, they said, before they should come up with the Crow, which they understood were encamped on a river to the northward. Their way lay through a hungry country where there was not much game, moreover they had but little time to hunt; they, therefore, craved a small supply of provisions for their journey. Mr. Stuart again invited them to help themselves. They did so with keen forethought, loading themselves with the choicest parts of the meat, and leaving the late plenteous Harder far gone in a consumption. Their next request was for a supply of ammunition, having guns, but no powder and ball. They promised to pay magnificently out of the spoils of their foray. "We are poor now," said they, "and are obliged to go on foot, but shall soon come back laden with bounty, and all mounted on horseback, with scalps hanging at our bridles. We will then give each of you a horse to keep you from being tired on your journey."

"Well," said Mr. Stuart, "when you bring the horses, you shall have the ammunition, but not before." The Indians saw by his determined tone, that all further entreaty would be unavailing, so they desired, with a good-humored laugh, and went off exceedingly well freighted, both within and without, promising to be back again in the course of a fortnight.

No sooner were they out of hearing, than the luckless travelers held another council. The security of their cabin was at an end, and with it all
their dreams of a quiet and cozy winter. They were between two fires. On one side were their cattle, still side, the Arapahoy, no less dangerous freebooters. As to the moderation of this war party, they considered it assumed, to put them off their guard against some more favorable opportunity for a surprise. It was determined, therefore, not to await their return, but to abandon, with all speed, this dangerous neighborhood. From the accounts of their recent visitors, they were led to believe, though erroneously, that they were upon the Quangkan or Rapid River. They prepared now to keep along it to its confluence with the Missouri; but, should they be prevented by the rigors of the season from proceeding so far, at least to reach a part of the river where they might be able to construct canoes of greater strength and durability than those of buffalo skins.

Accordingly, on the 13th of December, they bade adieu, with many a regret, to their comfortable quarters, where, for five weeks, they had been indulging the sweets of repose, of plenty, and of fancied security. They were still accompanied by their veteran pack-horse, which the Arapahoy had omitted to sti'ke either because they intended to steal them on their return, or because they thought them not worth stealing.

CHAPTER L.

The interval of comfort and repose which the party had enjoyed in their wigwam, rendered the renewal of their fatigues intolerable for the first two or three days. The snow lay deep, and was slightly frozen on the surface, but not sufficiently to bear their weight. Their feet became sore by breaking through the crust, and their limbs weary by floundering on without firm foothold. So exhausted and dispirited were they, that they began to think it would be better to remain and run the risk of being killed by the Indians, than to drag on thus painfully, with the probability of perishing by the way. Their miserable horse fared no better than themselves, having for the first day or two no other sustenance than grass, and a handful of thyme and the bark of the cotton-wood tree.

They all, however, appeared to gain patience and hardihood as they proceeded, and for fourteen days kept steadily on, making a distance of about three hundred and thirty miles. For some days the range of mountains which had been near to their wigwam kept parallel to the river at no great distance, but at length subsided into hills. Sometimes they found the river bordered with alluvial bottoms, and groves with cotton-wood and willows; sometimes the adjacent country was naked and barren. In one place it ran for a considerable distance between rocky hills and promontories covered with cedars and pitch pines, and peopled with the bighorn and the mountain deer; at other places it wandered through prairies well stocked with bufaloes and antelopes. As they descended the course of the river, they began to perceive the ash and white oak here and there among the cotton-wood and willow; and at length came in sight of some wild horses on the distant prairies.

The weather was various; at one time the snow lay deep; then they had a genial day or two, with the mildness and serenity of autumn; then, again, the frost was so severe that the river was sufficiently frozen to bear them upon the ice.

During the last three days of their fortnight's travel, however, the face of the country changed. The timber gradually giving place, they scarcely find fuel sufficient for culinary purposes. The game grew more and more scanty, and, finally, none were hit but a few miserable broken-down buffalo bulls, not worth killing. The snow lay fifteen inches deep, and made the traveling grievously painful and toilsome. At length, they came to an immense plain, where no vestige of timber was to be seen; nor a single quadruped to enliven the desolate landscape. Here, then, their hearts failed them, and they held another consultation. The width of the river, which was upward of a mile, its extreme shallowness, the frequency of quicksands, and various other characteristics, had at length made them sensible of their errors with respect to it, and they now came to the correct conclusion, that they were on the banks of the Platte or Shallow River.

What were they to do? Pursue its course to the Missouri? To go on at this season of the year seemed dangerous in the extreme. There was no prospect of obtaining either food or firing. The country was destitute of trees, and though there might be drift-wood along the river, it lay too deep beneath the snow for them to find it. The weather was threatening a snow-storm, and a snow-storm on these boundless wastes, might prove as fatal as a whirlwind of sand on an Arabian desert. After much deliberation, it was at length determined to retrace their last three days' journey of seventy-seven miles, to a place which they had remarked where there was a sheltering growth of forest trees, and a country abundant in game. Here they would once more set up their winter quarters, and await the opening of the navigation to launch themselves in canoes.

Accordingly, on the 27th of December, they faced about, retraced their steps, and on the 30th, regained the part of the river in question. Here the alluvial bottom was from one to two miles wide, and thickly covered with a forest of cotton-wood trees; while herds of buffalo were scattered about the neighboring prairie, several of which soon fell beneath their rifle.
ASTORIA.

plenty in the neighborhood. They felled two large trees, and shaped them into canoes; and, as the spring opened, and a thaw of several days' continuance melted the ice in the river, they made every preparation for embarking. On the 8th of March they launched forth in their canoes, but soon found that the river had not depth sufficient even for such slender larks. It expanded into a wide but extremely shallow stream, with many sandbars, and occasionally various channels. They got one of their canoes a few miles down it, with extreme difficulty; sometimes wading and dragging it over the shoals; at length they had to abandon the attempt, and to resume their journey on foot, aided by their faithful old pack-horse, who had recruited strength during the reposè of the winter.

The weather delayed them for a few days, having suddenly become more rigorous than it had been at any time during the winter; but on the 20th of March they were again on their journey.

In a day they arrived at the vast naked prairie, the wintry aspect of which had caused them, in December, to pause and turn back. It was now clothed in the early verdure of spring, and plentifully stocked with game. Still, when oblique and direct, on its bare surface, without any shelter, and by a scanty fire of dry buffalo dung, they found the night blest piercing cold.

On one occasion a herd of buffalo straying near their evening camp, they killed three of them merely for their hides, wherewith to make a shelter for the night.

They continued on for upward of a hundred miles; with vast prairies extending before them as they advanced; sometimes diversified by undulating hills, but destitute of trees. In one place they saw a gang of sixty-five wild horses, but as to the buffalo, they seemed absolutely to cover the country. Wild geese abounded, and they passed extensive swamps that were alive with innumerable flocks of water-fowl, among which were a few swans, but an endless variety of ducks.

The river continued a winding course to the east-northeast, nearly a mile in width, but too shallow to float even an empty canoe. The country extended into a vast flat plain, bounded on the horizon alone, excepting the north, where a line of hills seemed like a long promontory, stretching into the bosom of the ocean. The dreary sameness of the prairie wastes began to grow extremely irksome. The travellers longed for the sight of a forest or grove, or single tree, to break the level uniformity, and began to notice every object that gave reason to hope they were drawing toward the end of this weary wilderness.

Thus the occurrence of a particular kind of grass was hailed as a proof that they could not be far from the bottoms of the Missouri; and they were rejoiced at putting up several prairie hens, a kind of grouse seldom found far in the interior. In picking up drift-wood for fuel, also, they found on some pieces the mark of an axe, which caused much speculation as to the time when and the persons by whom the trees had been felled. Thus they went on, like sailors at sea, who perceive in every floating weed and wandering bird, harbingers of the land-for land.

By the close of the month the weather became very mild, and, heavily burdened as they were, they found the noontide temperature uncomfortably warm. On the 30th, they came to three desolate camps, under Point, on the Detroit, about which were buffalo skulls in all directions; and the frames on which the hides had been stretched and cured. They had apparently been occupied the preceding autumn.

For several days they kept patiently on, watching every sign that might give them an idea as to where they were, and how near to the banks of the Missouri.

Though there were numerous traces of hunting parties and encampments, they were not of recent date. The country seemed deserted. The only human beings they met with were three Pawnee squaws, in a hut in the midst of a deserted camp. Their people had all gone to the south, in pursuit of the buffalo, and had left these poor women behind, being too sick and infirm to travel.

It is a common practice with the Pawnees, and probably with other roving tribes, when departing on a distant expedition, which will not admit of incumbrance or delay, to leave their aged and infirm with a supply of provisions sufficient for a temporary subsistence. When this is exhausted they must perish; though sometimes their sufferings are abridged by hostile prowlers who may visit the deserted camp.

The poor squaws in question expected some such fate at the hands of the white strangers, and though the latter accosted them in the kindest manner, and enabled them to procure the necessary meat, it was impossible to soothe their alarm or get any information from them.

The first landmark by which the travellers were enabled to conjecture their position with any degree of confidence, was an island about seventy miles in length, which they presumed to be Grand Isle. If so, they were within one hundred and forty miles of the Missouri. They kept on, therefore, with renewed spirit, and at the end of three days met with an Otto Indian, by whom they were convinced in their conjecture. They learnt at the same time another piece of information, of an uncomfortable nature. According to his account, there was war between the United States and England, and in fact it had existed for a whole year, during which time they had been beyond the reach of all knowledge of the affairs of the civilized world.

The Otto conducted the travellers to his village, situated a short distance from the banks of the Platte. Here they were delighted to meet with two white men, Messrs. Dormin and Roi, Indian traders recently from St. Louis. Of these they had a thousand inquiries to make concerning all affairs, Indian and domestic, during their year of seclusion in the wilderness; and especially about the events of the existing war.

They now prepared to abandon their weary travel by land, and to embark upon the water. A bargain was made with Mr. Dormin, who engaged to furnish them with a canoe and provisions for the voyage, in exchange for their venerable and well-tried fellow-traveller, the old Snake horse.

Accordingly, in a couple of days, the Indians employed by that gentleman constructed for them a canoe twenty feet long, four feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. The frame was of poles and willow twigs, on which were stretched five elk and buffalo hides, sewed together with sinews, and the seams painted with uncouth mud. In this they embarked at an early hour on the 16th of April, and drifted down ten miles with the stream, when the wind being high they encamped, and set to work to make oars, which they had not been able to procure at the Indian village.

Once more they passed through their old camps, on the stream, and after making thirty-five miles, emerged into the broad turbid current of the Mis-
sour. Here they were borne along briskly by the rapid stream, though, by the time their fragile bands could ply, a mile, its current began to show the effects of the voyage. Luckily they came to the deserted wintering place of some hunting party, where they found two old wooden canoes. Taking possession of the largest, they again committed themselves to the current and, after dropping down fifty-five miles further, arrived safely at Fort Osage.

Here they found Lieutenant Brownson still in command; the officer who had given the expedition a hospitable reception on its way up the river, eighteen months previously. He received this remnant of the party with a cordial welcome, and endeavored in every way to promote their comfort and enjoyment during their sojourn at the fort. The greatest luxury they met with on their return to the abode of civilized man, was bread, not having tasted any for nearly a year.

Their stay at Fort Osage was but short. On re-embarking they were furnished with an ample supply of provisions by the kindness of Lieutenant Brownson, and performed the rest of their voyage without adverse circumstance. On the 30th of April they arrived in perfect health and fine spirits at St. Louis, having been ten months in performing this perilous expedition from Astoria. Their return caused a sensation at the place, bringing the first intelligence of the fortune of Mr. Hunt and his party, in their adventurous route across the Rocky Mountains, and of the new establishment on the shores of the Pacific.

CHAPTER LI.

It is now necessary, in linking together the parts of this excursive narrative, that we notice the proceedings of Mr. Astor, in support of his great undertaking. His project with respect to the Russian establishments along the northwest coast, had been diligently prosecuted. The agent sent by him to St. Petersburg, to negotiate in his name as president of the American Fur Company, had, under sanction of the Russian Government, concluded a provisional agreement with the Russian company.

By this agreement, which was ratified by Mr. Astor in 1813, the two companies bound themselves not to interfere with each other's trading and hunting grounds, nor to furnish arms and ammunition to the Indians. They were to act in concert, also, against all interlopers, and to succor each other in case of danger. The American company was to have the exclusive right of supplying the Russian posts with goods and necessary, receiving peltries in payment at stated prices. They were also, if so requested by the Russian governour, to convey the furs of the Russian company to Canton, sell them on commission, and bring back the proceeds, at such freight as might be agreed on at the time. This agreement was to continue in operation four years, and to be renewable for a similar term, unless some unforeseen contingency should render a modification necessary.

It was calculated to be of great service to the infant establishment at Astoria; dispelling the fears of hostile rivalry on the part of the foreign companies in its neighborhood, and giving a form of protection to its commerce with the coast. It was also the intention of Mr. Astor to have coasting vessels of his own, at Astoria, of small tonnage and draft of water, fitted for coasting service. These, having a place of shelter and deposit, could ply along the coast in favorable weather, and would have vast advantage over chance ships, which must make long voyages, maintain numerous crews, and could only approach the coast at certain seasons of the year. He hoped, therefore, judiciously, to make Astoria the great emporium of the American fur trade in the Pacific, and the nucleus of a powerful American state. Unfortunately for these sanguine anticipations, before Mr. Astor had ratified the agreement, as above stated, war broke out between the United States and Great Britain. He perceived at once the peril of the case. The harbor of New York would doubtless be blockaded, and the departure of the annual supply ship in the autumn prevented; or, if she should succeed in getting out to sea, she might be captured on her voyage.

In this emergency, he wrote to Captain Sowle, commander of the Beaver. The letter, which was addressed to him at Canton, directed him to proceed to the factory at the mouth of the Columbia, with such articles as the establishment might need; and to remain there, subject to the orders of Mr. Hunt, should that gentleman be in command there.

The war continued. No tidings had yet been received from Astoria; the dispatches having been delayed by the misadventure of Mr. Reed at the falls of the Columbia, and the unshipping of St. Mary's by the British, some of whom proceeded up the river as far as the mouth of the Columbia. A painful uncertainty, also, prevailed about Mr. Hunt and his party. Nothing had been heard of them since their departure from the Arikara village; Lisa, who parted from them there, had predicted their destruction; and some of the traders of the Northwest Company had actually spread a rumor of their having been cut off by the Indians.

It was a hard trial of the courage and means of an individual, to have to fit out another costly expedition, where so much had already been expended, so much uncertainty prevailed, and where the risk of loss was so greatly enhanced, that no insurance could be effected.

In spite of all these discouragements, Mr. Astor determined to send another party to the relief of the settlement. He selected for this purpose a vessel called the Lark, remarkable for her fast sailing. The disordered state of the times, however, caused such a delay, that February arrived, while the vessel was yet under the works at Williamsburg.

At this juncture Mr. Astor learnt that the Northwest Company were preparing to send out an armed ship of twenty guns, called the Isaac Todd, to form an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia. These tidings gave him great uneasiness. A considerable proportion of the persons in his employ were Scotchmen and Canadians, and several of them had been in the service of the Northwest Company. Should Mr. Hunt have failed to arrive at Astoria, the whole establishment would be under the control of Mr. M'Dougall, of whose fidelity he had received very disparaging accounts from Captain Thorn. The British Government, also, might deem it worth while to send a force against the establishment, having been urged to do so some time previously, by the Northwest Company.

Under all these circumstances, Mr. Astor wrote to Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of State, requesting protection for the settlement in the United States. He represented the importance of this settlement, in a commercial point of view,
and the shelter it might afford to the American vessels in those seas. All he asked was, that the American Government would throw forty or fifty men into the fort at his establishment, which would be sufficient for its defence, until he could send reinforcements overland.

He waited in vain for a reply to his letter, the Government, no doubt, being engrossed at the time, by an overwhelming crowd of affairs. The month of March arrived, and the Lark was ordered by Mr. Astor to put to sea. The officer who was detailed to command her stowed his engagement and in the exiguity of the moment she was given in charge to Mr. Northrop, the mate. Mr. Nicholas G. Ogden, a gentleman on whose talents and integrity the highest reliance could be placed, sailed as supercargo. The Lark put to sea in the beginning of March, 1813.

By this opportunity Mr. Astor wrote to Mr. Hunt, as head of the establishment at the mouth of the Columbia, for he would not allow himself to doubt of his welfare. "I always think you are well," said he, "and that I shall see you again, which heaven, I hope, will grant."

He warned him to be on his guard against any attempts to surprise the post; suggesting the probability of armed hostility on the part of the Northwest Company, and expressing his indignation at the ungrateful returns made by that association for his frank and open conduct, and advantageous overtures. "Were I on the spot," said he, "I would manage the affairs of the vessel so as to make them all; but, as it is, everything depends upon you and your friends about you. Our enterprise is grand, and deserves success, and I hope in God it will meet with success. If my object was not to make money, I should say whether it is best to save what we can, and abandon the place; but the very idea is like a dagger to my heart." This extract is sufficient to show the spirit and the views which actuated Mr. Astor in this great undertaking.

Week after week and month after month elapsed, without anything to dispel the painful incertitude that hung over every part of this enterprise. Though a man of resolute spirit, and not easily cast down, the dangers impending over this big undertaking, his spirit suffered a gradual effect upon the spirits of Mr. Astor. He was sitting one gloomy evening by his window revolving over the loss of the Tonquin, and the fate of her unfortunate crew, and hearing that some equally tragical calamity might have befallen the adventurers across the mountains, when the evening newspaper was brought to him. The first paragraph that caught his eye, announced the arrival of Mr. Stuart and his party at St. Louis, with intelligence that Mr. Hunt and his companions had effected their perilous expedition to the mouth of the Columbia. This was a gleam of sunshine that for a time dispelled every cloud, and he now looked forward with sanguine hope to the accomplishment of all his plans.

CHAPTER LII.

The course of our narrative now takes us back to the regions beyond the mountains, to dispose of the parties that set out from Astoria in company with Mr. Robert Stuart, and whom he left on the banks of the Wallah-Wallah. Those parties likewise separated from each other shortly after his departure, proceeding to their respective destinations, but agreeing to meet at the mouth of the Wallah-Wallah, about the beginning of June in the following year, with such peltries as they should have collected in the interior, so as to convey each other through the dangerous passes of the Columbia.

Mr. David Stuart, one of the partners, proceeded with his men to the post already established by him at the mouth of the Oakenigan; having furnished this with goods and ammunition, he proceeded three hundred miles up that river, where he established another post in a good trading neighborhood.

Mr. Clarke, another partner, conducted his little band up Lewis River to the mouth of a small stream coming in from the north, to which the Canadians gave the name of the Pavion. Here he found a village or encampment of forty huts or tents, covered with mats, and inhabited by Nez Perce, or pierced-nose Indians, as they are called by the traders; but Chinook, as they are called by themselves. They are a hardy, laborious, and somewhat knavish race, who lead a precarious life, fishing and digging roots during the summer and autumn, hunting the deer on snow shoes during the winter, and traversing the Rocky Mountains in the spring for little skins with the hunting tribes of the Missouri. In these migrations they are liable to be waylaid and attacked by the Blackfeet, and other warlike and predatory tribes, and driven back across the mountains with the loss of their horses, and not a few of their comrades.

A life of this unsettled and precarious kind is apt to render men selfish, and such Mr. Clarke found the inhabitants of this village, who were inefficient in the use of horses; parting with everything with extreme reluctance, and showing no sensibility to any act of kindness. At the time of his arrival they were all occupied in catching and curing salmon. The men were stout, robust, active, and good looking, and the women handsomer than those of the tribes nearer the coast.

It was the plan of Mr. Clarke to lay up his boats here, and proceed by land to his place of destination, which was among the Spokan tribe of Indians, about fifty miles back, and parting with everything with extreme reluctance, and showing no sensibility to any act of kindness. They asked high prices for their horses, and were so difficult to deal with, that Mr. Clarke detained seven days among them before he could procure a sufficient number. During that time he was annoyed by repeated pilferings, for which he could get no redress. The chief promised to recover the stolen articles; but failed to do so, alleging that the thieves belonged to a distant tribe, and had made off with their booty. With this excuse Mr. Clarke was fain to content himself, though he laid up in his heart a bitter grudge against the whole pierced-nose race which as will be found he took occasion subsequently to gratify in a signal manner.

Having made arrangements for his departure, Mr. Clarke laid up his large canoes in a sheltered place, on the banks of a small bay, overgrown with shrubs and willows, and left them to the care of the Nez Perce chief, who, on being promised an ample compensation, engaged to have a guardian eye upon them; then mounting his steed, and putting himself at the head of his little caravan, he shook the dust off his feet as he turned his back upon this village of rogues
and hard dealers. We shall not follow him minutely in his journey; which lay att imes over steep and rocky hills, and among crags and precipices; at others along the winding streams of the Columbia, plains, abounding with rattlesnakes, in traversing which, both men and horses suffered intolerably from heat and thirst. The place on which he fixed for a trading post, was a fine point of land, at the mouth of the river, with a commanding view of the whole valley, and all the country upon its borders. His establishment was intended to compete with a trading post of the Northwest Company, situated at no great distance, and to rival it in the trade with the Spokane Indians; as well as with the Cootonais and Flatheads. In this neighborhood we shall leave him for the present.

Mr. M'Kenzie, who conducted the third party from the Wallah-Wallah, navigated for several days up the south branch of the Columbia, named the Camanoon by the natives, but commonly called the Lewis River, in honor of the first explorer. Wandering bands of various tribes were seen along this river, traveling in various directions; for the Indians generally are restless, roving-being ever ready to get away on errands of war, trade, and hunting. Some of these people were driving large lads of horses, as if to a distant market. Having arrived at the mouth of the Shuapannah, he ascended some distance up that river, and established his trading post upon its shores. This appeared to be a great thoroughfare for the tribes from the neighborhood of the falls of the Columbia, in their expeditions to make war upon the tribes of the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo on the plains beyond, or to traffic for roots and buffalo robes. It was the season of migration, and the Indians from various distant parts were passing and repassing in great numbers.

Mr. M'Kenzie now detached a small band, under the conduct of Mr. John Reed, to visit the caches made by Mr. Hunt at the Caldon Lin, and to bring the contents to his post; as he depended in some measure on them for his supplies of goods and ammunition. They had not been gone a week when two Indians arrived at the Pal-lataquaria tribe, who live upon a river of the same name. These communicated the unwelcome intelligence that the caches had been robbed. They said that some of their tribe, had in the course of the preceding spring, been across the mountains when separated from the Snake's winter, and had traded with the Snakes in exchange for blankets, robes, and goods of various descriptions. These articles the Snakes had procured from caches to which they were guided by some white men who resided among them, and who afterward accompanied them across the Rocky Mountains.

This intelligence was extremely perplexing to Mr. M'Kenzie, but the truth of part of it was confirmed by the two Indians, who brought them an English saddle and bridle, which was recognized as having belonged to Mr. Crooks. The perjury of the white men who revealed the secret of the caches, was, however, perfectly inexplicable. We shall presently account for it in narrating the expedition of Mr. Reed.

A Mr. McLauchlan proceeded on his mission with his usual alacrity. His forlorn travels of the preceding winter had made him acquainted with the topography of the country, and he reached Snake River without any material difficulty. Here in an encampment of the natives, he met with some white men, who, on their return from the expedition of Mr. Hunt, who, after having had their respective shares of adventures and mishaps, had fortunately come together at this place. Three of these men were Turcotte, La Chapelle, and Francois Landry: the three Canadian voyageurs, who, it may be recollected, had left Mr. Crooks in February in the neighborhood of Astoria, and were there dismayed by the increasing hardships of the journey, and fearful of perishing of hunger. They had returned to a Snake encampment, where they passed the residue of the winter. Early in the spring the party derived destitute, and in great extremity, and having worn out the hospitality of the Snakes, they determined to avail themselves of the buried treasures within their knowledge. They accordingly informed the Snake chieftains that they knew where a great quantity of goods had been left in caches, enough to enrich the whole tribe; and offered to conduct them to the place, on condition of being rewarded with horses and provisions. The chieftains pledged their faith and honor as great men and Snakes, and the three Canadians conducted them to the place of deposit at the Caldon Lin. This is the way that the savages got knowledge of the caches, and not by following the tracks of wolves, as Mr. Stuart had supposed. They digged them up, and turned them over with more eagerness than did the savages lay open the treasures of the caches. Blankets and robes; brass trinkets and blue beads were fished forth with chuckling exultation, and long strips of scarlet cloth produced yells of ecstasy.

The rilling of the caches effected a change in the fortunes and deportment of the whole party. The Snakes were better equipped and clad than ever were Snakes before, and the three Canadians, suddenly finding themselves with horse to ride and weapon to wear, were, like beggars on horseback, ready to ride on any wild scamp. An opportunity soon presented. The Snakes determined on a hunting match on the buffalo plains, to lay in a supply of beef, that they might live in plenty, as became men of their improved condition. The three newly mounted cavaliers must conduct them. They all traversed the Rocky Mountains in safety, descended to the head waters of the Missouri, and made great havoc among the buffalo. Their hunting camp was full of meat; they were gorging themselves, like true Indians, with present plenty, and drying and jerked great stores of meat for winter use. Among their resplendent and good chear, the camp was surprised by the Blackfeet. Several of the Snakes were slain on the spot; the residue, with their three Canadian allies, fled to the mountains, stripped of horses, buffalo meat, everything; and made their way back to the old encampment on Snake River, poorer than ever, but esteeming themselves fortunate in having escaped with their lives. They had not been long there when the Canadians were cheered by the sight of a companion in misfortune, DuBarre, the poor voyager who had left Mr. Crooks in March, being too much exhausted to keep on with them. Not long afterward, three other straggling members of the main expedition made their appearance. These were Carson, St. Michael, and St. Vrain. The three of the trappers, who, in company with Peter Detaye, had been left among the mountains by Mr. Hunt, to trap beaver, in the preceding month of September. They had departed from the main body well armed and provided, with horses to ride, and horses to carry out the supplies they had to collect. They came wading into the Snake camp as rugged and destitute as their predecessors. It appears that they had finished their trap-
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ping, and were making their way in the spring to
the Missourie, when they were met and attacked
by a powerful band of the all-pervading Crows.
They made a desperate resistance, and killed seven
of the savages, but were overpowered by num-
bers. Pierre Detaye was slain, the rest were
robbed of horses and effects, and obliged to turn
back, when they fell in with their old companions,
as already mentioned.

We should observe, that at the heels of Pierre
Delaunay came dragging an Indian wife, whom
he had picked up in his wanderings; having
gained a wary of propinquity among the savages.

The whole seven of this forlorn fraternity of
adventurers, thus accidentally congregated on the
banks of Snake River, were making arrange-
ments once more to cross the mountains, when
some Indian scouts brought word of the approach
of the little band headed by John Reed.

The latter, having heard the several stories of
these wanderers, took them all into his party, and
set out for the Caldon Linn, to clear out two or
the caches which had not been revealed to the
Indians.

At that place he met with Robinson, the Ken-
tucky veteran, who with two of his comrades, Zez-
ner and Hoback, had remained there when Mr.
Stuart went on. This adventurous trio had been
travailing up the river, but found a canoe to
wait the expected arrival of the party, and obtain horses and equip-
ments. He told Reed the story of the robbery
of his party by the Arapahays, but it differed, in
some particulars, from the account given by him
to Mr. Stuart. In that he had represented Cass
as having shamefully deserted his companions in
their extremity, carrying off with him a horse; in
the other, he named Cass as having been killed in
the affray with the Arapahays. A considerable
discrepancy, of which, of course, Reed could have
had no knowledge at the time, occurred with other circumstances, to occasion afterward some
mysterious speculations and dark surmises, as to the
real fate of Cass; but as no substantial grounds were ever adduced for them, we forbear
to throw any deeper shades into this story of suf-
ferrings in the wilderness.

Mr. Reed having gathered the remainder of the
c Goods from the caches, put himself at the head of his party, augmented by the seven men to
his casual pick-up, and the squaw of Pierre De-
lauenay, and made his way successfully to M'Ken-
zie's Post, on the waters of the Shahaptan.

CHAPTER LIII.

AFTER the departure of the different detach-
ments or brigades, as they are called by the
traders, the Beaver prepared for her voyage along
the coast, and her visit to the Russian establish-
ment, at New Archangel, where she was to carry
supplies. It had been determined in the council
of partners at Astoria, that Mr. Hunt should embar-

k in this vessel, for the purpose of acquainting
himself with the coasting trade, and of making
arrangements with the commander of the Russian
post, and that he should be relieved in Octo-
ber, at Astoria, by the Beaver, on her way to
the Sandwich islands, and Canton.

The Beaver proceeded to sea in the month of August.
Her departure, and that of the various brigades,
left the fortress of Astoria but slightly garrisoned.
This was soon perceived by some of the Indian
tribes, and the consequence was increased insolu-
teness of disposition to hostility. It was now the fishing season, when the
tribes from the northern coast drew into the
neighborhood of the Columbia. These were war-like and perilous in their dispositions; and not-
ed for their attempts to surprise trading ships.
Among them were numbers of the ferocious tribe that massacred the crew of the
Tonquin.

Great precautions, therefore, were taken at the
factory to guard against surprise while these dan-
gerous intruders were in the vicinity. Factories
were constructed inside of the palisades; the bastions
were heightened, and sentinels were posted
day and night. Fortunately, the Chinooks and
other tribes resident in the vicinity manifested
the most pacific disposition. Old Commonly, who
held sway over them, was a shrewd calculator.
He was aware of the advantages of having the
whites as neighbors and allies, and of the conse-
quence derived to himself and his people from
acting as intermediate traders between them and
the distant tribes. He had, therefore, by this
time, become a firm friend of the Astorians, and
formed a kind of barrier between them and the
hostile intruders from the north.

The summer of 1812 passed away without any
of the hostilities that had been apprehended; the
Neweetees, and other dangerous visitors to the
neighborhood, finished their fishing and returned
home, and the inhabitants of the factory once more
felt secure from attack.

It now became necessary to guard against other
evils. The season of scarcity arrived, which com-
ences in October, and lasts until the end of Jan-
uary. To provide for the support of the garrison,
the shallop was employed to foreage about the
shores of the river. A number of the men, also,
under the command of some of the clerks, were sent
to quarter themselves on the banks of the Wollamut
(the Multnomah of Lewis and Clark), a fine river
which disembogues itself into the Columbia, about
sixty miles above Astoria. The country bordering
on the river is finely diversified with prairies
and hills, and forests of oak, ash, maple, and
cedar. It abounded, at that time, with elk and
deer, and the streams were well stocked with
beaver. Here the party, after supplying their
own wants, were employed in drying and curing
meat, and sending it by canoes to Astoria.

The month of October elapsed without the
return of the Beaver. November, December, Jan-
uary, passed away, and still nothing was seen or
heard of her. Gloomy apprehensions now began
to be entertained; she might have been wrecked
in the course of her coasting voyage, or sur-
pised, like the Tonquin, by some of the treach-
erous tribes of the north.

No one indulged more in these apprehensions
than M'Dougal, who had now the charge of the
establishment. He no longer evinced the bustling
confidence and buoyancy which once character-
ized him. Command seemed to have lost its
charms for him, or rather, he gave way to the
most abject despondency, decrying the whole en-
terprise, magnifying every inward circumstance,
and foreboding nothing but evil.

While in this moody state, he was surprised,
on the 16th of January, by the sudden appearance
of M'Kenzie, wayworn and weather-beaten by a
long wintry journey from his post of the Sha-
htan, and with a face the very frontispiece for a
volume of misfortune. M'Kenzie had been heart-
ily disgusted and disappointed at his post. It
was in the midst of the Tushapaws, a powerful and warlike nation, divided into many tribes, under different chiefs, who possessed innumerable horses, but, not having turned their attention to beaver trapping, had no fur to offer. According to time of the year, they moved from one to another of their tribes; from which we may infer that they were prone to consult their own interests, more than to sympathize with any of the greedy Indian trader.

One being scarce, he was obliged to rely, for the most part, on horse-flesh for subsistence, and the Indians discovering his necessities, adopted a policy usual in civilized trade, and raised the price of horses to an exorbitant rate, knowing that he and his men must eat or die. In this way, the goods he had brought to trade for heavier skins, were likely to be bartered for horse-flesh, and all the proceeds devoured upon the spot.

He had dispatched trappers in various directions, but the country around did not offer more beaver than his own station. In this emergency he began to think of abandoning his unprofitable post, sending his goods to the posts of Clarke and David Stuart, who could make a better use of them, as they were in a good beaver country, and returned; but he had to seek some other and better destination. With this view he repaired to the post of Mr. Clarke, to hold a consultation. While the two partners were in conference at Mr. Clarke's wigwam, an unexpected visitor came bustling in upon them.

This was Mr. John George M'Tavish, a partner of the Northwest Company, who had charge of the rival trading posts established in that neighborhood. Mr. M'Tavish was the delighted messenger of bad news. He had been to Lake Winnipeg, where he received an express from Canada containing the declaration of war, and President Madison's proclamation, which he handed over to the most officious complaisance of Messrs. Clarke and M'Kenzie. He moreover told them that he had received a fresh supply of goods from the northwest posts on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, and was prepared for vigorous opposition to the establishment of the American company. He copped the climax of this obligation but before he left the shore as the Chief of the Beaver and the armed ship, Isaac Todd, was to be at the mouth of the Columbia the beginning of March, to get possession of the trade of the river, and that he was ordered to join her there at that time.

The receipt of this news determined M'Kenzie. He immediately returned to the Sh'ahapant, broke up his establishment, deposited his goods in cache, and hastened, with all his people, to Astoria.

The intelligence thus brought, completed the demoralization of M'Dougall, and seemed to produce a complete confusion of mind. He held a council of war with M'Kenzie, at which some of the clerks were present, but, of course, had no votes. They gave up all hope of maintaining the post at Astoria. The Beaver had probably been lost; they could receive no aid from the United States, as all ports would be blockaded. From England nothing could be expected but hostility. It was determined, therefore, to abandon the establishment in the opening of the ensuing spring, and return across the Rocky Mountains.

In pursuance of this resolution, they suspended all trade with the natives, except for provisions, having already more peltries than they could carry away, and having need of all the goods for the clothing and subsistence of their people during the remainder of their sojourn, and on their journey across the mountains. Their intention of abandoning Astoria was, however, kept secret from the men, lest they should at once give up all labor, and become less and insensible. In the meantime, M'Kenzie set off for his post at the Shahapant, to get his goods from the caches, and buy horses and provisions with them for the caravan across the mountains. He was charged with dispatches from Mr. Stuart and Clarke, apprising them of the intended migration, that they might make timely preparations.

M'Kenzie was accompanied by two of the clerks, Mr. John Reed, the Irishman, and Mr. Alfred Seton, of New York. They embarked in two canoes, manned by seventeen men, and ascended the river without any incident of importance, until they arrived in the eventful neighborhood of the rapids. They made the portage of the narrows and the falls early in the afternoon, and, having partaken of a scanty meal, had now a long evening on their hands.

On the opposite side of the river lay the village of Wishram, of freebooting renown. Here lived some squaws, who were a terror to the savages and the traders. With the usual avidity they seized their chance of a prize, and active James Reed, when hearing his tir banished from the tribe.

It was known that the ridge of which he was despoiled was retained as a trophy at the village of Wishram, and that he was offered to cross the river, and demand the return of the lost one, if any. The Indians were aware that he was a half-bred Indian, for these villages were noted for the ruffian character of their inhabitants; yet two volunteers promptly stepped forward, Alfred Seton, the clerk, and Joe de la Pierre, the cook. The two soon reached the opposite side of the river. On landing they quickly primed their rifles and pistols. A path winding for a hundred yards among rocks and crags, led to the village. No noise seemed to be taken of their approach. Not a solitary being, man woman, or child appeared on them. The very dogs, these noisy pets of an Indian town, kept silence. On entering the village, a boy made his appearance, and pointed to a house of larger dimensions than the rest. They had to creep to and enter. Here they had passed the night, and the narrow passage behind them was filled up by a sudden rush of Indians, who had kept out of sight.

M'Kenzie and his companions found themselves in a rude chamber of about twenty-five feet long, and twenty wide. A bright fire was blazing at one end, near which sat the chief, about sixty years old. A large number of Indians, wrapped in buffalo robes, were squatted in rows, their heads forming a semicircle round three sides of the room. A single glance around sufficed to show them the grim and dangerous assembly into which they had intruded, and that all retreat was cut off by the mass which blocked up the entrance.

They were pointed to the vacant side of the room opposite to the door, and motioned for them to take their seats. They complied. A dead pause ensued. The grim warriors around sat like statues; each muffled in his robe, with his fierce eyes bent on the intruders. The latter felt they were in perilous predicament.

"Keep your eyes on the chief while I address him," said M'Kenzie to his companions.

"Should he give any sign to his hand, shoot him, and make for the door." M'Kenzie advanced, and offered the pipe of
peace to the chief, but it was refused. He then made a regular speech, explaining the object of their visit, and proposing to give in exchange for their two blankets, an axe, some beads, and tobacco.

When he had done the chief rose, began to address him in a low voice, but soon became loud and violent, and ended by working himself up into a Parthian frenzy. He upbraided the white men for their sordid conduct in passing and repassing through their neighborhood, without giving them a blanket or any other article of goods, merely because they had no furs to barter in exchange; and he concluded with threats of vengeance, to the death of the Indian killed by the whites in the skirmish at the falls.

Matters were venging to a crisis. It was evident the surrounding savages were only waiting a signal from the chief to spring upon their prey. Mr. Kenzie and his companions had gradually risen on their feet during the speech, and had brought their rifles to a horizontal position, the barrels resting in their left hands; the muzzle of Mr. Kenzie's piece was within three feet of the speaker's heart. They cocked their rifles; the click of the locks for a moment suffused the dark cheek of the savage, and there was a pause. They coolly, but promptly advanced to the door; the Indians fell back in awe, and suffered them to pass. The sun was just setting as they emerged from this dangerous den. They took the precaution to keep along the tops of the rocks as much as possible on their way back to the canoe, and reached their camp in safety, congratulating themselves on their escape, and feeling no desire to make a second visit to the grim warriors of Wish-ram.

Mr. Kenzie and his party resumed their journey the next morning. At some distance above the falls of the Columbia, they observed two bark canoes, filled with white men, coming down the river, to the full chant of a set of Canadian voyageurs. A parley ensued. It was a detachment of northwesterners, under the command of Mr. John George M'Tavish, bound, full of song and spirit, to the mouth of the Columbia, to await the arrival of the Isaac Todd.

Mr. M'Kenzie and M'Tavish came to a halt, and landing, encamped together for the night. The voyageurs of either party hailed each other as brothers, and old "companions," and they mingled together as if united by one common interest, instead of being divided by rival companies, and trading under hostile flags.

In the morning they proceeded on their different ways, in style corresponding to their different fortunes, the one toiling painfully against the stream, the other sweeping down gayly with the current.

Mr. Kenzie arrived safely at his deserted post on the Shalapian, but found, to his chagrin, that his caches had been discovered and rifled by the Indians. Here was a dilemma, for on the stolen goods he had depended to purchase horses of the Indians. He sent out men in all directions to endeavor to discover the thieves, and dispatched Mr. Reed to the posts of Messrs. Clarke and David Stuart, with the letters of Mr. M'Dougal.

The resolution announced in these letters, to break up the Astoria, was conceived by both Clarke and Stuart. These two gentlemen had been very successful at their posts, and considered it rash and pusillanimous to abandon, on the first difficulty, an enterprise of such great cost and so ample promise. They made new arrangements, therefore, for leaving the country, but acted with a view to the maintenance of their new and prosperous establishments.

The regular time approached, when the partners of the interior posts were to rendezvous at the mouth of the Walla-Wallah, on their way to Astoria, with the peltries they had collected. Mr. Clarke accordingly packed all his furs on twenty-eight horses, and leaving a clerk and four men to take charge of his party, departed on the 23d of May with the residue of his force.

On the 30th he arrived at the confluence of the Puvion and Lewis Rivers, where he had left his barge and canoes, in the guardianship of the old Pierced-nose chief. That sagacious chief had acquitted himself more faithfully of his charge than Mr. Clarke had expected, and the canoes were found in very tolerable order. Some repairs were necessary, and while they were making, the party encamped close by the village. Having had repeated and vexatious proofs of the pilfering propensities of this tribe during his former visit, Mr. Clarke ordered that a wary eye should be kept upon them.

He was a tall, good-looking man, and somewhat given to pomp and circumstance, which made him an object of note in the eyes of the wondering savages. He was stately, too, in his appointments, and had a silver goblet or drinking cup, out of which he would drink with a magnificient air, and then lock it up in a large box of <i>pukam</i>, which accompanied him in his travels, and stood in his tent. This goblet had originally been sent as a present from Mr. Astor to Mr. M'Kay, the partner who had unfortunately been blown up in the Tomquin. As it reached Astoria after the departure of that gentleman, it had remained in the possession of Mr. Clarke.

A silver goblet was too glittering a prize not to catch the eye of a Pierced-nose. It was like the shining tin case of John Reed. Such a wonder had never been seen in the land before. The Indians talked about it to one another. They marked the care with which it was deposited in the <i>garde vin</i>, like a relic in its shrine, and concluded that it must be a "great medicine." That night Mr. Clarke neglected to lock up his treasure; in the morning the sacred casket was open—the precious relic gone!

Clarke was now outrageous. All the past vexations that he had suffered from this pilfering community rose to mind, and he threatened that, unless the goblet was promptly returned, he would hang the chief should he eventually discover him. The day passed away, however, without the restoration of the cup. At night sentinels were secretly posted about the camp. With all their vigilance a Pierced-nose contrived to get into the camp unperceived, and to load himself with booty; it was only on his retreat that he was discovered and taken.

At daybreak the culprit was brought to trial, and promptly convicted. He stood responsible for all the spoliations of the camp, the precious goblet among the number, and Mr. Clarke passed sentence of death upon him.

A gibbet was accordingly constructed of oars; the chief of the village and his people were assembled and the culprit, with his legs and arms, and was executed in a harangue. He reminded the tribe of the benefits he had bestowed upon them during his former visits, and the many thefts and other misdeeds which he had overlooked. The prisoner especially had always been particularly well treated by the white men, but he had repeatedly
been guilty of pillering. He was to be punished for his own misdeeds, and as a warning to his tribe.

The Indians now gathered round Mr. Clarke and Mr. M'Dougal, and heaped them with compliments, considering that their life might be spared. The companions, too, of Mr. Clarke, considered the sentence too severe, and advised him to mitigate it; but he was inexorable, and it was not naturally a stern or cruel man; but from his boyhood he had lived in the Indian country among Indian traders, and held the life of a savage extremely cheap. He was, moreover, a firm believer in the doctrine of intimidation.

Farraham, a clerk, a tall “Green Mountain boy” from Vermont, who had been robbed of a pistol, acted as executioner. The signal was given, and the poor Pierced-nose, resisting, struggling, and screaming, in the most frightful manner, was launched into eternity. The Indians stood round, gazing in silence and mute awe, but made no attempt to oppose the execution, nor testified any emotion when it was over. They locked up their feelings within their bosoms until an executioner Reward was to gratify them with a bloody act of vengeance.

To say nothing of the needless severity of this act, its impolicy was glaringly obvious. Mr. M'Lennan and three men were to return to the pack country, their horses, their loads having been transferred to the canoes. These could not have passed through a tract of country infested by this tribe, who were all horsemen and hard riders, and might pursue them to take vengeance for the death of their comrade. M'Lennan, however, was a resolute fellow, and made light of all dangers. He and three men were present at the execution, and set off as soon as life was extinct in the victim; but, to use the words of one of their comrades, “they did not let the grass grow under the heels of their horses, as they clattered out of the Pierced-nose country,” and were glad to find themselves in safety at the post.

Mr. Clarke and his party embarked about the same time in their canoes, and early on the following day reached the mouth of the Wallah-Wallah, where they found Messrs. Stuart and McKenzie awaiting them; the latter having recovered part of the goods stolen from his cache. Clarke informed them of the signal punishment he had inflicted on the Pierced-nose, evidently expecting to receive their admiration for such a daring act of justice, performed in the very midst of the Indian country, but was mortified at finding it strongly censured as inhuman, unnecessary, and likely to provoke hostilities.

The parties thus united formed a squadron of two boats and six canoes, with which they performed their voyage in safety down the river, and arrived at Astoria on the 12th of June, bringing with them a valuable stock of peltries.

About ten days previously, the brigade which had been quartered on the banks of the Wallah-Wallah, having arrived with numerous packs of beaver, the result of a few months’ sojourn on that river. These were the first fruits of the enterprise, gathered by men as yet mere strangers in the land; but they were such as to give substantial grounds for sanguine anticipation of profit, when the country should be more completely explored, and the trade established.

CHAPTER LIV.

The partners found Mr. M’Dougal in all the bustle of preparation; having about nine days previously announced at the factory, his intention of breaking up the establishment, and fixed upon the 1st of July for the time of departure. Messrs. Stuart and Clarke felt highly displeased at his taking so precipitate a step, without waiting for their concurrence, when he must have known that their arrival could not be far distant.

Indeed, the whole conduct of Mr. M’Dougal was such as to awaken strong doubts as to his loyal devotion to the cause. His old sympathies with the Northwest Company seemed to have revived. He had received M’Tavish and his party with uncalled-for hospitality, as though they were friends and allies, instead of being a party of observation, come to reconnoitre the state of affairs at Astoria, and to await the arrival of a hostile ship. Had they been left to themselves, they would have been starved off for want of provisions, or driven away by the Chinooks, who only wanted a signal from the factory to treat them as intruders and enemies. M’Dougal, on the contrary, had supplied them from the stores of the garrison, and had gained them the favor of the Indians, by treating them as friends and allies.

Having set his mind fixedly on the project of breaking up the establishment at Astoria, in the current year, M’Dougal was sorely disappointed at finding that Messrs. Stuart and Clarke had omitted to comply with the previous orders for horses and provisions for the caravan across the mountains. It was now too late to make the necessary preparations in time for traversing the mountains before winter, and the project had to be postponed.

In the meantime, the non-arrival of the annual ship, and the apprehensions entertained of the loss of the Beaver, and of Mr. Hunt, had their effect upon the minds of Messrs. Stuart and Clarke. They began to listen to the desponding representations of M’Dougal, seconded by M’Kenzie, who inveighed against their situation as desperate and forlorn; left to shift for themselves, or perish upon a barren coast; neglected by those who sent them there, and threatened with dangers of every kind. In this way they were brought to consent to the plan of abandoning the country in the ensuing year.

About this time, M’Tavish applied at the factory to purchase a small supply of goods whereby to trade his way back to his post on the upper waters of the Columbia, having waited in vain for the arrival of the Isaac Todd. His request brought on a consultation among the partners. M’Dougal urged that it should be complied with. He furthermore proposed, that they should give up to M’Tavish, for a proper consideration, the post on the Spokane, and all its dependencies, as they had not sufficient goods on hand to supply that post themselves, and to keep up a competition with the Northwest Company in the trade with the neighboring Indians. This last representation has since been proved incorrect, by searching the inventories, it appears that their stock in hand for the supply of the interior posts, was superior to that of the Northwest Company; so that they had nothing to fear from competition.

Through the influence of Messrs. M’Dougal and M’Kenzie, this proposition was adopted, and was promptly accepted by M’Tavish. The mercantile sold to him, amounted to eight hundred and fifty-eight dollars, to be paid for, in the following spring, in horses, or in any other manner most acceptable to the partners. This agreement being concluded, the partners
formed their plans for the year that they would yet have to pass in the country. Their objects were, chiefly, present subsistence, and the purchase of horses for the contemplated journey, towards which they were likewise to collect as much as their diminished means would command. Accordingly, it was arranged that David Stuart should return to his former post on the Okanagan, and Mr. Clarke should make his sojourn among the Flatheads. John Reed, the sturdy Hibernian, was to undertake the Snake River country, accompanied by Pierre Dorion and Pierre Delaunay, as hunters, and Francis Landry, Jean Baptiste Turcotte, André La Chapelle, and Gilles le Clerc, Canadian voyageurs.

Astoria, however, was the post about which they felt the greatest solicitude, and on which they all more or less depended. The maintenance of this in safety throughout the coming year, was, therefore, their grand consideration. Mr. M'Dougal was to continue in command of it, with a party of forty men. They would have to depend chiefly upon the neighboring savages for their subsistence. These, at present, were friendly, but it was to be feared that, when they should discover the deficiencies of the post, and its real weakness, they might proceed to hostilities; or, at any rate, might cease to furnish their usual supplies. It was important, therefore, to render the place as independent as possible, of the surrounding tribes; and it was accordingly resolved that M'Kenzie, with four hunters, and eight common men, should winter in the abundant country of Wallowat, from whence they might be enabled to furnish a constant supply of provisions.

As there was too great a proportion of clerks for the number of privates in the service, the engagements of three of them, Ross Cox, Ross, and M'Lenman, were surrendered to them, and they immediately enrolled themselves in the service of the Northwest Company; glad, no doubt, to escape from what they considered a sinking ship.

Having made all these arrangements, the four partners, on the first of July, signed a formal manifesto, stating the alarming state of their affairs from the non-arrival of the annual ship, and the absence and apprehended loss of the Beaver, their want of goods, their despair of receiving any further supply, their ignorance of the coast, and their disappointment as to the interior trade, which induced them unequal to the expenses incurred, and incompetent to stand against the powerful opposition of the Northwest Company. And as by the 16th article of the company's agreement, they were authorized to abandon this undertaking and dissolve the concern, if before the period of five years it should be found unprofitable, they now formally announced their intention to do so on the 1st day of June, of the ensuing year, unless in the interim they should receive the necessary support and supplies from Mr. Astor, or his substitutes, with orders to continue.

This instrument, accompanied by private letters of similar import, was delivered to Mr. M'Tavish, who departed on the 5th of July. He engaged to forward the dispatches to Mr. Astor, by the usual winter express sent overland by the Northwest Company.

The manifesto was signed with great reluctance by Messrs. Clarke and D. Stuart, whose experience by no means justified the discouraging account given of it in the internal trade, and who considered the main difficulties of exploring an unknown and savage country, and of ascertaining the best trading and trapping grounds, in a great measure overcome. They were overruled, however, by the urgent instances of M'Dougal and M'Kenzie, who, having resolved upon abandoning the enterprise, were desirous of making as strong a case as possible to excuse their conduct to Mr. Astor and to the world.

CHAPTER LV.

While difficulties and disasters had been gathering about the infant settlement of Astoria, the mind of its projector at New York was a prey to great anxiety. The ship Lark, dispatched by him with supplies for the establishment, sailed on the 6th of March, 1813. Within a fortnight afterward, he received intelligence which justified all his apprehensions of hostility on the part of the British. The Northwest Company had made a second memorial to that government, representing Astoria as an American establishment, stating the vast scope of its contemplated operations, magnifying the strength of its fortifications, and expressing its fears that this infant bud, if not protected, would effect the downfall of their trade.

Influenced by these representations, the British Government ordered the frigate Phoebe to be detached as a convoy for the armed ship, Isaac Todd, which was to sail with men and munitions for forming a new establishment. They were to proceed together to the mouth of the Columbia, capture or destroy whatever American fortress they should find there, and plant the British flag on its ruins.

Informed of these movements, Mr. Astor lost no time in addressing a second letter to the Secretary of State, communicating this intelligence, and requesting it might be laid before the President; as no notice, however, had been taken of his previous letter, he contented himself with this simple communication, and made no further application for aid.

Awakened now to the danger that menaced the establishment at Astoria, and aware of the importance of protecting this half-done American commerce and empire on the shores of the Pacific, the government determined to send the frigate Adams, Captain Crane, upon this service. On hearing of this determination, Mr. Astor immediately procured a ship called the Enterprise, to sail in company with the Adams, freighted with additional supplies and reinforcements for Astoria.

About the middle of June, while in the midst of these preparations, Mr. Astor received a letter from Mr. R. Stuart, dated St. Louis, May 1st, confirming the intelligence already received through the public newspapers, of his safe return, and of the arrival of Mr. Hunt and his party at Astoria, and giving the most flattering accounts of the prosperity of the enterprise.

So deep had been the anxiety of Mr. Astor, for the success of this great object of his ambition, that this gleam of good news was almost overpowering. "I felt ready," said he, "to fall upon my knees in a transport of gratitude."
of encouragement, and Mr. Astor proceeded, with fresh vigor, to fit out his merchant ship.

Unfortunately for Astoria, this bright gleam of sunshine was soon overlaid. Just as the Adams had received her complement of men, and the two vessels were ready for sea, news came from Commodore Chauncey, commanding on Lake Ontario, that a reinforcement of seamen was wanted in that quarter. The demand was urgent, the crew of the Adams was immediately transferred to that service, and the ship was laid up.

This was a most ill-timed and discouraging blow, but Mr. Astor would not yet allow himself to pause in his undertaking. He determined to send the Enterprise to sea alone, and let her take the chance of making her unprotected way across the ocean. Just at this time, however, a British force made its appearance off the Hook, and the port of New York was effectually blockaded.

To send a ship to sea under these circumstances would be to expose her to almost certain capture. The Enterprise, was, therefore, unloaded and dismantled, and Mr. Astor was obliged to comfort himself with the hope that the Lark might reach Astoria in safety, and that, aided by her supplies and by the good management of Mr. Hunt and his associates, the little colony might be able to maintain itself until the return of peace.

CHAPTER LVI.

We have hitherto said so much to relate of a gloomy and disastrous nature, that it is with feeling of momentary relief we turn to something of a more pleasing complexion, and record the first, and indeed only nuptials in high life that took place in the infant settlement of Astoria.

M'Dougal, who appears to have been a man of a thousand projects, and of great though somewhat irregular ambition, suddenly conceived the idea of seeking the hand of one of the native princesses, a daughter of the one-eyed potentate Comcomly, who held sway over the fishing tribe of the Chinooks, and had long supplied the factory with smelts and sturgeon. Some doubt exists as to the romantic origin to this affair, tracing it to the stormy night when M'Dougal, in the course of an exploring expedition, was driven by stress of weather to seek shelter in the royal abode of Comcomly. Then and there he was first struck with the charms of this piscatorial princess, as she exerted herself to entertain her father's guest.

The "Journal of Astoria," however, which was kept under his own eye, records this union as a high state alliance, and great stroke of policy. The factory had to depend, in a great measure, on the Chinooks for provisions. They were at present friendly, but it was to be feared they would prove otherwise, should they discover the weakness and the exigencies of the post, and the intention to leave the country. This alliance, therefore, was infallibly rivet Comcomly to the interests of the Astorians, and with him the powerful tribe of the Chinooks. Be this as it may, and it is hard to fathom the real policy of governors and princes. M'Dougal's nuptials were followed by the appointment of an ambassador extraordinary, to wait upon the one-eyed chief, and make overtures for the hand of his daughter.

The Chinooks, though not a very refined nation, have notions of matrimonial arrangements that would not disgrace the most refined sicklers for settlements and pin money. The suitors repaired not to the bowler of his mistress, but to her father's lodge, and threw down a present at his feet. His wishes are then disclosed by some discreet friend employed by him for the purpose. If the suitor and his present find favor in the eyes of the father, he breaks the matter to his daughter, who inquires into the state of her inclinations. Should her answer be favorable, the suit is accepted, and the lover has to make further presents to the father, of horses, canoes, and other valuables, according to the beauty of the bride; looking forward to a return in kind whenever they shall go to housekeeping.

We have more than once had occasion to speak of the shrewdness of Comcomly; but never was it exercised more adroitly than on this occasion. He was a great friend of M'Dougal, and pleased with the idea of having so distinguished a son-in-law; but so favorable an opportunity of benefiting his own fortune was not likely to occur a second time, and he determined to make the most of it. Accordingly, the negotiation was protracted with due diplomatic skill. Conference after conference was held with the two ambassadors; Comcomly was extravagant in his terms, rating the charms of his daughter at a high rate; and indeed she is represented as having one of the flattest and most aristocratic heads in the tribe. At length the preliminaries were all happily adjusted. On the 20th of July, early in the afternoon, a squadron of canoes crossed over from the village of the Chinooks, bearing the royal family of Comcomly, and all his court.

That worthy sachem landed in princely state, arrayed in a bright blue blanket and red breechclout, with an extra quantity of paint and feathers, attended by a train of half-naked warriors and notables. A horse was in waiting to receive the princess, who was mounted behind one of the clerks, and thus conveyed, coy but compliant, to the fortress. Here she was received with devout though decent joy, by her expecting bridegroom.

Her bridal adorns, it is true, at first caused some little dismay, having painted and anointed herself for the occasion according to the Chinook toilet; by dint, however, of copious ablutions, she was freed from all advertisement, and entered into the nuptial state, the cleanest princess that had ever been known, of the somewhat ignominious tribe of the Chinooks.

From that time forward Comcomly was a daily visitor at the Astor house, and found himself in the intimate councils of his son-in-law. He took an interest in everything that was going forward, but was particularly frequent in his visits to the blacksmith's shop, tasking the laborers of the artificer in iron for every kind of weapon and implement suited to the savage state, insomuch that the necessary business of the factory was often postponed to attend to his requisitions.

The honeymoon had scarce passed away, and M'Dougal was seated with his bride in the fortress of Astoria, when, about noon of the 20th of August, Gasscap, the son of Comcomly, hurried into his presence with great agitation, and announced a ship at the mouth of the river. The news produced a vast sensation. Was it a ship of peace or war? Was it an Englishman or a Chinook? The Beaver or the Isaac Todd? M'Dougal hurried to the water-side, threw himself into a boat, and ordered the hands to pull with all speed for the mouth of the harbor. Those in the fort remained watching the entrance of the river, anxious to know whether they were to prepare for
greeting a friend or fighting an enemy. At length the ship was descried crossing the bar, and bending her course toward Astoria. Every gaze was fixed upon her in silent scrutiny, until the American flag was recognized. A general shout was the first expression of joy, and next a satisfaction was thundered from the cannon of the fort.

The vessel came to anchor on the opposite side of the river, and returned the salute. The boat of Mr. M'Dougal went on board, and was seen returning late in the afternoon. The Astorians watched her with strained eyes, to discover who were on board, but the sun went down, and the evening closed in, before she was sufficiently near. At length she reached the land, and Mr. Hunt stepped ashore. He was hailed as one risen from the dead, and his return was a signal for merriment almost to that which prevailed at the nuptials of M'Dougal.

We must now explain the cause of this gentleman's long absence, which had given rise to such gloomy and dispiriting surmises.

CHAPTER LVII.

It will be recollected that the destination of the Beaver, when she sailed from Astoria on the 4th of August in 1812, was to proceed northwardly through the coast to Sheekta, or New Archangel, there to dispose of that part of her cargo rendered for the supply of the Russian establishment at that place, and then to return to Astoria, where it was expected she would arrive in October.

New Archangel is situated in Norfolk Sound, lat. 57° 25′ N., long. 135° 50′ W. It was the head-quarters of the different colonies of the Russian Fur Company, and the common rendezvous of the American vessels trading along the coast.

The Beaver met with nothing worthy of particular mention in her voyage, and arrived at New Archangel on the 19th of August. The place at that time was the residence of Count Baranhoff, the governor of the different colonies, a rough, rugged, hospitable, hard-drinking old Russian; somewhat of a soldier, somewhat of a trader; above all, a boon companion of the old roysterer school, with a strong cross of the bear.

Mr. Hunt found this hyperborean veteran ensconced in a fort which crested the whole of a high rocky promontory. It mounted one hundred guns, large and small, and was impregnable to Indian attack, unaided by artillery. Here the old governor lorded it over sixty Russians who formed the corps of the trading establishment, besides an indefinite number of Indian hunters of the Kodiak tribe, who were continually coming and going, or lounging and loitering about the fort like so many hounds round a sportsman's hunting quarters. Though a loose liver among his guests, the governor was a strict disciplinarian among his men, keeping them in perfect subjection, and having seven on guard night and day.

Besides those immediate serfs and dependents just mentioned, the old Russian potentate exerted a considerable sway over a numerous and irregular class of maritime traders, who looked to him for a ship, even a small one, and through whom he might be said to have, in some degree, extended his power along the whole northwest coast. These were American captains of vessels engaged in a particular department of trade. One of these captains would come, in a manner, empty-handed to New Archangel. Here his ship would be furnished with about fifty canoes and a hundred Kodiak hunters, and fitted out with provisions, and everything necessary for hunting the sea-otter on the coast of California, where the Russians have another establishment. The ship would ply along the Californian coast from place to place, casting parties of otter hunters in their canoes, furnishing them only with water, and leaving them to depend upon their own dexterity for a maintenance. When a sufficient cargo was collected they would gather and return with them to Archangel, where the captain would render in the returns of his voyage, and receive one half of the skins for his share.

Over these coasting captains, as we have hinted, the veteran governor exerted some sort of sway, but it was of a peculiar and characteristic kind; it was the tyranny of the table. They were obliged to join him in his "proscons" or carousals, and to drink "potations pottle deep. His carousals, too, were not of the most quiet kind, no; were his potations as mild as water. "He is continually," said Mr. Hunt, "giving entertainments by way of parade, and if you do not drink raw rum, and boiling punch as strong as sulphur, he will insult you so as soon as he gets drunk, which is very shortly after sitting down to dinner."

As to any "temperance captain" who stood fast to his faith, and refused to give up his sobriety, he might go elsewhere for a market, for he stood no chance with the governor. Rarely, however, did any cold-water catiff of the kind darken the door of old Baranhoff; the coasting captains knew too well his humor and their own interests; they joined in. His revels they drank, and sang, and whooped, and hiccuped, until they all got "half seas over," and then affairs went on swimmingly.

An awful warning to all "flinchers" occurred shortly before Mr. Hunt's arrival. A young naval officer had recently been sent out by the emperor to take command of one of the company's vessels. The governor, as usual, had him at his "proscons," and piled him with fiery potations. The young man stood on the defensive until the old count's ire was completely kindled; he carried his point, and made the greenhorn tipsy, really tipsy. In proportion as they grew noisy, they quarrelled in their cups; the youngster paid old Baranhoff in his own coin by rating him soundly; in reward for which, when sober, he was taken the rounds of four pikes, and received seventy-nine lashes, tailed out with Russian punctuality of punishment.

Such was the old grizzled bear with whom Mr. Hunt had to do his business. How he managed to cope with his humor, whether he pledged himself in raw rum and blazing punch, and "clinked the can" with him as they made their bargains, does not appear upon record; we must infer, however, from his general observations on the absolute sway of this hard-drinking potentate, that he had to conform to the customs of his court, and that their business transactions presented a maudlin mixture of punch and peltry.

The greatest annoyance to Mr. Hunt, however, was the delay to which he was subjected in disposing of the cargo of the ship and getting the required return of provisions. In the governor's devotions to the bottle, he never obliterated his faculties sufficiently to lose sight of his interest, and is represented by Mr. Hunt as keen, not to say cratty, at a bargain as the most arrant water drinker. A long time was expended negotiating with him,
would be buried for a hundred Kopeks or less, but a hundred Kopeks, and the sea-otter on the other hand. The Russians have the privilege of having their canoes, at a hundred Kopeks, while leaving them to the English and Americans. It was collected that the Hudson's Bay Company, for a maintenance of their own, had been in the possession of the old Baranoff. It was most necessary, therefore, for Mr. Hunt to proceed to a seal-catching establishment, which the Russian company had at the island of St. Paul in the sea of Kamschatka. He accordingly set sail on the 4th of October, with a crew comprising three days' provisions, and proceeded to New Archangel, hoisting and bargaining with its roystering commander, and right glad was he to escape from the clutches of this "old man of the sea."

The Beaver arrived at St. Paul's on the 31st of October; by which time, according to arrangement, he ought to have been back at Astoria. The island of St. Paul's is in latitude 57° N., longitude 170° or 171° W. Its shores in certain places, and at certain seasons, are covered with seals, while others are playing about in the water. Of these, the Russians take only the small ones, from seven to ten months old, and carefully select the males, giving the females their freedom, that the breed may not be diminished. The island also contains a great number of porpoises, and for skins wherewith to cover their canoes. They drive them from the shore over the rocks, until within a short distance of their habitation, where they kill them. By this means they save themselves the trouble of carrying the skins, and have the flesh at hand. This is thrown in heaps, and when the season for skinning is over, they take out the entrails and make one heap of the blubber. This with drift-wood serves food for the crew, and the skins for the future. They make another heap of the flesh, with which, with the eggs of sea-fowls, preserved in oil, an occasional sea-lion, a few ducks in winter, and some wild roots, compose their food.

Mr. Hunt found seven Russians at the island, and one hundred hunters, natives of Oonmalkaa, with their families. They lived in cabins that looked like canoes; being, for the most part, formed of the jaw-bone of a whale, put up as rafters, across which were laid pieces of drift-wood covering them with moss, the skins of large sea-animals, and earth, so as to be quite comfortable, in defiance of the rigours of the climate; though we are told they had as ancient and fishy an odor, "as the quarters of Jonah, when he lay within the whale."

In one of these dourfierous mansions Mr. Hunt occasionally took up his abode, that he might be at hand to hasten the loading of the ship. The operation, however, was somewhat slow, for it was necessary to overhaul and inspect every pack to prevent imposition, and the peltries had then to be conveyed in large boats, made of skins, to the ship, which was some little distance from the shore, standing off and on.

One night, while Mr. Hunt was on shore, with some of the crews of the ship, there rose a terrible gale. When the day broke the ship was not to be seen. He watched for her with anxious eyes until night, but in vain. Day after day of boisterous storms and howling wintry weather were passed in waiting for the vessel. Nothing was to be seen but a dark and angry sea, and a scowling northern sky; and at night he retired within the jaws of the whale, and nestled disconsolately among seal skins.

On the 13th of November, the Beaver made her appearance, much the worse for the stormy conflicts she had sustained in these hyperborean seas. She had been obliged to carry a press of sail in heavy gales, to be able to hold her ground, and had consequently sustained great damage in her canvas and rigging. Mr. Hunt lost at time in hurrying the residue of the cargo on board of her; then, huddling aside to his scalping friends and his whalebone habitation, he put forth once more to sea.

He was now for making the best of his way to Astoria, and for further impressing upon his mind the interests of that place, and the interests of Mr. Astor, had he done so; but, unluckily, a perplexing question rose in his mind. The sails and rigging of the Beaver had been much rent and shattered in the late storm; would she be able to stand the hard gales to be expected in making Columbia River at this season? Was it prudent, also, at this boisterous time of the year, to risk the valuable cargo which she now had on board, by crossing and recrossing the dangerous bar of that river? These doubts were probably suggested or enforced by Captain Soule, who, it has already been seen, was an over-cautious, or rather a timid seaman, and they may have had some weight with Mr. Hunt; but there were other considerations which strongly urged his mind. The lateness of the season, and the unforeseen delays the ship had encountered at New Archangel, and by being obliged to proceed to St. Paul's, had put her so much back in her calculated time, that there was a risk of her arriving so late at Canton as to come to a bad market, both for the sale of her peltries and the purchase of a return cargo. He considered it to the interest of the company, therefore, that he should proceed at once to the island, to the arrival of the annual vessel from New York, to take passage in her to Astoria, and suffer the Beaver to continue on to Canton.

On the other hand, he was urged to the other course by his engagements; by the plan of the voyage marked out for the Beaver, by Mr. Astor; by his inclination and the possibility that the establishment might need his presence, and by the reconnoitering that there must already be a large amount of peltries collected at Astoria, and waiting for the return of the Beaver to convey them to market.

These conflicting questions perplexed and agitated his mind, and gave rise to much anxious reflection, for he was a conscientious man, that it was a matter of necessity, and that the distressed condition of the ship left him no alternative; but we rather suspect he was so persuaded by the representations of the timid captain. They accordingly stood for the Sandwich Islands, arrived at Wofoo, where the ship underwent the necessary repairs, and again set out for the 1st of January, 1813, leaving Mr. Hunt on the island.

We will follow the Beaver to Canton, as her fortunes, in some measure, exemplified the evil of a man subjecting himself to circumstances of which he was not aware, and as they form a part of the tissue of cross-purposes that marred the great commercial enterprise we have undertaken to record.

The Beaver arrived safe at Canton, where Captain Schmidt and the crew of the Beaver, delivering him information of the war, and directing him to convey the intelligence to Astoria. He wrote a
reply, dictated either by timidity or obstinacy, in which he declined complying with the orders of Mr. Astor, but said he would wait for the return of peace, and then come home. The other proceedings of Captain Sowle were equally wrong-headed and unlucky. He was offered one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the fur he had taken on board at Canton, until after the peace, and have sailed without risk of capture to Astoria; bringing to the partners that valuable tidings of the great profits realized on the outward cargo, and the still greater to be expected from the returns. The news of such a brilliant commencement to their undertaking would have been a decided encouragement to the returns of the war; it would have infused new spirit into all, and given them courage and constancy to persevere in the enterprise. Captain Sowle, however, refused the offer of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and stood wavering and chaffering for higher terms. The furs began to fall in value; this only increased his irresolution; they sunk so much that he feared to sell at all; he borrowed money on Mr. Astor’s account at an interest of five per cent, and laid up his ship to await the return of peace.

In the meanwhile Mr. Hunt soon saw reason to repent the resolution he had adopted in altering the destination of the ship. His stay at the Sandwich Islands was prolonged far beyond all expectation. He looked in vain for the annual whaling ships in the spring. Month after month passed by, and still did not make her appearance. He, too, proved the danger of departing from order. Had he returned from St. Paul’s to Astoria, and taken his ship to Canton, and great gains, instead of furs, would have been the result. The greatest blunder, however, was that committed by Captain Sowle.

At length, about the 20th of June, the ship Albatross, Captain Smith, arrived from China, and brought the first tidings of the war to the Sandwich Islands. Mr. Hunt was no longer in doubt and perplexity as to the reason of the non-appearance of the annual ship. His first thoughts were for the welfare of Astoria, and, concluding that the inhabitants would probably be in want of provisions, he chartered the Albatross for two thousand dollars, to land him, with some supplies, at the mouth of the Columbia, where he arrived, as we have seen, on the 26th of August, after a year’s seafaring that might have furnished a chapter in the wanderings of Sinbad.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Mr. Hunt was overwhelmed with surprise when he learnt the resolution taken by the partners to abandon Astoria. He soon found, however, that matters had gone too far, and the minds of his colleagues had become too firmly bent upon the measure, to render any opposition of avail. He was hasty, too, with the same dispassionate acumen, and had become disheartened by the subsequent losses sustained, which appeared to him to be ruinous in their magnitude.

A large stock of valuable furs was collected at the factory, which it was necessary to get to a market. There were twenty-five Sandwich Islanders, also, in the employ of the company, whom they were employed to assist in the shipment of the goods to their country. For these purposes a ship was necessary.

The Albatross was bound to the Marquesas, and thence to the Sandwich Islands. It was resolved that Mr. Hunt should sail in quest of a vessel, and should return, if possible, by the 1st of January, bringing with him a supply of provisions. Should anything occur, however, to prevent his return, an arrangement was to be proposed to Mr. M’Tavish, to transfer such of the men as were disposed, from the service of the American Fur Company into that of the Northwest, the latter becoming responsible for the wages due them, on receiving an equivalent in goods from the storehouse of the factory. As a means of facilitating the dispatch of business, Mr. M’Dougal proposed, that in case Mr. Hunt should not return, the whole arrangement with Mr. M’Tavish should be left solely to him. This was assented to, the contingency being considered possible, but not probable.

It is proper to note, that on the first announcement by Mr. M’Dougal of his intention to break up the establishment, three of the clerks, British subjects, had, with his consent, passed into the service of the Northwest Company, and departed with Mr. M’Tavish for his post in the interior.

Having arranged all these matters during a sojourn of six days at Astoria, Mr. Hunt set sail in the Albatross on the 26th of August, and arrived without accident at the Marquesas. He had not been there long when Porter arrived in the frigate Essex, bringing in a number of stout London whalers as prizes, having made a sweeping cruise in the Pacific. From Commodore Porter he received the alarming intelligence that the British frigate Phœbe, with a storeship, mounted withattering pieces, calculated to attack forts, had arrived at Rio Janeiro, where she had been joined by the schoos of war Cherub and Racoyn, and that they had all sailed in company on the 6th of July for the Pacific bound, as it was supposed, to Columbia River.

Here, then, was the death-warrant of unfortunate Astoria! The anxious mind of Mr. Hunt was in greater perplexity than ever, but he had been eager to extricate the property of Mr. Astor from a failing concern with as little loss as possible; there was now danger that the whole would be swallowed up. How was it to be snatched from
he gulf? It was impossible to charter a ship for the
purpose, now that a British squadron was on
its way to the river. He applied to purchase one
of the whale-ships brought in by Commodore
Porter. The commodore demanded twenty-five
thousand dollars for her. The price appeared ex-
orbitant, and no bargain could be made. Mr. Hunt
then urged the commodore to fit out one of
his prizes, and send her to Astoria to bring off the
property and part of the people, but he declined,
from want of authority. He assured Mr. Hunt,
however, that he would endeavor to fall in
with the enemy, or, should he hear of their
having certainly gone to the Columbia, he would
either follow or anticipate them, should his cir-
cumstances warrant such a step.

In this tantalizing state of suspense, Mr. Hunt
was detained at the Marquesas until November
23d, when he proceeded in the Allatross to the
Sandwich Islands. He still cherished a faint hope
that, notwithstanding the war, and all other dis-
couraging circumstances, the annual ship to the
Columbia might have been sent by Mr. Astor, and
might have touched at the islands, and proceeded to
the Columbia. He knew the pride and interest taken
by that gentleman in his great enterprise, and
that he would have been the first to take all
difficulties from prosecuting it; much less would
he have the infant establishment without succor
and support in the time of trouble. In this, we
have seen, he did but justice to Mr. Astor; and
were his last hour, and the loss of two men, the
arrival of the vessel which he had dispatched
with reinforcements and supplies. Her voyage
forms another chapter of accidents in this event-
ful story.

The Lark sailed from New York on the 6th
of March, 1813, and proceeded prosperously on her
voyage, until within a few degrees of the Sand-
wich Islands. A gale sprang up that soon
blew with tremendous violence. The Lark was
a staunch and noble ship, and for a time buffeted
bravely with the storm. Unluckily, however,
she "broad tacked," and was struck by a heavy
tide, that overtook her on her beam-ends. The
helm, too, was knocked to leeward, all command of
the vessel was lost; and another mountain wave com-
piled on the ship, and drove her on board to
take away the masts. In the hurry and confusion
the boats were also unfortunately cut adrift.
The wreck then righted, but it was a mere hulk,
full of water, with a heavy sea washing over it, and
all the hatches off. On mastering the crow's
nose, the man was missing, who was discovered below in
the forecastle, drowned.

In cutting away the masts it had been utterly
impossible to observe the necessary precaution of commencing with the lee rigging, that being from
the position of the ship, completely under water.
The masts and spars, therefore, being linked to
the wreck by the shrouds and rigging, remained
alongside for four days. During all this time the
ship lay rolling in the trough of the sea, the heavy
surges breaking over her, and the spars heaving
and banging and to and fro, bruising the half-drowned
sailors that clung to the bowsprit and the stumps of
the masts. The sufferings of these poor fel-
loes were intolerable. They stood to their waists
in water, in imminent peril of being washed off
every surge. In this position they dared not sleep,
lest they should let go their hold and be swept
away. The only dry place on the wreck was the
bowsprit. Here they took turns to lie on, for
hour after hour, and in this way gained short
snatches of sleep.
of the iron hoops, but would not allow the crew to help themselves to the contents, or to go on board of the wreck.

As the crew were in want of everything, and as it might be a long time before any opportunity occurred for them to get away from these islands, Mr. Ogden, as soon as he could get a chance, made his way to the island of Owyhee, and endeavored to make some arrangement with the king for the relief of his companions in misfortune.

The illustrious Tamaahmaah, as we have shown on a former occasion, was a shrewd bargainer, and in the present instance proved himself an experienced wrackeer. His negotiations with M'Dougal and the other "Eris of the great American Fur Company" had but little effect on present circumstances, and he proceeded to avail himself of their misfortunes. He agreed to furnish the crew with provisions during their stay in his territories, and to return to them all their clothing that could be found, but he stipulated that the wreck should be abandoned to him as a wait cast by fortune on his shores. With these conditions Mr. Ogden was fain to comply. Upon this the great Tamaahmaah deputed his favorite, John Young, the tarapulin governor of Owyhee, to proceed with a number of the royal guards, and take possession of the wreck on behalf of that crown. This was done accordingly, and the property and crew were removed to Owyhee. The royal bounty appears to have been but scanty in its dispensations. The crew fared but meagrely; though on reading the journal of the voyage it is singular to find them, after all the hardships they had suffered, so sensitive about petty inconveniences as to exclaim against the king as a "savage monster," for refusing them a "pot to cook in," and denying Mr. Ogden the use of a knife and fork which had been saved from the wreck.

Such was the unfortunate catastrophe of the Lark; she had reached her destination in safety, affairs at Astoria might have taken a different course. A strange fatality seems to have attended all the expeditions by sea, nor were those by land much less disastrous.

Captain Northrop was still at the Sandwich Islands, on December 20th, when Mr. Hunt arrived. The latter immediately purchased for ten thousand dollars a brig called the Pedler, and put Captain Northrop in command of her. They set sail for Astoria on the 22d of January, intending to remove the property from thence as speedily as possible to the Russian settlements on the northwest coast, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the British. Such were the orders of Mr. Astor, sent out by the Lark.

We will now leave Mr. Hunt on his voyage, and return to see what has taken place at Astoria during his absence.

CHAPTER LIX.

On the 2d of October, about five weeks after Mr. Hunt had sailed in the Albatross from Astoria, Mr. M'Kenzie set off, with two canoes and twelve men, for the posts of Messrs. Stuart and Clarke, to apprise them of the new arrangements determined upon in the recent conference of the partners at the factory.

He had not ascended the river a hundred miles, when he met a squadron of ten canoes, sweeping merrily down under British colors, the Canadian oarsmen, as usual, in full song.

It was an armament fitted out by M'Tavish, who had with him Mr. J. Stuart, another partner of the Northwest Company, together with some clerks and sixty-eight men—seventy-five souls in all. They had heard of the frigate Phebe and the Isaac Todd, which was the high sea, and were on their way down to await their arrival. In one of the canoes Mr. Clarke came passenger, the alarming intelligence having brought him down from his post on the Spokan. Mr. M'Kenzie immediately determined to sail with him to Astoria, and, veering about, the two parties encamped together for the night. The leaders, of course, observed a due decorum, but some of the subalterns could not restrain their chuckling exultation, boasting that they would soon plant the British standard on the walls of Astoria, and drive the Americans out of the country.

In the course of the evening Mr. M'Kenzie had a secret conference with Mr. Clarke, in which they agreed to set off privately, before daylight, and get down in time to arrive on his arrival of these Northwesterners. The latter, however, were completely on the alert; just as M'Kenzie's canoes were about to push off, they were joined by a couple from the Northwest squadron, in which was the governor and eleven men. With these he intended to push forward and make arrangements, leaving the rest of the convoy, in which was a large quantity of furs, to await his orders.

The two parties arrived at Astoria on the 7th of October. The Northwesterners encamped under the guns of the fort, and displayed the British colors. The young men in the fort, natives of the United States, were on the point of hoisting the American flag, but were forbidden by Mr. M'Dougal. They were astonished at such a prohibition, and were exceedingly galled by the tone and manner assumed by the clerks and retainers of the Northwest Company, who ruffled about in that swelling and bragart style which grows up among these heroes of the wilderness; they, in fact, considered themselves lords of the ascendant, and regarded the hampered and harassed Astorians as a conquered people.

On the following day M'Dougal convened the clerks, and read to them an extract of a letter from his uncle, Mr. Angus Shaw, one of the principal partners of the Northwest Company, announcing the coming of the Phebe and Isaac Todd, "to take and destroy everything American on the northwest coast.

This intelligence was received without dismay by such of the clerks as were natives of the United States. They had felt indignant at seeing their national flag struck by a Canadian commander, and the British flag lowered, as it were, in their faces. They had been ailing to the quick, also, by the vaunting airs assumed by the Northwesterners. In this mood of mind they would willingly have nailed their colors to the staff, and defied the frigate. She could not come within many miles of the fort, they observed, and any boats she might send could be destroyed by their cannon.

There were cooler and more calculating spirits, however, who had the control of affairs, and felt nothing of the patriotic pride and indignation of these youths. The extract of the letter had, apparently, been read by M'Dougal in order to prepare the way for a preconcerted stroke of management. On the same day Mr. M'Tavish pro-
ASTORIA.

Mr. M'Dougal undertook to comply, assuming the whole management of the negotiation in virtue of the power vested in him, in case of the non-arrival of Mr. Hunt. That power, however, was limited to the point of not extending to an operation of this nature and extent; no objection, however, was made to his assumption, and he and Mr. Tavish soon made a preliminary arrangement, perfectly satisfactory to the latter.

Mr. Stuart and the reserve party of Northwesters arrived, shortly afterward, and encamped with Mr. Tavish. The former exclaimed loudly against the terms of the arrangement, and insisted upon a reduction of the prices. New negotiations had now to be entered into. The demands of the NorthWesters were made in a peremptory tone, and they seemed disposed to dictate like conquerors.

The Americans looked on with indignation and impatience. They considered Mr. M'Dougal as acting, if not a perfidious, certainly a craven part. He was continually striving to the camp to negotiate, instead of keeping within his walls and receiving overtures in his fortress. His case, they observed, was not so desperate as to excise such crouching. He might, in fact, hold out for his own terms, occasional small changes, and everything requisite either for defense or retreat. The party, beneath the guns of his fort, were at his mercy; should an enemy appear in the offing, he could pack up the most valuable part of the property, and retire to some place of concealment, or make over the interior.

The several considerations, however, had no weight with Mr. M'Dougal, or were overruled by other motives. The terms of sale were lowered by him to Stuart and fixed by Mr. Stuart, and an agreement executed, on the 16th of October, by which the furs and merchandise of all kinds in the country, belonging to Mr. Astor, passed into the possession of the Northwest Company at a stated price. A safe passage through the Northwest posts was guaranteed to such as did not choose to enter into the service of that company, and the amount of wages due to them was to be deducted from the price paid for Astoria.

The conduct and motives of Mr. M'Dougal, throughout the whole of this proceeding, have been strongly questioned by the other parties. He has been accused of availing himself of a wrong construction of powers vested in him at his own request, and of sacrificing the interests of Mr. Astor to the Northwest Company, under the promise or hope of advantage to himself.

He always insisted, however, that the best bargain for Mr. Astor that circumstances would permit; the frigate being hourly expected, in which case the whole property of that gentleman would be liable to capture. That the return of Mr. Hunt was problematical; the frigate intending to cruise along the coast for two years, and clear it of all American vessels. He moreover averred, and Mr. Tavish corroborated his averment by certificate, that he proposed an arrangement to that gentleman, by which the furs were to be sent to Canton, and sold there at Mr. Astor's risk, and for his account; but the proposition was not acceptable to him.

Notwithstanding all his representations, several of the persons present at the transaction, and acquainted with the whole course of the affair, and among the number Mr. M'Kenzie himself, his occasion of elucidator, remained firm in the belief that he had acted a hollow part. Neither did he succeed in exculpating himself to Mr. Astor; that gentleman declaring, in a letter written some time afterward, to Mr. Hunt, that he considered the property virtually given away. "Had our place and our property," he adds, "been fairly captured, I should have preferred it. I should not feel as if I were disgraced."

All these may be unmerited suspicions; but it certainly is a circumstance strongly corroborative of them, that Mr. M'Dougal, shortly after concluding this agreement, became a member of the Northwest Company, and received a share productive of a handsome income.

CHAPTER LX.

On the morning of the 30th of November a sail was descried described as boiling Cape Disappointment. It came to anchor in Baker's Bay, and proved to be a ship of war. Of what nation? was now the anxious inquiry. If English, why did it come alone? where was the merchant vessel that was to have accompanied it? If American, what was to become of the newly acquired possession of the Northwest Company.

In this dilemma, M'Tavish, in all haste, loaded two barges with all the packages of furs bearing the mark of the Northwest Company, and made off for Tongue Point, three miles up the river. There he was to await a preconcerted signal from M'Dougal on ascertaining the character of the ship. If it should prove American, M'Tavish would have a fair start, and could bear off his rich cargo to the interior. It is singular that this prompt mode of conveying valuable, but easily transportable effects beyond the reach of a hostile ship should not have suggested itself while the property belonged to Mr. Astor.

In the mean time M'Dougal, who still remained nominal chief at Astoria, launched a canoe, manned by men recently in the employ of the American Fur Company, and steered for the ship. On the way he instructed his men to pass themselves for
The vessel proved to be the British sloop-of-war Racoon, of twenty-six guns and one hundred and twenty tons burthen. It was manned by Captain Black, according to the account of that officer, the frigate Phœbe, and the two sloops-of-war Cherub and Racoon, had sailed in convoy of the Isaac Todd from Rio Janeiro. On board of the Phœbe Mr. John M'Donald, a partner of the Northwest Company, embarked as passenger, to profit by the anticipated catastrophe at Astoria. The convoy was separated by stress of weather off Cape Horn. The three ships of war came together again at the island of Juan Fernandez, their appointed rendezvous, but waited in vain for the Isaac Todd.

In the mean time intelligence was received of the mischief that Commodore Porter was doing among the British whale-ships. Commodore Hiller immediately set sail with his vessels, with the Phœbe and the Cherub, transferring Mr. M'Donald to the Racoon, and ordering that vessel to proceed to the Columbia.

The officers of the Racoon were in high spirits. The instructions of Mr. Jefferson, the agent of the Northwest Company, in instigating the expedition, had talked of immense booty to be made by the fortunate captors of Astoria. Mr. M'Donald had kept up the excitement during the voyage, so that not a midshipman but revelled in dreams of ample prize-money, nor a lieutenant that would have sold his chance for a thousand pounds. Their disappointment, therefore, may easily be conceived, when they learned that their warlike attack upon Astoria had been forlorn from the very outset of their arrangement; that their anticipated booty had become British property in the regular course of traffic, and that all this had been effected by the very company which had been instrumental in getting them sent on what they now stigmatized as a fool's errand. They felt as if they had been duped and made tools of, by a set of shrewd men of traffic, who had employed them to crack the nut while they carried off the kernel. In a word, M'Dougal found himself so ungraciously received by his compatriots on board of the ship, that he was glad to cut short his visit and return to shore. He was busy at the fort making preparations for the reception of the captain of the Racoon, when his one-eyed Indian father-in-law made his appearance. The chief of Chinook warriors, all painted and equipped in warlike style.

Old Comcomly had beheld, with dismay, the arrival of a "big war canoe" displaying the British flag. The shrewd old savage had become something of a politician in the course of his daily visits at the fort. He knew of the war existing betwixt the nations, but knew nothing of the arrangement between M'Dougal and M'Tavish. He trembled, therefore, for the power of his son-in-law and the new-fledged grandeur of his daughter, and assembled his warriors in all haste. "King George," said he, "has sent his great canoe to destroy the fort, and make slaves of all the inhabitants. Shall we suffer it? The Americans are the first white men that have fixed themselves in this land. They have treated us like brothers. Their great chief has taken my daughter to be his squaw; we are, therefore, as one people."

His warriors all determined to stand by the Americans to the last, and to this effect they came painted and armed for battle. Comcomly made a spirited war-speech to his son-in-law. He offered to kill every one of King George's men that should attempt to land. It was an easy matter. The ship could not approach within six miles of the fort; the crew could only land in boats. The woods reached to the water's edge in these, and his warriors would conceal themselves, and shoot down the enemy as fast as they put foot on shore.

M'Dougal was, doubtless, properly sensible of this parental devotion on the part of his savage father-in-law, and perhaps a little rebuked by the game spirit so opposite to his own. He assured Comcomly, however, that his solicitude for the safety of himself and the princess was superfluous; as, though the ship belonged to King George, her crew would not injure the Americans, or their Indian allies. He advised him and his warriors, therefore, to lay aside their weapons and war-shirts, wash off the paint from their faces and bodies, and appear like clean and civil savages to receive the strangers courteously.

Comcomly was sorely puzzled at this advice, which accorded so little with his Indian notions of receiving a hostile nation; and it was only after repeated and positive assurances of the amicable intentions of the strangers that he was induced to lower his fighting tone. He said something to his warriors explanatory of this singular posture of affairs, and in vindication, perhaps, of the pacific temper of his son-in-law. They all gave a shrug and an Indian grunt of acquiescence, and went off sulky to their village, to lay aside their weapons for the present.

The proper arrangements being made for the reception of Captain Black, that officer caused his ship's boat to be manned, and landed in the belittling state at Astoria. From the talk that had been made by the Northwest Company of the strength of the place, and the armament they had required to assist in its reduction, he expected to find a fortress of some importance. When he beheld nothing but stockades and bastions, calculated for defence against naked savages, he felt an emotion of indignant surprise, mingled with something of the ludicrous. "Is this the fort," cried he, "about which I have heard so much talking? D—me, but I'd batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder!"

When he learned, however, the amount of rich furs that had been passed into the hands of the Northwesterners, he was outrageous, and insisted that an inventory should be taken of Chinook warriors, all painted and equipped in warlike style.

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In laying aside their arms, and remarked that however the Americans might conceal the fact, they were undoubtedly all slaves; and he persuaded of the contrary until they beheld the Raccoon depart without taking away any prisoners.

As to Comcomly, he no longer prided himself upon his white son-in-law, but, whenever he was asked, he replied that his daughter had made a mistake, and, instead of getting a great warrior for a husband, had married herself to a squaw.

CHAPTER LXI.

HAVING given the catastrophe at the Fort of Astoria, it remains now to gather up a few loose ends of this widely excessive narrative and conclude. On the 28th of February the brig Pedler anchored in Columbia River. It will be recollected that Mr. Hunt had purchased this vessel at the Sandwich Islands, and to take the officers of the factory, and to restore the Sandwich Islanders to their homes. When that gentleman learned, however, the precipitate and summary manner in which the property had been bargained away by M'Dougal, he expressed his indignation in the strongest terms, and determined to make an effort to get back the furs. As soon as his wishes were known in this respect, M'Dougal came to sound him on behalf of the Northwest Company, indicating that he had no doubt the peltries might be repurchased at an advance of fifty per cent. This overture was not calculated to soothe the angry feelings of Mr. Hunt, and his indignation was complete when he discovered that M'Dougal had become a partner of the Northwest Company, and had actually been so since the 23d of December. He had kept his partnership a secret; however, had retained the papers of the Pacific Fur Company in his possession, and had continued to act as Mr. Astor's agent, though two of the partners of the other company, Mr. M'Kenzie and Dr. Clarke, were present. He had, moreover, divulged to his new associates all that he knew as to Mr. Astor's plans and affairs, and had made copies of his business letters for their perusal.

Mr. Reed considered the whole conduct of M'Dougal hollow and servile. His only thought was, therefore, to get all the papers of the concern out of his hands, and bring the business to a close; for the interests of Mr. Astor were yet completely at stake; the drafts of the Northwest Company in his favor, for the purchase money, not having yet been obtained. With some difficulty he succeeded in getting possession of the papers. The bills or drafts were delivered without hesitation. The latter he remitted to Mr. Astor by some of his associates, who were about to cross the continent to New York. This done, he embarked on board the Pedler, on April 3d, accompanied by two of the clerks, Mr. Seton and Mr. Halsey, and sailed for Astoria.

The next day, April 4th, Messrs. Clarke, M'Kenzie, David Stuart, and such of the Astorians as had not entered into the service of the Northwest Company, set out to cross the Rocky Mountains. It is not our intention to take the reader on another journey across those rugged barriers; but we shall relate to him the unhappy disasters which overtook them on their way, merely to relate their interview with a character already noted in this work.

As the party were proceeding up the Columbia, near the mouth of the Wallah-Wallah River, several Indian canoes put off from the shore to overtake them, and French and requested them to stop. They accordingly put to shore, and were joined by those in the canoes. To their surprise, they recognized in the person who had hailed them the Indian wife of Pierre Dorion, accompanied by her two children. She had a story to tell of the fate of several of their unfortunate adventurers.

Mr. John Reed, the Hibernian, it will be remembered, had been detached during the summer to the Snake River. His party consisted of four Canadians, Giles Le Clerc, Francois Landry, Jean Baptiste Turcot, and Andre La Chapelle, together with two hunters, Pierre Dorion and Pierre De la Rivery; Dorion, as usual, being accompanied by his wife and children. The objects of this expedition were twofold—to trap beaver, and to search for the three hunters, Robinson, Hoback, and Rezner.

In the course of the autumn Reed lost one man, Landry, by death; another one, Pierre Delarue, when he was seen by some friendly Indians, fell among the savages, and was killed. Reed then, with two canoes and a dog, left him in a muddy spot, and was never heard of afterward. The number of his party was now, however, reduced by these losses, as the three hunters, Robinson, Hoback, and Rezner, had joined his.

Reed now built a house on the Snake River, for their winter quarters; which, being completed, the party set about trapping. Reznor, Le Clerc, and Pierre Dorion went about five days' journey from the wintering house, to a part of the country well stocked with beaver. They put up a hut, and proceeded to trap with great success. While the men were out hunting, Pierre Dorion's wife remained at home to dress the skins and prepare the meals. She was thus employed every evening about the beginning of January, cooking the supper of the hunters, when she heard footsteps, and Le Clerc staggered, pale and bleeding, into the hut. He informed her that a party of savages had surprised them while at their traps, but no harm had been done. He had barely strength left to give this information, when he sank upon the ground.

The poor woman saw that the only chance for life was instant flight, but, in this exigency, showed that presence of mind and force of character she had frequently proved before. With great difficulty she caught two of the horses belonging to the party. Then collecting her clothes, and a small quantity of beaver meat and dried salmon, she packed them upon one of the horses, and helped the wounded man to mount upon it. On the other horse she mounted with her two children, and hurried away from this dangerous neighborhood, directing her flight to Mr. Reed's establishment. On the third day she descried a number of Indians on horseback proceeding in an easterly direction. She immediately dismounted with her children, and helped Le Clerc likewise to dismount, and all concealed themselves. Fortunately they escaped the sharp eyes of the savages, but had to proceed with the utmost caution. That night they slept without fire or water; she managed to keep her children warm in her arms; but before morning poor Le Clerc died.

With the dawn of the day the resolute woman resumed her course, and on the fourth day reached the house of Mr. Reed. It was deserted, and all round were marks of blood and signs of a furious massacre. Not doubting that Mr. Reed and his
party had all fallen victims, she turned in fresh horror from the spot. For two days she continued her journey forward, ready to sink for want of food, but more solicitous about her children than herself. At length she reached a range of the Rocky Mountains, near the upper part of the Wallah-Wallah River. Here she chose a wild, lonely ravine as her place of winter refuge.

She had fortunately a buffalo robe and three deer skins; of these, and of pine bark and cedar branches, she constructed a rude wigwam, which she pitched beside a mountain spring. Having no other food, she killed the two horses, and smoked their flesh. The skins aided to cover her hut. Here she dragged out the winter, with no other company than her two children. Toward the middle of March her provisions were nearly exhausted. She therefore packed up the remainder, slung it on her back, and, with her helpless little ones, set out again on her wanderings. Crossing the ridge of mountains, she descended to the banks of the Wallah-Wallah, and kept along them until she arrived where that river throws itself into the Columbia. She was hospitably received and entertained by the Wallah-Wallahs, and had been nearly two weeks among them when the two canoes passed.

On being interrogated, she could assign no reason for this murderous attack of the savages; it appeared to be perfectly wanton and unprovoked. Some of the Astorians supposed it an act of butchery by a roving band of Blackfeet; others, however, and with greater probability of correctness, have ascribed it to the tribe of pierced-nose Indians, in revenge for the death of their comrade hanged by order of Mr. Clarke. If so, it shows that these sudden and apparently wanton out-breakings of sanguinary violence on the part of the savages have often some previous, though perhaps remote, provocation.

The narrative of the Indian woman closes the checkered adventures of some of the personages of this mutilated story; such as the honest Hibernian Reed, and Darlon the hybrid interpreter. Trout and La Chapelle were two of the men who fell off from Mr. Crooks in the course of his wintery journey, and had subsequently such disastrous times among the Indians. We cannot but feel some sympathy with that persevering trio of Kentuckians, Robinson, Renzer, and Holback, who tried in vain to return to their homelands and lingered in the wilderness to perish by the hands of savages.

The return parties from Astoria, both by sea and land, experienced on the way as many adventures, vicissitudes, and mishaps, as the far-famed heroes of the "Odyssey": they reached their destination at different times, hearing tidings to Mr. Astor of the unfortunate termination of his enterprise.

That gentleman, however, was not disposed, even yet, to give the matter up as lost. On the contrary, his spirit was roused by what he considered injudicious and unmerited conduct on the part of the Northwest Company. "After their treatment of me," said he in a letter to Mr. Hunt, "I have no idea of remaining quiet and idle." He determined, therefore, as soon as circumstances would permit, to resume his enterprise.

At the return of peace, Astoria, with the adjacent country, reverted to the United States by the terms of the treaty of Ghent, the principle of status ante bellum, and Captain Biddle was dispatched, in the sloop-of-war Ontario, to take formal possession.

In the winter of 1815 a law was passed by Congress prohibiting all traffic of British traders within the territory of the United States. The favorable moment seemed now to Mr. Astor to have arrived for the revival of his favorite enterprise, but new difficulties had grown up to impede it. The Northwest Company were now in complete occupation of the Columbia River, and its chief tributary streams, over which he had established, and carrying on a trade throughout the neighboring region, in defiance of the prohibitory law of Congress, which, in effect, was a dead letter beyond the mountains.

To dispossess them would be an undertaking of almost a belligerent nature; for their agents and retainers were well armed, and skilled in the use of weapons, as is usual with Indian traders. The ferocious and bloody contests which had taken place between the rival trading parties of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies had shown what might be expected from commercial feuds in the lawless depths of the wilderness.

Mr. Astor did not think it advisable, therefore, to attempt the massacre of his rivals by the American flag, under which his people might rally in case of need. He accordingly made an informal overture to the President of the United States, Mr. Madison, through Mr. Galtain, offering to renew his enterprise, and to re-establish Astoria, provided it would be protected by the American flag, and made a military post, stating that the whole force required would not exceed a lieutenant's command.

The application, approved and recommended by Mr. Gallatin, one of the most enlightened statesmen of our country, was favorably received, but no step was taken in consequence; the President not being disposed, in all probability, to commit himself by any direct countenance or overt act. Discouraged by this supineness on the part of the government, Mr. Astor did not think fit to renew his overtures in a more formal manner, and the favorable moment for the reoccupation of Astoria was suffered to pass unimproved.

The British trading establishments were thus enabled, without molestation, to strike deep their roots, and extend their ramifications, in spite of the prohibition of Congress, until they had spread themselves over the rich field of enterprise opened by Mr. Astor. The British government soon began to perceive the importance of this region, and to desire to include it within their territorial domains. A question has consequently arisen as to the rights to the soil, and has become one of the most perplexing now open between the United States and Great Britain. In the first treaty relative to it, under date of October 20th, 1818, the question was left unsettled, and it was agreed that the country on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Rocky Mountains, claimed by either nation, should be open to the inhabitants of both for ten years, for the purposes of trade, with the equal right of navigating all its rivers. When these ten years had expired, a subsequent treaty, in 1828, extended the arrangement to ten additional years. So the matter stands at present.

On casting back our eyes over the series of events we have recorded, we see no reason to attribute the failure of this great commercial undertaking to any fault in the scheme, or omission in the execution of it, on the part of the projected enterprise. It was a menuant act of enterprise, ventured and carried on, without regard to difficulties or expense. A succession of adverse circumstances
ASTORIA.

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... and cross purposes, however, beset it almost from the outset; some of them, in fact, arising from neglect of the orders and instructions of Mr. Astor. The first crippling blow was the loss of the Tonquin, which clearly would not have happened had Mr. Astor's earnest injunctions with regard to the natives been attended to. Had this ship performed her voyage prosperously, and revisited Astoria in due time, the trade of the establishment would have taken its concerted course, and the spirits of all concerned been kept up by a confident prospect of success. Her dismal catastrophe struck a chill into every heart, and prepared the way for subsequent despondency.

Another cause of embarrassment and loss was the departure of the plan of Mr. Astor, as to the voyage of the Beaver, subsequent to her visiting Astoria. The variation from this plan produced a series of cross purposes, disastrous to the establishment, and detained Mr. Hunt absent from his post, when his presence there was of vital importance to the enterprise; so essential is it for an agent, in any great and complicated undertaking, to execute faithfully, and to the letter, the part marked off for him by the master mind which has concerted the whole.

The breaking out of the war between the United States and Great Britain multiplied the hazards and embarrassments of the enterprise. The disquietude as to our neutral right rendered it difficult to keep up reinforcements and supplies; and the loss of the Lark added to the tissue of misadventures.

That Mr. Astor battled resolutely against every difficulty, and pursued his course in defiance of every loss, has been sufficiently shown. Had he been seconded by suitable agents, and properly protected by government, the ultimate failure of his plan might yet have been averted. It was his great misfortune that his agents were not imbued with his own spirit. Some had not capacity sufficient to comprehend the real nature and extent of his scheme; others were alien in feeling and interest, and had been brought up in the service of a rival company. Whatever sympathies they might originally have had with him, were impaired, if not destroyed, by the war. They looked upon his cause as desperate, and only considered how they might make interest to regain a situation under their former employers. The absence of Mr. Hunt, the only real representative of Mr. Astor, at the time of the capitulation with the North-west Company, completed the series of cross purposes. Had that gentleman been present, the transfer, in all probability, would not have taken place.

It is painful, at all times, to see a grand and beneficial stroke of genius fail of its aim: but we regret the failure of this enterprise in a national point of view; for, had it been crowned with success, it would have redounded greatly to the advantage and extension of our commerce. The profits derived from the country in question by the British Fur Company, though of ample amount, form no criterion by which to judge of the advantages that would have arisen if it had been entirely in the hands of the citizens of the United States. That company, as has been already stated, is limited by the nature and scope of its operations, and can make but little use of the maritime facilities held out by an emporium and a harbor on that coast.

In our hands, besides the roving bands of trappers and traders, the country would have been explored and settled, and the fertile valleys bordering its rivers, and shut up among its mountains, would have been made to pour forth their agricultural treasures to contribute to the general wealth.

In respect to commerce, we should have had a line of trading posts from the Mississippi and the Missouri across the Rocky Mountains, forming a high road from the great regions of the west to the shores of the Pacific. We should have had a fortified post and port at the mouth of the Columbia, commanding the trade of that river and its tributaries, and of a wide extent of country and sea-coast: carrying on an active and profitable commerce with the Sandwich Islands, and a direct and frequent communication with China. In a word, Astoria might have realized the anticipations of Mr. Astor, so well understood and appreciated by Mr. Jefferson, in gradually becoming a commercial empire beyond the mountains, peoples by 'free and independent Americans, and linked with us by ties of blood and interest.'

We repeat, therefore, our sincere regret that our government has neglected the opportunity of Mr. Astor, and suffered the moment to pass by, when full possession of this region might have been taken quietly, as a matter of course, and a military post established, without dispute, at Astoria. Our statesmen have again become sensible, when too late, of the importance of this measure. Bills have repeatedly been brought into Congress for the purpose, but without success; and our rightful possessions on that coast, as well as our trade on the Pacific, have no rallying point protected by the national flag, and by a military force.

In the mean time the second period of ten years is fast elapsing. In 1838 the title of Astoria, and suffered the moment to pass by, when full possession of this region might have been taken quietly, as a matter of course, and a military post established, without dispute, at Astoria. Our statesmen have again become sensible, when too late, of the importance of this measure. Bills have repeatedly been brought into Congress for the purpose, but without success; and our rightful possessions on that coast, as well as our trade on the Pacific, have no rallying point protected by the national flag, and by a military force.

Should any circumstance, therefore, unfortunately occur to disturb the present harmony of the two nations, this ill-adjusted question, which now lies dormant, may suddenly start up into one of bellicose import, and Astoria become the watchword in a contest for dominion on the shores of the Pacific.

Since the above was written, the question of dominion over Astoria has passed to the Rocky Mountains, which for a time threatened to disturb the peaceable relations with our transatlantic kindred, has been finally settled in a spirit of mutual concession, and the venerable projector, whose early enterprise forms the subject of this work, died the death of a know-all, closed upon the world, that the flag of his country again waved over "Astoria."
APPENDIX.

Draft of a petition to Congress, sent by Mr. Astor in 1812.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The petition of the American Fur Company respectfully sheweth:

That the trade with the several Indian tribes of North America, has, for many years past been almost exclusively carried on by the merchants of Canada; who, having formed powerful and extensive associations for that purpose, being aided by British capital, and being encouraged by the favor and protection of the British government, could not be opposed, with any prospect of success, by individuals of the United States.

That by means of the above trade, thus systematically pursued, not only the inhabitants of the United States have been deprived of commercial profits and advantages, to which they appear to have just and natural pretention; but a great and dangerous influence has been established over the Indian tribes, difficult to be counteracted, and capable of being exerted at critical periods, to the great injury and annoyance of our frontier settlements.

That in order to obtain, at least a part of the above trade, and more particularly that which is within the boundaries of the United States, your petitioners, in the year 1808, obtained an act of incorporation from the State of New York, whereby they are enabled, with a competent capital, to carry on the said trade with the Indians in such manner as may be conformable to the laws and regulations of the United States, in relation to such commerce.

The capital mentioned in the said act, amounting to one million of dollars, having been duly formed, your petitioners entered with zeal and alacrity into those large and important arrangements, which were necessary or conducive to the object of their incorporation; and, among other things, purchased a great part of the stock in trade, and trading establishments of the Michilimackinac Company of Canada. Your petitioners also, with the expectation of great public and private advantage from the use of the said establishments, ordered, during the spring and summer of 1810, an assortment of goods from England, suitable for the Indian trade; which, in consequence of the President's proclamation of November of that year, were shipped to Canada instead of New York, and have been transported, under a very heavy expense, into the interior of the country. But as they could not legally be brought into the Indian country within the boundaries of the United States, they have been stored on the Island of St. Joseph, in Lake Huron, where they now remain.

Your petitioners, with great deference and implicit submission to the wisdom of the national legislature, beg leave to suggest for consideration, whether they have not some claim to national attention and encouragement, from the nature and importance of their undertaking; which though hazardous and uncertain as it concerns their private emolument, must, at any rate, redound to the public security and advantage. If their undertaking shall appear to be of the description given, they would further suggest to your honorable bodies, that unless they can procure a regular supply for the trade in which they are engaged, it may languish, and be finally abandoned by American citizens; when it will revert to its former channel, with additional, and perhaps with irresistible, power.

Under these circumstances, and upon all those considerations of public policy which will present themselves to your honorable bodies, in connection with those already mentioned, your petitioners respectfully pray that a law may be passed to enable the President, or any of the heads of departments acting under his authority, to grant permits for the introduction of goods necessary for the supply of the Indians, into the Indian country, that is, within the boundaries of the United States, under such regulations, and with such restrictions, as may secure the public revenue and promote the public welfare.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

In witness whereof, the common seal of the American Fur Company is hereunto affixed, the day of March, 1812.

By order of the Corporation.

AN ACT to enable the American Fur Company, and other citizens, to introduce goods necessary for the Indian trade into the territories within the boundaries of the United States

WHEREAS, the public peace and welfare require that the native Indian tribes residing within the boundaries of the United States, should receive their necessary supplies under the authority and from the citizens of the United States: Therefore, be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, that it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or any of the heads of departments therein by him duly authorized, from time to time to grant permits to the American Fur Company, their agents or factors, or any other citizens of the United States engaged in the Indian trade, to introduce into the Indian country, within the boundaries of the United States, such goods, wares, and merchandise, as may be necessary for the said trade, under such regulations and restrictions as the said President or heads of departments may judge proper; any law or regulation to the contrary, in anywise, notwithstanding.

Letter from Mr. Gallatin to Mr. Astor, dated

NEW YORK, August 5, 1812.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your request, I will state such facts as I recollect touching the subjects mentioned in your letter of 23d ult. I may be mistaken respecting late and ancient transactions and events, but I will only relate general facts, which I well remember.

In conformity with the treaty of 1794 with Great Britain, the citizens and subjects of each country were permitted to trade with the Indians residing in the territories of the other party. The reciprocity was altogether nominal. Since the conquest of Canada,
The British had inherited from the French the whole fur trade, through the great lakes and their communications, with all the western Indians, whether resident in the British dominions or the United States. They kept the important western posts on those lakes then in the hands of British subjects, and directed the commercial war, which the United States had to sustain from 1776 to 1795, had more alienated the Indians, and secured to the British their exclusive trade, carried on through the Indian tribes, whose possessions in that quarter lived. No American could, without imminent danger of property and life, carry on that trade, even within the United States, by the way of either Michilimackinac or Mackinaw. Independent of the loss of commerce, Great Britain was enabled to preserve a most dangerous influence over our Indians. It was under these circumstances that you communicated to our government the prospect you had to be able, and your intention, to purchase one half of the interest of the Canadian Fur Company, engaged in trade by the way of Michilimackinac with our own Indians. You wished to know whether the plan met with the approbation of government, and how far you could rely on its protection and encouragement. This overture was received with great satisfaction by the administration. It was given by Mr. Jefferson, then President, to that effect. I was also directed, as Secretary of the Treasury, to write you an official communication on this subject. You will see that the Executive had no authority to give you any direct aid; and I believe you received nothing more than an entire approbation of your plan, and general assurance of protection due to every citizen engaged in lawful and useful pursuits.

You did effect the contemplated purchase, but in what year I do not recollect. Immediately before the war, you represented that a large quantity of merchandise, intended for the Indian trade, and including arms and munitions of war, belonging to that concern of which you once had charge, was deposited at a post on Lake Huron, within the British dominions; that, in order to prevent their ultimately falling into the hands of Indians who might prove hostile, you were desirous to try to have them conveyed into the United States; but that you were prevented by the then existing law of non-intercourse with the British dominions.

I do not think that the refusal could not annul the provisions of that law. But I was directed to instruct the collectors on the lakes, in case you or your agents should voluntarily bring in and deliver to them any part of the goods, to keep them in the guard, and not to commence prosecutions until further instructions; the intention being then to apply to Congress for an act remitting the forfeiture and penalties. I wrote accordingly, and, by its present effect, to the collectors of Detroit and Michilimackinac.

The attempt to obtain the goods did not, however, succeed; and I cannot say how far the failure injured you. But the war proved fatal to another more extensive and important enterprise.

Previous to that time, but I also forget the year, you had undertaken to carry on a trade on your own account, through the New York charter of the American Fur Company, with the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains. This project was also communicated to government, and met, of course, with its usual approbation, and best wishes for your success. You carried it on, on the most extensive scale, sending several ships to the mouth of the Columbia River, and a large party by land across the mountains, and finally founding the establishment of Astoria.

This unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy during the war, from circumstances with which I am but imperfectly acquainted. It is a subject of formidable mission. I returned in September, 1815, and sailed again on a mission to France in June, 1816. During that period I visited Washington twice—in October or November, 1815, and in March, 1816. On one of these two occasions, and I believe on the last, you mentioned to me that you were disposed once more to renew the attempt, and to re-establish Astoria, provided you had the protection of the American flag; for which purpose a lieutenant's commission was given to you for the purpose of renewing the establishment of Astoria, and I do not know whether the application was ever renewed in a more formal manner. I sailed soon after for Europe, and was seven years absent.

I never had the pleasure, since 1810, to see Mr. Madison, and never heard anything concerning the subject in question.

I remain, dear sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

ALBERT GALLATIN.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR, Esq., New York.

Notes of the present state of the Fur Trade, chiefly extracted from an article published in Stilman's Journal for January, 1834.

The Northwest Company did not long enjoy the sway they had acquired over the trading regions of the Columbia, the most important of the fur-producing regions, was the result of an agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company, for the purpose of dividing the territory between them. This agreement was made in 1821, and was in force until 1829. The two companies were, however, engaged in a constant competition for the control of the trade, and the result was that the Hudson's Bay Company was able to maintain its position, and to extend its influence over the other companies, who were unable to rival its success.

The American Fur Company had been founded in 1810 by Mr. John Jacob Astor, and had established a large and successful trade in the fur region of the Northwest. In 1816, Astor established a post at Astoria, on the Columbia River, which became the center of the company's operations. The company was engaged in a constant struggle with the Hudson's Bay Company for the control of the trade, and Astor was known for his ability to outmaneuver his competitors.

In 1821, Astor entered into an agreement with John Jacob Astor, Esq., New York, which placed the trade in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. This agreement was renewed in 1829, and remained in force until 1834, when Astor died.

The American Fur Company never recovered from the blow dealt it by the Hudson's Bay Company, and was eventually absorbed into the company in 1834. The company's failure was due in large part to the competition of the Hudson's Bay Company, which was able to maintain its position through its superior resources and management.

APPENDIX.

The APPENDIX to this work contains a detailed account of the history of the American Fur Company, its successes and failures, and its influence on the development of the fur trade in the Northwest. It is a valuable source of information for anyone interested in the history of the fur trade, and the economic development of the region.
Another company of one hundred and fifty persons from New York, formed in 1831, and touched by Captain Bonneville of the United States army, has pushed its enterprises into tracts before but little known, and has brought considerable quantities of furs from the region between the Rocky Mountains and the coasts of Monterey and Upper California, on the Buenaventura and Timpanogos Rivers.

The fur countries, from the Pacific east to the Rock Mountains, are now occupied (exclusive of private combinations and individual trappers and traders) by the Russians; and on the northwest, from Behring's Strait to Queen Charlotte's Island, in North Latitude fifty-five degrees, and by the Hudson's Bay Company thence, south of the Columbia River; while Ashley's company, and that under Captain Bonneville, take the remainder of the region to California.

Indeed, the whole compass from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean is traversed in every direction. The mountains and forests, from the Arctic Sea to the Gulf of Mexico, are threaded, through every maze, by the hunter, Every river and tributary stream, from the Columbia to the mouth of the Rio del Norte, and from the McKenzie to the Colorado of the West, from their head springs to their junction, are searched and trapped for beaver. Almost all the American furs, which do not belong to the Hudson's Bay Company, find their way to New York, and are either distributed thence for home consumption, or sent to foreign markets.

The Hudson's Bay Company ship their furs from their factories of York Fort and from Moose River, on Hudson's Bay; their collection from Grand River, and they ship from Canada, and the collection from Columbia goes to London. None of their furs come to the United States, except through the London market.

The export trade of furs from the United States is chiefly to London. Some quantities have been sent to Canton, and some few to Hamburg; and an increasing export trade in beaver, mink, nutria, and vicuna wool, prepared for the latter's use, is carried on in Mexico. Some furs are exported from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston; but the principal shipments from the United States are from New York to London, from whence they are sent to Leipsic, a well-known mart for furs, where they are disposed of during the great fair in that city, and distributed to every part of the world.

The United States import from South America, nutria, vicuna, chinchilla, and a few deer skins; also fur seals from the Lobos Islands, off the river Plate. A small quantity of beaver, mink, nutria, &c., are brought annually from Santa Fe. Dressed furs for edgings, linings, caps, muff, &c., such as squirre, genet, fox skins, and blue rabbit, are received from the north of Europe; also coney and hare's fur; but the largest importations are from London, where is concentrated nearly the whole of the North American fur trade.

Such is the present state of the fur trade, by which it will appear that the extended sway of the Hudson's Bay Company, and its monopoly of the region of which Astoria was the key, has operated to turn the main current of this opulent trade into the colliers of Great Britain, and to render London the emporium instead of New York, as Mr. Astor had intended.

We will subjoin a few observations on the animals sought after in this traffic, extracted from the same tractable book with the preceding remarks.

Of the fur-bearing animals, "the precious ermine, so called by way of pre-eminence, is found, of the best quality, only in the cold regions of Europe and Asia. Its fur is the most perfect whiteness, except the tip of its tail, which is of a brilliant shining black. With these black tips tacked on the skins, they are beautifully spotted, producing an effect often imitated, but never equalled in other furs. The ermine is of the genus mustela (weasel), and resembles the common weasel in its form; is from fourteen to sixteen inches in length, and six inches in the tail. The body is from ten to twelve inches long. It lives in hollow trees, river banks, and especially in beech forests; preys on small birds, is very shy, sleeping during the day, and devoting itself to the search of food. The fur of the older animals is preferred to the younger. It is taken by snares and traps, and sometimes shot with blunt arrows. Attempts have been made to domesticate it, but it is extremely wild, and has been found untamable.

The sable can scarcely be called second to the ermine. It is a native of northern Europe and Siberia, and is also of the genus mustela. In Siberia, Yakutsk, Kamschatka, and Russian Lapland, it is found of the richest quality and darkest color. In its habits, it resembles the ermine. It preys on small squirrels and birds, sleeps by day, and prods for food during the night. It is like the marten, in every particular except its size, and the dark shade of its color, that naturalists have not decided whether it is the richest and finest of the marten tribe, or a variety of that species. It varies in dimensions from eighteen to twenty inches.

The rich dark shades of the sable, and the snowy whiteness of the ermine, the great depth, and the peculiar, almost flowing softness of their skins and fur, have combined to gain them a preference in all countries, and in all ages of the world. In this respect, however, they maintain the same relative excellence and preference to all other furs, as when they marked the rank of the proud crusader, and were emblazoned in heraldry; but in most European nations they are now worn promiscuously by the common people.

The martens from Northern Asia and the Mountains of Kamschatka are much superior to the American, though in every pack of American marten skins there are a certain number which are beautiful, and equal to other furs, as when they marked the rank of the proud crusader, and were emblazoned in heraldry; but in most European nations they are now worn promiscuously by the common people.

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immediately commenced carrying seal skins thence to China, where they obtained the most exorbitant prices. One million two hundred thousand skins have been taken from that island alone, and nearly an equal number from the Island of Desolation, since they were first resorted to for the purpose of commerce.

The discovery of the South Shetlands, sixty-three degrees south latitude, in 1818, added surprisingly to the trapped furs of this and other countries. From the South Shetlands in 1812 and 1822 amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand. This valuable animal is now almost extinct in all these islands, owing to the extermination system adopted by the hunters. They are still taken on the Lobos Islands, where the provident government of Montevideo restricts the fishery, or hunting, within certain limits, which insures an annual return of the seals. At certain seasons these amphibia, for the purpose of renewing their coat, come up on the dark rocky shores and precipices, where there is not a trace of vegetation. In the middle of January the islands are partially cleared of snow, where a few patches of short struggling grass spring up in favorable situations; but the seals do not return to it. They often visit the rocks not less than two months, without any sustenance, when they return much emaciated to the sea.

Bears of various species and colors, many varieties of fox, the beaver, the sea hare, the raccoon, the badger, the wolverine, the mink, the lynx, the muskrat, the woodchuck, the rabbit, the hare, and the squirrel, are natives of North America. The beaver, otter, lynx, fisher, hare, and racoon, are used principally for hides; while the bears of various species furnish an excellent material for sleigh linings, for cavalry caps, and other military equipments. The fur of the black fox is the most valuable of any of the American varieties; and next to that the red, which is exported to China and Smyrna. In China, the red is employed for trimming, linings, and robes, the latter being variegated by adding the black fur of the paws, in spots or waves. There are many other varieties of American fox, such as the gray, the white, the cross, the silver, and the dun colored. The silver fox is a rare animal, a native of the woody country below the falls of the Columbia River. It has a long, thick, deep colored fur, intermingled with long hairs, invariably with the fur, for it is a form of silver grey, esteemed by some more beautiful than any other kind of fox.

The skins of the buffalo of the Rocky Mountain shores, a symbol of the American Indian, and of the antelope, are included in the fur trade with the Indians and traders of the north and west.

Fox and seal skins are sent from Greenland to Denmark, and the northern fur, the latter and of the antelope, are included in the fur trade with the Indians and traders of the north and west.

Other furs are employed and valued according to the captives of fashion, as well in these countries where they are needed for defences against the severity of the seasons, as among the inhabitants of mild climates, who, being of Tartar or Slavonian descent, are said to inherit an attachment to furred clothing. Such are the leopards, tigers, and the leopards of Southern Russia, of China, of Persia, of Turkey, and all the nations of Gothic origin in the middle and western parts of Europe. Under the burning suns of Syria and Egypt and also in the Russian outposts of Turkestan and Independent Tartary, there is also a constant demand, and a great consumption, where there exists no physical necessity. In our own temperate Latitudes, besides their use in the present time, there is a great demand for ornaments and clothing during the winter, and three quarters are annually consumed for both purposes in the United States.

From the foregoing statements it appears that the fur trade must henceforward decline. The advanced state of geographical science shows that no new countries remain to be explored. In North America the animals are slowly decreasing, from the persevering efforts and the indiscriminate slaughter practiced by the hunters, and by the appropriation of the use of man of its forests and rivers which have afforded them food and protection. They recede with the aborigines, before the tide of civilization; but a diminished supply will remain in the mountains and uncultivated tracts of the land and other countries, if the avoird of the hunter can be restrained within proper limitations.

APPENDIX.

Height of the Rocky Mountains.

Various estimates have been made of the height of the Rocky Mountains, but it is doubtful whether any have, as yet, done justice to their real altitude, which promises to place them only second to the highest mountains of the known world. Their height has been diminished to the eye by the great elevation of the plains from which they rise. They consist, according to Long, of ridges, knobs, and peaks, variously disposed. The most elevated parts are covered with perpetual snows, while the country below is given to them a luminum, and, at a great distance, a far more brilliant appearance; whence they derived, amongst some of the first discoverers, the name of the Shining Mountains.

James' Peak has generally been cited as the highest of the chain; and its elevation above the common level has been ascertained, by a trigonometrical measurement, to be about eight thousand five hundred feet. Mr. Long, however, judged, from the position of the snow near the summits of other peaks and ridges at no great distance from it, that they were much higher. Having heard Professor Renwick, of New York, express an opinion of the altitude of these mountains far beyond what had usually been ascribed to them, we applied to him for the authority on which he grounded his observation, and here submit his reply:

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK, Feb. 23, 1856.

Dear Sir: In compliance with your request, I have been permitted to communicate some facts in relation to the heights of the Rocky Mountains, and the sources whence I obtained the information.

In conversation with Simon M'Gillivray, Esq., a partner of the Northwest Company, he stated to me his impression that the mountains were much higher than the estimates generally made by the traders of that company were nearly as high as the Himalayas. He had himself crossed by this route, seen the snowy summits of the peaks, and experienced, a degree of terror that was easily surmounted by a spirit thermometer to indicate its temperature. He estimated the heights of the peaks at twenty-five thousand feet, and there were others of nearly the same height in the vicinity of the mountain. This conversation occurred about fifteen years since.

A year or two afterward I had the pleasure of dining at Major Franchot's with Mr. Thompson, the gentleman to whom you allude. Mr. M'Gillivray was quick to inquire of him in relation to the circumstances mentioned by you. Mr. M'Gillivray, and he stated that, by the joint means of the barometric and trigonometric measurement, he had ascertained the height of one of the peaks to be about twenty-five thousand feet, and there were others of nearly the same height in the vicinity.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,

JAMES RENWICK.

To W. IRVING, Esq.

SUGGESTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE INDIAN TRIBES, AND THE PROTECTION OF OUR TRADE.

In the course of this work, a few general remarks have been hazarded respecting the Indian tribes of the prairies, and the dangers to be apprehended from
them in future times to our trade beyond the Rocky Mountains, but chiefly with the Spanish frontier. Since writing those remarks, we have met with some excellent observations and suggestions, in manuscript, on the same subject, written by Captain Bonneville, of the United States army, who has lately returned from a long residence among the tribes of the Rocky Mountains. Captain B. approves highly of the plan recently adopted by the United States government for the establishment of a regiment of dragoons for the protection of our western frontier, and the trade across the prairies. "No other species of military force," he observes, "is at all competent to cope with these restless and wandering horsemen, who require to be opposed with swiftness quite as much as with strength; and the consciousness that a troop, uniting these qualifications, is always on the alert to avenge their outrages upon the settlers and traders, will go very far toward restraining them from the perpetration of those thefts and murders which they have heretofore committed with impunity, whenever strata-
gem or superiority of force has given them the advan-
tage. Their interest already has done something toward their pacification with our countrymen. From the traders among them, they receive their supplies in the greatest plenty, and upon very favorable terms; and when it is remembered that a very considerable amount of property is yearly distributed among them by the government, as presents, it will readily be observed that they are greatly dependent upon us for their most valued resources. If, super-
added to this inducement, a frequent display of mil-
tary power be made in their territories, there can be little doubt that a desired security and peace will become speedily afforded to our own people. But the idea of establishing a permanent amity and concord among the various east and west tribes themselves, seems to me to meet with very inexpressible, at least certainly more difficult than many excellent philanthropists have hoped and believed. Those nations which have so lately emigrated, from the mists of our settlements to live upon our western borders, and have made some progress in agriculture and the arts of civilization, have, in the property they have acquired, and the protection and aid extended to them, too many advantages to be induced readily to take arms against us, particularly if they can be brought to the full convic-
tion that their new homes will be permanent and undis-
puted; and there is every reason and motive, in policy as in humanity, for our ameliorating the state of condition by every means in our power. But the case is far different with regard to the Osages, the Kansas, the Pawnees, and other roving tribes be-
ey of the territory of the settlements, to live and rear-
less in their character and habits, they are by no means so susceptible of control or civilization; and they are urged by strong, and, to them, irresistible causes in their situation and necessities, to the daily perpetration of violence and fraud. Their per-
manent subsistence, for example, is derived from the buffalo hunting grounds, which lie a great distance from their towns. Twice a year they are obliged to make long and dangerous expeditions, to procure the necessary provisions for themselves and their fami-
lies. For this purpose horses are absolutely requi-
site, for their own comfort and safety, as well as for the transportation of their food and their little stock of valuables; and without them they would be re-
duced, during a great portion of the year, to a state of absolute misery and privation. They have no bread-
makes, nor any trade sufficiently valuable to supply their yearly losses, and endeavor to keep up their stock by stealing horses from the other tribes to the westward. United States officers, already im-
mortal, we may perhaps be permitted to make a new acquaintance with the Osages, and the others in the neighborhood, as well as to their depredations; and the Kansas, Pawnees, and others, may be induced to re-
mote in the same way, to secure themselves, so long as they are permitted to pursue the old custom of stealing upon the Camanches and other remote nations for their complement of steeds for the warriors, and pack-
horses for their transportation to and from the hunt-
ground. But if we may obtain a peaceful and inoffensive toward the tribes along the Mexican border, and find that every violation of their rights is followed by the avenging spirit of the Mexicans, and that their frontier can be held in check by the severity of our punishment, we shall be able to induce them to abandon their mischievous projects and remove to the neighbor-
hood of the Mexican lands, and there carry on a more predatory warfare indiscriminately upon the Mexicans and our own people trading or travelling in that quarter. "The Indians of the prairies are almost innumer-
able. Their superior horsemanship, which, in my opinion, far exceeds that of any other people on the face of the earth, their daring bravery, their cunning and skill in the warfare of the wilderness, and the astonishing rapidity and secrecy with which they are accustomed to move in their martial expeditions, will always render them most dangerous and vexatious neighbors, when their necessities or their discontent may drive them to hostility with our frontiers. Their mode of emigration, from one spot to another, exposes them from final and irretrievable defeat, and secure their families from participating in any blow however severe, which our retribution might deal out to them. "The Camanches by the Mexicano is constantly in the habit of selling his best horses and mules, which are always en-
gaged in stealing from them in incredible numbers; and from the Camanches, all the roving tribes of the far West, by a sort of common system, to supply themselves in turn. It seems to me, therefore, under all these circumstances, that the apparent futil-
ity of any philanthropic schemes for the benefit of these nations, a report of our late congressional com-
mittee in recommending that we remain satisfied with maintaining peace upon our own immediate borders, and leave the Mexicans and the Camanches, and all the tribes hostile to these last, to settle their differences and difficulties in their own way. "In order to give full security and protection to our trading parties circulating in all directions through the great prairies, I am under the impression that a few judicious measures on the part of the govern-
ment, involving a very limited expense, would be suffi-
cient. And, in attaining this end, which of itself has already become of public interest, but as an im-
port, another, of much greater consequence, might be brought about, viz., the securing to the States a most valuable and increasing trade, now carried on by caravans directly to Santa Fe. "As to the first desideratum: the Indians can only be made to respect the lives and property of the American parties, by rendering them dependent upon us for their supplies; which can alone be done with complete effect by the establishment of a trading post, with resident traders, at some point which will unite a sufficient number of advantages to attract the several tribes to itself, in preference to their present places of resort for that purpose; for it is a well-
known fact that the Indians will always protect their trader, and those in whom he is interested, so long as they derive benefits from him. The alternative pre-
vented to those at the north, by the residence of the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company among them, renders the condition of our people in that quarter less secure; but I think it will appear, at once upon the most cursory examination, that no such opposition further south could be maintained, so as to weaken the benefits of such an establishment as is here sug-
gested. "In considering this matter, the first question which presents itself is, Where do these tribes now make their exchanges, and obtain their necessary supplies? They resort to the Camanches, and purchase from them whatever the Indians most seek for. In this point of view, therefore, ceteris paribus, it would be an easy matter for us to monopo-
APPENDIX.

Has the whole traffic. All that is wanting in some location more convenient for the natives than that offered by the Mexicans, to give us the undisputed superiority; and the selection of such a point requires but a knowledge of the single fact, that these nations invariably winter upon the head waters of the Arkansas, and there prepare all their buffalo robes for trade. These robes are heavy, and to the Indian very difficult of transportation. Nothing but necessity induces them to travel any great distance with such inconvenient baggage. A post, therefore, established upon the head waters of the Arkansas, must infallibly secure an uncontested preference over that of the Mexicans, even at their prices and rates of barter. Then let the dragoons occasionally move about among these people in large parties, impressing them with the proper estimate of our power to protect and to punish, and at once we have complete and assured security for all citizens whose enterprise may lead them beyond the border, and an end to the outrages and depredations which now dog the footsteps of the traveller in the prairies, and arrest and depress the most advantageous commerce. Such a post need not be stronger than fifty men; twenty-five to be employed as hunters, to supply the garrison, and the residue as a defence against any hostility. Situated here upon the good lands of the Arkansas, in the midst of abundance of timber, while it might be kept up at a most inconsiderable expense, such an establishment within ninety-miles of Santa Fe or Taos would be more than justified by the other and more important advantages before alluded to, leaving the protection of the traders with the Indian tribes entirely out of the question.

This great trade, carried on by caravans to Santa Fe, annually loads one hundred wagons with merchandise, which is bartered in the northern provinces of Mexico for cash and for beaver furs. The numerous articles excluded as contraband, and the exorbitant duties laid upon those that are admitted by the Mexican government, present so many obstacles to commerce, that I am well persuaded that if a post, such as is here suggested, should be established on the Arkansas, it would become the place of deposit, not only for the present trade, but for one infinitely more extended. Here the Mexicans might purchase their supplies, and might well afford to sell them at prices which would silence all competition from any other quarter.

These two trades, with the Mexicans and the Indians, centring at this post, would give rise to a large village of traders and laborers, and would undoubtedly be hailed, by all that section of country, as a permanent and invaluable advantage. A few pack-horses would carry all the clothing and ammunition necessary for the post during the first year, and two light field-pieces would be all the artillery required for its defence. Afterward, all the horses required for the use of the establishment might be purchased from the Mexicans at the low price of ten dollars each; and, at the same time, whatever animals might be needed to supply the losses among the dragoons traversing the neighborhood, could be readily procured. The Upper Missouri Indians can furnish horses, at very cheap rates, to any number of the same troops who might be detailed for the defence of the northern frontier; and, in other respects, a very limited outlay of money would suffice to maintain a post in that section of the country.

From these considerations, and my own personal observation, I am, therefore, disposed to believe that two posts established by the government, one at the mouth of the Yellow Stone River, and one on the Arkansas, would completely protect all our people in every section of the great wilderness of the West; while other advantages, at least with regard to one of them, confirm and urge the suggestion. A fort at the mouth of Yellow Stone, garrisoned by fifty men, would be perfectly safe. The establishment might be constructed simply with a view to the stores, stables for the dragoons' horses, and quarters for the regular garrison; the rest being provided with sheds or lodges, erected in the vicinity, for their residence during the winter months.

THE END.
TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES.

BY WASHINGTON IRVING.

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING, since my return to the United States, made a wide and varied tour, for the gratification of my curiosity, it has been supposed that I did it for the purpose of writing a book; and it has more than once been intimated in the papers, that such a work was actually in the press, containing scenes and sketches of the Far West.

These announcements, gratuitously made for me, before I had put pen to paper, or even contemplated anything of the kind, have embarrassed me exceedingly. I have been like a poor actor, who finds himself announced for a part he had no thought of playing, and his appearance expected on the stage before he has committed a line to memory.

I have always had a repugnance, amounting almost to disability, to write in the face of expectation; and, in the present instance, I was expected to write about a region fruitful of wonders and adventures, and which had already been made the theme of spirit-stirring narratives from the pens; yet about which I had nothing wonderful or adventurous to offer.

Since such, however, seems to be the desire of the public, and that they take sufficient interest in my wanderings to demand them worthy of recital, I have hastened, as promptly as possible, to meet in some degree, the expectation which others have excited. For this purpose, I have, as it were, pinched a few leaves out of my memorandum book, containing a month's foray beyond the outposts of human habitation, into the wilderness of the Far West. It forms, indeed, but a small portion of an extensive tour; but it is an episode, complete as far as it goes. As such, I offer it to the public, with great diffidence. It is a simple narrative of every day occurrence; such as happen to every one who travels the prairies. I have no wonders to describe, nor any moving accidents by food or field to narrate; and as to those who look for a matchless or adventurous story at my hands, I can only reply, in the words of the weary knife-grinder: "Story! God bless you, I have none to tell, sir."

CHAPTER 1.

The Former Hunting Grounds,—Travelling Companion.—A Commissioner,—A Fortune,—A Seeker of Adventures.—A Gift Box of the Frontier.—A Young Man's Anticipations of Pleasure.

In the often vaunted regions of the Far West, several hundred miles beyond the Mississippi, extends a vast tract of uninhabited country, where there is neither to be seen the log house of the white man, nor the wigwam of the Indian. It consists of great grassy plains, interspersed with forests and groves, and clumps of trees, and watered by the Arkansas, the grand Canadian, the Red River, and their tributary streams. Over these fertile and verdant wastes still roam the elk, the buffalo, and the wild horse, in all their native freedom. These, in fact, are the hunting grounds of the various tribes of the Far West. Either repair the Osage, the Creek, the Delaware and other tribes that have linked themselves with civilization, and live within the vicinity of the white settlements. Here resort also, the Pawnees, the Comanches, and other fierce, and as yet independent tribes, the nomads of the prairies, or the inhabitants of the skirts of the Rocky Mountains. The regions I have mentioned form a debatable ground of these warring and vindictive tribes; none of them presume to erect a permanent habitation within its borders. Their hunters and "Braves" repair thither in numerous bodies during the season of game, throw up their transient hunting camps, consisting of light bowers covered with bark and skins, commit sad havoc among the innumerable herds that graze the prairies, and having loaded themselves with venison and buffalo meat, warily retire from the dangerous neighborhood. These expeditions partake, always, of a warlike character; the hunters are all armed for action, offensive and defensive, and are bound to incessant vigilance. Should they, in their excursions, meet the hunters of an adverse tribe, savage conflicts take place. Their encampments, too, are always subject to be surprised by wandering war parties, and their hunters, when scattered in pursuit of game, to be captured or massacred by lurking foes. Mouldering skulls and skeletons, bleaching in some dark ravine, or near the traces of a hunting camp, occasionally mark the scene of a foregoing act of blood, and let the wanderer know the dangerous nature of the region he is traversing. It is the purport of the following pages to narrate a month's excursion to these noted hunting grounds, through a tract of country which had not as yet been explored by white men.

It was early in October, 1832, that I arrived at Fort Gibson, a frontier post of the Far West, situated on the Osage, or Grand River, near its confluence with the Arkansas. I had been travel-
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...
to make a wide exploring tour from the Arkansas to the Red River, including a part of the Pawnee hunting grounds where no party of white men had as yet penetrated. Here, then, was an opportunity of ranging over these dangerous and interesting regions under the safeguard of a powerful escort; for the Commissioner, in virtue of his office, could claim the service of this newly raised corps of rangers, and the country they were to explore was destined for the settlement of some of the migrating tribes connected with his mission.

Our plan was promptly formed and put into execution. A couple of Creek Indians were sent off express, by the commander of Fort Gibson, to overtake the rangers and bring them to a halt until the Commissioner and his party should be able to join them. As we should have a march of three or four days through a wild country before we could overtake the company of rangers, an escort of fourteen mounted rangers and the command of a lieutenant, was assigned us.

We sent word to the young Count and Mr. I. at the Osage Agency, of our new plan and prospects, and invited them to accompany us. The Count, however, found that matters were not yet ready to go. He had promised himself in mingling with absolutely savage life. In reply, he agreed to keep with us until we should come upon the trail of the Osage hunters, when it was his fixed resolve to strike off into the distant prairies, and to be a faithful Mentor, though he grieved at the madness of the scheme, was too stanch a friend to desert him. A general rendezvous of our party and escort was appointed, for the following morning, at the Agency and the same

We made all arrangements for prompt departure. Our baggage had hitherto been transported on a light wagon, but we were now to break our way through an untravelled country, cut up by rivers, ravines, and thickets, where a vehicle of the kind would be a complete impediment. We were to travel on horseback, in hunter's style, and with as little encumbrance as possible. Our baggage, therefore, underwent a rigid and most abominable reduction. Two or three saddlebags, and those by no means crammed, sufficed for each man's scanty wardrobe, and, with his great coat, were to be carried upon the steed he rode. The rest of the baggage was placed on pack-horses. Each one had a blanket and a couple of blankets for bedding, and there was a tent to shelter us in case of sickness or bad weather. We took care to provide ourselves with flour, coffee, and sugar, together with a small supply of salt pork for emergencies; for our main subsistence we were to depend upon the chase.

Such of our horses as had not been tired out in our recent journey, were taken with us as packhorses, or supernumeraries; but as we were going on a long and rough tour, where there would be occasional hunting, and where, in case of meeting with hostile savages, the safety of the rider might depend upon the goodness of his steed, we took care to be well mounted. I procured a stout silver-gray; somewhat rough, but stanch and powerful; and retention a handy pony which I had hitherto ridden, and which, being somewhat jaded, was suffered to ramble along with the pack-horses, to be mounted only in case of emergency.

As the arrangements were being made, we left Fort Gibson, on the morning of the tenth of October, and, crossing the river in the front of it, set off for the rendezvous at the Agency. A ride of a few miles brought us to the fords of the Verdigris, a wild rocky scene overhung with forest trees. We descended to the bank of the river and crossed in struggling file, the horses stepping cautiously from rock to rock, and, in a manner feeling about for a foothold beneath the rushing and splashing stream.

Our little Frenchman, Tonish, brought up the rear with the pack-horses. He was in high glee, having experienced a kind of promotion. In our wanderings he had driven the wagon, which he seemed to consider a very inferior employ; now he was master of the horse.

He sat perched like a monkey behind the pack on one of the horses; he sang; he shouted, he yelped like an Indian, and, ever and anon blaspheming the loitering pack-horses in jargon of mingled French, English, and Osage, which not one of them could understand.

As we were crossing the ford we saw on the opposite shore, to the right of a prairie on horseback. He had paused to reconnoitre us from the brow of a rock, and formed a picturesque object, in unison with the wild scenery around him. He wore a bright blue hunting-shirt trimmed with scarlet fringes, a gray calico blanket wrapped round his head like a turban, with one end hanging down beside his ear; he held a long rifle in his hand, and looked like a wild Arab on the prowl. Our loquacious and ever-meddlesome little Frenchman called out to him in his language, and the savage being satisfied his curiosity tossed his hand in the air, turned the head of his steed, and galloping along the shore soon disappeared among the trees.
prevents their indulging in much luxury of apparel.

In contrast to these was a gaily dressed party of Creeks. There is something, at the first glance, quaint and picturesque in the appearance of this tribe. They dress in calico hunting shirts, of various brilliant colors, decorated with bright fringes, and belted with broad girdles, emblazoned with beads: they have leggings of dressed deer skins, or of green or scarlet yarn, set with embroidered knee-bands and tassels: their mocassins are fancily wrought and ornamented, and they wear gaily handkerchiefs tastefully bound round their heads.

Besides these, there was a sprinkling of trappers, hunters, half-breeds, creoles, negroes of every hue; and all that other rabble rout of nondescript beings that keep about the frontiers, between civilized and savage life, as those equidistant birds, the bats, hover about the confines of light and darkness.

The little hamlet of the Agency was in a complete bustle; the blacksmith's shed, in particular, was a scene of preparation; a strapping negro was shoeing a horse; two half-breeds were fabricating iron spoons in which to melt lead for bullets. An old trapper, in leathern hunting frock and mocassins, had placed his rifle against a work-bench, while he superintended the operation, and gossiped about his hunting exploits; several large dogs were lounging in and out of the shop, or sleeping in the sunshine, while a little cur, with head cocked on one side, and one ear erect, was watching, with that curiosity common to little dogs, the process of shoeing the horse, as if studying the art, or waiting for his turn to be shod.

We found the Count and his companion, the Vicar, ready for the march. As they intended to overtake the Osages, and pass some time in hunting the buffalo and the wild horse, they had provided themselves accordingly; having, in addition to the steeds which they used for travelling, others of prime quality, which were to be led when on the march, and only to be mounted for the chase.

They had, moreover, engaged the services of a young man named Antoine, a half-breed of French and Osage origin. He was to be a kind of guide, to show the way, to cook, to hunt, and to take care of the horses; but he had a vehement propensity to do nothing, being one of the worthless brood engendered and brought up among the missions. He was, moreover, a little spoiled by being really a handsome young fellow, an Adonis of the frontier, and still worse by fancying himself highly connected, his sister being concubine to an opulent white trader!

For our own parts, the Commissioner and myself were desirous, before setting out, to procure another attendant well versed in woodcraft, who might serve us as a hunter; for our little Frenchman would have his hands full when in camp, in cooking, and on the march, in taking care of the pack-horses. Such an one presented himself, or rather was recommended to us, in Pierre Beatie, a half-breed of French and Osage parentage. We were assured that he was acquainted with all parts of the country, having traversed it in all directions, both in hunting and war parties; that he spoke both languages fluently and interpreted, and that he was a first-rate hunter.

I confess I did not like his looks when he was first presented to me. He was lounging about, in an old hunting frock and metasses or leggings, of deer skin, soiled and greased, and almost jappaned by constant use. He was apparently about thirty-six years of age, square and strongly built. His features were not fine, being shaped not unlike those of Napoleon, but sharpened up, with high Indian cheek bones. Perhaps the dusky greenish hue of his complexion, aided his resemblance to an old bronze bust I had seen of the Emperor. He had, however, a sullen, saturnine expression, set off by a slouched woollen hat, and elf locks that hung about his ears.

Such was the appearance of the man, and his manners were equally unprepossessing. He was cold and laconic; made no promises or professions; stated the terms he required for the services of himself and his horse, which we thought rather high, but showed no disposition to abate them, nor any anxiety to secure our employ. He had altogether more of the red than the white man in his composition; and, as we had been taught to look upon all half-breeds with distrust, as an uncertain and faithless race, I would gladly have dispensed with the services of Pierre Beatie. We had no time, however, to look out for any one else, more to our taste, and had engaged him with him on the spot. He then set about making his preparations for the journey, promising to join us at our evening's encampment.

One thing was yet wanting to fit me out for the Prairies—a thorough, well-stocked steed; I was not yet mounted to my mind. The gray I had bought, though strong and serviceable, was rough. At the last moment I succeeded in getting an excellent animal; a dark bay, powerful, active, generous-spirited and in capital condition. I mounted him with exultation, and transferred the silver gray to Tomish, who was in such ecstasies at finding himself so completely in Caradoc, a horse I feared he might realize the ancient and well-known proverb of "a beggar on horseback."
Finding his log house was a mere hospital, crowded with invalids, we ordered our tent to be pitched in the farm-yard.

We had not been long encamped, when our recently engaged attendant, Beatte, the Osage half-breed, made his appearance. He came mounted on one horse and leading another, which seemed to be well packed with supplies for the expedition. Beatte was evidently a "old soldier," as to the art of taking care of himself and looking out for our needs. Finding that he was in government employ, being engaged by the Commissioner, he had drawn rations of flour and bacon, and put them up so as to be waterproof. In addition to the horse for the road, and for ordinary service, which was a rough, hardy animal, he had another for hunting. This was of a mixed breed like himself, being a cross of the domestic stock with the wild horse of the prairies; and a noble steed it was, of generous spirit, fine action, and admirable bottom. He had taken care to have his horses well shod at the Agency. He came prepared at all points for war or hunting; his rifle on his shoulder, his powder-horn and bullet-pouch at his side, his hunting-knife in his belt, and coils of cordage at his saddle-horn, while we, told lariats, or noosed cords, used in catching the wild horse.

Thus equipped and provided, an Indian hunter on the prairie is like a cruiser on the ocean, perfectly independent of the world, and competent to self-protection and self-maintenance. He can cast himself loose from every one, shape his own course, and take care of his own fortunes. I thought Beatte seemed to feel this independence, and to consider himself superior to us all, now that we were launching into the wilderness. He maintained a half proud, half sullen look, and great taciturnity, and his first care was to unlash his horses and put them out in safe quarters for the night. His white demeanor was in perfect contrast to our vacuum, chucking little Frenchman. The latter, too, seemed jealous of this new-comer. He whispered to us that these half-breeds were a touchy, capricious people, little to be depended upon. That Beatte had evidently been prepared to take care of himself, and that, at any moment in the course of our tour, he would be liable to take some sudden disgust or affront, and abandon us at a moment's warning: having the means of shifting for himself, and being perfectly at home on the prairies.

We met with numbers of them returning from one of their grand games of ball, for which their nation is celebrated. Some were on foot, some on horseback; the latter, occasionally, with gaily-dressed females behind them. They are a well-made race, men and women closely knit with well-turned thighs and legs. They have a gipsy fondness for brilliant colors and gay decorations, and are bright and fanciful objects when seen at a distance on the prairies. One had a scarlet handkerchief bound round his head, surmounted with a tuft of black feathers like a cocktail. Another had a white handkerchief, with red feathers: while a third, for want of a plume, had stuck in his turban a brilliant bunch of sumach.

On the verge of the wilderness we paused to inquire our way at a log house, owned by a white settler or squatter, a tall raw-boned old fellow, with red hair, a bank lantern visage, and an inarticulate habit of winking with one eye, as if everything he said was knowing import. He was in a towering passion. One of his horses was missing; he was sure it had been stolen in the night by a straggling party of Osages encamped in a neighboring swamp; but he had no satisfaction to assign it to the Osages; he said he had been half killed by Osages. He had accordingly caught down his rifle from the wall, that invaluable enforcer of right or wrong upon the frontiers, and, having saddled his steed, was about to sally forth on a foray into the swamp; while a brother squatter, with rifle in hand, stood ready to accompany him.

We endeavored to cool the old campaigner of the prairies, by suggesting that his horse might have strayed into the neighboring woods; but he had the frontier propensity to charge everything to the Indians, and nothing could dissuade him from carrying fire and sword into the swamp.

After riding a few miles farther we lost the trail of the main body of rangers, and became perplexed by a variety of tracks made by the Indians and squatters. At length coming to a log house, inhabited by a white man, the very last on the frontier, we found that we had wandered from our true course. Taking us back for some distance, he again brought us to the right trail: putting ourselves upon him, we overtook the main party, and embarked upon our final departure, and launched into the broad wilderness.

The trail kept on like a straggling footpath, over hill and dale, through brush and brake, and tangled open prairies and crossing the wilds it is customary for a party of horse or foot to follow each other in single file like the Indians; so that the leaders break the way for those who follow, and lessen their labor and fatigue. In this way, also, the number of a party is concealed, the whole leaving but one narrow well-trampled track to mark their course.

We had not long regained the trail, when, on emerging from a forest, we beheld our raw-boned, hard-winking, hard-riding knight-errant of the frontier, descending the slope of a hill, followed by his companion in arms. As he drew near to us, the gauntness of his figure and roundness of his back reminded us of the description of the hero of La Mancha, and he was equally bent on affairs of denote enterprise, being about to perforate the thickets of the perilous swamp, within which the enemy lay ensconced.

While we were holding a parley with him on the slope of the hill, we descried an Osage on horseback issuing out of a sedge meadow. The prairies were well stocked, and their horses had a look of comfort and abundance.

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hard-winking friend as the steed of which he was in quest. As the Osage drew near, I was struck with his appearance. He was about nineteen or twenty years of age, but well grown, with the fine Roman countenance common to his tribe, and as he rode with his blanket wrapped round his loins, his naked bust would have furnished a model for a statuary. He was mounted on a beautiful piebau'd horse, a mottled white and brown, of the wild breed of the prairies, decorated with a broad collar, from which hung in front a tuft of horse-hair dyed of a bright scarlet.

The youth rode slowly up to us with a frank open air, and signified by means of our interpreter Bearte, that the horse he was leading had wandered to their camp, and he was now on his way to conduct him back to his owner.

I had expected to witness an expression of gratitude on the part of our hard-favored cavalier, but to my surprise the old fellow broke out into a furious passion. He declared that the Indians had carried off his horse in the night, with the intention of bringing him home in the morning, and claiming a reward for finding him; a common practice, he affirmed, among the Indians. He was, therefore, for tying the young Indian to a tree and giving him a sound lashing; and was quite surprised at the burst of indignation which this novel mode of requiting a service drew from us. However, it is too often the administration of law on the frontier, "Lynch's law," as it is technically termed, in which the plaintiff is apt to be witness, jury, judge, and executioner, and the defendant to be convicted and punished on mere presumption; and in this way, I am convinced, are occasioned many of those horrors of which the sentiments of the Indians, which lead to retaliation, and end in Indian wars. When I compared the open, noble countenance and frank demeanor of the young Osage, with the sinister visage and high-handed conduct of the frontierman, I felt little doubt on whose back a lash would be most meritoriously bestowed.

Being thus obliged to content himself with the recovery of his horse, without the pleasure of flogging the finder into the bargain, the old Lycurgus, or rather Draco, of the frontier, set off growling on his return homeward, followed by his brother squatter.

As for the youthful Osage, we were all possessed in his favor; the young Count especially, with the sympathies proper to his age and incident to his character, had taken quite a fancy to him. Nothing would suit but he must have the young Osage as a companion and squire in his expedition into the wilderness. The youth was easily tempted, and, with the prospect of a safe range over the buffalo prairies and the promise of a new blanket, he turned his bridle, left the swamp and the encampment of his friends behind him, and set off to follow the Count in his wandering among the Osage Hunters.

Such is the glorious independence of man in a savage state. This youth, with his rifle, his blanket, and his horse, was ready at a moment's warning to rove the world; he carried all his worldly effects with him, and in the absence of artificial wealth, possessed the great secret of personal freedom. We of society are slaves, not so much to others as to ourselves; our superfluities are the chains that bind us, impeding every movement of our bodies and thwarting every impulse of our souls. At least, were it my speculations at the time, though I am not sure but that they took their tone from the enthusiasm of the young Count, who seemed more enchanted than ever with the wild chivalry of the prairies, and talked of putting on the Indian dress and adopting the Indian habits during the time he hoped to pass with the Osages.

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CHAPTER VI.

Trail of the Osage Hunters.—Departure of the Count and his Party.—A Deserited War Camp.—A Vagrant Dog. —The Encampment.

In the course of the morning the trail we were pursuing was crossed by another, which struck off through the forest to the west in a direct course for the Arkansas River. Bearte, our half-breed, after considering it for a moment, pronounced it the trail of the Osage hunters; and that it must lead to the place where they had forded the river on their way to the hunting grounds.

Here then the young Count and his companion came to a halt and prepared to take leave of us. The most expensive members of our party were warned to retract an imagination born on the prairies, to remonstrated on the hazard of the undertaking. They were about to throw themselves loose in the wilderness, with no other guides, guards, or attendants, than a young ignorant half-breed, and a young Indian, too, in the train, by a pack-horse and two led horses, with which they would have to make their way through matters forests, and across rivers and morasses. The Osages and Pawnees were at war, and they might fall in with some warrior party of the latter, who are ferocious for themselves, besides, their small number, and their valuable horses would form a great temptation to some of the straggling bands of Osages loitering about the frontier, who might rob them of their horses in the night, and leave them destitute and on foot in the midst of the prairies.

Nothing, however, could restrain the romantic ardor of the Count for a campaign of buffalo hunting with the Osages, and he had a game spirit that seemed always stimulated by the idea of danger. His travelling companion, of disrepute age and calmer temperament, was convinced of the rashness of the enterprise; but he could not control the impetuous zeal of his youthful friend, and he was too loyal to leave him to pursue his hazardous scheme alone. To our great regret, therefore, we saw them abandon the protection of our escort, and strike off on their own-hazard expedition. The old hunters of our party shook their heads, and our half-breed, Bearte, predicted all kinds of trouble to them; my only hope was, that they would soon meet with perplexities enough to cool the impetuosity of the young Count, and induce him to rejoin us. With this idea we travelled slowly, and made a considerable halt at noon. After resuming our march, we came in sight of the Arkansas. It presented a broad and rapid stream, bordered by a beach of fine sand, overgrown with willows and cottonwood trees. Beyond the river, the eye wandered over a beautiful champagne country, of flowery plains and sloping uplands, diversified by groves and clumps of the grandest of forests, and the whole wearing the aspect of complete, and even ornamental cultivation, instead of native wilderness. Not far from the river, on an open eminence, we passed through the recently deserted camping-place of a tribe. The frames of the tents or wigwams remained, consisting of poles bent into an arch, with each
end stuck into the ground: these are interwoven with twigs and branches, and covered with bark and skins. Those experienced in Indian lore, can ascertain the tribe, and whether on a hunting or a warlike expedition, by the shape and disposition of the wigwams. Beatte pointed out to us, in the present skeleton camp, the wigwam in which the chiefs had held their consultations around the council-fire; and an open area, well trampled down, on which the grand war-dance had been performed.

Pursuing our journey, as we were passing through a dense forest, we were met by a forlorn, half-famished dog, who came rambling along the trail, with inflamed eyes, and bewildered look. Though nearly trampled upon by the foremost rangers, he took notice of no one, but rambled heedlessly among the horses. The cry of "mad dog" was immediately raised, and one of the rangers levelled his rifle, but was stayed by the ever-ready humanity of the Commissioner. "He is blind," he said. "It is the dog of some poor Indian, following his crew; it would be a shame to kill so faithful an animal." The ranger shouldered his rifle, the dog blundered blindly through the caucachepunk, and keeping his nose to the ground, continued his course along the trail, affording a rare instance of a dog surviving a war-dance.

About three o'clock, we came to a recent camping-place of the company of rangers: the brands of one of their fires were still smoking; so that, according to the opinion of Beatte, they could not have passed on above a day previously. As there was a fine stream of water close by, and plenty of pea-vines for the horses, we encamped here for the night.

We had not been here long, when we heard a halloo from a distance, and beheld the young Count and his party advancing through the forest. We welcomed them to the camp with heartfelt satisfaction; for their departure upon so hazardous an expedition had caused us great uneasiness.

A short experiment had convinced them of the toil and difficulty of inexperienced travellers like themselves making their way through the wilderness with such a train of horses, and such slender attendance. Fortunately, they determined to rejoin us before nightfall; one night's camping out might have been fatal to a Count who had prevailed upon his protege and esquire, the young Osage, to continue with him, and still calculated upon achieving great exploits, with his assistance, on the buffalo prairies.

CHAPTER VII.

News of the Rangers.—The Count and his Indian Squire.—
High as Weeds.—Woodland Scene.—Osage Village.
—Osage Visitors at our Evening Camp.

It was the morning early (October 12th), the two Creeks had been sent by the commander of Fort Gibson, to stop the company of rangers, arrived at our encampment on their return. They had left the company encamped about fifty miles distant, in a fine place on the Arkansas, abounding in game, where they intended to await our arrival. This news spread animation throughout our party, and we set out on our march at sunrise, with renewed spirit.

In mounting our steeds, the young Osage attempted to throw a blanket upon his wild horse.

The fine, sensible animal took fright, reared and recoiled. The attitude of the wild horse and the almost naked savage, would have formed studies for a painter or a statue.

I often pleased myself in the course of our march, with noticing the appearance of the young Count and his spirited followers, as they rode before me. Never was preux chevalier better suited with an esquire. The Count was well mounted, and, as I have before observed, was a bold and graceful rider. He was fond, too, of caracoling his horse, and dashing about in the buoyancy of youthful spirits. He had dressed himself in a gay Indian hunting frock of dressed deer skin, setting well to the shape, dyed of a beautiful purple, and fancifully embroidered with silks of various colors; as if it had been the work of some Indian beauty, to decorate a favorite chief. With this he wore leathern pantaloons and mocassins, a foraging cap, and a double-barrelled gun slung by a bandoleer athwart his back: so that he was quite a picturesque figure as he managed gracefully his spirited steed.

The young Osage would ride close behind him on his wild and beautifully mottled horse, which was decorated with crimson tufts of hair. He rode with his finely shaped head and bust naked; his blanket being girl round his waist. He carried his rifle in one hand, and raised his horse with the other, and seemed ready to dash off at a moment's warning, with his youthful leader, on any madcap foray or scamper. The Count, with the sanguine anticipations of youth, promised himself many hardy adventures and exploits in company with his youthful "brave," when we should get among the buffaloes, in the Pawnee hunting grounds.

After riding some distance, we crossed a narrow, deep stream, upon a solid bridge, the remains of an old beaver dam; the industrious community which had constructed it had all been destroyed. Above us, a streaming flight of wild geese, high in the air, and making a vociferous noise, gave note of the waning year.

About half past ten o'clock we made a halt in a forest, where there was abundance of the pea-vine. Here we turned the horses loose to graze. A fire was made, water procured from an adjacent spring, and in a short time the able Frenchman, Tonish, had a pot of coffee prepared for our refreshment. While partaking of it, we were joined by an old Osage, one of a small hunting party who had recently passed this way. He was in search of his horse, which had wandered away, or been stolen. Our half-breed, Beatte, made a very fine case of hearing Osage hunters in this direction. "Until we pass those hunters," said he, "we shall see no buffaloes. They frighten away everything, like a prairie on fire."

The morning repast being over, the party amused themselves in various ways. Some shot with their rifles at a mark, others lay asleep half buried in the deep bed of foliage, with their heads resting on their saddles; others gossiped round the fire at the base of a tree, which set up wreaths of blue smoke among the branches. The horses banqueted luxuriously on the pea-vines, and some lay down and rolled amongst them.

We were overshadowed by lofty trees, with straight, smooth trunks, like stately columns; and as the glancing rays of the setting sun touched the transparent leaves, tinted with the many-colored hues of autumn, I was reminded of the effect of sunshine among the stained windows and clustering columns of a Gothic cathedral. In-
A TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES.

deed there is a grandeur and solemnity in our spacious forests of the West, that awaken in me the same feeling I have experienced in those vast and venerable piles, and the sound of the wind sweeping through them, supplies occasionally the deep breathings of the organ.

About noon the bugle sounded to horse, and we were again on the march, hoping to arrive at the encampment of the rangers before night; as the sun that had assailed us was not along ten or twelve miles distant. In our course through a forest, we passed by a lonely pool, covered with the most magnificent water-lilies I had ever beheld; among which swam several wood-ducks, one of the most beautiful of water-fowl, remarkable for the gracefulness and brilliancy of its plumage.

After proceeding some distance farther, we came upon the banks of the Arkansas, at a place where tracks of numerous horses, all entering the water, showed where a party of Osage hunters had recently crossed the river on their way to the buffalo range. After letting our horses drink in the river, we continued along its bank for a space, and then across prairies, where we saw a distant smoke, which we hoped might proceed from the encampment of the rangers. Following what we supposed to be their trail, we came to a meadow in which were a number of horses grazing: they were not, however, the horses of the troopers. A little farther on, we reached a straggling Osage village, on the banks of the Arkansas. Our arrival created quite a sensation. A number of old men came forward and shook hands with us all; while the women and children huddled together in groups, staring at us with wild, staring and laughing among themselves. We found that all the young men of the village had departed on a hunting expedition, leaving the women and children and old men behind. Here the Commissioner made a speech from on horseback; informing his hearers of the purport of his mission, to promote a general peace among the tribes of the West, and urging them to lay aside all warlike and bloodthirsty notions, and not to make any wanton attacks upon the whites. This speech being interpreted by Beatte, seemed to have a most pacifying effect upon the multitude, who promised faithfully, as far as in them lay, the peace should not be disturbed; and indeed their age and sex gave some reason to trust that they would keep their word.

Still hoping to reach the camp of the rangers before nightfall, we pushed on until twilight, when we were obliged to halt on the borders of a ravine. The rangers bivouacked under trees, at the bottom of the dell, while we pitched our tent on a rocky knoll near a running stream. The night came on dark and overcast, with flying clouds, and much appearance of rain. The fires of the rangers burnt brightly in the dell, and threw strong masses of light upon the robber-looking groups that were cooking, eating, and drinking around them. To add to the wildness of the scene, several Osage Indians, visitors from the village we had passed, were mingled among the men. Three of them came and seated themselves by our fire, as if they watched everything that was going on around them, in silence, and looked like figures of monumental bronze. We gave them food, and, what they most relished, coffee; for the Indians partake in the universal fondness for this beverage, which pervades the West. When they had made their supper, they stretched themselves, side by side, before the fire, and began a low nasal chant, drumming with their hands upon their breasts, by way of accompaniment. Their chant seemed to consist of regular staves, every one terminating, not in a mellow cadence, but in the abrupt interjection hub! uttered almost like a hiccup. This chant, we were told by our interpreter, Beatte, related to ourselves, our appearance, our treatment of them, and all that had been done by the rangers. They knew they were the young Count's, whose animated character and eagerness for Indian enterprise had struck their fancy, and they indulged in some waggery about him and the young Indian beauties, that produced great merriment among our half-breeds.

This mode of improvising is common throughout the savage tribes; and in this way, with a few simple inflections of the voice, they chant all their exploits in war and hunting, and occasionally indulge in a vein of comic humor and dry satire, to which the Indians appear to me much more prose than is generally imagined.

In fact, the Indians that I have had an opportunity of seeing in real life are quite different from those described in poetry. They are by no means the stoops that we read about in the turn, unbending, without a tear or a smile. Taciturn they are, it is true, when in company with white men, whose good-will they distrust, and whose language they do not understand; but the white man is equally inscrutable in circumstances. When the Indians are among themselves, however, there cannot be greater gossips. Half their time is taken up in talking over their adventures in war and hunting, and in telling whimsical stories. They are great mimics and buffoons, also, and entertain themselves excessively at the expense of the whites with whom they have associated, and who have supposed them impressed with profound respect for their grandeur and dignity. They are curious observers, noting everything in silence, but with a keen and watchful eye; occasionally exchanging a glance or a grunt with each other, when anything particularly strikes them; but reserving all comments until they are alone. Then it is that they give full scope to criticism, satire, mimicry, and mirth.

In the course of my journey along the frontier, I have had repeated opportunities of noticing their excitability and boisterous merriment at their games; and I have occasionally noticed a group of Osages sitting round a fire at a late hour of the night, engaged in the most animated and lively conversation; and at times making the woods resound with peals of laughter. As to tears, they have them in abundance, both real and affected; at times they make a merit of them. No one weeps more bitterly or profusely at the death of a relative or friend: and they have stated times when they repair to howl and lament at their graves. I have heard doleful wailings at daybreak, in the neighboring Indian villages, made by some of the inhabitants, who go at that hour into the fields, to mourn and weep for the dead: at such times, I am told, the tears will stream down their cheeks in torrents.

As far as I can judge, the Indian of poetical fiction is like the Osage, a mere personification of imaginary attributes.

The nasal chant of our Osage guests gradually died away; they covered their heads with their blankets and fell fast asleep, and in a little while all was silent, excepting the patterning of scattered rain-drops upon our tent.
In the morning our Indian visitors breakfasted with us, but the young Osage who was to act as esquire to the Count in his knight-errantry on the prairies, was nowhere to be found. His wild horse, too, was missing, and, after many conjectures, we came to the conclusion that he had taken "Indian leave" of us in the night. We afterwards ascertained that he had been persuaded so to do by the Osages we had recently met with; who had represented to him the perils that would attend him in an expedition to the Pawnee hunting grounds, where he might fall into the hands of the implacable enemies of his tribe; and, what was scarcely less to be apprehended, the annoyances to which he would be subjected from the capricious and overbearing conduct of the white men; who, as I have witnessed in my own short experience, are prone to treat the poor Indians as little better than brute animals. Indeed, he had had a specimen of it himself in the narrow escape he made from the infliction of "Lynch's law," by the hard-winking worthy of the frontier, for the flagitious crime of finding a stray horse.

The disappearance of the youth was generally regretted by our party, for we had all taken a great fancy to him from his handsome, frank, and manly appearance, and the easy grace of his deportment. He was indeed a native-born gentelman. By none, however, was he so much lamented as by the young Count, who thus suddenly found himself deprived of his esquire. I regretted the departure of the Osage for his own sake, for we should have cherished him throughout the expedition, and, as I am convinced, from the munificent spirit of his patron, he would have returned to his tribe laden with wealth of beads and trinkets and Indian blankets.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Honey Camp.

The weather, which had been rainy in the night, having held up, we resumed our march at seven o'clock in the morning, in confident hope of soon arriving at the encampment of the rangers. We had not ridden above three or four miles when we came to a large tree which had recently been felled by an axe, for the wild honey contained in the hollow of its trunk, several broken flakes of which still remained. We now felt sure that the camp could not be far distant. About a couple of miles further some of the rangers set up a shout, and pointed to a number of horses grazing in a woody bottom. A few paces brought us to the brow of an elevated ridge, whence we looked down upon the encampment. It was a wild bandit, or Robin Hood, scene. In a beautiful open forest, traversed by a running stream, were booths of bark and branches, and tents of blankets, temporary shelters from the recent rain, for the rangers commonly bivouac in the open air. There were groups of rangers in every kind of uncouth garb. Some were cooking at large fires made at the feet of trees; some were stretching and dressing deer skins; some were shooting at a mark, and some lying about on the grass. Venison jerked, and hung on frames, was drying over the embers in one place; in another lay carcases of horses and deer for the hunters. Stacks of rifles were leaning against the trunks of the trees, and saddles, bridles, and powder-horns hanging above them, while the horses were grazing here and there among the thickets.

Our arrival was greeted with acclamation. The rangers crowded about their comrades to inquire the news from the fort; for our own part, we were received in frank simple hunter's style by Captain Bean, the commander of the company; a man about forty years of age, vigorous and active. His life had been chiefly passed on the frontier, occasionally in Indian warfare, so that he was a thorough woodsman, and a first-rate hunter. He was equipped in character; in leather hunting shirt and leggings, and a leather foraging cap.

While we were conversing with the Captain, a veteran huntsman approached, whose whole appearance struck me. He was of the middle size, but tough and weather-proved; a head partly bald and garnished with loose iron-gray locks, and a fine black eye, beaming with youthful spirit. His dress was similar to that of the Captain, a rifle shirt and leggings of dressed deer skin, that had evidently seen service; a powderhorn was slung by his side, a hunting-knife stuck in his belt, and in his hand was an ancient and trusty rifle, double as dear to him as a bosom friend. He asked permission to go hunting, which was readily granted. "That's old Ryan," said the Captain, when he had gone; "there's not a better hunter in the camp; he's sure to bring in game."

In a little while our pack-horses were unloaded and turned loose to revel among the pea-vines. Our tent was pitched; our fire made; the half of a deer had been sent to us from the Captain's lodge; Beatte brought in a couple of wild turkeys; the spits were laden, and the camp-kettle crammed with meat; and to crown our luxuries, a basin filled with great flakes of delicious honey, the spoils of a plundered bee-tree, was given us by one of the rangers.

Our little Frenchman, Tonish, was in an ecstasy, and tucking up his sleeves to the elbows, set to work to make a display of his culinary skill, on which he prided himself almost as much as upon his hunting, his riding, and his warlike prowess.

CHAPTER IX.

A Bee Hunt.

The beautiful forest in which we were encamped abounded in bee-trees; that is to say, trees in the decayed trunks of which wild bees had established their hives. It is surprising in what countless swarms the bees have overspread the Far West, within but a moderate number of years. The Indians consider them the harbinger of the white man, as the buffalo is of the red man; and say that in proportion as the bee advances, the Indian and buffalo retire. We are always accustomed to associate the hum of the bee-hive with the farm-house and flower-garden, and to consider those industrious little animals as connected with the busy haunts of man, and I am told that the wild bee is about to be met with at any great distance from the frontier. They have been the heralds of civilization, steadfastly preceding it as it advanced from the Atlantic borders, and some of the ancient settlers of the West pretend to give the very present honey-bee first crossed the Mississippi. The Indians with surprise found the mouldering trees of their forest
suddenly teeming with ambrosial sweets, and nothing. I am told, can exceed the greedy relish with which they banquet for the first time upon this unbothered luxury of the wilderness.

At present the honey-bee swarms in myriads, in these noble prairies and forests which skirt such desert and intersect the prairies, and extend along the alluvial bottoms of the rivers. It seems to me as if these forests calculated to sustain herds of cattle as countless as the sands upon the sea-shore, while the flowers with which they are enamelled render them a very paradise for the nectar-seeking bee.

We had not been long in the camp when a party set out in quest of a bee-tree; and, being curious to witness the sport, I gladly accepted an invitation to accompany them. The party was headed by a veteran bee-hunter, a tall lank fellow in homespun garb that hung loosely about his limbs, and a straw hat shaped not unlike a bee-hive; a comrade, equally uncouth in garb, and without a hat, straddled along at his heels, with long rifle on his shoulder. To these succeeded half a dozen others, some with axes, some with rifles, for no one stirs far from the camp without his firearms, so as to be ready either for wild deer or wild Indian.

After proceeding some distance we came to an open glade on the skirts of the forest. Here our leader halted, and then advanced quietly to a low bush, on the top of which I perceived a piece of honey-comb. This I found was the bait or lure for the wild bees. Several were humming about it, and diving into its cells. When they had laden themselves with honey they would rise into the air, and dart off in a straight line, almost with the velocity of a bullet. The hunters watched attentively the course they took, and then set off in the same direction, stumbling along over twisted roots and fallen trees, with their eyes turned up to the sky. In this way they traced the honey-laden bees to their hive, in the hollow trunk of a blasted oak, where, after bustling about for a moment, they entered a hole about sixty feet from the ground.

Two of the bee-hunters now plied their axes vigorously at the foot of the tree to level it with the ground. The mere spectators and amateurs, in the meantime, drew off to a cautious distance, to be out of the way of the falling of the tree and the vengeance of its inmates. The jarring blows of the axe seemed to have no effect in alarming or disturbing this most industrious community. They continued to ply at their usual occupations, some arriving full freighted into port, others sallying forth on new expeditions, like so many merchants in a money-making metropolis, little suspicious of impending bankruptcy and downfall. Even a loud crack which announced the dresser place of the trunk, failed to divert their attention from the intense pursuit of gain; at length down came the tree with a tremendous crash, bursting open from end to end, and displaying all the hoarded treasures of the commonwealth with little gash.

One of the hunters immediately ran up with a wisp of lighted hay as a defence against the bees. The latter, however, made no attack and sought no revenge; they seemed stupefied by the contrast of its violence, and remained crawling and buzzing about the ruins without offering us any molestation. Every one of the party now fell to, with spoon and hunting-knife, to scoop out the flakes of honey-comb with which the hollow trunk was stored. Some of them were of old date and a deep brown color, others were beautifully white, and the honey in their cells was almost crystalline. The majority were placed in camp kettles to be conveyed to the encampment; those which had been shivered in the fall were devoured upon the spot. Every bee-hunter to be seen with a rich morsel in hand, dripping about his fingers, and disappearing as rapidly as a cream tart before the holiday appetite of a schoolboy.

Nor was it the bee-hunters alone that profited by the downfall of this industrious community; as if the bees would carry through the similitude of their habits with those of laborious and gainful man, I beheld numbers from rival hives, arriving on eager wing, to enrich themselves with the ruins of their neighbors. These busied themselves as eagerly and cheerfully as so many wreckers on an Indianan that has been driven on shore; plunging into the cells of the broken honey-combs, banqueting greedily on the spoil, and then winging their way full-freighted to their homes. As to the poor proprietors of the ruins, they seemed to have no heart left, not even to taste the nectar that flowed around them; but crawled backward and forward, in vacant desolation, as I have seen a poor fellow with his hands in his pockets, whistling vacantly and despondingly about the ruins of his house that had been burnt.

It is difficult to describe the bewilderment and confusion of the bees of the bankrupt hive who had been absent at the time of the catastrophe, and who arrived from time to time, with full comb, and goes from abroad. At first they wheeled about in the air, in the place where the fallen tree had once reared its head, astonished at finding it all a vacuum. At length, as if comprehending their disaster, they settled down in clusters on a dry limb of a neighboring tree, whence they seemed to contemplate the prostrate ruin, and to buzz forth doleful lamentations over the downfall of their republic. It was a scene on which the "melancholy Jacques" might have moralized by the hour.

We now abandoned the place, leaving much honey in the hollow of the tree. "It will all be cleared off by varmints," said one of the rangers. "What vermin?" said another. "Such as bears, skunks, and raccoons, and possums. The bears is the knowest varmint for finding out a bee-tree in the world. They'll gnaw for days together at the trunk till they make a hole big enough to get in their paws, and then they'll haul out honey, bees and all."

CHAPTER X.

Amusements on the Camp.—Consultation.—Hunter's Fare and Feasting.—Evening Scenery.—Camp Melody.—The Fate of an Amateur Owl.

ON returning to the camp, we found it a scene of the greatest hilarity. Some of the rangers were shooting at a mark, others were leaping, wrestling, and playing at prison bars. They were mostly young men, on their first expedition, in a high health and vivacity, and not uncommonly excited to exultations; and I can conceive nothing more likely to set the youthful blood into a flow, than a wild
wood life of the kind, and the range of a magnificent wilderness, abounding with game, and fruitful of adventure. We send our youth abroad to grow up in the vanities of Europe; it appears to me, that a boy must be brought up on the prairies would be more likely to produce that manliness, simplicity, and self-dependence; most in unison with our political institutions.

While the young men were engaged in those bold and spontaneous movements, a grave set, composed of the Captain, the Doctor, and other sages and leaders of the camp, were seated or stretched out on the grass, round a frontier map, holding a consultation about our position, and the course we were to pursue.

Our plan was to cross the Arkansas just above where the Red Fork falls into it, then to keep westerly, until we should pass through a grand belt of open forest, called the Cross Timber, which ranges nearly north and south from the Arkansas to Red River; after which, we were to keep a southerly course toward the latter river. Our half-breed, Beatte, being an experienced Osage hunter, was called into the consultation.

"By going due south, I see a great pinion down in the 30th degree," said the Captain. "Yes," was the laconic reply.

"Perhaps, then, you can tell us in which direction lies the Red Fork?"

"If you keep along yonder, by the edge of the prairie, and marched forth to a bald hill, with a pile of stones upon it," said the Captain.

"I have noticed that hill as I was hunting," replied the Captain.

"Well I those stones were set up by the Osages as a boundary mark that spot you may have a sight of the Red Fork."

"In that case," cried the Captain, "we shall reach the Red Fork to-morrow; then cross the Arkansas above it, into the Pawnee country, and then in two days we shall crack buffalo bones!"

The idea of arriving at the adventurous hunting grounds of the Pawnees, and of coming upon the traces of the buffaloes, made every eye sparkle with animation. Our further conversation was interrupted by the sharp report of a rifle at no great distance from us. The Captain had rested.

"That's old Ryan's rifle," exclaimed the Captain; "there's a buck down, I'll warrant!" nor was he mistaken; for, before long, the veteran made his appearance, calling upon one of the younger hunters to return with him, and aid in bringing home the carcass.

The surrounding country, in fact, abounded with game, so that the camp was overstocked with provisions, and, as no less than twenty beech trees had been cut down in the vicinity, every one revelled in luxury. With the wasteful prodigality of hunters, there was a continual feasting, and scarcely any one put by provision for the morrow. The cooking was conducted in hunter's style: the meat was stuck upon towering spits of dogwood, which were thrust perpendicularly into the ground, so as to sustain the joint before the fire, where it was roasted or broiled with all its juices retained in it in a manner that would have tickled the palate of the most experienced gourmets, and luxurious and savoury, and the meat was said in favor of the bread. It was more than a paste made of flour and water, and fried like fritters, in lard; though some adopted a ruder style, twisting it round the ends of sticks, and thus roasting it before the fire. I remember one instance of it being extremely palatable on the prairies. No one knows the true relish of food until he has a hunter's appetite.

Before sunset, we were summoned by little Tonish to a sumptuous repast. Blankets had been spread on the ground near to the fire, upon which to seat our guests. A large dish, of buck, made from the foot of a deer, to which we had attached at the Indian village, was placed on the ground before us, and into it were emptied the contents of one of the camp kettles, consisting of a wild turkey hashed, together with slices of bacon and lumps of dough. Beside it was placed another bowl of similar ware, containing an ample supply of fritters. After we had discussed the hash, two wooden spoons, on which the ribs of a fat buck were broiling before the fire, were removed and planted in the ground before us, with a triumphant air, by little Tonish. Having no dishes, we had to proceed in hunter's style, cutting off strips and slices with our hunting-knives, and dipping them in salt and pepper. To do justice to Tonish's cookery, however, and to the keen sauce of the prairies, never have I tasted venison so delicious. With all this, our beverage was coffee, boiled in a camp kettle, sweetened with brown sugar, and drunk out of cups made of horn or bone, and the moisture, percolating throughout this expedition, whenever provisions were plenty, and as long as flour and coffee and sugar held out.

As the twilight thickened into night, the sentinels were marshaled forth to their stations around the camp; an indispensable precaution in a country infested by Indians. The encampment now presented a picturesque appearance. Campfires were blazing and smouldering here and there among the trees, and with groups who sat round them; some seated or lying on the ground, others standing in the rude glare of the flames, or in shadowy relief. At some of the fires there was much boisterous mirth, where peals of laughter were mingled with loud ribald jokes and uncouth exclamations; for the troopers evidently was a raw, undisciplined band, levied among the wild youngsters of the frontier, who had enlisted, some for the sake of roving adventure, and some for the purpose of getting a knowledge of the country. Many of them were boorish and ignorant, and accustomed to regard them with the familiarity of equals and companions. None of them had any idea of the restraint and decorum of a camp, or ambition to acquire a name for exactness in a profession in which they had no intention of continuing.

While this boisterous merriment prevailed at some of the fires, there suddenly rose a strain of nasal melody from another, at which a choir of "vocals" were uniting their voices in a most lugubrious psalm tune. This was led by one of the lieutenants; a tall, spare man, who we were informed had officiated as schoolmaster, singing-master, and occasionally as Methodist preacher, in one of the villages of the frontier. The chant rose solemnly and sadly in the night air, and reminded me of the description of similar canticles in the camps of the Covenanters; and, indeed, the strange medley of figures and faces and uncouth garbs, congregated together in our troop, would not have disfigured the banners of Praise-God Barebones.

In one of the intervals of this nasal psalmody, an amateur owl, as if in competition, began his dreary hooting. Immediately there was a stir throughout the camp, and a murmur, "Chuckley's owl!" It seems this "obscure bird" had visited the camp every night, and had been fired at by one of the sentinels, a half-witted lad,
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named Charley; who, on being called up for firing when on duty, excused himself by saying, that he understood owls made uncommonly good soup.

One of the young rangers mimicked the cry of this bird of wisdom, who, with a simplicity little consonant with his character, came hovering within sight, and alighted on the naked branch of a tree, lit up by the blaze of our fire. The young Constable immediately seized his fowling-piece, took fatal aim, and in a twinkling the poor bird of ill omen came flitting to the ground. Charley was now called upon to make and eat his dish of owl-soup, but declined, as he had not shot the bird.

In the course of the evening, I paid a visit to the Captain’s fire. It was composed of huge trunks of trees, and of sufficient magnitude to roast a buffalo whole. Here were a number of the prime hunters and leaders of the camp, some sitting, some standing, and others lying on skins or blankets before the fire, telling old frontier stories about hunting and Indian warfare.

As the night advanced, we perceived above the tent to the west, a ruddy glow flushing up the sky.

“That must be a prairie set on fire by the Osage hunters,” said the Captain.

“It is at the Red Fork,” said Beatte, regarding the sky. “It seems but three miles distant, yet it perhaps is twenty.”

About half past eight o’clock, a beautiful pale light gradually sprang up in the east, a precursor of the rising moon. Drawing off from the Captain’s side, I now prepared for the night’s repos.

I had determined to abandon the shelter of the tent, and henceforth to bivouac like the rangers. A bear-skin spread at the foot of a tree was my bed, with a pair of saddle-bags for a pillow. Wrapping myself in blankets, I stretched myself on this hunter’s couch, and soon fell into a sound and sweet sleep, from which I did not awake until the bugle sounded at daybreak.

CHAPTER XI.

Breaking up of the Encampment.—Picturesque March.—Game.—Camp Scenes.—Triumph of a Young Hunter.—Ill Success of an Old Hunter.—Foul Murder of a Fowlcut.

OCTOBER 14TH.—At the signal note of the bugle, the sentinels and patrols marched in from their stations around the camp and were dismissed. The rangers were roused from their night’s repose, and soon a bustling scene took place. While some cut wood, made fires, and prepared the morning’s meal, others struck their rude weather shelter of blankets, and made every preparation for departure; while others dashed about, through brush and brake, catching the horses and leading or driving them into camp.

During all this bustle the forest rang with whoops, and shouts, and peals of laughter; when all had breakfasted, packed up their effects and camp equipage, and loaded the pack-horses, the bugle sounded to saddle and mount. By eight o’clock the whole troop set off in a long straggling line, with whoops and halloo, intermingled with many an oath at the loitering pack-horses, and in a little while the forest, which for several days had been the scene of such unawonted bustle and uproar, relapsed into its primeval solitude and silence.

It was a bright sunny morning, with a pure transparent atmosphere that seemed to bathe the very heart with gladness. Our march continued parallel to the Arkansas, through a rich and varied country; sometimes we had to break our way through alluvial bottoms marshy vegetation, where the gigantic trees were entangled with grape-vines, hanging like cordage from their branches; sometimes we coasted along sluggish brooks, whose feebly trickling current just served to link together a succession of glassy pools, imbedded like mirrors in the quiet bosom of the forest, reflecting its autumnal foliage, and patches of the clear blue sky. Sometimes we scrambled up broken and rocky hills, from the summits of which we had wide views stretching on one side over distant prairies diversified by groves and forests, and on the other ranging along a line of blue and shadowy hills beyond the waters of the Arkansas.

The appearance of our troop was suited to the country; stretching along in a line of upward of half a mile in length, winding among brakes and bushes, and up and down in the defiles of the hills, the men in every kind of uncouth garb, with long rifles on their shoulders, and mounted on horses of every color. The country would incessantly wander from the line of march, to crop the surrounding herbage, and were banded and beaten back by Tonish and his half-breed compeers, with volleys of mongrel oaths. Every now and then the bugle, from the head of the column, would echo through the woodlands and along the hollow glens, summoning up stragglers, and announcing the line of march. The whole scene reminded me of the description given of bands of buccaneers penetrating the wilds of South America, on their plundering expeditions against the Spanish settlements.

At one time we passed through a luxuriant bottom or meadow bordered by thickets, where the tall grass was pressed down into numerous “deer beds,” where those animals had couched the preceding night. Some oak trees also bore signs of having been clambered by bears, in quest of acorns, the marks of their claws being visible in the bark.

As we opened a glade of this sheltered meadow we beheld several deer bounding away in wild affright, until, having gained some distance, they would stop and gaze back, with the curiosity common to this animal, at the strange intruders into their solitudes. There was immediately a sharp report of rifles in every direction, from the young hunters of the troop, but they were too eager to aim surely, and the deer, unharmed, bounded away into the depths of the forest.

In the course of our march we struck the Arkansas, but found ourselves still below the Red Fork, and, as the river made deep bends, we again left its banks and continued through the woods until nearly eight o’clock, when we encamped in a beautiful basin bordered by a fine stream, and shaded by clumps of trees.

The horses were now hobbled, that is to say, their fore legs were fettered with cords or leather straps, so as to impede their movements, and prevent their wandering from the camp. They were then turned loose to graze. The rangers, prime hunters, started off in different directions in search of game. There was no whooping nor laughing about the camp as in the
morning; all were either busy about the fires preparing the evening's repast, or reposing upon the ground. The morning had seen but various directions. After a time a huntsman rode into the camp with the carcass of a fine buck hanging across his horse. Shortly afterward came in a couple of stripping hunters on foot, one of whom he had slain. The young huntsman was evidently proud of his spoil, being probably one of his first achievements, though he and his companions were much chagrined by their comrades, as young beginners who hunted in partnership.

Just as the night set in, there was a great shouting at one end of the camp, and immediately afterward a body of young hunters came parading about the various fires, bearing one of their comrades in triumph on their shoulders. He had shot an elk for the first time in his life, and it was the first animal of the kind that had been killed on this expedition. The young huntsman, whose name was McLellan, was the hero of the camp for the night, and was the "father of the feast" into the bargain. None of his elk were seen roasting at every fire.

The other hunters returned without success. The captain had observed the tracks of a buffalo, which must have passed within a few days, and had tracked them to some distance until the foot-prints had disappeared. He had seen an elk, too, on the banks of the Arkansas, which walked out on a sand-bar of the river, but before he could steal round through the bushes to get a shot, it had disappeared.

Our own hunter, Beatie, returned silent and sulky, from an unsuccessful hunt. As yet he had brought us in nothing, and we had depended for our supplies of venison upon the Captain's mess. Beatie was evidently mortified, for he looked down with contempt upon the rangers, as raw and inexperienced woodsmen, but little skilled in hunting; they, on the other hand, regarded Beatie with no very complacent eye, as one of an evil breed, and always spoke of him as "the Indian."

Our little Frenchman, Tonish, also, by his incessant boasting, and chattering, and gasconading, in his bald-headed dialect, had drawn upon himself the ridicule of many of the rangers. He was to himself an expense, and little varlet of any use, but the little varlet was so perfectly fortified by vanity and self-conceit, that he was invulnerable to every joke. I must confess, however, that I felt a little mortified at the figure of my retainers making among these marauders of the frontier. Even our very equipment came in for a share of unpopularity, and I heard many sneers at the double-barreled guns with which we were provided against smaller game; the lads of the "West holding" shot-guns," as they call them, in great contempt, thinking them partridges, and even wild turkeys beneath their serious attention, and the rifle the only firearm worthy of a hunter.

It was by far the best day's hunting the next morning, by the mournful howling of a wolf, who was skulking about the purloins of the camp, attracted by the scent of venison. Scarcely had the first gray streak of dawn appeared, when a youngster at one of the distant lodges, a glance at a bird's nest in a tree, a sudden start at the alarm of a cock, with a loud clear note and prolonged cadence, that would have done credit to the most veteran canticleer. He was immediately answered from another quarter, as if from a rival rooster. The chant was echoed from lodge to lodge, and followed by the cackling of hens, quacking of ducks, gabbling of turkeys, and grunting of untrained pigs; and we seemed to have been transported into the midst of a farmyard, with all its inmates in full concert around us.

After riding a short distance this morning, we came upon a well-worn Indian track, and following it, scrambled to the summit of a hill, where we had a wide prospect over a country diversified by rocky ridges and waving lines of upland, and enriched by groves and clumps of trees of varied tuft and foliage. At a distance to the west, in our great satisfaction, we beheld the Red Fork rolling its ruddy current to the Arkansas, and found that we were above the point of junction.

We now descended and pushed forward, with much difficulty, through the rich alluvial bottom that borders the Arkansas. Here the trees were interspersed with grape-vines, forming a kind of corseage, from trunk to trunk and limb to limb; there was a thick undergrowth, also, of bush and bramble, and for an abundance of hope, fit for gathering, that it was difficult for our horses to force their way through.

The soil was imprinted in many places with the tracks of deer, and the claws of bears were to be traced on the banks of the river, and the look-out in the hope of starting some game, when suddenly there was a bustle and a clamor in a distant part of the line. A bear! a bear! was the cry. We all pressed forward to present at the spot, when, to my great and unwhimsical chagrin, I found it to be two worthies, Beatie and Tonish, perpetrating a foul murder on a polecats, or skunks! The animal had ensconced itself beneath the trunk of a fallen tree, whence it kept up a vigorous defence in its peculiar state, the surrounding forest was in a high state of fragrance.

Gibes and jokes now broke out on all sides at the expense of the Indian hunter, and he was advised to wear the scalp of the skunk as the only trophy of his prowess. When they found, however, that he and Tonish were absolutely bent upon bearing off the carcass as a peculiar dainty, there was a universal expression of disgust; and they were regarded as little better than cannibals.

Mortified at this ignominious debut of our two hunters, I insisted upon their abandoning their prize and resuming their march. Beatie complained with a dogged, discouraged air, and lagged behind muttering to himself. Tonish, however, with his usual buoyancy, cosinged himself by vociferous eulogies on the rich and delicacy of a roasted polecat, which he swore was considered the daintiest of dishes by all experienced Indian gourmands. It was with difficulty I could silence his loquacity by repeated and peremptory commands. A Frenchman's vivacity, however, if repressed in one way, will break out in another, and Tonish now eared his spleen by bestowing volleys of oaths and dry blows on the track-horses. I was likely to be no more to the end, by my opposition to the horrors of these varlets, for after a time, Beatie, who had lagged behind, rode up to the head of the line to resume his station as a guide, and I had the vexation to see the carcass of his skunk on his skin, and looking like a fat sucking-pig, dangling behind his saddle. I made a solemn vow, however, in secret, that our fire should not be disgraced by the cooking of that polecat.
CHAPTER XII.

The Crossing of the Arkansas.

We had now arrived at the river, about a quarter of a mile above the junction of the Red Fork; but the banks were steep and crumbling, and the current was deep and rapid. It was impossible, therefore, to cross at this place; and we resumed our painful course through the forest, dispatching Beatte ahead, in search of a fording place. We had proceeded about a mile farther, when he rejoined us, bringing intelligence of a place hard by, where the river, for a great part of its breadth, was rendered fordable by sand-bars, and the remainder might easily be swam by the horses.

Here, then, we made a halt. Some of the rangers set to work vigorously with their axes, felling trees on the edge of the river, wherewith to form rafts for the transportation of their baggage and camp equipage. Others patrolled the banks of the river farther up, in hopes of finding a better fording place; being unwilling to risk their horses in the deep channel.

It was now that our worthies, Beatte and Tonish, had an opportunity of displaying their Indian adroitness and resource. At the Osage village which we had passed a day or two before, they had procured a dry buffalo skin. This was produced; cords were passed through a number of small eyelet-holes with which it was bordered, and it was drawn up, until it formed a kind of deep trough. Sticks were then placed athwart it on the inside, to keep it in shape; our camp equipage and part of our baggage were placed within, and the singular bark was carried down the bank and set afloat. A cord was attached to the prow, which Beatte took between his teeth, and throwing himself into the water, went ahead, towing the bark after him, while Tonish followed behind, to keep it steady and to propel it. Part of the way they had fothool, and were enabled to wade, but in the main current they were obliged to swim. The whole way, they whooped and yelled in the Indian style, until they landed safely on the opposite shore.

The Commissioner and myself were so well pleased with this Indian mode of ferryage, that we determined to trust ourselves in the buffalo hide. Our companions, the Count and Mr. L., had proceeded with the horses, along the river bank, in search of a ford which some of the rangers had discovered, about a mile and half distant. While we were waiting for the return of our ferryman, I happened to cast my eyes upon a heap of luggage under a bush, and desiring the sleek carcass of the polecat, snuggly trussed up, and ready for roasting before the evening fire. I could not resist the temptation to plump it into the river, when it sunk to the bottom like a lump of lead; and thus our lodge was relieved from the bad odour which this savory viand had threatened to bring upon it.

Our men having recrossed with their tackle-shell bark, it was drawn on shore, half filled with sandbars, and pile-drag, and pole-drags, and boat-tendering, amounting to a hundred weight; and being again placed in the water, I was invited to take my seat. It appeared to me pretty much like the embarkation of the wise men of Gotham, who went to sea in a bawl; I stepped in, however, without hesitation, though as cautiously as possible, and sat down on the top of the luggage, the margin of the hide sinking to within a hand's breadth of the water's edge. Rifles, fowling-pieces, and other articles of small bulk, were then handed in, until I protested against receiving any more freight. We then launched forth upon the stream, the bark being towed as before.

It was with a sensation half serious, half comic, that I found myself thus afloat, on the skin of a buffalo, in the midst of a wild river, surrounded by wilderness, and towed along by a half savage, whooping and yelling like a devil incarnate. To please the vanity of little Tonish, I discharged the double-barrelled gun, to the right and left, when in the centre of the stream. The report echoed along the woody shores, and was answered by shouts from some of the rangers, to the great exultation of the little Frenchman, who took to himself the whole glory of this Indian mode of navigation.

Our voyage was accomplished happily; the Commissioner was ferried across with equal success, and all our effects were brought over in the same manner. Nothing could equal the vainglorious vaporizing of little Tonish, as he strutted about the shore, and exulted in his superior skill and knowledge, to the rangers. Beatte, however, kept his proud, saturnine look, without a smile. He had a vast contempt for the ignorance of the rangers, and felt that he had been undervalued by them. His only observation was, "Dee now see Indian ferriage, anything, my fellahs!"

The broad, sandy shore where we had landed, was intersected by innumerable tracks of elk, deer, bears, raccoons, turkeys, and water-fowl. The river scenery at this place was beautifully diversified, presenting long, shining reaches, bordered by willows and cottonwood trees; rich bottoms, with lofty forests; among which towered enormous plane trees, and the distance was closed in by high embowered promontories. The foliage had a yellow autumnal tint, which gave to the sunny landscape the golden tone of one of the landscapes of Claude Lorraine. There was animation given to the scene, by a raft of logs and branches, on which the Captain and his prime companion, the Doctor, were ferrying their effects across the stream; and by a long line of rangers on horseback, fording the river obliquely, along a series of sand-bars, about a mile and a half distant.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CAMP OF THE GLEN.

Camp Grounds—Prospects and their Habits.—A Hunter's Adventure.—Horses found, and Men lost.

Being joined by the Captain and some of the rangers, we struck into the woods for about half a mile, and then entered a wild, rocky dell, bordered by two lofty ridges of limestone, which narrowed as we advanced, until they met and united; making almost an angle. Here a fine spring of water rose among the rocks, and fed a silver mill-stream, which, descending a dell, freshening the grass with which it was carpeted.

In this rocky nook we encamped, among tall trees. The rangers gradually joined us, straggling through the forest singly or in groups; some on horseback, others on foot. Before us, at a little distance, they had experienced much fatigue and trouble from the length of the ford, and the depth and
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rapidity of the stream. They looked not unlike banditti returning with their plunder, and the wild dell was a retreat worthy to receive them. The fierce light of the fires was cast upon rugged looking groups of men and horses; with baggage 'umbled in heaps, rifles piled against the trees, and saddles, bridles, and powder-horns hanging about the horses' necks.

At the encampment we were joined by the young Count and his companion, and the young half-breed, Antoine, who had all passed successfully by the Ford. To my annoyance, however, I discovered that both of my horses were missing. I had supposed them in the charge of Antoine; but he, with characteristic carelessness, had paid no heed to them, and they had probably wandered from the line on the opposite side of the river. It was arranged that Antoine should recross the river at an early hour of the morning, in search of them.

A fat buck, and a number of wild turkeys being brought into the camp, we managed, with the addition of a cup of coffee, to make a comfortable supper, and then repaired to the Captain's lodge, which was a kind of council fire and gossping place for the veterans of the camp.

As we were conversing together, we observed, as on former nights, a dusky, red glow in the west, above the summits of the surrounding cliffs. It was again attributed to Indian fires on the prairies; and supposed to be on the western side of the Arkansas. If so, it was thought they might be made by some party of Pawnees, as the Osage hunters seldom ventured in that quarter. Our half-breeds, however, pronounced them Osage fires; and that they were on the opposite side of the Arkansas.

The conversation now turned upon the Pawnees, into whose hunting grounds we were about entering. There is some wild untamed tribe of Indians, who form, for a time, the terror of a frontier, and about whom all kinds of fearful stories are told. Such, at present, was the case with the Pawnees, who rove the plains between the Arkansas and the Red River, and the prairies of Texas. They were represented as admirable horsemen, and always on horseback; mounted on fleet and hardy steeds, the wild race of the plains. When they roam the great plains that extend about the Arkansas, the Red River, and through Texas, to the Rocky Mountains; sometimes engaged in hunting the deer and bufalo, sometimes in warfare and predatory expeditions; for, like their counterparts, the sons of Ishmael, their hand is against every one, and every one's hand against them. Some of them have no fixed habitation, but dwell in tents of skin, easily packed up and transported, so that they are here to-day, and away, no one knows where, to-morrow.

One of the veteran hunters gave several anecdotes of their mode of fighting. Luckless, according to his account, is the band of weary traders or hunters descried by them, in the midst of the plains. Suddenly upon the enemy, they will surround them by stratagem, hanging with one leg over the saddle, and their bodies concealed; so that their troop at a distance has the appearance of a gang of wild horses. When they have thus gained upon them, upon the enemy, they will suddenly raise themselves in their saddles, and come like a rushing blast, all fluttering with feathers, shaking their mantles, brandishing their weapons, and making hideous yells. In this way, they seek to strike a panic into the horses, and put them to the scamper, when they will pursue and carry them off in triumph.

The best mode of proceeding to this veteran woodman, is to get into the covert of some wood, or thicket; or if there be none at hand, to dismount, tie the horses firmly head to head in a circle, so that they cannot break away and scatter, and resort to the shelter of a ravine, or make a hollow in the sand, where they may be screened from the shafts of the Pawnees. The latter chiefly use the bow and arrow, and are dexterous archers; circling round and round their enemy, and launching their arrows when at full speed. They are chiefly formidable on the prairies, where they have free career for their horses, and no trees to turn aside their arrows. They will rarely follow a flying enemy into the forest.

Several anecdotes, also, were given, of the secrecy and caution with which they will follow, and hang about the camp of an enemy, seeking a favorable moment for plunder or attack.

"We must now begin to keep a sharp lookout," said the Captain, "for orders that no fire shall be made but I shall hunt without leaving the fire off a gun, on pain of riding a wooden horse with a sharp back. I have a crew of young fellows, unaccustomed to frontier service. It will be difficult to teach them caution. We are now in the land of a silent, watchful, crafty people, who, when we least suspect it, may be around us, spouting out all our movements, and ready to pounce upon all stragglers."

"How will you be able to keep your men from firing, if they see game while strolling round the camp?" asked one of the rangers.

"They must not take their guns with them unless they are on duty, or have permission."

"Ah, Captain!" cried the ranger, "that will never do for me. Where I go, my rifle goes. I never like to leave it behind; it's like a part of myself. There's no one will take such care of it as I, and there's nothing will take such care of me as my rifle."

Here the Doctor, who is as keen a hunter as the Captain, joined in the conversation: "A neighbor of mine says, next to my rifle, I'd as leave lend you my wife."

"There's few," observed the Captain, "that take care of their rifles as they ought to be taken care of."

"Or of their wives either," replied the Doctor, with a wink.

"That's a fact," rejoined the Captain.

Word was now brought that a party of four rangers, headed by Old Ryan, were missing. They had separated from the main body, on the opposite side of the river, when searching for a ford, and had straggled off, nobody knew whither. Many conjectures were made about them, and some apprehensions expressed for their safety.

"I should think," said the Captain, "but old Ryan is with them, and he knows how to take care of himself and of them too. If it were not for him, I would not give much for the rest; but he is as much at home in the wilderness as if he were at the doctor's own farmyard. He's never lost, wherever he is. There's a good gang of them to stand by one another; four to watch and one to take care of the fire."
"It's a dismal thing to get lost at night in a strange and wild country," said one of the younger rangers.

"Not if you have one or two in company," said an older one. "For my part, I could feel as cheerful in this hollow as in my own home, if I had but a comrade or two. But they want to keep the fire going. I could lie here for hours, and gaze up to that blazing star there, that seems to look down into the camp as if it were keeping guard over it."

"Aye, the stars are a kind of company to one, when you have to keep watch alone. That's a cheerful star, too, somehow; that's the evening star, the planet Venus they call it, I think."

"If that's the planet Venus," said one of the council, who, I believe, was the psalm-singing schoolmaster, "it bodes us no good; for I recollect reading in some book that the Pawnees worship that star, and sacrifice their prisoners to it. So I should not feel the better for the company of that star in this part of the country."

"Well," said the sergeant, a thorough-bred woodsman, "star or no star, I have passed many a night alone in a wilder place than this, and slept as sweet, too. I'll warrant, me. Once, in a night just like this, I was camping out, and I had rather an uneasy time of it. I was belated in passing through a tract of wood, near the Tombigbee River; so I struck a light, made a fire, and turned my horse loose, while I strolled about to see. By and by, I heard the wolves howl. My horse came crowling near me for protection, for he was terribly frightened. I drove him off, but he returned, and drew nearer and nearer, and stood looking at me and at the fire, and dozing, and nodding, and lolling on his fore feet, for he was powerful tired. After a while, I heard a strange dismal cry. I thought at first it might be an owl. I heard it again, and then I knew it was not an owl, but must be a panther. I felt rather awkward, for I had no weapon but a double-bladed penknife. I however prepared for defence in the best way I could, and piled up small brands from the fire, to pepper the path of my horse, should he come near. The horse now seemed a comfort to me; the poor creature laid down beside me and soon fell asleep, being so tired. I kept watch, and nodded and dozed, and started awake, and looked round, expecting to see the gleaming eyes of the panther close upon me; but somehow or other, fatigue got the better of me, and I fell asleep outright. In the morning I found the tracks of a panther within sixty paces. They were as large as my two fists. He had evidently been walking backward and forward, trying to make up his mind to attack me; but luckily, he had not courage."

October 29th.—I awoke before daylight. The moon was shining freely down into the glen, from among light drifting clouds; the camp fires were nearly burnt out, and the men lying about them, wrapped in blankets. With the first streak of day, our huntsman, Beatte, with Antoine, the young half-breed, set off to cross the river, in search of the stray horses, in company with several rangers who had left their riles on the opposite shore. As the ford was deep, and they were obliged to cross in a diagonal line, against a rapid current, they had to be mounted on the tallest and strongest horses.

By eight o'clock, Beatte returned. He had found the horses, but had lost Antoine. The latter, he said, was a boy, a greenhorn, that knew nothing of the woods. He had wandered out of sight of him, and got lost. However, there were plenty more for him to fall in company with, as some of the rangers had gone astray also, and old Ryan and his party had not returned.

We waited until the morning was somewhat advanced, in hopes of being rejoined by the stragglers, but they didn't make their appearance. The Captain observed, that the Indians on the opposite side of the river, were all well disposed to the whites; so that no serious apprehensions need be entertained for the safety of the missing. The greatest danger was, that their horses might be stolen in the night by straggling Osages. He determined, therefore, to proceed, leaving a rear-guard in the camp, to await their arrival.

I sat on a rock that overhung the spring at the upper part of the dell, and amused myself by watching the changing scene before me. First, the preparations for departure. Horses driven in from the purloin of the camp; rangers riding about among rocks and bushes in quest of others that had strayed to a distance; the bustle of packing up camp equipage, and the clamor after kettles and frying-pans borrowed by one mess from another, and the howl of the pack animals at restive horses, or others that had wandered away to graze after being packed, among which the voice of our little Frenchman, Tonish, was particularly to be distinguished.

The bugle sounded the signal to mount and march. The troop filed off in irregular line down the glen, and through the open forest, winding and gradually disappearing among the trees, though the clamor of voices and the notes of the bugle could be heard for some time afterward. The rear-guard remained under the trees in the lower part of the dell, some on horseback, with their rifles on their shoulders; others seated by the fire or lying on the ground, gossiping in a low, lazy tone of voice, their horses unsaddled, standing and dozing around, while one of the rangers, profiting by this interval of leisure, was shaving himself before a pocket mirror stuck against the tree.

The clamor of voices and the notes of the bugle at length died away, and the glen relapsed into quiet and silence, broken occasionally by the low murmuring tone of the group around the fire, or the pensive whisper of some hunter among the trees; or the rustling of the yellow leaves, or the lightest breath of air brought down in waving showers, a sign of the departing glories of the year.

CHAPTER XIV.

Deer-Shooting.—Life on the Prairies.—Beautiful Encampment.—Hunter's Luck.—Anecdotes of the Indians and their Superstitions.

HAVING passed through the skirt of woodland bordering the river, we turned off, and bordering on it, taking a westerly course through an undulating country of oak openings, where the eye stretched over wide tracts of hill and dale, diversified by forests, groves, and clumps of trees. As we were proceeding at a slow pace, those who were at the head of the line described four deer grazing on a grassy slope about half a mile distant. They apparently had not perceived our approach, and continued to graze in perfect tranquillity. A young ranger obtained permission from the Cap-
However, there were in company with, as gone astray also, and not returned. The morning was somewhat being rejoined by the make their appearance, that the Indians to the river, were all well that no serious apprehended for the safety of the danger was, that their the night by straggling therefore, to proceed, the camp, to await their journey the spring at the and amused myself by one before me. First, to mount and amuse myself by horseback; rangers riding horses in quest of others distance; the bustle of and the clamor after borrowed by one mess oaths and exclamations by those that had wane being packed, among the Frenchman, Tonish, distinguished. signal to mount and in irregular line down open forest, winding among the trees, and the notes of the same time afterward. under the trees in the horseback, with others; others seated by ground, gossiping in their horses unsaddled, and, while one of the interval of leisure, was a pocket mirror stuck the notes of the bugle the glen relapsed into occasionally by the low around the fire, or the laggard among the yellow leaves, which brought down in wavers, departing glories of XIV.

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OSAGE VISITORS AT OUR EVENING CAMP
A TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES.

Our march this day was animating and delightful. We were in a region of adventure; breaking our way through the slowly and cautiously, he made a circuit until a screen of wood intervened between him and the deer. Dismounting then, he left his horse among the trees, and creeping round a knoll, was hidden from our view. We now kept our eyes intently fixed on the deer, which continued grazing, unconscious of their danger. Presently there was the sharp report of a rifle; a fine buck made a convulsive bound and fell to the earth; his companions scampered off. Immediately our whole line of march was broken; there was a hasty galloping of the young fellows of the troop, eager to get a shot at the fugitives; and one of the most conspicuous personages in the chase was our little Frenchman Tonish, on his silver-gray, having abandoned his pack-horses at the first sight of the deer. It was some time before our scattered forces could be recalled by the bugle, and our march resumed.

Two or three times in the course of the day we were interrupted by hurry-scurry scenes of the kind. The young men of the troop were full of excitement, and entered an unexplored country abounding in game, and they were too little accustomed to discipline or restraint to be kept in order. No one, however, was more unmanageable than Tonish. Having an intense conceit of his skill as a hunter, and an irrepresible passion for display, he was continually sallying forth, like an ill-broken hound, whenever any game was started, and had as often to be whipped back.

At length his curiosity got a salutary check. A fat doe came bounding along in full view of the whole line. Tonish dismounted, levelled his rifle, and had a fair shot. The doe kept on. He sprang upon his horse, stood up on the saddle like a posture-master, and continued gallozing after the animal as if certain to see it fall. The doe, however, kept on its way rejoicing; a laugh broke out along the line, the little Frenchman slipped quietly into his saddle, began to belabor and blaspheme the wandering pack-horses, as if they had been to blame, and for some time we were relieved from his canting and time-wasting.

In one place of our march we came to the remains of an old Indian encampment, on the banks of a fine stream, with the moss-grown skulls of deer lying here and there about it. As we were in the Pawnee country, it was supposed, of course, to have been a camp of some formidable rovers; the Doctor, however, after considering the shape and disposition of the lodges, pronounced it the camp of some bold Delawares, who had probably made a brief and dashing excursion into these dangerous hunting grounds.

Having proceeded some distance farther, we observed a couple of figures on horseback, slowly moving parallel to us along the edge of a naked hill about two miles distant; and apparently reconnoitring. There was a hush, and much gazing and conjecturing. Were they Indians? If Indians, were they Pawnees? There is something exciting to the imagination and stirring to the feelings, while traversing these hostile plains, in seeing a horserman prancing along the horizon. It is like a rider a mile away, or, when it may be either a privateer or a pirate. Our conjectures were soon set at rest by reconnoitring the two horsemen through a small spy-glass, when they proved to be two of the men we had left at the camp, who had set out to rejoin us, and had wandered from the track.

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The captain did not return until late, and he returned empty handed. He had been in pursuit of his usual game, the deer, when he came upon the tracks of a gang of about sixty elk. He had killed an animal of the kind, and the elk being at this moment an object of ambition among all the veteran hunters of the camp, he abandoned his pursuit of the deer, and followed the newly discovered track. After some time he came in sight of the elk, and had several fair chances of killing, but was anxious to bring down a large buck which kept in the advance. Finding at length there was danger of the whole gang escaping him, he fired at a doe. The shot took effect, but the animal had sufficient strength to keep on for a time with its companions. From the tracks of blood he felt confident it was mortally wounded, but evening came on, he could not keep the trail, and had to give up the search until morning.

Old Ryan and his little band had not yet rejoined us, neither had our young half-breed Antoine made his appearance. It was determined, therefore, to remain at our encampment for the following day, to give time for all stragglers to arrive. Some conversation this evening, among the old huntsmen, turned upon the Delaware tribe, one of whose encampments we had passed in the course of the day; and anecdotes were given of their prowess in war and dexterity in hunting. They used to be deadly foes of the Osages, who stood high in the esteem of their descendants, though, they were apt to attribute it to a whimsical cause. "Look at the Delaware," would they say, "they got short legs—no can run—must stand and fight a great heap." In fact the Delawares are rather short-legged, while the Osages are remarkable for their fleetness.

The expeditions of the Delawares, whether of war or hunting, are wide and fearless; a small band of thej will penetrate far into these dangerous and hostile wilds, and will push their encampments even to the Rocky Mountains. This daring temper may be in some measure encouraged by one of the superstitions of their creed. They believe that a guardian spirit, in the form of a great eagle, watches over them, hovering in the sky, far out of sight. Sometimes, when well pleased with them, he will descend into the lower regions, and may be seen circling with widespread winds against the white clouds; at such times the seasons are propitious, the corn grows finely, and they have great success in hunting. Sometimes, however, he is angry, and then he vents his rage in the thunder, which is his voice, and the lightning, which is the flashing of his eyes, and strikes dead the object of his displeasure.

The Delawares make sacrifices to this spirit, who occasionally lets drop a feather from his wing in token of satisfaction. These feathers render the wearer invisible, and invulnerable. Indeed, the Indians generally consider the feathers of the eagle possessed of occult and sovereign virtues. At one time a party of the Delawares, in the course of a bold excursion into the Pawnee hunting grounds, were surrounded on one of the great plains, and nearly destroyed. The remnant took refuge on the summit of one of those isolated and conical hills which rise almost like artificial mounds, from the midst of the prairies. Here the chief warrior, driven almost to despair, sacrificed his horse to the tutelary spirit. Suddenly an enormous eagle, rushing down from the sky, bore off the victim in his talons, and mounting into the air, dropped a quill feather from his wing. The chief caught it up with joy, bound it to his forehead, and, leading his followers down the hill, cut his way through the enemy with great slaughter, and without any one of his party receiving a wound.

CHAPTER XV.

The Search for the Elk—Pawnee Stories.

With the morning dawn, the prime hunters of the camp were all on the alert, and set off in different directions, to look up the tracks for game. The Captain's brother, Sergeant Bean, was among the first, and returned before breakfast with success, having killed a fat doe, almost within the purities of the camp.

When breakfast was over, the Captain mounted his horse, to go in quest of the elk which he had wounded on the preceding evening; and which, he was persuaded, had received its death-wound. I determined to join him in the search, and we accordingly sallied forth together, accompanied also by his brother, the sergeant, and a lieutenant. Two rangers followed on foot, to bring home the carcass of the doe which the sergeant had killed. We had not ridden far, when we came to where it lay, on the side of a hill, in the midst of a beautiful woodland scene. The two rangers immediately set to work, with true hunters' skill, to dismember it, and prepare it for transportation to the camp, while we continued on our course. We passed along sloping hillsides, among skirts of thicket and scattered forest trees, until we came to a place where the long herbage was pressed down withnumerous elk beds. Here the Captain had first roused the gang of elk, and, after looking about diligently for a little while, he pointed out their "trail," the foot-prints of which were as large as those of horned cattle. He now put himself upon the track, and went quietly forward, the rest of us following him in Indian file. At length he halted at the place where the elk had been when shot at. Spots of blood on the surrounding herbage showed that the shot had been effective. The wounded animal was evidently kept for some distance with the rest of the herd, as could be seen by sprinklings of blood here and there, on the shrubs and weeds bordering the trail. These at length suddenly disappeared. "Somewhere hereabout," said the Captain, "the elk must have turned off from the gang. Whenever they feel themselves mortally wounded, they will turn aside, and seek some out-of-the-way place to die alone."

There was something in this picture of the last moments of a wounded deer, to touch the sympathies of one not hardened to the gentle disports of the chase; such sympathies, however, are but transient. Man is naturally an animal of prey; and, however changed by civilization, will readily relapse into his instinct for destruction. I found my ravenous and sanguinary propensities daily growing stronger upon the prairies.

After looking about for a little while, the Captain succeeded in finding the separate trail of the wounded elk, which turned off almost at right angles from that of the herd, and entered an open forest of scattered trees. The traces of blood became more faint and rare, and occurred at greater distances; at length they ceased alto-
...weather from his horse, bright and gay, and the background, bound it by the forest, to the center of the path of the enemy with great effect, as theFile of his party reeled, or was roughly handled by the forest, and the ground was so hard, and the herbage so much parched and withered, that the footprints of the animal could no longer be perceived.

"The elk must lie somewhere in this neighborhood," said the Captain, "as you may know by those turkey-buzzards wheeiling about in the air: for they always hover in that way above some carcass. However, the dead elk cannot be found away, so let us follow the trail of the living ones: they may have halted at no great distance, and we may find them grazing, and get another crack at them."

We accordingly returned, and resumed the trail of the elk, which led us a straggling course over hill and dale, covered with scattered oaks. Every now and then we would catch a glimpse of a deer bounding away across some glade of the forest, but the Captain was not to be diverted from his elk hunt by such inferior game. A large flock of wild turkeys, too, were roused by the trampling of our horses; some scampered off as fast as their long legs could carry them; others fluttered up into the trees, where they remained wild and beautiful birds, gazing at us. The Captain would not allow us to be disturbed at too great a distance, lest it should alarm the elk, which he hoped to find in the vicinity. At length we came to where the forest ended in a steep bank, and the Red Fork wound its way below us, between broad sandy shores. The trail descended the bank, and we could trace it, with our eyes, across the level lands, until it terminated in the river, which was evident, the gang had forded on the preceding evening.

"It is needless to follow on any farther," said the Captain, "the elk must have been much frightened, and, after crossing the river, may have kept on for twenty miles without stopping." Our little party now divided, the lieutenant and sergeant making a circuit in quest of game, and the Captain and myself taking the direction of the camp. On our way, we came to a buffalo track, more than a year old. It was not wider than an ordinary footpath, and worn deep into the soil; for these animals follow each other in single file. Shortly afterward, we met two rangers, with an armed band of the foresters, on their way to the elk, but he had escaped; and in pursuing him, had found the one shot by the Captain on the preceding evening. They turned back, and conducted us to it. It was a noble animal, as large as a yearling heifer, and lay in an open part of the forest, about a mile and a half distant from the place where it had been shot. The turkey-buzzards, which we had previously noticed, were wheeling in the air above it. The observation of the Capt. seemed verified. The poor animal, as life was escaping him, had apparently abandoned its unfruitful companions, and turned aside to die alone.

The Captain and the two rangers forthwith fell to work, with their hunting-knives, to flay and cut up the carcass. It was already tainted on the intestines, and the meat was unwholesome. The Captain and myself mounted our horses, and jogged back to the camp, while the two rangers resumed their hunting.

On reaching the camp, I found there our young half-breed, Antoine. After separating from Beattie, in the search after the stray horses on the other side of the Arkansas, he had fallen upon a wrong track, which he followed for several miles, when he overtook old Ryan and his party, and found him continuing his pursuit of those horses.

They all forded the Arkansas about eight miles above our crossing place, and found their way to our late encampment in the glen, where the rear-guard we had left behind was waiting for them. Antoine, being well mounted, and unwilling to let us follow their traces.

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Our camp, during the residue of the day, presented a mangled picture of bustle and repose. Some of the men were busy round the fires, jerking and roasting venison and bear's meat, to be packed up as a future supply. Some were stretching and dressing the skins of the animals they had killed; others were busy at the brook, and hanging them on the bushes to dry; while many were lying on the grass, and lazily gossipping in the shade. Every now and then a hunter would return, on horseback or on foot, laden with game, or empty handed. Those who brought home no spoils, deposited it at the Captain's fire, and then filed off to their respective messes, to relate their day's exploits to their companions. The game killed at this camp consisted of six deer, one elk, two bears, and six or eight turkeys.

During the last two or three days, since their wild Indian achievement in navigating the river, our retainers had risen in consequence among the rangers; and now I found Tonish making himself the complete oracle among some of the raw and inexperienced recruits, who had never been in the wilderness. He had continually a knot hanging about him, and listening to his extravagant tales about the Pawnees, with whom he pretended to have had fearful encounters. His representations, in fact, were calculated to inspire his hearers with an awed admiration of the savages, and to make them think they were intruding. According to his accounts, the rifle of the white man was no match for the bow and arrow of the Pawnee. When the rifle was once discharged, it took time to load it again, and in the meantime the Indians would have disposed of every one of his men.

If Tonish was to be believed, there was peril at every step in these debatable grounds of the Indian tribes. Pawnees lurked unseen among the thickets and ravines. They had their scouts and sentinels on the alert, and a command in view over the prairies, where they lay crouched in the tall grass; only now and then raising their heads to watch the movements of any war or hunting party that might be passing in lengthened line below. At night, they would
lurk round an encampment; crawling through the grass, and imitating the movements of a wolf, so as to deceive the sentinel on the outpost, until, having arrived sufficiently near, they would speed an arrow through his heart, and retreat undiscovered. In telling his stories, Tonish would appeal from time to time to Beatte, for the truth of what he said; the only reply and token of the shrug of the shoulders; the latter being divided in mind between a distaste for the gasconading spirit of his comrade, and a sovereign contempt for the inexperience of the young rangers in all that he considered true knowledge.

CHAPTER XVI.

A Sick Camp.—The March.—The Disabled Horse.—Old Ryan and the Stragglers.—Symptoms of Change of Weather, and Change of Humors.

OCTOBER 18TH.—We prepared to march at the usual hour, but word was brought to the Captain that three of the rangers, who had been attacked with the measles, were unable to proceed, and that another one was missing. The last was an old frontiersman, by the name of Sawyer, who had gained years without experience; and having sallied forth to hunt, on the preceding day, had probably lost his way on the prairies. A guard of ten men was, therefore, to take care of the sick, and wait for the straggler. If the former recovered sufficiently in the course of two or three days, they were to rejoin the main body, otherwise to be escorted back to the garrison.

Taking our leave of the sick camp, we shaped our course westward, along the heads of small streams, all wandering, in deep ravines, toward the Red Fork. The land was high and undulating, or “rolling,” as it is termed in the West; with a poor hungry soil mingled with the sandstone, which is unusual in this part of the country, and checkerred with harsh forests of post-oak and blackjuck.

In the course of the morning, I received a lesson on the importance of being chary of one's steed on the prairies. The one I rode on surpassed in action most horses of the troop, and was of great value to a general spirit at crossing the deep ravines, he would scramble up the steep banks like a cat, and was always for leaping the narrow runs of water. I was not aware of the impudence of indulging him in such exertions, until, in leaping him across a small brook, I felt him immediately falter beneath me. He limped forward a short distance, but soon fell stark lame, having sprained his shoulder. What was to be done? He could not keep up with the troop, and was too valuable to be abandoned on the prairie. The only alternative was to send him back to join the other sick in the sick camp, and to share their fortunes. Nobody, however, seemed disposed to lead him back, although I offered a liberal reward. Either the stories of Tonish about the Pawnees had spread an apprehension of lurking forts, and imminent perils on the prairies; or there was a fear of missing the trail and getting lost. At length two young men stepped forward and agreed to go in company, so that, should they be benighted on the prairies, there might be one to watch while the other slept.

The horse was accordingly consigned to their care, and I looked after him with a careful eye, as he limped off, for it was thus he had, all strength and buoyancy had departed from me.

I looked round for a steed to supply his place, and fixed my eyes upon the gallant gray which I had transferred at the Agency to Tonish. The moment, however, that I hinted about his dismounting and the going up with the supernumerary pony, the little varlet broke out into vociferous remonstrances and lamentations, gasping and almost strangling, in his eagerness to give vent to them. I saw that to unhorse him would be to prostrate his spirit and cut his vane to the quick. I had not the heart to inflict such a wound, or to bring down the poor devil from his transient vainglory; so I left him in possession of his gallant gray; and contented myself with shifting my saddle to the jaded pony.

I was now sensible of the complete reverse to which a horseman is exposed on the prairies. I felt how completely the spirit of the rider depended upon his steed. I had hitherto been able to make excursions at will from the line, and to gallop in pursuit of any object of interest or curiosity. I was now reduced to the tone of the jaded animal I bestrode, and doomed to plod on patiently and slowly after my file leader. Above all, I was made conscious how unwise it is, on expeditions of this kind, where a man's life may depend upon the strength, and speed, and freshness of his horse, to task the generous animal by any unnecessary exertion of his powers.

I have observed that the wary and experienced huntsmen and traveller of the prairies is always sparing of his horse, when on a journey; never, except in emergency, putting him off of a walk. The regular journeymen of frontiersmen and Indians, when on a long march, seldom exceed above fifteen miles a day, and are generally about ten or twelve, and they never indulge in capricious galloping. Many of those, however, with whom I was travelling were young and inexperienced, and full of excitement at finding themselves in a country abounding with game. It was impossible to retain them in the sobriety of a march, or to keep them to the line. As we broke our way through the coverts and ravines, and the deer started up and scampered off to the right and left, the rifle balls would whiz after them, and our young hunters dash off in pursuit. At one time they made a great noise, like what they supposed to be a gang of bears, but soon pulled it up on discovering them to be black wolves, prowling in company.

After a march of about twelve miles we encamped, a little after mid-day, on the borders of a brook which tumbled through a deep ravine. In the course of the afternoon old Ryan, the Nestor of the camp, made his appearance, followed by his little band of stragglers. He was greeted with joyful acclamations, which showed the estimation in which he was held by his brother woodsmen. Tonish was invited to dine with venison; a fine haunch of which the veteran hunter lauded, as a present, by the Captain's fire.

Our men, Beatte and Tonish, both sallied forth, early in the afternoon, to hunt. Tonish returning the former returned, with a fine buck across his horse. He laid it down, as usual, in silence, and proceeded to unsaddle and turn his horse loose. Tonish came back without any game, but with much more glory; having made several capital shots, though unluckily the wounded deer had all escaped him.
There was an abundant supply of meat in the camp; for, besides other game, three elk had been killed. The wary and veteran woodmen went all day just a time of scarcity; the less experienced revelled in present abundance, leaving the morrow to provide for itself.

On the following morning (October 19th), I succeeded in changing my pony and a reasonable sum of money for a strong and active horse. It was a great satisfaction to find myself once more tolerably well mounted. I perceived, however, that there would be little difficulty in making a selection from among the troops, for the rangers had all that propensity for "swapping," or, as they term it, "trading," which pervades the West. In the course of our expedition, there was scarcely a horse, rifle, powder-horn, or blanket, that did not change owners several times; and one keen "trader" boasted of having, by dint of frequent bargains, changed a bad horse into a good one, and put a hundred dollars in his pocket.

The morning was lowering and sultry, with low muttering of distant thunder. The change of weather was a special effect upon the spirits of the troops. The camp was unusually sober and quiet; there was none of the accustomed farmyard melody of crowing and cackling at daybreak; none of the bursts of merriment, the loud jokes and banterings, that had commonly prevailed during the bustle of equipment. Now and then might be heard a short strain of a song, a faint laugh, or a solitary whistle; but, in general, every one went silently and doggedly about the duties of the camp, or the preparations for departure.

When the time arrived to saddle and mount, five horses were reported as missing; although all the wood and thickets had been beaten up for some distance round the camp. Several rangers were dispatched to "skir" the country round in quest of them. In the meantime, the thunder continued to growl, and we had a passing shower. The horses, like their riders, were affected by the change of weather. They stood here and there about the camp, some saddled and bridled, others loose, but all spiritless and dozing, with stooping head, one hind leg partly drawn up so as to rest on the point of the hoof, and the whole hide reeking with the rain, and sending up wreaths of vapor. The men, too, waited in listless groups the return of their comrades who had gone in quest of the horses; now and then turning upon an anxious eye to the drifting clouds, which boded an approaching storm. Gloomy weather inspires gloomy thoughts. Some express fear that we were dogged by some party of Indians, who had stolen the horses in the night. The most prevalent apprehension, however, was, that they had returned on their traces to our last encampment, or had started off on a direct line for Fort Gibson. In this respect, the instinct of horses is said to resemble that of the pigeon. They will strike for home by a direct course, passing through tracts of wilderness which they have never before traversed.

After delaying until the morning was somewhat advanced, a lieutenant with a guard was appointed to await the return of the rangers, and we set out on our day's journey, considerably reduced in numbers; much, as I thought, to the discomposure of some of the troopers, who intimated that we might prove too weak-handed, in case of an encounter with the Pawnees.

Our march for a part of the day, a lay a little to the south of west, through straggling forests of the kind of low shrub trees already mentioned, called "post-oaks," and "black-jacks." The soil of these "barren bars" is loose and unsound; being little better at times than a mere quicksand, in which, in rainy weather, the horse's hoof slips from side to side, and both of them sinks in a rotten, spongy turf, to the fetlock. Such was the case at present in consequence of successive thunder-showers, through which we drizzled along in dozed silence. Several deer were roused by our approach, and scudded across the forest glades; but no one, as formerly, broke the line of march to pursue them. At one time, we passed the bones and horns of a buffalo, and at another time a buffalo track, not above three days old. These signs of the vicinity of this grand game of the prairies, had a reviving effect on the spirits of the hunters; but it was of transient duration.

In crossing a prairie of moderate extent, rendered little better than a slippery bog by the recent showers, we were overtaken by a violent thunder-gust. The rain came rattling upon us, and was答案为：

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glare of the fires, resembled a vast leafy dome, was caused by its sudden darkness; but every now and then two or three quivering flashes of lightning in quick succession, would suddenly reveal a vast campaign country, where fields and forests, and running streams, would start, as it were, into existence for a few brief seconds, and, before the eyes could ascertain them, vanish again into gloom.

A thunder-storm on a prairie, as upon the ocean, derives grandeur and sublimity from the wild and boundless waste over which it rages and batters. It is not surprising that these awful phenomena of nature should be objects of superstitious reverence to the poor savages, and that they should consider the thunder the angry voice of the Great Spirit. As our half-breeds sat gossipping round the fire, I drew from them some of the notions entertained on the subject by their Indian friends. The latter declare that extingushed thunderbolts are sometimes picked up by hunters on the prairies, who use them for the heads of arrows and lances, and that any warrior thus armed is invincible. Should a thunderstorm occur, however, during battle, he is liable to be carried away by the thunder, and never heard of more.

A warrior of the Konza tribe, hunting on a prairie, was overtaken by a storm, and struck down senseless by the thunder. On recovering, he beheld the thunderbolt lying on the ground, and a horse standing beside it. Snatching up the bolt, he sprang upon the horse, but found, too late, that he was astride of the lightning. In an instant he was whisked away over prairies and forests, and streams and deserts, until he was flung senseless at the foot of the Rocky Mountains; whence, on recovering, it took him several months to return to his own people.

This story reminded me of an Indian tradition, related by a traveller, of the fate of a warrior who saw the thunder lying upon the ground, with a beautifully wrought moccasin on each side of it. Thinking he had found a prize, he put on the moccasins; but they bore him away to the land of eternity he never returned. These are simple and artless tales, but they had a wild and romantic interest heard from the lips of half-savage narrators, round a hunter's fire, on a stormy night, with a forest on one side, and a howling waste on the other; and where, peradventure, savage foes might be lurking in the outer darkness.

Our conversation was interrupted by a loud clap of thunder, followed immediately by the sound of a horse galloping off madly into the waste. Everyone listened in mute silence. The hoofs resounded vigorously for a time, but grew fainter and fainter, until they died away in remote distance.

When the sound was no longer to be heard, the listeners turned to conjecture what could have caused this sudden escape. Some thought the horse had been startled by the thunder; others, that some lurking Indian had galloped off with him. To this it was objected, that the usual mode with the Indians is to steal quietly upon the horse, take off his fetters, mount him gently, and walk him off, as silently as possible, leading off others, without any unusual stir or noise to disturb the camp.

On the other hand, it was stated as a common practice with the Indians, to creep among a troop of horses when grazing at night, mount one quietly, and then start off suddenly at full speed.

Nothing is so contagious among horses as a panic; one sudden break-away of this kind, will sometimes alarm the whole troop, and they will set off, helter-skelter, after the leader.

Every one who had a horse grazing on the skirts of the camp was uneasy, lest his should be the fugitive; but it was impossible to ascertain the fact until morning. Those who had tethered their horses felt more secure; though horses thus tied up, and limited to a short range at night, are apt to fall off in flesh and strength, during a long march; and many of the horses of the troop already gave signs of being wayward.

After a gloomy and unry night, the morning dawned bright and clear, and a glorious sunrise transformed the whole landscape, as if by magic. The late dreary wilderness brightened into a fine open country, with stately groves, and clumps of oaks of a gigantic size, some of which stood singly, as if planted for ornament and shade, in the midst of rich meadows; while our horses, scattered about, and grazing under them, gave to the whole the air of a noble park. It was difficult to realize the fact that we were so far in the wilds beyond the residence of man. Our encampment, alone, had a savage appearance; with its rude tents of skins and blankets, and its columns of blue smoke rising among the trees.

The first care in the morning, was to look after our horses. Some of them had wandered to a distance, but all were fortunately found; even the one whose clattering hoofs had caused such uneasiness in the night. He had come a mile from the camp, and was found quietly grazing near a brook. The bugle sounded for departure about half-past eight. As we were in greater risk of Indian molestation the farther we advanced, our line was formed with more precision than heretofore. Every one had his station assigned him, and was forbidden to leave it in pursuit of game, without special permission. The pack-horses were placed in the centre of the line, and a strong guard in the rear.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A Grand Prairie.—Cliff Castle.—Buffalo Tracks.—Deer Hunted by Wolves.—Crest Timber.

After a toilsome march of some distance through a country cut up by ravines and brooks, and entangled by thickets, we emerged upon a grand prairie. Here one of the characteristic scenes of the Far West broke upon us. An immense extent of grassy, undulating, or, as it is termed, rolling country, with here and there a clump of trees, dimly seen in the distance like a ship at sea; the landscape deriving sublimity from its vastness and simplicity. To the southwest, on the summit of a hill, was a singular crest of broken rocks, resembling a ruined fortress. It reminded me of the ruin of some Moorish castle, crowning a height in the midst of a lonely Spanish landscape. To this hill we gave the name of Cliff Castle.

The prairies of these great hunting regions differed in the character of their vegetation from those through which I had hitherto passed. Instead of a profusion of tall flowering plants and long flaunting grasses, they were covered with a shorter growth of herbage called buffalo grass, somewhat coarse, but, at the proper seasons, af-
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Chapter VIII.

Buffalo Tracks.—Deer and Timmer.

The distance through the hills and brooks, and encampments upon a grand and characteristic scenery all around us. An immense range, as it is termed, and there a clump of the sublimity in its saddle; the southwest, on the extreme crests of the Missouri, the principal eminence of the plains, the great lake of the Spanish, the most of the northward direction. We gave the name of this hunting regions different from their vegetation from that which he passed. In the upwelling plants and the common buffalo grass, in proper seasons, after

fording excellent and abundant pastureage. At present it was growing wiry, and in many places with some parts reseeded for grazing.

The weather was verging into that serene but somewhat arid season called the Indian Summer. There was a smoky haze in the atmosphere that tempered the brightness of the sunshine into a golden tint, softening the features of the landscape, and giving a haze to the outlines of distant objects. This haziness was daily increasing, and was attributed to the burning of distant prairies by the Indian hunting parties.

We had not gone far upon the prairie before we came to a tract of buffalo, where large droves had passed. There were tracks also of horses, which were observed with some attention by our experienced hunters. They could not be the tracks of wild horses, as there were no prints of the hoofs of colts; all were full-grown. As the horses evidently were not shod, it was concluded that some soldiers or scalps had passed. These are tracks of the Pawnees. In the course of the morning, the tracks of a single horse, with shoes, were discovered. This might be the horse of a Cherokee hunter, or perhaps a horse stolen from the whites of the frontier. Thus, in traversing these perilous wastes, every footprint and dint of hoof becomes matter of cautious inspection and shrewd surmise; and the question continually is, whether the traces are of friend or foe, whether of recent or ancient date, and whether the being that made them was or is out of reach, or liable to be encountered.

We were getting more and more into the game country; as we proceeded, we repeated the advice to the right and left, bounding off for the coverts; but their appearance no longer excited the same eagerness to pursue. In passing along a slope of the prairie, between two rolling swells of land, we came in sight of a genuine natural hunting match. A pack of seven black wolves and one white one were in full chase of a buck, which they had taken from a herd. The deer crossed the line of our march without apparently perceiving us; we saw them have a fair run of nearly a mile, gaining upon the buck until they were leaping upon his heels, when he plunged deep into the grass, which was not short. The deer was seen grinding a view of the ravine. The poor buck was completely beset, some on his flanks, some at his throat; he made two or three struggles and desperate bounds, but was dragged down, overpowered, and torn to pieces. The black wolves, in their ravenous hunger and fury, took no notice of the distant group of horsemen; but the white wolf, apparently less game, abandoned the prey, and scampered over hill and dale, rousing various deer that were crouched in the hollows, and which bounded off in every direction. It was altogether a wild scene, worthy of the "hunting grounds."

We now came once more in sight of the Red Fork, winding its turbid course between well-watered prairies and immense stretches of forest. We left it for a time, to avoid the noise and confusion of the forest.

The prairies bordering the rivers are always varied in this way with woodland, so beautifully interspersed as to appear to have been laid out by the hand of taste; and they only want here and there a village spire, the battlements of a castle, or the turret of an old family mansion rising from among the trees, to rival the most ornamental scenery of Europe.

About midday we reached the edge of that scattered belt of forest land, about forty miles in width, which stretches across the country from north to south, from the Arkansas to the Red River, separating the upper from the lower prairies, and commonly called the "Cross Timber." On the skirts of this forest land, just on the edge of a prairie, we found traces of a Pawnee encampment of between one and two hundred lodges, showing that the party must have been numerous. The skull of a buffalo lay near the camp, and the fact that it had been stolen or proofed that the encampment was at least a year old. About half a mile off we encamped in a beautiful grove, watered by a fine spring and rivulet. Our day's journey had been about fourteen miles.

In the course of the afternoon we were rejoined by two of Lieutenant King's party, which we had left behind a few days before, to look after stray horses. All the horses had been found, though some had wandered to the distance of two miles. The black tails of his companions, who had remained at our last night's encampment to hunt, having come upon recent traces of buffalo. They had also seen a fine wild horse, which, however, had galloped off with a speed of which it was difficult to imagine.

Confident anticipations were now indulged, that on the following day we should meet with buffalo, and perhaps with wild horses, and every one was in spirits. We needed some excitement of the kind, for our young men were growing quite maudlin from marching and encamping under restraint, and provisions this day were scanty. The Captain and several of the rangers went out hunting, but brought home nothing but a small deer and a few turkeys. Our two men, Beadle and Tonish, likewise went out. The former returned with a deer at hand, his horse, which, as usual, he laid down by our lodge, and said nothing. Tonish returned with no game, but with his customary budget of wonderful tales. Both he and the deer had done marvels. Not one had come within the purview of our eyes;Tonish in hunting, and the deer without being hit in a mortal part, yet, strange to say, every one had kept on his way without noticing. We all determined that, from the accuracy of his aim, Tonish must have shot with charmed balls, that every deer which he had seen had been shot with a speed that defied pursuit. The most important intelligence brought by him, however, was, that he had seen the fresh tracks of several wild horses. He now considered himself upon the eve of great exploits, for there was nothing upon which he glorified himself more than his skill in horse-catchings.

Chapter XIX.

Hunters' Anticipations.—The Ragged Ford and a Wild Horse.

October 21st.—This morning the camp was in a bustle at an early hour: the expectation of falling in with buffalo in the abundance of the season, and their weight in every one's spirit. There was a continual cracking of rifles, that they might be reloaded: the shot was drawn off from double-barrelled guns, and balls were substituted. Tonish, however, prepared chiefly for a campaign against wild horses. He took the field, with a coil of cordage hung at his
saddle-bow, and a couple of white wands, something like fishing-rods, eight or ten feet in length, with forked ends. The coil of cordage thus used in hunting the wild horse, is called a lariat, and answers to the lasso of South America. It is not flung, however, in the graceful and dexterous Spanish style. The hunter, after a hard chase, when he succeeds in getting almost head and head with the wild horse, hitches the running noose of the lariat over his head by means of the forked stick; then letting him have the full length of the cord, plays him like a fish, and draws him, as the French, into the thicket. All this Tonish promised to exemplify to our full satisfaction; we had not much confidence in his success, and feared he might knock up a good horse in a headlong gallop after a bad one, for, like all the French creoles, he was a merciless hard rider. It was determined, therefore, to keep a sharp eye upon him, and to check his salivating propensities.

We had not proceeded far on our morning's march, when we were checked by a deep stream, running at the bottom of a thickly wooded ravine. After coasting it for a couple of miles, we came to a fording place; but to get down to it was the difficulty, for the banks were steep and crumbling, and overgrown with forest trees, mingled with thicket, brambles, and grapevines. At length the leader's horseman broke his way through the thicket, and his horse, putting his feet together, slid down the black crumbling bank, to the narrow margin of the stream; then floundering across, with mud and water up to the saddle-girths, he scrambled up to the opposite bank, and arrived safe on level ground. The whole line followed pell-mell after the leader, and pushing forward in close order, Indian file, they crowded each other down the bank and into the stream. Some of the horsemen missed the ford, and were sussed over head and ears; one was unhorsed, and plumped head foremost into the middle of the stream: for my own part, while pressed forward, and hurried over the bank by those behind me, I was interrupted by a grape-vine, as thick as a cable, which hung in a falling position from the saddle in front, and dragged me from the saddle, threw me among the feet of the trampling horses. Fortunately, I escaped without injury, regained my steed, crossed the stream without further difficulty, and was enabled to join in the merriment occasioned by the ludicrous disasters. It is at passes like this that occur the most dangerous ambuscades and sanguinary surprises of Indian warfare. A party of savages well placed among the thicketts, might have made sad havoc among our men, while entangled in the ravine.

We now came out upon a vast and glorious prairie, spreading out beneath the golden beams of an autumnal sun. The deep and frequent traces of buffalo, showed it to be one of their favorite grazing grounds; yet none were to be seen. By one of the horse of the morning, we were overtaken by the lieutenant and seventeen men, who had remained behind, and who came laden with the spoils of buffaloes; having killed three on the preceding day. One of the rangers, however, had little luck to boast of; his horse having taken fright at sight of the buffaloes, thrown his rider, and escaped into the woods. The excitement of our hunters, both young and old, now rose almost to fever height; scarce any of them having ever encountered any of this far-famed game of the prairies. Accordingly, when in the course of the day the cry of buffalo! buffalo! rose from one party the finest of the whole troop were thrown in agitation. We were just then passing through a beautiful part of the prairie, finely diversified by hills and slopes, and woody dells, and high, stately groves. Those who had given the alarm, pointed out a large black-looking animal, slowly moving along the side of a rising ground, about two miles off. The ever-ready Tonish jumped up, and stood with his feet on the saddle, and his forked sticks in his hands, like a posture-master or scaramouch at a circus, just ready for a feat of horsemanship. After going at the animal for a moment, which he could have seen full as well without rising from his stirrups, he pronounced it a wild horse; and dropping again into his saddle, was about to dash off full tilt in pursuit, when, to his inexplicable chagrin, he was called back, and ordered to keep to his post, in rear of the baggage horses. The Captain and two of his officers now set off to reconnoitre the game. It was the intention of the Captain, who was an admirable marksman, to show the Tonish how to knock him off, and, by any stroke with a rifle ball in the ridge of the neck. A wound of this kind paralyzes a horse for a moment; he falls to the ground, and may be secured before he recovery. It is a cruel expedient, however, for an ill-directed shot may kill or maim the noble animal.

As the Captain and his companions moved off laterally and slowly, in the direction of the horse, we continued our course forward; watching intently, however, the movements of the game. The horse moved quietly over the profile of the rising ground, and disappeared behind it. The Captain and his party were likewise soon hidden by an intervening hill.

After a time, the horse suddenly made his appearance to our right, just ahead of the line, emerging out of a small valley, on a brisk trot, having evidently taken the alarm. At sight of us he stopped short, gazed at us for an instant with surprise, then tossing up his head, trotted off in fine style, glancing at us first over one shoulder, then over the other, his amiable mane and tall streaming in the wind. He had on a skirt of thicket, that looked like a hedge-row, he paused in the open field beyond, glanced back at us again, with a beautiful bend of the neck, snuffed the air, then tossing his head again, broke into a gallop, and took refuge in a wood. It was the first time I had ever seen a horse scouring his native wilderness in all the pride and freedom of his nature. How different from the poor, mutilated, harnessed, checked, reined-up victim of luxury, caprice, and avarice, in our cities!

After travelling about fifteen miles, we encamped about one o'clock, that our hunters might have time to procure a supply of provisions. Our encampment was in a spacious grove of lofty oaks and walnuts, free from underwood, on the border of the morning, we were overtaken by the lieutenant and seventeen men, who had remained behind, and who came laden with the spoils of buffaloes; having killed three on the preceding day. One of the rangers, however, had little luck to boast of; his horse having taken fright at sight of the buffaloes, thrown his rider, and escaped into the woods. The excitement of our hunters, both young and old, now rose almost to fever height; scarce any of them having ever encountered any of this far-famed game of the prairies. Accordingly, when
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CHAPTER XX.

THE CAMP OF THE WILD HORSE.

Hunter’s Stories.—Habits of the Wild Horse.—The Half-Bred and His Prize.—A Horse Chase.—A Wild Spirit Tuned.

We had camped in a good neighborhood for game, as the reports of rifles in various directions speedily gave notice. One of our hunters soon returned with the news of a single, man back in the line, the whole. We were just

The sight of the wild horse had been a great novelty, and gave a

turn to the conversation of the camp for the evening. There were several anecdotes told of a famous gray horse, which has ranged the prairies of this neighborhood for six or seven years, setting at night every ambush to capture horses, and was known by the name of Napoleon. They say he can pace and rack (or ambles) faster than the fleetest horses can run. Equally marvellous accounts were given of a black horse on the Brazos, who grazed on the prairies that river’s length for years, with no outriders to pursue him. His fame spread far and wide; offers were made for him to the amount of a thousand dollars; the boldest and most hardy hunters tried incessantly to make prize of him, but in vain. At length he fell a victim to the gallantry, being decoyed under a tree by a tame mare, and a noose dropped over his head by a boy perched among the branches.

The capture of a wild horse is one of the most

The young men imported him with questions about the mode in which he took the horse, but his answers were dry and laconic; he evidently retained some pique at having been undervalued and sneered at before his captive horse, with folded arms and fixed aspect, he looked more like a stud than a man.

If the horse, however, manifested the least restiveness, Beatte would immediately warn him with his large and loud voice, and make him do anything with his tail, unless by the shot, so as to throw him on the ground; when he had thus rendered him passive, he would resume his study-like attitude and gaze at him in silence.

The whole scene was singularly wild; the tall grove, partially illumined by the flashing fires of the camp, the horses huddled together and there among the trees, the carcasses of deer hanging around, and in the midst of all, the wild huntsman and his wild horse, with an admiring throng of rangers, almost as wild.

In the eagerness of their excitement, several of the young rangers sought to get the horse by purchase or barter, and even offered extravagant terms; but Beatte declined all their offers. “You give great price now,” said he, “but tomorrow another hunter will buy him, and sell him back again, and with more profit to himself.”

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Afterward, however, when he was seated by our fire, I readily drew from him an account of his exploit; for, though taciturn among strangers, and little prone to boast of his actions, yet his taciturnity, like that of all Indians, had its times of relaxation.

He informed me, that on leaving the camp, he had returned to the place where we had last sight of the wild horse. Soon getting upon its track, he followed it to the banks of the river. Here, the prints being more distinct in the sand, he perceived that one of the hoofs was broken and defective, so he gave up the pursuit.

As he was returning to the camp, he came upon a gang of six horses, which immediately made for the river. He pursued them across the stream, left his rifle on the river bank, and putting his horse to full speed, soon overtook the fugitives. He attempted to noose one of them, but the lariat hitched on one of his ears, and he shook it off. The horses dashed up a hill, be
followed hard at their heels, when, of a sudden, he saw their tails whisking in the air, and they plunging down a precipice. It was too late to stop. He shut his eyes, held in his breath, and went over with them—neck or nothing. The descent was between twenty and thirty feet, but they all came down safe upon a sandy bottom.

He now succeeded in throwing his noose round a fine young horse. As he galloped alongside of him, the two horses passed each side of a sapling, at the end of the lariat was jerked out of his hand. He regained it, but an intervening tree obliged him again to let it go. Having once more caught it, and coming to a more open country, he was enabled to play the young horse with the line until he gradually checked and subdued him, so as to lead him to the place where he had left his rifle.

He had another formidable difficulty in getting him across the river, where both horses stood for a time in the mire, and Beatte was nearly unsuccessful from the want of the force of the current and the struggles of his captive. After much toil and trouble, however, he got across the stream, and brought his prize safe into camp.

For the remainder of the evening, the camp remained in a sort of excitement; nothing was talked of but the capture of wild horses; every youngster of the troop was for this harum-scarum kind of chase; every one promised himself to return from the campaign in triumph, bestirring one of these wild couriers of the prairies Beatte had suddenly risen to great importance; he was the prime hunter, the hero of the day. Offers were made him by the best mounted rangers, to let him ride their horses in the chase, provided he would give them a share of the spoil. Beatte bore his honors in silence, and closed with none of the offers. Our stammering, chattering, gasconading little Frenchman, however, made up for his taciturnity, by vaunting as much upon the subject as if it were he that had caught the horse. Indeed he held forth so learnedly in the matter, and boasted so much of the many horses he had taken, that he began to be considered an oracle; and some of the youngsters were inclined to doubt whether he were not superior even to the taciturn captive.

The excitement kept the camp awake later than usual. The hum of voices, interrupted by occasional peals of laughter, was heard from the groups around the various fires, and the night was considerably advanced before all had sunk to sleep.

With the morning dawn the excitement revived, and Beatte and his wild horse were again the gaze and talk of the camp. The captive had been tied all night to a tree among the other horses. He was again led forth by Beatte, by a long halter or lariat, and, on his manifesting the least restiveness, was, as before, jerked andw ried into passive submission. He appeared to be gentle and docile by nature, and had a beautifully mild expression of the eye. In his strange and forlorn situation, the poor animal seemed to seek protection and companionship in the very horse which had aided to capture him.

Seeing him thus gentle and tractable, Beatte, just as we were about to march, strapped a light pack upon his back, by way of giving him the feeling of an existence. The native pride and independence of the animal took fire at this indignity. He reared, and plunged, and kicked, and tried in every way to get rid of the degrading burden. The Indian was too potent for him. At every paroxysm he renewed the discipline of the halter, until the poor animal, driven to despair, threw himself prostrate on the ground, and lay motionless, as if acknowledging himself vanquished. A stage hero, representing the despair of a captive prince, could not have played his part more dramatically. There was absolutely a moral grandeur in it.

The imperturbable Beatte folded his arms, and stood for a time, looking down in silence upon his captive; until seeing him perfectly subdued, he nodded his head slowly, screwed his mouth into a sardonic smile of triumph, and, with a jerk of the halter, ordered him to rise. He obeyed, and from that time forward offered no resistance.

During that day he bore his pack patiently, and was led by the halter; but in two days he followed voluntarily at large among the supernumerary horses of the troop.

I could not look without compassion upon this fine young animal, whose whole course of existence had been so suddenly changed. From being a denizen of these vast pastures, ranging at will from plain to plain and mead to mead, cropping of every herb and flower, and drinking of every stream, he was suddenly reduced to perpetual and painful drudgery. He was to abandon his freedom, and to pass his life under the harness and the curb, amid, perhaps, the din and dust and drudgery of cities. The transition in his lot was so sudden as to take place in human affairs, and in the fortunes of towering individuals—one day, a prince of the prairies—the next day, a pack-horse!

CHAPTER XXI.

The Forging of the Red Fork.—The Drowsy Forests of the "Cross Timber."—Buffalo.

We left the camp of the wild horse about a quarter before eight, and, after steering nearly south for three or four miles, arrived on the banks of the Red Fork, about seventy-five miles, as we supposed, above its mouth. The river was about three hundred yards wide, wandering among sand-bars and shoals. Its shores, and the long sandy banks that stretched out into the stream, were printed, as usual, with the traces of various animals that had come down to cross it, or to drink its waters.

Here we came to a halt, and there was much consultation about the possibility of fording the river with safety, as there was an apprehension of quicksands. Beatte, who had been somewhat in the rear, came up while we were debating. He was mounted on his horse of the half-wild breed, and leading his captive by the bridle. He gave the latter in charge to Tonish, and without saying a word, urged his horse into the stream, and crossed it in safety. Everything was done by this man in a similar way, promptly, resolutely, and silently, without a previous promise or an after vaunt.

The troop now followed the lead of Beatte, and reached the opposite shore without any mishap, though one of the pack-horses wandering a little from the track, came near being swallowed up in a quicksand, and was with difficulty dragged to land.

After crossing the river, we had to force our way, for nearly a mile, through a thick cane-
brake, which, at first sight, appeared an impervious mass of reeds and brambles. It was a hard struggle; our horses were often to the saddle-girths in mire and water, and both horse and horseman harassed and torn by bush and brier. Falling, however, upon a buffalo track, we at length extricated ourselves and ascended a ridge of land, where we beheld a beautiful open country before us: while to our right, the belt of forest land, called "The Cross Timber," continued stretching away to the southward. The Captain had abandoned the open country, and struck into the forest land. It was the intention of the Captain to keep on southwest by south, and traverse the Cross Timber diagonally, so as to come out upon the edge of the great western prairie. 

The plan of the Captain was judicious; but he even was not informed of the nature of the country. Had he kept directly west, a couple of days would have carried us through the forest land, and we might then have had an easy course along the skirts of the upper prairies, to Red River. We were kept for many weary days toiling through a dismal series of rugged forests.

The Cross Timber is about forty miles in breadth, and stretches over a rough country of rolling hills, covered with scattered tracts of post-oak and black-jack; and some intervening valleys, which, at proper seasons, would afford good pasturage. It is very much cut up by deep ravines, which, in the rainy seasons, are the beds of temporary streams, tributary to the main rivers, and these are called "branches." The whole tract may present a pleasant aspect in the fresh time of the year, when the ground is covered with herbage; where the trees are in their green leaf, and the glens are enlivened by running streams. Unfortunately, we entered it too late in the season. The herbage was parched; the foliage of the scrubby forests was withered; the whole woodland prospect, as far as the eye could reach, had a brown and arid hue.

The fires made on the prairies by the Indian hunters, had frequented the forests, so that the smoke had formed transient flames along the dry grass, scorching and calcining the lower twigs and branches of the trees, and leaving them black and hard, so as to tear the flesh of man and horse that had to struggle through them. I shall not easily forget the mortifying touch, and the vexations of flesh and spirit, that we underwent occasionally, in our wanderings through the Cross Timber. It was like struggling through forests of cast iron.

After a tedious ride of several miles, we came out upon an open tract of hill and dale, interspersed with woodland. Here we were roused by the cry of buffalo! buffalo! The effect was something like that of the cry of a sail! a sail! at sea. It was not a false alarm. Three or four of these enormous animals were visible to our sight grazing on the slope of a distant hill.

There was a general movement to set off in pursuit, and it was with some difficulty that the vivacity of the younger men of the troop could be restrained. Leaving orders that the line of march should be preserved, we rode on foot to half a mile from the forest, and two of the officers departed at a quiet pace, accompanied by Beatte, and by the ever-forward Tonish; for it was impossible any longer to keep the little Frenchman in check, being half crazy to prove his skill and prowess in hunting the buffalo.

The intervening hills soon hid us from both the game and the huntsmen. We kept on our course in quest of a camping place, which was difficult to be found; almost all the channels of the streams being dry, and the country being destitute of fountain heads.

After proceeding some distance, there was again a cry of buffalo, and two were pointed out on a hill to the left. The Captain being absent, it was no longer possible to restrain the ardor of the young hunters. Several of them dashed, full speed, and soon disappeared among the ravines; the rest kept on, anxious to find a proper place for encampment.

Indeed we now began to experience the disadvantages of the season. The pasturage of the prairies was scanty and parched; the pea-vines which grew in the woody bottoms were withered, and most of the "branches" or streams were dried up. While wandering in this perplexity, we were overtaken by the Captain and all his party, except Tonish. They had pursued the buffalo for some distance without getting within sight, and had given up the chase, being fearful of fatiguing their horses, or being led off too far from the camp. The Captain, however, had galloped after them at headlong speed, and the last they saw of him, he was engaged, as it were, yard-arm and yard-arm, with a great buffalo bull, firing broadsides into him. "I tink dat little man crazy—somehow," observed Beatte, dryly.
Taking his rifle, the Captain repaired on foot to reconnoitre the country from the naked summit of one of the neighboring hills. In the meantime, the horses were hobbled and turned loose to graze; and wood was cut, and fires made, to protect the camp from the enemy.

Suddenly there was an alarm of fire in the camp! The flame from one of the kindling fires had caught to the tall dry grass; a breeze was blowing; there was danger that the camp would soon be wrapped in a light blaze. "Look to the horses!" cried one; "Drag away the baggage!" cried another. "Take care of the rifles and powder-horns!" cried a third. All was hurry, scurry, and uproar. The horses dashed wildly about; some of the men snatched away rifles and powder-horns, others dragged off saddles and saddle-bags. Meantime, no one thought of quelling the fire, nor indeed knew how to quell it. Beatte, however, and his comrades attacked it in the Indian mode, beating down the edges of the flame with stones and horse-dung, and endeavoring to prevent its spreading among the grass; the rangers followed their example, and in a little while the flames were happily quelled.

The fires were now properly kindled on places chosen which the dry grass had been cleared away. The horses, scattered about the hill-side, and on the sloping hill-side, cropping the scanty herbage. Tonish was preparing a sumptuous evening's meal from his buffalo meat, promising us a rich soup and a prime piece of roast beef, but we were doomed to experience another and more serious alarm.

There was an indissoluble cry from some rangers on the summit of the hill, of which we could only distinguish the words, "The horses! the horses!" the cry of the young men. Immediately a clamor of voices arose; shouts, inquiries, replies, were all mingled together, so that nothing could be clearly understood, and every one drew his own inference. "The Captain has started buffaloes," cried one, "and wants horses for the chase." Immediately a number of rangers seized their rifles, and scamped for the hill-top. "The prairie is on fire beyond the hill," cried another; "I see the smoke—the Captain means we shall drive the buffaloes into it before we break off into the woods." By this time a ranger from the hill had reached the skirts of the camp. He was almost breathless, and could only say that the Captain had seen Indians at a distance.

"Pawnees! Pawnees!" was now the cry among our wild-headed youths. "Drive the horses into camp!" cried one. "Saddle the horses!" cried another. "Form the line!" cried a third. There was now a scene of clamor and confusion that baffles all description. The rangers were seen scattering on the plains, cut off by the seener field in pursuit of their horses. One might be seen tugging his steed along by a halter; another without a hat, riding bare-backed; another driving a hobbled horse before him, that made awkward leaps like a kangaroo.

The alarm increased. Word was brought from the lower end of the camp that there was a band of Pawnees in a neighboring valley. They had shot old Ryan through the head, and were chasing his companion! "No! it was not old Ryan that was shot; it was one of the hunters that had been after the two buffaloes." "There are three hundred Pawnees just beyond the hill," cried one voice. "More, more!" cried another.

Our situation, shut in among hills, prevented our seeing to any distance, and left us a prey to all these rumors. A cruel enemy was supposed to be at hand, and an immediate attack apprehended. The horses by this time were driven into the camp, and were dashing about among the fires, and trampling with their hoofs. Every one endeavored to prepare for action; but here was the perplexity. During the late alarm of fire, the saddles, bridles, rifles, powder-horns, and other equipments, had been snatched out of their places, and thrown helter-skelter among the trees.

"Where is my saddle?" cried one. "Has any one seen my rifle?" cried another. "Who will lend me a ball?" cried a third, who was loading his piece. "I have lost my bullet pouch." "God's sake help me to get this horse!" cried another; "he's so restive I can do nothing with him." In his hurry and worry, he had put on the saddle the hind part before!

Some affected to swagger and talk bold; others said nothing at all, but went on steadily, preparing their horses and weapons, and on these I felt the most reliance. Some were evidently excited and elated with the idea of an encounter with Indians; and none more so than my young Swiss fellow traveler, who had a passion for wild adventure. Our man, Beatte, led his horses to the rear of the camp, placed his rifle against a tree, then seated himself by the fire in perfect silence. On the other hand, little Tonish, who was busy cooking, stopped every moment from his work to play the fanfaron, singing, swearing, and affecting an unusual hilarity, which made me strongly suspect that there was some little fright at bottom, to cause all this effervescence.

About a dozen of the rangers, as soon as they could saddle their horses, dashed off in the direction in which the Pawnees were said to have attacked the hunters. It was now determined, in case our camp should be assailed, to put our horses in the ravine in the rear, where they would be out of danger from arrow or rifle-ball, and to take our stand within the edge of the ravine. This would serve as a trench, and the trees and thickets with which it was bordered, would be sufficient to turn aside any shaft of the enemy. The Pawnees, besides, are wary of attacking any covert of the kind; their warfare, as observed, lies in the open prairie, where, mounted upon their fleet horses, they can swoop like hawks upon their enemy, or wheel about and discharge their arrows. Still I could not but perceive, that, in case of being attacked by such a number of these well-mounted and warlike savages as were said to be at hand, we should be exposed to considerable risk from the inexperience and want of discipline of our newly raised rangers, and from the very courage of many of the younger ones who seemed bent on adventure and exploit.

By this time the Captain reached the camp, and every one crowded round him for information. He informed us, that he had proceeded some distance on his reconnoitering expedition, and was slowly returning toward the camp, along the brow of a naked hill, when he saw something on the edge of a parallel hill, that looked like a man. He paused, and watched it; but it remained so perfectly motionless, that he supposed it to be a rock, or an object beyond the hill. He resumed his course, when it likewise began to move in a parallel direction. Another form now rose beside it, of some one who had either been lying down, or had just as-
enewed the other side of the hill. The Captain stopped and regarded them; they likewise stopped, and his doubts were increased by the suspicious movements of these men. He now put his foraging cap on the end of his rifle, and waved it in the air. They took no notice of the signal. He then walked on, until where the edge of a wood, which concealed him from their view. Stopping out of sight for a moment, he again looked forth, when he saw the two men passing swiftly forward. As the hill on which they were walking made a curve toward that on which he stood, it seemed as if they were endeavoring to head him before he should reach the camp. Doubting whether they might not belong to some large party of Indians, either in ambush or moving along the valley beyond the hill, the Captain hastened his steps homeward, being aware that on an eminent appearance between him and the camp, he called out to them to pass the word to have the horses driven in, as these are generally the first objects of Indian predation.

Such was the start of the alarm which had thrown the camp in commotion. Some of those who heard the Captain's narration, had no doubt that the men on the hill were Pawnee scouts, belonging to the band that had waylaid the hunters. Distant shots were heard at intervals, which were supposed to be fired by those who had sallied out to rescue their comrades. Several more rangers, having completed their equipments, now rode forth in the direction of the firing; others looked anxious and uneasy.

"If they are as numerous as they are said to be," said one, "and as well mounted as they generally are, we shall be a bad match for them with our jaded horses."

"Well," replied the Captain, "we have an encampment, and can stand a siege."

"Ay, but they may set fire to the prairie in the night, and burn us out of our encampment."

"We will then set up a counter-fire!"

The word was now passed that a man on horseback approached the camp. A sentinel was ordered to ride out; he returned, and said that the stranger was a Pawnee! He brought buffalo meat! This was announced by several voices as the horseman drew near.

It was, in fact, one of the rangers who had set off in the morning in pursuit of the two bufaloes. He rode into the camp, with the skins of the animals, and how much they had cost them in bringing one to the ground.

"Well, but the Pawnees—the Pawnees—where are the Pawnees?"

"What Pawnees?"

"The Pawnees that attacked you."

"No, no, attacked us.

"But have you seen no Indians on your way?"

"Oh yes, two of us got to the top of a hill to look out for the camp, and saw a fellow on an opposite hill cutting queer antics, who seemed to be an Indian."

"What was he?"

"I said Captain.

Here the bubble burst. The whole alarm had risen from this mutual mistake of the Captain and the two rangers. As to the report of the three hundred Pawnees and their attack on the hunters, it proved to be a wild fabrication, of which no further notice was taken; though the author deserved to have been sought out, and severely punished.

There being no longer any prospect of fighting, every one took up the right of eating; and here the stomachs throughout the camp were in unison. Tonish served up to us his promised regale of buffalo and buffalo beef. The soup was peppered most horribly, and the roast beef proved the bull to have been one of the most of the prairies; never did I have to deal with a tougher morsel. However, it was our first repast on buffalo meat, so we ate it with a lively faith; nor would our little Frenchman allow us any rest, until he had extorted from us an acknowledgment of the excellence of his cookery; though the pepper gave us the lie in our throats.

The night closed in without the return of old Ryan and his companion. We had become accustomed, however, to the aberrations of this old cock of the woods, and no further solicitude was expressed on his account.

After the fatigue and agitations of the day, the camp soon sunk into a profound sleep, excepting those on guard, who were more than usually on the alert; for we had heard of the Indians, and the certainty that we were in the midst of their hunting grounds, excited to constant vigilance. About half past ten o'clock we were all startled from sleep by a new alarm. A sentinel had fired off his musket and run into camp, crying that there were Indians at hand.

Every one was on his legs in an instant. Some seized their rifles; some were about to saddle their horses; some hastened to the Captain's lodge, but were ordered back to their respective fires. The sentinel was examined. He declared he had seen an Indian approach, crawling along the ground; whereupon he had fired upon him, and run into camp. The Captain gave it as his opinion, that the supposed Indian was a wolf; and as the sentinel for deserting his post, and obliged him to return to it. Many seemed inclined to give credit to the story of the sentinel; for the events of the day had predisposed them to apprehend lurking foes and sudden assaults during the darkness of the night. For a long time they sat round their fires, with rifle in hand, carrying on long, murmuring conversations, and listening for some new alarm. Nothing further, however, occurred; the voices gradually died away; the gossipers nodded and dozed, and sunk to rest; and, by degrees, silence and sleep once more stole over the camp.

CHAPTER XXII.

Beaver Dam.—Buffalo and Horse Tracks.—A Pawnee Trail.—Wild Horses.—The Young Hunter and the Bear.—Change of Rents.

On mustering our forces in the morning (October 23d), old Ryan and his comrade were still missing; but the Captain had such perfect reliance on the skill and resources of the veteran woodsman, that he did not think it necessary to take any measures with respect to him.

Our march this day lay through the same kind of rough rolling country; checked by brown
dreary forests of post-oak, and cut up by deep dry ravines. The distant fires were evidently increasing on the prairies. The wind had been at northwest for several days; and the atmosphere had become so smoky, as in the height of Indian summer, that it was difficult to distinguish objects at any distance.

In the course of the morning, we crossed a deep stream with a complete beaver dam, above three feet high, making a large pond, and doubtless containing several families of that industrious animal, though not one showed his nose above water. A boatman could not negotiate this amphibious commonwealth to be disturbed.

We were now continually coming upon the tracks of buffaloes and wild horses; those of the former tended invariably to the south, as we could perceive by the direction of the trampled grass. It was evident we were on the great highway of these migratory herds, but that they had chiefly passed to the southward.

Beatte, who generally kept a parallel course several hundred yards distant, a little to the right, to be on the lookout for game, and who regarded every track with the knowing eye of an Indian, reported that he had come upon a very suspicious trail. There were the tracks of men who wore Pawnee mocassins. He had scented the rays of the sun through the clouds of tobacco, such as the Indians use. He had observed tracks of horses, mingled with those of a dog; and a mark in the dust where a cord had been trailed along; probably the long bridle, one end of which the Indian horses suffer to trail on the ground. It was evident, they were not the tracks of wild horses. My anxiety began to revive about the safety of our veteran hunter Ryan, for I had taken a great fancy to this real old Leatherstocking; every one expressed a confidence, however, that wherever Ryan was, he was safe, and knew how to take care of himself.

We had accomplished the greater part of a weary day's march, and were passing through a glade of the oak openings, when we came in sight of six wild horses, among which I especially noticed two very handsome ones, a gray and a roan. They pranced about, with heads erect, and long flapping tails, offering a proud contrast to our poor, spiritless, travel-tired steeds. Having reconnoitred us for a moment, they set off at a gallop, pursued through a woody thicket, and out a little while, emerged once more to view, trotting up a slope about a mile distant.

The sight of these horses was a sore trial to the vaporing Tonish, who had his lariat and forked stick ready, and was on the point of launching forth in pursuit, on his jaded horse, when he was again ordered back to the pack-horses.

After a day's journey of fourteen miles in a southwest direction, we encamped on the banks of a small clear stream, on the northern border of the Cross Timbers; and on the edge of those vast prairies, that extend away to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. In turning loose the horses to graze, their bells were stuffed with grass to prevent their tinkling, lest it might be heard by some wandering horde of Pawnees.

Our course lay in six different directions, but without much success, as but one deer was brought into the camp. A young ranger had a long story to tell of his adventures. In skirting the thickets of a deep ravine he had wounded a buck, which he plainly heard to fall among the bushes. He stopped to fix the lock of his rifle, which was out of order, and to reload it; then advancing to the edge of the thicket, in quest of his game, he heard a low growling. Putting the branches aside, and stealing silently forward, he looked down into the ravine and beheld a huge bear dragging the carcass of the deer along the dry channel of a brook, and growling and snarling at four or five officious wolves, who seemed to have dropped in to take supper with him.

The ranger fired at the bear, but missed him. Bruin maintained his ground and his prize, and seemed disposed to make battle. The wolves, too, who were evidently sharp set, drew off to but a small distance. The young hunter felt dismayed at the wildness and darkness of the place, and the strange company he had fallen in with; so he quietly withdrew, and returned empty handed to the camp, where, having told his story, he was heartily banished by his more experienced comrades.

In the course of the evening, old Ryan came straggling into the camp, followed by his disciple, and as usual was received with hearty gratulations. He had reconnoitred the country, and longed camped out all night, but had found our trail in the morning, and followed it up. He had passed some time at the beaver dam, admiring the skill and solidity with which it had been constructed. "These beavers," said he, "are industrious little fellows. At night they would surround the most outworn varment as I know; and I'll warrant the pond was stocked with them."

"Aye," said the Captain, "I have no doubt most of the small rivers we have passed are full of beaver. I would like to come and trap on these waters all winter."

"But would you not run the chance of being attacked by Indians?" asked one of the company.

"Oh, as to that, it would be safe enough here, in the winter time. There would be no Indians here until spring. I should want no more than two companions. Three persons are safer than a large number for trapping beaver. They can keep quiet, and need seldom fire a gun. A bear would serve them for food, for two months, taking care to turn every part of it to advantage."

A consultation was now held as to our future progress. We had thus far pursued a western course; and, having traversed the Cross Timbers, we were on the edge of the Great Western Prairies. We were still, however, in a very rough country, where food was scarce. The season was so far advanced that the grass was withered, and the prairies yielded no pasturage. The pea-vines of the bottoms, also, which had sustained our horses for some part of the journey, were nearly gone, and for several days past the poor animals had fallen off wofully both in flesh and spirit. The Indian fires on the prairies were approaching us from north, and south, and west; they might spread also from the east, and have a scarred desert between us and the frontier, in which our horses might be famished.

It was determined, therefore, to advance no farther to the westward, but to shape our course more to the east, so as to strike the north fork of the Canadian, as soon as possible, where we hoped to find abundance of young cane, which, at this season of the year, affords the most nutritious pasturage for the horses; and, at the same time, attracts immense quantities of game. Here then we fixed on our tour to the Far West, being within little more than a day's march of the boundary line of Texas.
A TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Scarcity of Bread.—Encounter with Buffaloes.—Wild Turkeys.—Full of a Buffalo Bull.

The morning broke bright and clear, but the camp had nothing of its usual gaiety. The concert of the farmyard was at an end; not a cock crew, nor dog barked; nor was there either singing or laughing; every one pursued his avocations quietly and gravely. The novelty of the expedition was wearing off. Some of the young men were gathering as way-worn as their horses; and the most unacquainted to the hunter's life, began to repine at its privations. What they most felt was the want of bread; their rations of flour having been exhausted for several days. The old hunters, who had often experienced this want, made light of it; and Beatte, accustomed when among the Indians to live for months without it, considered it a mere article of luxury. "Bread," he would say scornfully, "is only fit for a child.

About an hour before eight o'clock, we turned our backs upon the Far West, and set off in a southeast course, along a gentle valley. After riding a few miles, Beatte, who kept parallel with us, along the ridge of a naked hill to our right, called out and made signals, as if something were coming round the hill to intercept us. Some who were near me cried out that it was a party of Pawnees. A skirt of thickets hid the approach of the supposed enemy from our view. We heard a trampling among the brushwood. My horse looked over the place, snorted and pricked up his ears, when presently a couple of large buffalo bulls, who had been alarmed by Beatte, came crashing through the brake, and making directly toward us. At sight of us they wheeled round, and scuttled along a narrow defile of the hill. In an instant half a score of rifles cracked off; there was a universal whoop and hallow, and away went half the troop, heller-skeleton in pursuit, and myself among the number. The most of us soon pulled up, and gave over a chase which led through birch and cedar, and break-neck ravines. Some few of the hunters persisted for a time; but eventually joined the line, slowly lagging one after another. One of them returned on foot; he had been thrown while in full chase; his rifle had been broken in the fall, and his horse, retaining the spirit of the rider, had been kept on after the buffalo. It was a melancholy predicament to be reduced to; without horse or weapon in the midst of the Pawnee hunting grounds.

For my own part, I had been fortunate enough recently, by a little exchange, to get possession of the best horse in the troop; a full-blooded sorrel of excellent bottom, beautiful form, and most generous qualities.

In such a situation it almost seems as if a man changes his nature with his horse. I felt quite like another being, now that I had an animal under me, spirited yet gentle, docile to a remarkable degree, and easy, elastic, and rapid in all its movements. In a few days he became almost as much attached to me as a dog would follow me when I dismounted, would come to me in the morning, and greeted and caressed; and would put his muzzle between me and my book, as I sat reading at the foot of a tree. The feeling I had for this my dumb companion of the prairies, gave me some faint idea of that attachment the Arab is said to entertain for the horse that has borne him about the deserts.

After riding a few miles further, we came to a fine meadow with a broad clear stream winding through it, on the banks of which there was excellent pasture. Here we at once came to a halt, in a beautiful grove of elms, on the site of an old Osage encampment. Scarcely had we dismounted, when a universal firing of rifles took place upon a large flock of turkeys, scattered about the grove, which proved to be a favorite roosting-place for these small birds. They flew to the trees, and sat perched upon their branches, stretching out their long necks, and gazing in stupid astonishment, until eighteen of them were shot down.

In the height of the carnival, word was brought that there were four buffaloes in a neighboring meadow. The turkeys were now abandoned for nobler game. The tired horses were again mounted, and urged to the chase. In a little while we came in sight of the buffaloes, looking like brown hillocks among the long green herbage. Beatte endeavored to get ahead of them and turn them toward us, that the inexperienced hunters might have a chance; they ran round the base of a rocky hill, that hid us from the sight. Some of us endeavored to cut across the hill, but became en Entrapped in a thick wood, matted with grape-vines. My horse, who, under his former rider, had hunted the buffalo, seemed as much excited as myself, and endeavored to force his way through the bushes. At length we extricated ourselves, and galloping over the hill, I found our little Frenchman, Tonish, curvetting on horseback round a great buffalo which he had wounded too severely to fly, and which he was keeping employed until we should come up. There was a mixture of the grand and the comic, in beholding this tremendous animal and his fantastic assailant. The buffalo stood with his shaggy front always presented to his foe; his mouth open, his tongue parched, his eyes like coals of fire, and his tail cleft with rage; every now and then he would make a faint rush upon his foe, who easily evaded his attack, capering and cutting all kinds of antics before him.

We now made repeated shots at the buffalo, but they glanced into his mountain of flesh without proving mortal. He made a slow and grand retreat into the shallow river, turning upon his assailants whenever they pressed upon him; and when in the water, took his stand there as if prepared to sustain a siege. A rifle-ball, however, more fatally lodged, sent a tremor through his frame. He turned and attempted to wade across the stream, but after tottering a few paces, slowly fell upon his side and expired. It was the fall of a heavy heart, and a sort of shamed look of the butcher that had effected it; but, after the first shot or two, we had reconciled it to our feelings, by the old plea of putting the poor animal out of his misery.

Two other buffaloes were killed this evening, but they were all bulls, the flesh of which is meagre and hard, at this season of the year. A fat buck yielded us more savory meat for our evening's repast.

CHAPTER XXV.

Riding the Wild Horse.

We left the buffalo camp about eight o'clock, and had a toilsome and harassing march of two hours, over ridges of hills, covered with a rugged meagre
forest of scrub-oaks, and broken by deep gullies.
Among the oaks I observed many of the most diminutive size; some not above a foot high, yet
bearing abundance of small acorns. The whole
of the Cross Timber, in fact, abounds with mast.
There is a pine-oak which produces an acorn pleasant to the taste, and ripening early in the
season.
About ten o'clock in the morning, we came to
where this line of rugged hills swept down into
a valley, through which flowed the north fork of
the Red River. A beautiful meadow about half
a mile wide, enameled with yellow autumnal
flowers, stretched for two or three miles along
the foot of the hills, bordered on the opposite side
by the river, whose bank was fringed with cotton-
wood trees, the bright foliage of which refreshed
and delighted the eye, after being scarred by the
contemplation of monotonous wastes of brown forest.
The meadow was finely diversified by groves
and clumps of trees, so happily dispersed, that
they seemed as if set out by the hand of art. As
we cast our eyes over this fresh and delightful
valley, we beheld a troop of wild horses, quietly
grazing on a green lawn, about a mile distant to
our right, while to our left, at nearly the same
distance, were several buffaloes; some feeding,
others running and romping among the high-
rich herbage, under the shade of a clump of cot-
tom-wood trees. The whole had the appearance
of a broad beautiful tract of pasture land, on the
highly ornamented estate of some gentleman
farmers, with his cattle grazing about the lawns
and meadows.
A council of war was now held, and it was
determined to profit by the present favorable op-
portunity, and try our hand at the grand hunting
manoeuvre, which is called ringing the wild horse.
This requires a large party of horsemen, well
mounted. They extend themselves in each di-
rection, singly, at certain distances apart, and
gradually form a ring of two or three miles in cir-
cumference, so as to surround the game. This
has to be done with extreme care, for the wild
horse is the most readily alarmed inhabitant of the
prairie, and can scent a hunter at a great dis-
tance, if to windward.
The ring being formed, two or three ride to-
ward, with the tempest that came sent from the
meadow, then turned and took to heavy-rolling
flight. They were soon overtaken; the promis-
cuous throng were pressed together by the con-
tracting sides of the valley, and away they went,
pell-mell, hurry-scurry, wild buffalo, wild horse,
wild huntsman, with clang and clatter, and whoop
and hallow, that made the forests ring.
At length the buffaloes turned into a green
brake on the river bank, while the horses dashed
up a narrow defile of the hills, with their pursuers
close at their heels. Beatte passed several of
them, having fixed his eye upon a fine Pawnee
horse, that had his ears slit, and saddle-marks
upon his back. He pressed him gallantly, but
lost him in the woods. Among the wild horses
was a fine black mare, with a magnificent tail,
in scrambling up the defile, she tripped and fell.
A young ranger sprang from his horse, and
seized her by the mane and muzzle. Another
ranger dismounted, and came to his assistance.
The mare struggled fiercely, kicking and striking with her fore feet, but a noose was
slipped over her head, and her struggles were in
vain. It was some time, however, before she gave
over rearing and plunging, and lashing out with
the themselves among
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and the two wings.
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her feet on every side. The two rangers then
led her along the valley by two long lariats,
which enabled them to keep at a sufficient
distance on each side to be out of the reach of
her hoofs, and whenever she struck out in one
direction, she was jerked in the other. In this way
she was finally subdued.
As to little Scararamouch Tonish, who had
marred the whole scene by his precipitancy,
he had been more successful than he deserved,
having managed to catch a beautiful cream-colored
colt, about seven months old, which had not
strength to keep up with its companions. The
mercurial little Frenchman was beside himself
with exultation. It was amusing to see him
with his prize. The colt would rear and kick, and
struggle to get free, when Tonish would take
him about the neck, wrestle with him, jump on
his back, and cut as many antics as a monkey
with a kitten. Nothing surprised me more, however,
than to witness how soon these poor animals,
thus taken from the untamed freedom of the
prairie, yielded to the dominion of man. In
the course of two or three days the mare and colt
went with the led horses, and became quite
de

CHAPTER XXVI.
Fording of the North Fork.—Drear scenery of the Cross
Timber.—Scamp of Horses in the Night.—Osage
War Party.—Effets of a Peace Heron.—Buffalo
—Wild Horse.

RESUMING our march, we forded the North
Fork, a rapid stream, and of a purity seldom to
be found in the rivers of the prairies. It evi-
dently had its sources in high land, well supplied
with springs. After crossing the river, we again
ascended among hills, from one of which we had
an extensive view over this belt of cross timber,
and a cheerful prospect it was; hill beyond hill,
forest beyond forest, all of one sad russet hue—
excepting that here and there a line of green
cotton-wood trees, sycamores, and willows,
marked the course of some streamlet through a
wooded dell. The next scene a sloping hillside,
forming a profile of one of those distant hills, formed
a characteristic object in the savage scene. To
the left, the eye stretched beyond this rugged
wilderness of hills, and ravines, and rugged
forests, to a lake about ten miles off, extending
in a clear blue line along the horizon. It was
like looking among rocks and breakers upon
a distant tract of tranquil ocean. Unluckily,
our route did not lie in that direction; we had to
traverse many a weary mile of the cross tim-

We encamped toward evening in a valley,
beside a scanty pool, under a scattered grove
of elms, the upper branches of which were fringed
with tufts of the mistletoe. In the course of
the night, they were continually repeated;
and about two hours before day, there was a
sudden stampede, or rush of horses, along the pur-
lie of the camp, with a snorting and neighing,
and clattering of hoofs, that startled most of the
rangers. That night, I listened in silence, when
until the sound died away like the rushing of
a blast. As usual, the noise was at first attribute
some to party of marauding Indians, but as the
day dawned, a couple of wild horses were seen in
a neighboring meadow, which scoured off on
being approached. It was now supposed that a

A TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES.
CHAPTER XXVII.

Foul Weather Encampment.—Anecdotes of Bear Hunting.—Indian Notions about Omens.—Scrappers Respecting the Dead.

On overtaking the troop, I found it encamping in a rich bottom of woodland, traversed by a small stream, running deep crumbling banks. A sharp cracking off of rifles was kept up for some time in various directions, upon a numerous flock of turkeys, scampering among the thickets, or perched upon the trees. We had not been long at a halt, when a drizzling rain ushered in the autumnal storm that had been brewing. Preparations were immediately made to weather it; our tent was pitched, and our saddles, saddlebags, packages of coffee, sugar, salt, and every thing else that could be damaged by the rain, were gathered under its shelter. Our men, Beatte, Toniah, and Antoine, drove stakes with forked ends into the ground, laid poles across them for rafters, and thus made a shed or penthouse, covered with bark and skins, sloping toward the wind, and open toward the fire. The range formers, also, were made of branches of trees and skins, or of blankets stretched on poles, supported by forked stakes, with great fires in front.

These precautions were well timed. The rain set in sullenly and steadily, and kept on, with slight interruptions, for two days. The brook, which flowed peacefully on our arrival, swelled into a turbid and boiling torrent, and the forest became little better than a mere swamp. The men gathered under their shelters of skins and blankets, or sat cowering round their fires; while columns of smoke curling up among the trees, and diffusing themselves in the air, entwined the haze through the woodland. Our poor, way-worn horses, reduced by weary travel and scanty pasture, lost all remaining spirit, and stood, with drooping heads, flagging ears, and half-closed eyes, doing nothing but make long, deliberate steps in the yellow autumnal leaves, at every shaking of the breeze, coming wavered down around them.

Notwithstanding the bad weather, however, our hunters were not idle, but during the intervals of the rain, sallied forth on horseback to prowl through the woodland. Every now and then the sharp report of a distant rifle boded the death of a deer. Venison in abundance was brought in. Some busied themselves under the sheds, flaying and cutting up the carcasses, or round the fires with spits and camp kettles, and a rude kind of feasting, or rather gormandizing, prevailed throughout the camp. The axe was continually at work, and wearied the forest with its echoes. Crack! some might would come down; in a few minutes its limbs would be blazing and cracking on the huge camp fires, with some luckless deer roasting before it, that had once sported beneath its shade.

The change of weather had taken sharp hold of our little Frenchman. His meagre frame, composed of bones and whip-cord, was racked with rheumatic pains and twinges. He had the toothache—the carache—his face was tied up—he had shooting pains in every limb; yet all seemed but a wish that remained. He was an incessant fidget about the fire, roasting, and stewing, and groaning, and swearing.

Our man Beatte returned grim and mortified, from hunting. He had come upon a bear of formidable dimensions, and wounded him with a rifle-shot. The bear took to the brook, which was swollen and rapid. Beatte dashed after him and assaulted him in the rear with his hunting-knife. At every blow the bear turned furiously upon him, with a terrific display of white teeth. Beatte, having a foothold in the brook, was enabled to push him off with his rifle, and, when he turned to swim, would flounder after, and attempt to hamstring him. The bear, however, succeeded in scrambling off among the thickets, and Beatte had to give up the chase.

This adventure, if it produced no game, brought up at least several anecdotes, round the evening fire, relative to bear hunting, in which the grizzly bear figured conspicuously. This powerful and ferocious animal is a favorite theme of hunter’s story, both among red and white men; and his enormous claws are worn round the neck of an Indian brave as a trophy more honorable than a human scalp. He is never seen below the upper prairies and the skirts of the Rocky Mountains. Other bears are formidable when wounded and provoked, but seldom make battle when allowed to escape. The grizzly bear alone, of all the animals of our Western wilds, is prone to unprovoked attacks, and this fierce and strong make him a formidable opponent; and his great tenacity of life often baffles the skill of the hunter, notwithstanding repeated shots of the rifle, and wounds of the hunting-knife.

One of these occasions, on one of these occasions, gave a picture of the accidents and hard shifts to which our frontier rovers are inured. A hunter,
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I drew from him various particulars concerning himself, which served to raise him in my estimation. His residence was on the Neosho, in an Osage hamlet, and it was into this intendency of a worthy missionary from the banks of the Hudson, by the name of Requa, who was endeavoring to instruct the savages in the art of agriculture, and to make husbandsmen and herdsmen of them. Until his visit to the mission of Requa in the course of my recent tour along the frontier, and had considered it more likely to produce solid advantages to the poor Indians than any of the mere praying and preaching missions along the border.

In this neighborhood, Pierre Beatte had his little farm, his Indian wife, and his half-breed children; and aided Mr. Requa in his endeavors to civilize the habits, and meliorate the condition of the Osage tribe. Beatte had been brought up a Catholic, and was inflexible in his religious faith; he could not pray with Mr. Requa, he said, but he could work with him, and he evinced a zeal for the good of his savage relations and neighbors. Indeed, though his father had been a Frenchman, and his mother a Shawnee, his colors had been in communion with the whites, he evidently was more of an Indian in his tastes, and his heart yearned toward his mother's nation. When he talked to me of the wrongs and insults that the poor Indians suffered in their intercourse with the rough settlers on the frontier; when he described the precarious and degraded state of the Osage tribe, diminished in numbers, broken in spirit, and almost living on suffering in the land where they once figure to occupy; and when he vents, his veins swell, and his nostrils distend with indignation; but he would check the feeling with a strong exertion of Indian self-command, and, in a manner, drive it back into his bosom.

He did not hesitate to relate an instance wherein he had joined his kindred Osages, in pursuing and avenging themselves on a party of white men who had committed a flagrant outrage upon them; and I found, in the encounter that took place, Beatte had shown himself the complete Indian.

He had more than once accompanied his Osage relations in their wars with the Pawnees, and related a skirmish which took place on the borders of these very hunting grounds, in which several Pawnees were killed. We should pass near the place, he said, and he would point out to me the unburied bones and skulls of the slain who were still to be seen there. The surgeon of the troop, who was present at our conversation, pricked up his ears at this intelligence. He was something of a phrenologist, and offered Beatte a handsome reward if he would procure him one of the skulls.

Beatte regarded him for a moment with a look of stern surprise.

"No!" said he at length, "I had heart strong enough—I care kill, but I die the dead alone!"

He added, that once in travelling with a party of white men, he had slept in the same tent with a doctor, and found that he had a Pawnee skull among his baggage: he at once renounced the doctor's tent, and moved his own. He tried to coax me," said Beatte, "but I say no, we must part—I no keep such company."

In the temporary depression of his spirits, Beatte gave way to those superstitious forebodings to which Indians are prone. He had sat for some time, with his cheek upon his hand, gazing into the fire. I found his thoughts were wandering back to his humble home, on the banks of
the Neosho; he was sure, he said, that he should find some one of his family ill, or dead, on his return: his left eye had twinkled, and he was in the habit of turning a hunter or a warrior from his course, or to fill his mind with apprehensions of impending evil. It is this superstitious propensity, common to the solitary and savage rovers of the wilderness, that gives such powerful influence to the prophet and the dreamer.

The Osages, with whom Beatte had passed much of his life, retain these superstitious fancies and rites in much of their original force. They all believe in the existence of the soul after its separation from the body, and that it carries with it all its mortal tastes and habits. At an Osage village in the neighborhood of Beatte, one of the chief warriors lost an only child, a beautiful girl, of a very tender age. All her playthings were buried with her. Her favorite little horse, and was killed, and laid in the grave beside her, that she might have it to ride in the land of spirits.

I will here add a little story, which I picked up in the course of my tour through Beatte's country, and which illustrates the superstitions of his Osage kindred. A large party of Osages had been encamped for some time on the borders of a fine stream, called the Nickanansas. Among them was a young hunter, one of the bravest and most graceful of the tribe, whose beauty was called the Flower of the Prairies. The young hunter left her for a time among her relatives in the encampment, and went to St. Louis, to dispose of the products of his hunting, and purchase ornaments for his bride. After an absence of some weeks, he returned to the banks of the Nickanansas, but the camp was no longer there; and the bare frames of the lodges and the brands of extinguished fires alone marked the place. At a distance he beheld a female seated, as if weeping, by the side of the stream. It was his affianced bride. He ran to embrace her, but she turned mournfully away. He dreaded lest some evil had befallen the camp.

"Where are our people?" cried he.

"They are gone to the banks of the Wagrusha."

"And what art thou doing here alone?"

"Waiting for thee."

"Then let us hasten to join our people on the banks of the Wagrusha."

He gave his pack to carry, and walked ahead, according to the Indian custom.

They came to where the smoke of the distant camp was seen rising from the woody margin of the stream. The girl seated herself at the foot of a tree. "It is not proper for us to return together," said she; "I will wait here."

The young hunter proceeded to the camp alone, and was received by his relations with gloomy countenances.

"What evil has happened," said he, "that ye all so sad?"

"Nothing," replied he.

He turned to his favorite sister, and bade her go forth, seek his bride, and conduct her to the camp.

"Alas!" cried she, "how shall I seek her? She died a few days since."

The relations of the young girl now surrounded him, weeping and wailing; but he refused to believe the dismal tidings.

"But a few moments since," cried he, "I left her happy and in health; come with me, and I will conduct you to her."

He led the way to the tree where she had seated herself, but she was no longer there, and his pack lay on the ground. The fatal truth struck him to the heart; he fell to the ground dead.

I give this simple story almost in the words in which it was related to me, as I lay by the fire in an evening encampment on the banks of the haunted stream where it is said to have happened.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A Secret Expedition.—Deer Bleating.—Magic Balls.

On the following morning we were rejoined by the rangers who had remained at the last encampment, to seek for the stray horses. They had tracked them for a considerable distance through bush and brake, and across streams, until they found them cropping the herbage on the edge of a prairie. Their heads were in the direction of the fort, and they were evidently grazing their way homeward, heedless of the unbounded freedom of the prairie so suddenly laid open to them.

About noon the weather held up, and I observed a mysterious consultation going on between our half-breeds and Tonish; it ended in a request that we would dispatch with the services of the latter for a few hours, and permit him to join his comrades in a grand foray. We objected that Tonish was too much disabled by aches and pains for such an undertaking; but he was wild with eagerness for the mysterious enterprise, and, when permission was given him, seemed to forget all his ailments in an instant.

In a short time the trio were equipped and on horseback; with rifles on their shoulders and handkerchiefs twisted round their heads, evidently bound for a grand scamper. As they passed by the different lodges of the camp, the vainglorious little Frenchman could not help boasting to the right and left of the great things he was about to achieve; though the taciturn Beatte, who rode in advance, would every now and then check his horse, and look back at him with an air of stern rebuke. It was hard, however, to make the loquacious Tonish play "Indian."

Several of the hunters, likewise, sallied forth, and the prime old woodman, Ryan, came back early in the afternoon, with ample spoil, having killed a buck and two fat does. I drew near to a group of rangers that had gathered round him as he stood by the spoil, and found they were discussing the merits of a stratagem sometimes used in deer hunting. This consists in imitating, with a small instrument called a bleat, the cry of the fawn, so as to lure the doe within reach of the rifle. There are bleats of various kinds, suited to cold or windy weather, and to the age of the fawn. The poor animal, deluded by these piteous cries, advances close up to the hunter. "I once bleated a doe," said a young hunter, "until it came within twenty yards of me, and presented a sure mark. I leveled my rifle three times, but had not the heart to shoot, for the poor doe looked so woefully.
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struggled forth and lighted up the forest, and the notes of the bugle gave signal to prepare for marching. Now began a scene of bustle, and clamor, and gayety. Some were scampering and brawling after their horses, some were riding in bare-backed, and driving in the horses of their comrades. Some were stripping the poles of the wet blankets that had served for shelters; others packing up with all possible dispatch, and loading the baggage horses as they arrived, while others were cracking off their dam pistol and charging them fresh, to be ready for the sport.

About ten o'clock, we began our march. I loitered in the rear of the troop as it forded the turbid brook, and defiled through the labyrinth of the forest. I always felt disposed to linger until the last straggler disappeared among the trees and the distant note of the bugle died upon the ear, that I might behold the wilderness relapsing into silence and solitude. In the present instance, the extensive prairie that extended beyond the forest, and which was covered with herds of buffalo. Of this prairie, and the animals upon it, Beattie had received intelligence a few days before, in his conversation with some of the peaceable and well-informed men of the region. The hunters might have the first dash at the game. They had contented themselves with killing four; though, if Tonish might be believed, they might have slain them by scores.

These tidings, and the buffalo meat brought home in evidence, spread excitement throughout the camp, and every one looked forward with joy to a buffalo hunt on the prairies. Tonish was again the oracle of the camp, and held forth by the hour to a knot of listeners poured round the fire, with their shoulders up to their ears. He was now more boastful than ever of his skill as a marksman. All his wish of success in the early part of our march he attributed to being "out of luck," if not "spell-bound;" and finding himself listened to with apparent credulity, he gave an instance of the kind, which he declared had happened to himself, but which was evidently a tale picked up among his relations, the Osages.

According to this account, when about fourteen years old, Tonish, the Indian who was attributed to being "out of luck," if not "spell-bound;" and finding himself listened to with apparent credulity, he gave an instance of the kind, which he declared had happened to himself, but which was evidently a tale picked up among his relations, the Osages.

To proceed with the story further, Tonish, said he, had a charmed life, and can only be killed by bullets of a particular kind.

The old Indian cast several balls for Tonish, but would not suffer him to be present on the occasion. The Indian of the ingredients and mystic ceremonials.

Provided with these balls, Tonish again set out in quest of the white deer, and succeeded in finding them. He tried at first with ordinary balls, but mischance not have been on day hunting, however, immediately brought a fine buck to the ground. Whereupon the rest of the herd immediately disappeared and were never seen again.

October 29th.—The morning opened gloomy and lowering; but toward eight o'clock the sun

Chapter XXIX.

The Grand Prairie.—A Buffalo Hunt.

After proceeding about two hours in a southerly direction, we emerged toward mid-day from the dreary belt of the Cross Timbers, and to our infinite delight beheld the green prairie stretching to the right and left before us. We distinctly traced the meandering course of the main Canadian, and various smaller streams, by the strips of green forest that bordered them. The landscape was vast and beautiful. There is always an expansion of feeling in looking upon these boundless and fertile wastes; but I was doubly conscious of it after emerging from our "close dungeon of innumerable boughs."

From a rising ground Beattie pointed out the place where he and his comrades had killed the buffaloes; and we beheld the long black objects moving in the distance, which he said were part of the herd. The Captain determined to shape his course to a woody bottom about a mile distant, and to encamp there for a day or two, by way of having a regular buffalo hunt, and getting a supply of their covering in the distance, which he said were part of the herd.
therefore, we diverged toward the prairie; traversing a small valley, and ascending a gentle swell of land. As we reached the summit, we beheld a gang of wild horses about a mile off. Beattie was immediately on the alert, and no longer thought of buffalo hunting. He was mounted on his powerful half-wild horse, with a lariat coiled at the saddle-bow, and set off in pursuit; while we remained on a rising ground watching his manoeuvres with great solicitude.

Taking advantage of a strip of woodland, he stole quietly along, so as to get close to them before he was perceived. The moment they caught sight of him a grand scamper took place. We watched him skirting along the horizon like a privateer in full chase of a merchantman; at length he passed over the brow of a ridge, and down into a shallow valley; in a few moments he was on the opposite hill, and close upon one of the horses. He was soon head and head, and appeared to be trying to noose his prey; but they both disappeared again below the hill, and we saw nothing more of them. It turned out afterward that he had nosed a powerful horse, but could not hold him, and had lost his lariat in the attempt.

While we were waiting for his return, we perceived two buffalo bulls descending a slope, toward a stream which ran clear and the foot a marsh, fringed with trees. The young Count and myself endeavored to get near them under covert of the trees. They discovered us while we were yet three or four hundred yards off, and turning about, ran across the rising ground. We supposed our horses across the ravine, and gave chase. The immense weight of head and shoulders causes the buffalo to labor heavily up hill; but it accelerates his descent. We had the advantage, therefore, and gained rapidly upon the fugitives, though it was difficult to get our horses to approach them, their very scent inspiring them with terror. The Count, who had a double-barreled gun, loaded with ball, fired, but it missed. The bulls now altered their course, and galloped down hill with headlong rapidity. As they ran, in different directions, we each singled out one and separated. I was provided with a brace of veteran brass-barrelled pistols, which I had borrowed at Fort Gibson, and which had evidently seen some service. Pistols are very effective in buffalo hunting, as the hunter draws up close to the animal, and fire at it while at full speed; whereas the long heavy rifles used on the frontier, cannot be easily managed, nor discharged with accurate aim from horseback. My object, therefore, was to get within pistol shot of the buffalo. This was no very easy matter. I was well mounted on a horse of excellent speed and bottom, that seemed eager for the chase, and soon overtook the game; but the moment he came near, he would keep sneering off, with ears forked and pricked forward, and throw himself at once into a state of exasperation and alarm. It was no wonder. Of all animals, a buffalo, when close pressed by the hunter, has an aspect the most diabolical. His two short black horns, curve out of a huge frontier of shaggy hair; his eyes glow like stars; his mouth opens, his tongue protrudes and drawn up into a half crescent; his tail is erect, and tufted and whisking about in the air, he is a perfect picture of mingled rage and terror.

It was with difficulty I urged my horse sufficiently near, when, taking aim, to my chagrin, both pistols missed fire. Unfortunately the locks of these veteran weapons were so much worn, that in the gallop, the priming had been shaken out of the pans. At the snapping of the last pistol I was close upon the buffalo, when, in his des-
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The ocean. The day, too, was overcast, so that I could not guide myself by the sun; my only guide was the tracker of the herd, a horse whose track I had made. In coming, though this I would often lose sight of, where the ground was covered with parched herbage.

To one unaccustomed to it, there is something inexplicably lonely in the solitude of a prairie. The loneliness of a forest seems nothing to it. There the view is shut in by trees, and the imagination is left free to picture some livelier scene beyond. But here we have an immense extent of landscape without a sign of human existence. With the coming of the night, far beyond the bounds of human habitation; we feel as if moving in the midst of a desert world. As my horse lagged slowly back over the scenes of our late scamper, and the delirium of the chase had passed away, I was peculiarly sensitive to these circumstances. The silence of the waste was now and then broken by the cry of a distant flock of pelicans, storkling like spectres over a shallow pool; sometimes by the sinister croaking of a raven in the air, while occasionally a scoundrel would settle to the ground, and having attained a safe distance, would sit down and howl and whine with tones that gave a dreariness to the surrounding solitude.

After pursuing my way for some time, I descried the cayuse deadly still, and soon recognized him to be the Count. He had been equally unsuccessful with myself; we were shortly after rejoined by our worthy companion, the Virtuoso, who, with spectacles on nose, had made two or three ineffectual shots from horseback.

We determined not to seek the camp until we had made one more effort. Casting our eyes about the surrounding waste, we descried a herd of buffalo about two miles distant, scattered apart, and grazing near a small strip of trees and bushes. It required but little stretch of fancy to picture them so many cattle grazing on the edge of a common, and that the grove might shelter some lonely farmhouse.

We now formed our plan to circumvent the herd, and getting on the other side of them, to hunt them in the direction where we knew our camp to be situated, otherwise, the pursuit might take us to such a distance as to render it impossible to find our way back nightfall. Taking a wide circuit, therefore, we moved slowly and cautiously, pausing occasionally, when we saw any of the herd desist from grazing. The wind fortunately set from them, otherwise they might have scented us and have taken the alarm. In this way we succeeded in getting the herd without disturbing it. It consisted of about forty head, bulls, cows, and calves. Separating to some distance from each other, we now approached slowly in a parallel line, hoping by degrees to steal near without exciting attention. They began, however, to move off quietly, stopping at every clump of trees, so that a bull that, unobserved by us, had been taking his siesta under a clump of trees to the left, roused himself from his hear, and hastened to join his companions. We were still at a considerable distance, but the game had taken the alarm. We quickened our pace, they broken into a gallop, and now commenced a full chase.

As the ground was level, they shouldered along with great speed, following each other in a line; two or three bulls bringing up the rear, the last of whom, from his enormous size and venerable frontlet, and beard of sunburnt hair, looked like the patriarch of the herd; and as if he might long have reigned the monarch of the prairie.

There is a mixture of the awful and the comic in the look of these huge animals, as they bear their great bulk forward, with an up and down motion of the unwieldy head and shoulders; their tail cocked up like the queue of Pantroon in a pantomime, the end whisking about in a fierce yet whimsical style, and their eyes glaring venomously with an expression of fright and fury.

For some time I kept parallel with the line, without being able to force my horse within pistol shot, so much had he been alarmed by the assault of the buffalo in the preceding chase. At length I succeeded, but was again balked by my pistols missing fire. My companions, whose horses were less fleet, and more way-worn, could not overtake the herd; at length Mr. L., who was in the rear of the line, and losing ground, levelled his double-barrelled gun, and fired a long raking shot. It struck a buffalo just above the loins, broke its back-bone, and brought it to the ground. He rose again, and having attained a safe distance, sat down and howled with tones that gave a dreariness to the surrounding solitude.

In pursuit of game, as those may judge of the action of an open level, the movements of the hunting prairie were regulated with flowering grass, the drier, or lower prairies, with short buffalo grass by hill and dale, not to be cut up by torrents after rain; in an even surface, the latter, as a rule, was an unwonted feature of our course, or rather a term and life. The prairie had a number of small holes in it, apt to sink the horse and rider.

The parts of the prairie, with a thin sheet of water on it, had to splash through, and were innumerable water holes in feet in diameter, filled with water, and the horse was continually struggling one side. On the part of the prairie, the buffalo, who preceded to his course, the prairie, were in search of a safer place from which to where a winter could be found across the whole depth, and forming crumbling cliffs of one of these the sand, half leaping, while I, seem- ingly, pulled up, and on the border of the hill, the windings of the road.

I was about to turn my steed back; here at first was the lowest gallop. I now saw a lonely waste, in which was surrounded by undulating undulating form, where, from the country and distinct features, I become bewildered, and the ruins in the wastes of
low-sportsman, the Virtuoso; who, being a man of universal adroitness, and withal, more experienced and hardened in the gentle art of venere, soon managed to carve out the tongue of the buffalo, and delivered it to me to bear back to the camp as a trophy.

CHAPTER XXX.

A Comrade Lost. — A Search for the Camp. — The Commissioner, the Wild Horse, and the Buffalo. — A Wolf Serrano.

Our solicitude was now awakened for the young Count. With his usual eagerness and impetuousity he had persisted in urging his jaded horse in pursuit of the herd, unwilling to return without having likewise killed a buffalo. In this way he had kept on following them, hither and thither, and occasionally firing an inexact shot, until by degrees horseman and herd became indistinct in the distance, and at length swelling ground and strips of trees and thickets hid them entirely from sight.

By the time my friend, the amateur, joined me, the young Count had been long lost to view. We held a consultation on the matter. Evening was drawing on. Were we to pursue him, it would be dark before we should overtake him, granting we did not entirely lose trace of him in the gloom. We should then be too much bewildered to find our way back to the encampment; even now, our return would be difficult. We determined, therefore, to hasten to the camp as speedily as possible, and send out our half-breeds, and some of the veteran hunters, skilled in cruising about the prairies, to search for our companion.

We accordingly set forward in what we supposed to be the direction of the camp. Our weary horses could hardly be urged beyond a walk. The twilight thickened upon us; the landscape grew gradually indistinct; we tried in vain to recognize various landmarks which we had noted in the morning. The Indian horse, and prairies are so similar as to baffle the eye of any but an Indian, or a practised woodman. At length night closed in. We hoped to see the distant glare of camp-fires; we listened to catch the sound of voices about the necks of the grazing horses. Once or twice we thought we distinguished them; we were mistaken. Nothing was to be heard but a monotonous concert of insects, with now and then the dismal howl of wolves mingling with the night breeze. We began to think of halting for the night, and bivouacking under the lee of some thicket. We had implements to strike a light; there was plenty of firewood at hand, and the tongues of our buffaloes would furnish us with a repast.

Just as we were preparing to dismount, we heard the report of a rifle, and shortly after, the notes of the bugle, calling up the night guard. Pushing forward in that direction, the camp fires soon broke on our sight, gleaming at a distance from among the thick groves of an alluvial bottom.

As we entered the camp, we found it a scene of rude hunters' revelry and wassail. There had been a grand day's sport, in which all had taken part. Eight buffaloes had been killed; roaring fires were blazing on every side; all hands were feasting upon roasted joints, broiled marrow-bones, and the juicy hump, far-famed among the epicures of the prairies. Right glad were the dismount and partake of the sturdy cheer, for we had been on our weary horses since morning without tasting food.

As to our worthy friend, the Commissioner, with whom we had parted company at the outset of this eventful day, we found him lying in cor-ner of the tent, much the worse for wear, in the course of a successful hunting match.

It seems that our man, Beatte, in his zeal to give the Commissioner an opportunity of distinguishing himself, and gratifying his hunting propensities, had mounted him upon his half-wild horse, and started him in pursuit of a huge buffaloo bull, that had already been frightened by the hunters. The horse, which was fearless as his owner, and, like him, had a considerable spice of devil in his composition, and who, besides, had been made familiar with the game, no sooner came in sight and scent of the buffalo, than he set off full speed, bearing the involuntary hunter hither and thither, and whither he would not—half hill and down hill—dashing gall and brooks—dashing through glens and gullies, until he came up with the game. Instead of shooting off, he crowded upon the buffalo. The Commissioner, almost in self-defence, discharged both barrels of a double-barreled gun into the enemy. The broadside struck the buffalo full in the breast, and brought him lumbering forward to the earth.

The Commissioner returned to camp, lauded on all sides for his signal exploit; but grievously battered and way-worn. He had been a hard rider perforce, and a victor in spite of himself. He turned a deaf ear to all compliments and congratulations; had but little stomach for the hunter's fare placed before him, and soon retreated to stretch his limbs in the tent, declaring that nothing should tempt him again to mount that half devil Indian horse, which had already eaten enough of buffalo hunting for the rest of his life.

It was too dark now to send any one in search of the young Count. Guns, however, were fired, and the bugle sounded from time to time, to guide him to the camp, if by chance he had strayed within hearing; but the night advanced without his making his appearance. There was not a star visible to guide him, and we concluded that wherever he was, he would give up wandering in the dark, and bivouac until daybreak.

It was a raw, overcast night. The carcasses of the buffaloes killed in the vicinity of the camp had drawn about it an unusual number of wolves, who kept up the most formidable concert of whining yells, prolonged into dismal cadences and inflexions, literally converting the surrounding waste into a howling wilderness more melancholy than the midnight howl of a wolf on a prairie. What rendered the gloom and wildness of the night and the savage concert of the neighboring waste the more dreary to us, was the idea of the lonely and exposed situation of our young and inexperienced companion. We trusted, however, that on the return of daylight, he would find his way back to the camp, and then all the events of the night would be remembered only as so many savoy gratifications of his passion for adventure.
CHAPTER XXXI.

A Hunt for a Lost Comrade.

The morning dawned, and an hour or two passed without any tidings of the Count. We began to feel uneasiness lest, having no compass to aid him, he might perplex himself and wander in some opposite direction. Stragglers are thus often lost for days; what made us the more anxious about him was, that he had no provisions with him, was totally unversed in "woodcraft," and liable to fall into the hands of some lurking or straggling party of savages.

As soon as our people, therefore, had made their breakfast, we set out for volunteers for a cruise in search of the Count. A dozen of the rangers, mounted on some of the best and freshest horses, and armed with rifles, were soon ready to start; our half-breeds Beatte and Antoine also, with our little mongrel Frenchman, were zealous in the cause; so Mr. L. and myself, taking the lead, set to show the way to the scene of our little hunt where we had parted company with the Count, we all set out across the prairie. A ride of a couple of miles brought us to the carcasses of the two buffaloes we had killed. A legion of ravens were circling the place; our approach they reluctantly drew off, skulking with a caitiff look to the distance of a few hundred yards, and there awaiting our departure, that they might return to their banquet.

All the way to the spot whence the young Count had continued the chase alone. It was like putting hounds upon the scent. They immediately distinguished the track of his horse amidst the trampings of the buffaloes, and set off at a round pace, following the eye in a nearly straight course, for upward of a mile, when they came to where the herd had divided, and run hither and thither about a meadow. Here the track of the horse's hoofs wandered and doubled and often crossed each other; our half-breeds were like hounds at fault. While we were at a halt, waiting until the track was thickened, Beatte suddenly gave a short Indian whoop, or rather yelp, and pointed to a distant hill. On regarding it attentively, we perceived a horseman on the summit. "It is the Count!" cried Beatte, and the party turned back, followed by the whole company. In a few moments he checked his horse. Another figure on horseback had appeared on the brow of the hill. This completely altered the case. The Count had wandered off alone; no other person had been missing from the camp. If one of these horsemen were indeed the Count, the other must be an Indian. If an Indian, in all probability a Pawnee. Perhaps they were both Indians; scouts of some party lurking in the vicinity. While these and other suggestions were hastily discussed, the two horsemen glided down from the profile of the hill, and we lost sight of them. One of the rangers suggested that there might be a straggling party of Pawnees behind the hill, and that the Count might have fallen into their hands. The idea had an electric effect upon the little troop. In an instant every heart was put in full speed, the half-breeds leading the way; the young rangers as they rode set up wild yelps of exultation at the thought of having a brush with the Indians. A neck or nothing gallop brought us to the skirts of the hill, and revealed our mistake. In a ravine we found the two horsemen standing by the carcass of a buffalo which they had killed. They proved to be two rangers, who, unperceived, had left the camp a little before us, and had come here on a direct line, while we had made a wide circuit about the prairie.

This episode being at an end, and the sudden excitement being over, we slowly and soberly retraced our steps to the meadow. For the first time before our half-breeds could again get on the track of the Count. Having at length found it, they succeeded in following it through all its windings, until they came to where it was no longer mixed with the traces of the young Count; they became single and separate, wandering here and there about the prairies, but always tending in a direction opposite to that of the camp. Here the Count had evidently given up the pursuit of the herd, and had endeavored to find his way to the encampment, but had become bewildered as the evening shades thickened around him, and had completely mistaken the points of the compass.

In all this quest our half-breeds displayed that quickness of eye, in following up a track, for which Indians are noted. He, especially, was as staunch as a veteran hound. Sometimes he would keep forward on an easy trot; his eyes fixed on the ground a little ahead of his horse, clearly distinguishing the prints in the herbs which to me were invisible, excepting on the closest inspection. Sometimes, however, he would walk his horse slowly, regarding the ground intensely, where to my eye nothing was apparent. Then he would dismount, lead his horse by the bridle, and advance cautiously step by step, with his face turned toward the earth, just catching, here and there, a casual indication of the vantage ground to guide him onward. In some places where the soil was hard and the grass withered, he would lose the track entirely, and wander backward and forward, and right and left, in search of it; returning occasionally to the place where he had lost sight of it, to take a new departure. If this failed he would examine the banks of the neighboring streams, or the sandy bottoms of the ravines, in hopes of finding tracks where the Count had crossed. When he again came upon the tracks he would mount his horse but in the same manner as before, according to his usual course. At length, after crossing a stream, in the crumbling banks of which the hoofs of the horse were deeply dented, we came upon a high dry prairie, where our halfbreeds were completely lost. A dry grass, as it was to be discerned, though they searched in every direction; and Beatte, at length coming to a pause, shook his head despondingly.

Just then a small herd of deer, roused from a neighboring ravine, came bounding by us. Beatte sprang from his horse, levelled his rifle, and wounded one slightly, but without bringing it to the ground. The report of the rifle was almost immediately followed by a long hallow from a distance. We looked around but could see nothing. Another long hallow was heard, and at length a horseman was observed, coming on among the trees of forest. A single glance showed him to be the young Count; there was a universal shout and scrambler, every one setting off full gallop to greet him. It was a joyful meeting to both parties; for, such joy had been felt by us all on account of his youth and inexperience, and for his part, with all his love of adventure, he seemed right glad to be once more among his friends.

As we supposed, he had completely mistaken his course on the preceding evening, and had wandered about until dawn, when he was bidding bivouacking. The night was cold, yet he feared to make a fire, lest it might betray him to some
furling party of Indians. Hobbling his horse with his pocket handkerchief, and leaving him to graze on the margin of the prairie, he clambered into a tree, fixed his saddle in the fork of the branches, and placing himself securely with his back against the trunk, prepared to pass a dreary and anxious night, regaled occasionally with the howlings of the wolves. He was agreeably disappoointed. The fatigue of the day soon brought on a sound sleep; he had delightful dreams about his home in Switzerland, nor did he wake until it was broad daylight.

He then descended from his roosting-place, mounted his horse, and rode to the wooded summit of a hill, whence he beheld a trackless wilderness around him, but, at no great distance, the Grand Canadian, winding its way between borders of forest land. The sight of this river consolcd him with the idea that, should he fail in finding his way back to the camp, or, in being found by some party of his comrades, he might follow the course of the stream, which could not fail to conduct him to some frontier post, or Indian hamlet. So closed the events of our hap-hazard buffalo hunt.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A Republic of Prairie Dogs.

On returning from our expedition in quest of the young Count, I learned that a burrow, or village, as it is termed, of prairie dogs had been discovered on the level summit of a hill, about a mile from the camp. Having heard much of the habits and peculiarities of these little animals, I determined to pay a visit to the community. The prairie dog is, in fact, one of the curiosities of the Far West, about which travellers delight to tell marvellous tales, endowing him at times with something of the polite and social habits of a rational being, and giving him systems of civil government and domestic economy, almost equal to what they used to bestow upon the beaver.

The prairie dog is an animal of the coney kind, and about the size of a rabbit. He is of a sprightly mercurial nature; quick, sensitive, and somewhat petulant. He is very gregarious, living in large communities, sometimes of several acres in extent, where innumerable little heaps of earth show the entrances to the subterranean cells of the inhabitants, and the well beaten tracks, like lanes and streets, show their mobility and restlessness. According to the accounts given of them, they would seem to be continually full of sport, business, and public affairs; whispering about hither and thither, as if on gossiping visits to each other's houses, or congregating in the cool of the evening, or after a shower, and gamboling together in the open air. Sometimes, especially when the moon shines, they pass half the night in revelry, barking or yelping with short, quick, yet weak tones, like those of very young puppies. While in the height of their playfulness and clamour, however, should there be the least alarm, they all vanish into their cells in an instant, and the village remains blank and silent. In case they are hard pressed by their pursuers, without any hope of escape, they will assume a pugnacious air, and a most whimsical look of impotent wrath and defiance.

The prairie dogs are not permitted to remain sole and undisturbed inhabitants of their own homes. Owls and rattlesnakes are said to take up their abodes with them; but whether as invited guests or unwelcome intruders, is a matter of controversy. The former are indolent and would seem to partake of the character of the hawk; for they are taller and more erect on their legs, more alert in their looks and rapid in their flight than ordinary owls, and do not confine their excursions to the night, but sally forth in broad daylight.

Some say that they only inhabit cells which the prairie dogs have deserted, and suffered to go to ruin, in consequence of the death in them of some relative, for, they would make out this little animal to be endowed with keen sensibilities, that will not permit it to remain in the dwelling where it has witnessed the death of a friend. Other fanciful speculators represent the owl as a kind of housekeeper to the prairie dog; and, from having a note very similar, insinuate that it acts, in a manner, as family preceptor, and teaches the young litter to bark.

As to the rattlesnake, nothing satisfactory has been ascertained of the part he plays in this most interesting household; though he is considered as little better than a syctophant and sharper, that winds himself into the concerns of the honest, credulous little dog, and takes him in most sadly. Certain it is, if he acts as a dole-eater, he occasionally solaces himself with more than the usual perquisites of his order; as he is now and then detected with one of the younger members of the family in his maw.

Such are a few of the particulars that I could gather about the domestic economy of this little republic of prairie dogs, who, with his pigmy republican, appears to be a subject of much whimsical speculation and burlesque remarks among the hunters of the Far West.

It was toward evening that I set out with a companion, to visit the village in question. Unluckily, it had been invaded in the course of the day by some of the rangers, who had shot two or three of its inhabitants, and thrown the whole sensitive community in confusion. As we approached, we could perceive numbers of the inhabitants seated at the entrances of their cells, while sentinels seemed to have been posted on the outskirts, to keep a look-out. At sight of us, the picket guards scampers in and gave the alarm; whereupon every inhabitant gave a short yelp, or bark, and dived into his hole, his heels twinkling in the air as he had thrown a somersault.

We traversed the whole village, or republic, which covered an area of about thirty acres; but not a whisper of an inhabitant was to be seen. We probed their cells as far as the rummets of our rifles would reach, but could unearth neither dog, nor owl, nor rattlesnake. Moving quietly to a little distance, we lay down upon the ground, and watched for a long time, silent and motionless. By and by, a cautious old burgher would slowly put forth the end of his nose, would stiffen it, and draw it in again. Another, at a greater distance, would emerge entirely; but, catching a glance of us, would throw a somersault, and plunge back again into his hole. At length, some who resided on the opposite side of the village, taking courage from the continuity of his nose, would stretch forth, and hurry off to a distant hole, the residence possibly of some family connection, or gos- siping friend, about whose safety they were solicitous, or with whom they wished to compare notes about the late occurrences.
CHAPTER XXXIII.

WHILE breakfast was preparing, a council was held as to our future movements. Symptoms of discontent had appeared for a day or two past among the rangers, most of whom, unaccustomed to the life of the prairies, had become impatient of its privations, as well as the restrictions of the camp. The want of bread had been felt severely, and they were weary with constant travel. In fact, the novelty and excitement of the expedition were at an end. They had hunted the deer, the bear, the elk, the buffalo, and the wild horse; and had no further object of leading interest to look forward to. A general inclination prevailed, therefore, to turn homeward.

Grave reasons disposed the Captain and his officers to adopt this resolution. Our horses were generally much jaded by the fatigues of travelling and hunting, and had fallen away sadly for want of good pasturage, and from being tethered at night, to protect them from Indian depredations. The late rains, too, seemed to have washed away the nourishment from the scanty herbage that remained; and since our encampment during the storm, our horses had lost flesh and strength rapidly. With every possible care, horses, accustomed to grain, and to the regular and plentiful nourishment of the stable and the farm, lose heart and condition in travelling on the prairies. In all expeditions of the kind we were engaged in, the hardy Indian horses, which are generally mustangs, or a cross of the wild breed, are to be preferred. They can stand all fatigues, hardships, and privations, and thrive on the grasses and wild herbage of the plains.

Our men, too, had acted with little forethought; galloping off whenever they had a chance, after the game that we encountered while on the march. In this way they had strained and wearied their horses, instead of husbanding their strength and spirits. On a tour of the kind, horses should as seldom as possible be put off of a quiet walk; and the average day’s journey should not exceed ten miles.

We had hoped, by pushing forward, to reach the bottoms of the Red River, which abound with young cane, a most nourishing forage for cattle at this season of the year. It would now take us several days to arrive there, and in the meantime many of our horses would probably give out. It was the time, too, when the hunting parties of Indians set fire to the prairies; the herbage, throughout this part of the country, was in that parched state, favorable to combustion, and there was daily more and more risk that the prairies between us and the fort would be set on fire by some of the return parties of Osages, and a scorched desert left for us to traverse. In a word, we had started too late in the season, or loitered too much in the early part of our march, to accomplish our originally intended tour; and there was imminent hazard, if we continued on, that we should lose the greater part of our horses; and, besides suffering various other inconveniences, be obliged to return on foot. It was determined, therefore, to give up all further progress, and, turning our faces to the southeast, to make the best of our way back to Fort Gibson.

This resolution being taken, there was an immediate eagerness to put it into operation. Several horses, however, were missing, and among others those of the Captain and the Surgeon. Persons had gone in search of them, but the morning advanced without any tidings of them. Our party in the meantime, being all ready for a march, the Commander determined to push on in the advance, with his original escort of a lieutenant and fourteen rangers, leaving the Captain to come on at his convenience, with the main body. At ten o’clock we accordingly started, under the guidance of Beattie, who had hunted over this part of the country, and knew the direct route to the garrison.

For some distance we skirted the prairie, keeping a southeast direction; and in the course of our ride we saw a variety of wild animals, deer, white and black wolves, buffaloes, and wild horses. To the latter, our half-breeds and Tonish gave ineffectual chase, only serving to add to the weariness of those already jaded steeds. Indeed it is rarely that any but the weaker and least fleet of the wild horses are taken in these hard racings; while the horse of the Indian is prone to be knocked up. The latter, in fact, risks a good horse to catch a bad one. On this occasion, Tonish, who was a perfect imp on horseback, and noted for ruining every animal he befriend, succeeded in laming and almost disabling the powerful gray on which we had mounted him at the outset of our tour.

After proceeding a few miles, we left the prairie, and struck to the east, taking what Beattie pronounced an old Osage war-track. This led us through a rugged tract of country, overgrown with scrubbed forests and entangled thickets, and intersected by deep ravines, and brisk-running streams, the sources of Little River. About three o’clock, we encamped by some pools of water in a small valley, having come about fourteen miles. We had brought on a supply of provisions from our last camp, and supped heartily upon stewed buffalo meat, roasted venison, beignets, or frritos of flour fried in bear’s lard, and tea made of a species of the golden-rod, which we had found, throughout our whole route,
almost as grateful a beverage as coffee. Indeed our coffee, which, as long as it held out, had been served up with every meal, according to the custom of the West, was by no means a beverage to boast of. It was roasted in a frying-pan, without much care, pounded in a lantern back, with a round stone, and boiled in our prime and almost only kitchen utensil, the camp kettle, in "branch" or brook water; which, on the prairies, is deeply colored by the soil, of which it absorbs an infinite number of particles in a stream of solution and suspension. In fact, in the course of our tour, we had tasted the quality of every variety of soil, and the draughts of water we had taken might vie in diversity of color, if not of flavor, with the tinctures of an apothecary's shop. Pure, limpid water is a rare luxury on the prairies, at least; at this season of the year. Supper over, we placed sentinels about our scanty and diminished camp, spread our skins around the fires, and with the tea, now largely destitute of foliage, and slept soundly until morning.

We had a beautiful daybreak. The camp again resounded with cheerful voices; every one was animated with the thoughts of soon being at the fort, and revelling on bread and vegetables. At the first approach of the morning man, Beatte, seemed inspired on this occasion; and as he drove up the horses for the march, I heard him singing, in nasal tones, a most forlorn Indian ditty. All this transient gayety, however, soon died away amidst the fatigues of our march, which lay through the same kind of rough, thicketed country as that of yesterday. In the course of the morning we arrived at the valley of the Little River, where it wound through a broad bottom of alluvial soil. At present it had overflowed its banks, and inundated a great part of the valley. The difficulty was to distinguish the stream from the broad sheets of water it had formed, and to find a place where it might be forded; for it was in general deep and miry, with abrupt crumbling banks. Under the pilotage of Beatte, therefore, we wandered for some time among the links made by this winding stream, in what appeared to us a trackless labyrinth of swamps, thickets, and standing pools. Sometimes our path was shut with tall prairie grass, and the utmost difficulty, having to toil for a great distance, with the water up to the stirrups, and beset at the bottom with roots and creeping plants. Sometimes we had to force our way through dense thickets of brush and grapevines, which almost closed us out of our saddles.

In one place, one of the pack-horses sunk in the mire and fell on his side, so as to be extricated with great difficulty. Wherever the soil was bare, or there was a sand-bank, we beheld innumerable tracks of bears, wolves, wild horses, turkeys, and water fowl; showing the abundant sport this valley might afford to the hunter. Our men, however, were satied with hunting, and too weary to be excited by these signs, which, in the outset of our tour would have put them in a fever of anticipation. Their only desire, at present, was to push on doggedly for the fortress.

At length we succeeded in finding a fordable place, where we all crossed Little River, with the water and mire to the saddle-girths, and then had a fair and smooth prairie for the wet baggage, and give the horses time to rest.

On resuming our march, we came to a pleasant little meadow, surrounded by groves of elms and cotton-wood trees, in the midst of which was a fine black horse grazing. Beatte, who was in the advance, beckoned us to halt; and, being mounted on a mare, approached the horse gently, step by step, imitating the whinny of the animal with admirable exactness. The noble courser of the prairie gave, for a time, sniffed the air, neighed, pricked up his ears, and trotted and round the mare in gallant style; but kept at too great a distance for Beatte to throw the lariat. He was a magnificent object, in all the pride and glory of his nature. It was admirable to see the leaps at which, in shape of his head; the freedom of every movement; the elasticity with which he trod the meadow. Finding it impossible to get within noosing distance, and seeing that the horse was reeling and growing alarmed, Beatte slid down from his saddle, levelled his rifle across the back of his mare, and took aim, with the evident intention of creasing him. I felt a throb of anxiety for the safety of the noble animal, and called out to Beatte to desist. It was too late; the trigger snapped; luckily he did not shoot with his usual accuracy, and I had the satisfaction to see the coal-black steed dash off unharmed into the forest.

On leaving this valley, we ascended among broken hills and rugged, ragged forests, equally harassing to horse and rider. The ravines, too, were of red clay, and often so steep that, in descending, the horses would put their feet together and fairly slide down, and then scramble up the opposite side like cats. Here and there, among the thickets in the valleys, we met with sloes and persimmon, and the eagerness with which our men broke from the line of march, and ran to gather these poor fruits, showed how much they craved some vegetable convenience, after living so long exclusively on animal food.

About half past three we encamped near a brook in a meadow, where there was some scanty herbage for our half-starved horses. As Beatte had killed a fat doe in the course of the day, and one of our company a fine turkey, we did not lack for provisions.

It was a splendid autumn evening. The horizon, after sunset, was of clear apple green, rising into a delicate lake which gradually lost itself in the sky. The clouds, of a mahogany color, edged with amber and gold, floated in the west, and just beneath it was the evening star, shining with the pure brilliancy of a diamond. In unison with this scene, there was an evening concert of insects of various kinds, all blended and harmonized into one sweet and somewhat melancholy note, which I have always found to have a soothing effect upon the mind, disposing it to quiet musings.

The night that succeeded was calm and beautiful. There was a faint light from the moon, increasing, in its second quarter, and after it had set, a fine starlight, with shooting meteors. The tired rangers, after a little murmuring conversation round their fires, sank to rest at an early hour, and I seemed to have the whole scene to myself. It is delightful, in this bivouacking on the prairies, to lie awake and gaze at the stars; it is like watching them from the deck of a ship at sea, when at one view we have the whole cope of heaven. One realizes, in such lonely scenes, that companionship, like all other capacities, is a most important element in our being. The inconvenience which made astronomers of the eastern shepherds, as they watched their flocks by night. How often, while contemplating their mild and benignant radiance, I have called to mind the exquisite text of Job: "Canst thou bind
CHAPTER XXXIV.

Old Creek Encampment—Scurvy of Provender—Bad Weather—Wary Marching—A Hunter's Bridge.

The country through which we passed this morning (November 2d), was less rugged, and of more agreeable aspect than that we had lately traversed. At eleven o'clock, we came out upon an extensive prairie, and about six miles to the left beheld a long line of green forest, marking the course of the north fork of the Arkansas. On the edge of the prairie, and in a spacious grove of noble trees which overshadowed a small brook, were the traces of an old Creek hunting camp. On the back of the trees were rude delineations of hunters and squaws, scrawled with charcoal; together with various signs and hieroglyphics, which our half-breds interpreted as indicating that from this encampment the hunters had returned home.

In this beautiful camping ground we made our mid-day halt. While reposing under the trees, we heard a shouting at no great distance, and presently the Captain and the main body of the rangers, whom we had left behind two days since, emerged from the thickets, and crossing the brook, were joyfully welcomed into the camp. The Captain and the Doctor had been unsuccessful in the search after their horses, and were obliged to march for the greater part of the time on foot; yet they had come on with more than ordinary speed.

We resumed our march about one o'clock, keeping easterly, and approaching the north fork obliquely; it was late before we found a good camping place; the beds of the streams were dry, the prairies, too, had been burnt in various places, by Indian hunting parties. At length we found water in a small aluvial bottom, where there was tolerable pasturage.

On the following morning there were flashes of lightning in the east, with low, rumbling thunder, and clouds began to gather about the horizon. Beattie prognosticated rain, and that the wind would veer to the north. In the course of our march, a flock of brant were seen overhead, flying from the north. "There comes the wind!" said Beattie; and, in fact, it began to blow from that quarter almost immediately, with occasional showers of rain. About half past nine o'clock, we forded the north fork of the Canadian, and encamped about one, that our hunters might have time to beat up the neighborhood for game; for a serious scarcity began to prevail in the camp. Most of the rangers were, young, heedless, and inexperienced, and could not be prevailed upon, while provisions were low, to provide for the future, by jerking meat, or carrying away any on their horses. On leaving an encampment, they would leave quantities of meat lying about, trusting to Providence and their riles for a future supply. The consequence was, that any temporary scarcity of game, or ill-luck in hunting, produced almost a famine in the camp. In the present instance, they had left loads of buffalo meat at the camp on the great prairie; and, having ever since been on a forced march, leaving no time for hunting, they were now destitute of supplies, and pinched with hunger. Some had not eaten any thing since the morning of the preceding day. Nothing would have persuaded them, when reveling in the abundance of the buffalo encampment, but they would so soon be in such famishing plight.

The hunters returned with indifferent success. The game had been frightened away from this part of the country by Indian hunting parties, which had preceded us. Ten or a dozen wild turkeys were brought in, but no deer had been seen. The rangers began to think turkeys and even prairie-hens deserving of attention; game which they had hitherto considered unworthy of their rifle.

The night was cold and windy, with occasional sprinklings of rain; but we had roaring fires to keep us comfortable. In the night, a flight of wild geese passed over the camp, making a great cackling in the air; symptoms of approaching winter.

We set forward at an early hour the next morning, in a northeast course, and came upon the trace of a party of Creek Indians, which enabled our poor horses to travel with ease. We entered upon a fine champagne country. From a rising ground we had a prospect of the extensive prairies, finely diversified by groves and tracts of woodland, and bounded by long lines of distant hills, all clothed with the rich mellow tints of autumn. Game, too, was more plenty. A fine buck sprang up from among the herbage on our right, and dashed off at full speed; but a young ranger by the name of Childers, who was on foot, levelled his rifle, discharged a ball that broke the neck of the bounding deer, and sent him tumbling head over heels forward. Another buck and a doe, besides several turkeys, were killed before we came to a halt, so that the hungry mouths of the troop were once more supplied.

About three o'clock we encamped in a grove after a forced march of twenty-five miles, that had proved a hard trial to the horses. For a long time after the head of the line had encamped, the rest kept straggling in, two and three at a time; one of our pack-horses had given out, about nine miles back, and a pony belonging to Beattie, shortly after, was down. The other horses looked so gaunt and feeble, that doubts were entertained of their being able to
reach the fort. In the night there was heavy rain, and the morning dawned cloudy and dismal. The camp resounded, however, with something of its former gaiety. The rangers had sipped wine, and were renovated in spirits, anticipating a speedy arrival at the garrison. Before we set forward on our march, Beatte returned, and brought his pony to the camp with great difficulty. The pack-horse, however, was completely knocked up and had to be abandoned. The wild horses had cast her foal, through exhaustion, and was not in a state to go forward. She and the pony, therefore, were left at this encampment, where there was water and good pasturage; and where there would be a chance of their reviving, and being afterward sought out and brought to the garrison.

We set off about eight o'clock, and had a day of weary and harassing travel; part of the time over rough hills, and part over rolling prairies. The rain had rendered the soil slippery and plashy, so as to afford an uneasy footpath. Some of the rangers dismounted, their horses having no longer strength to bear them. We made a halt in the course of the morning, but the horses were too tired to travel. Some of them had downed, and there was some difficulty in getting them on their feet again. Our troop presented a forlorn appearance, straggling slowly along, in a broken and scattered line, that extended over hill and dale, for the miles and upward, in groups of three and four, widely apart; some on horseback, some on foot, with a few laggards far in the rear. About four o'clock, we halted for the night in a spacious forest, beside a deep narrow river, called the Little North Fork, or Deep Creek. It was late before the main part of the troop straggled into the encampment, many of the horses having given out. As this stream was too deep to be forded, we waited until the next day to devise means to cross it; but our half-breeds swam the horses of our party to the other side in the evening, as they would have better pasturage, and the stream was evidently swelling. The night was cold and unruly; the wind sounding hoarsely through the forest and whirling about the dry leaves and branches. We rode long fells not before.-Some minutes of consolation if not cheerfulness around.

The next morning there was general permission given to hunt until twelve o'clock; the camp being destitute of provisions. The rich woody bottom in which we were encamped abounded with wild turkeys, of which a considerable number were killed. In the meantime, preparations were made for crossing the river, which had risen several feet during the night; and it was determined to fell trees for the purpose, to serve as bridges.

The Captain and Doctor, and one or two other leaders of the camp, versed in woodcraft, examined, with learned eye, the trees growing on the riverbanks, and all they singled out a couple of the largest size, and most suitable inclinations. The axe was then vigorously applied to their roots, in such a way as to insure their falling directly across the stream. As they did not reach to the opposite bank, it was necessary for some of the men to carry the trees and fell trees on the other side, to meet them. They at length succeeded in making a precarious footway across the deep and rapid current, by which the baggage could be carried over; but it was necessary to grope our way, step by step, along the trunks and main branches of the trees, which for a part of the distance were completely submerged, so that we were in our waists in water. Most of the horses were then swam across, but some of them were too weak to brave the current, and evidently too much knocked up to bear any further travel. Twelve men, therefore, were left at the encampment to guard these horses, until, by repose and good pasturage, they should be sufficiently recovered to complete their journey; and the Captain engaged to send the men a supply of flour and other necessaries, as soon as we should arrive at the Fort.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A Look-out for Land.—Ford Travelling and Hungry Halting.—A Frontier Farmhouse.—Arrival at the Garrison.

It was a little after one o'clock when we again resumed our weary wayfaring. The residue of that day and the whole of the next were spent in toiling over the hills, part across wide prairies, rendered spongy and miry by the recent rain, and cut up by brooks swollen into torrents. Our poor horses were so feeble, that it was with difficulty we could get them across the deep ravines and turbulent streams. In traversing the miry plains, they slipped and staggered at every step, and most of us were obliged to dismount and walk for the greater part of the way. Hunger prevailed throughout the troop; every one began to look anxious and haggard, and to feel the growing length of each additional mile. At one time, in crossing a hill, Beatte climbed a high tree, commanding a wide prospect, and took a look-out, like a mariner from the mast-head at sea. He came down with cheering tidings. To the left he had beheld a line of forest stretching across the country, which he knew to be the woody border of the Arkansas; and at a distance he had recognized certain landmarks, from which he concluded that we would not be above forty miles distant from the fort. It was like the welcome cry of land to tempest-tossed mariners.

In fact we soon after saw smoke rising from a woody glen at a distance. It was supposed to be made by a hunting-party of Creek or Osage Indians from the neighborhood of the fort, and was joyfully hailed as a harbinger of man. It was now confidently hoped that we would soon arrive among the frontier hamlets of Creek Indians, which are scattered along the skirts of the uninhabited wilderness; and our hungry rangers trudged forward with reviving spirit, regaling themselves with savory anticipations of farm-house luxuries, and enumerating every article of good cheer, until their mouths fairly watered at the shadowy feasts thus conjured up.

A hungry night, however, closed in upon a toilsome day. We encamped on the border of one of the tributary streams of the Arkansas, amidst the ruins of a stately grove that had been riven by a hurricane. The blast had torn its way through the forest, and fell trees on the other side, to meet them. They at length succeeded in making a precarious footway across the deep and rapid current, by which the baggage could be carried over; but it was necessary to grope our way, step by step, along the trunks and main branches of the trees, which for a part of the day.
A TOUR ON THE PRAIRIES.

If one could have made the acquaintance of the horses in the herd we were to travel with, it is evident that much further travel would have been necessary before we arrived at the encampment. The majority of them were evidently too much interested in the company of their companions to attend, and evidently too much interested in the company of their companions to attend. The scarcity in the camp was most accounted for. Horses and mules, with their colts, had been fed on corn-crib, and the Captain was determined to have an abundance of flour and we should arrive

bor of the axe; we had soon immense fires blazing and sparkling in the frosty air, and lighting up the camp almost to the moon. It was a thick clump of trees, a frontier farmhouse suddenly presented itself to view. It was a low tument of logs, overshadowed by great forest trees, but it seemed as if a very region of Cocaigne prevailed around the numerous cabins, and granaries teeming with abundance, while legions of grunting swine, gobbling turkeys, cackling hens and strutting roosters, swarmed about the farmyard.

My poor laden and half-starved horse raised his head andpicked up his ears at the well-known sights and sounds. He gave a chuckling inward sound, something like a dry laugh; whisked his tail, and made great headway toward a corn-crib, filled with golden ears of maize, and it was with some difficulty that I could control his course, and steer him up to the door of the cabin. A single glance within was sufficient to raise every gastronomic faculty. There sat the Captain of the Rangers and his officers, round a three-legged table, forehead, without a smoking dish of boiled beef and turpines. I sprang off my horse in an instant, cast him loose to make his way to the corn-crib, and entered this palace of plenty. A fat good-humored and prosperous reception met me at the door. She was the mistress of the house, the spouse of the white man, who was absent. I hailed her as some swart fairy of the wild, that had suddenly conjured up a banquet in the desert; and a banquet it was, in good faith. In a twinkling, she turned from the fire a huge iron pot, that might have rivaled one of the famous flesh-pots of Egypt, or the witches' caldron in Macbeth. Placing a brown earthen dish on the floor, she inclined the corpulent caldron on one side, and leaked sundry great morsels of beef, with a regiment of turpines tumbling after them, and a rich cascade of broth overflowing the whole. This she handed me with an ivory smile that extended from ear to ear; apologizing for our humble fare, and the humble style in which it was served up. Humble fare! humble style! Boiled beef and turpines, and an earthen dish to eat them from! To think of apologizing for such a treat to a half-starved man from the prairies; and such magnificent slices of bread and butter! Head of Apeius, what a banquet!

"The rage of hunger," being appeased, I began to think of my horse. He, however, like an old campaigner, had taken good care of himself. I found him paying assiduous attention to the crib of Indian corn, and dexterously drawing forth and munching the ears that protruded between the bars. It was with great regret that I interrupted his repast, which he abandoned with a heavy sigh, or rather a rumbling groan. I was, however, too exacting my travelling companions, who had passed by the farm without stopping, and proceeded to the banks of the Arkansas; being in hopes of arriving before night at the Osage Agency. Leaving the Captain and his troop, therefore, amidst the abundance of the farm, where they had determined to quarter themselves for the night, I bade adieu to our sable hostess, and again pushed forward.

A ride of about a mile brought me to where my comrades were waiting at the brink of the prairie, where the sun set down behind the heavens. A number of Creek Indians, in their brightly colored dresses, looking like so many gay tropical birds, were busy aiding our men to
transport the baggage across the river in a canoe. While this was doing, our horses had another re- gale from two great cribs heaped up with ears of Indian corn, which stood near the edge of the river. We had to keep a check upon the poor half-famished animals, lest they should injure themselves by their voracity. The baggage being all carried to the opposite bank, we embarked in the canoe, and swam our horses across the river. I was fearful, lest in their enfeebled state, they should not be able to stem the current; but their banquet of Indian corn had already infused fresh life and spirit into them, and it would appear as if they were cheered by the instinctive consciousness of their approach to home, where they would soon be at rest, and in plentiful quarters; for no sooner had we landed and resumed our route, than they set off on a hand-gallop, and continued so for a great part of seven miles, that we had to ride through the woods.

It was an early hour in the evening when we arrived at the Agency, on the banks of the Verdigris River, whence we had set off about a month before. Here we passed the night comfortably quartered; yet, after having been accustomed to sleep in the open air, the confinement of a chamber was, in some respects, irksome. The atmosphere seemed close, and destitute of freshness; and when I woke in the night and gazed about me upon complete darkness, I missed the glorious companionship of the stars.

The next morning, after breakfast, I again set forward, in company with the worthy Commissioner, for Fort Gibson, where we arrived much tattered, travel-stained, and weather-benten, but in high health and spirits;—and thus ended my foray into the Pawnee Hunting Grounds.
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THE PARTING INTERVIEW BETWEEN BYRON AND MISS CHAWORTH.
NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

BY
WASHINGTON IRVING.

HISTORICAL NOTICE.

BEING about to give a few sketches taken during a three weeks' sojourn in the ancestral mansion of the late Lord Byron, I think it proper to premise some brief particulars concerning its history.

Newstead Abbey is one of the finest specimens in existence of those quaint and romantic piles, half castle, half convent, which remain as monuments of the olden times of England. It stands, too, in the midst of a legendary neighborhood; being in the heart of Sherwood Forest, and surrounded by the haunts of Robin Hood and his band of outlaws, so famous in ancient ballad and nursery tale. It is true, the forest scarcely exists but in name, and the tract of country over which it once extended its broad solitudes and shades, is now an open and smiling region, cultivated with parks and farms, and enlivened with villages.

Newstead, which probably once exerted a monastic sway over this region, and controlled the consciences of the rude foresters, was originally a priory, founded in the latter part of the twelfth century, by Henry II., at the time when he sought, by building of shrines and convents, and by other acts of external piety, to expiate the murder of Thomas a Becket. The priory was dedicated to God and the Virgin, and was inhabited by a fraternity of canons regular of St. Augustine. This order was originally simple and abstemious in its mode of living, and exemplary in its conduct; but it would seem that it gradually lapsed into those abuses which disgraced too many of the wealthy monastic establishments; for there are documents among its archives which intimate the prevalence of gross misrule and dissolute sensuality among its members.

At the time of the dissolution of the convents during the reign of Henry VIII., Newstead underwent a sudden reverse, being given, with the neighboring manor and rectorry of Papelwick, to Sir John Byron, Steward of Manchester and Rochdale, and Lieutenant of Sherwood Forest. This ancient family worthy figures in the traditions of the Abbey, and in the ghost stories with which it abounds, under the quaint and graphic appellation of "Sir John Byron the Little, with the great Beard." He converted the saintly edifice into a castellated dwelling, making it his favorite residence and the seat of his forest jurisdiction.

The Byron family being subsequently ennobled by a baronial title, and enriched by various possessions, maintained great style and retinue at Newstead. The proud edifice partook, however, of the vicissitudes of the times, and Lord Byron, in one of his poems, represents it as alternately the scene of lordly wassailing and of civil war:

"Hark, how the hall resounding to the strain,
Shakes with the martial music's novel din!
The heralds of a warrior's haughty reign,
High crested banners wave thy walls within.

"Of changing sentinels the distant hum,
The mirth of feasts, the clang of burnish'd arms,
The braying trumpet, and the hoarser drum,
Unite in concert with increased alarms."

About the middle of the last century, the Abbey came into the possession of another noted character, who makes no less figure in its shadowy traditions than Sir John the Little with the great Beard. This was the grand-uncle of the poet, familiarly known among the gossiping chroniclers of the Abbey as "the Wicked Lord Byron." He is represented as a man of irritable passions and vindictive temper, in the indulgence of which an incident occurred which gave a turn to his whole character and life, and in some measure affected the fortunes of the Abbey. In his neighborhood lived his kinsman and friend, Mr. Chaworth, proprietor of Annesley Hall. Being together in London in 1765, in a chamber of the Star and Garter tavern in Pall Mall, a quarrel rose between them. Byron insisted upon settling it upon the spot by single combat. They fought without seconds, by the dim light of a candle, and Mr. Chaworth, although the most expert swordsman, received a mortal wound. With his dying breath herelated such particulars of the contest as induced the coroner's jury to return a verdict of wilful murder. Lord Byron was sent to the Tower, and subsequently tried before the House of Peers, where an ultimate verdict was given of manslaughter.

He retired after this to the Abbey, where he shut himself up to brood over his disgraces; grew gloomy, morose, and fantastical, and in-
dulged in fits of passion and caprice, that made him the theme of rural wonder and scandal. No tale was too wild or too monstrous for vulgar belief. Like his successor the poet, he was accused of all upon the vagaries and wickedness. It was said that he always went armed, as if prepared to commit murder on the least provocation. At one time, when a gentleman of his neighborhood was to dine à la rête with him, it is said a brace of pistols were gravely laid on the table, as part of the regular table furniture, and implements that might be needed in the course of the repast. Another rumor states that being exasperated at his constant for disobedience to orders, he shot him on the spot, threw his body into the coach where Lady Byron was seated, and, mounting the box, officiated in his stead. At another time, according to the same vulgar rumors, he threw her ladyship into the lake in front of the Abbey, where she would have been drowned, but for the timely aid of the gardener.

These stories are but exaggerations of trivial incidents which may have occurred; but it is certain that the wayward passions of this unhappy man caused a separation from his wife, and finally spread a solitude around him of his displeased at the marriage of his son and heir, he displayed an inveterate malignity toward him. Not being able to cut off his succession to the Abbey estate, which descended to him by entail, he endeavored to injure it as much as possible, so that it might come a mere wreck into his hands. For this purpose he suffered the Abbey to fall out of repair, and everything to go to waste about it, and cut down all the timber on the estate, laying low many a tract of old Sherwood Forest, so that the Abbey lands lay stripped and bare of all their ancient honors. He was baffled in his unnatural revenge by the premature death of his son, and passed the remainder of his days in his deserted and dilapidated halls, a gloomy misanthrope, brooding amidst the scenes he had laid desolate.

His wayward humors drove from him all neighboring society, and for a part of the time he was almost without domestics. In his misanthropic mood, when at variance with all human kind, he took to feeding crickets, so that in process of time the place was overrun with them, and its lonely halls made more lonely at night by their monotonous music. Tradition adds that, at his death, the crickets seemed aware that they had lost their patron and protector, for they one and all packed up bag and baggage, and left the Abbey, crossing its courts and corridors in all directions.

The death of the "Old Lord," or "The Wicked Lord Byron," for he is known by both appellations, occurred in 1798; and the Abbey then passed to the possession of the poet. The latter was but eleven years of age, and living in humble style with his mother in Scotland. They came soon after to England, to take possession. Moore gives a simple but striking anecdote of the first arrival of the poet at the domains of his ancestors.

They had arrived at the Newstead toll-bar, and saw the woods of the Abbey stretching out to receive them, when Mrs. Byron, affecting to be ignorant of the place, asked the woman of the toll-house to whom that seat belonged? She was told that the owner of it, Lord Byron, had been some months dead. "And who is the next heir?" asked the proud and happy mother.

"They say," answered the old woman, "it is a little boy who lives at Aberdeen." "And this he, bless him!" exclaimed the nurse, no longer able to contain herself, and turning to kiss with delight the young lord who was seated on her lap.

During Lord Byron's minority, the Abbey was let to Lord Grey de Ruthen, but the poet visited it occasionally during the Harrow vacations, when he resided with his mother at lodgings in Nottingham. It was treated little better by its present tenant, than by the old lord who preceded him; so that when, in the autumn of 1808, Lord Byron took up his abode there, it was in a ruinous condition. The following lines from his own pen may give some idea of its condition:

"Through thy battlements, Newstead, the hollow winds whistle,
Thou, the hall of my fathers, art gone to decay;
In thy once smiling garden, the hemlock and thistle
Have choked up the rose which once bloomed in the way.

"Of the mail-encased barons who, proudly, to battle
Led thy vassals from Europe to Palestine's plain,
The esquire and shield, which with every wind rattle,
Are the only sad vestiges now that remain."†

In another poem he expresses the melancholy feeling with which he took possession of his ancestral mansion:

"Newstead! what sadder scene of change is thine,
Thy yawning arch betokens sure decay:
The last and youngest of a noble line,
Now holds thy mouldering turrets in his sway.

"Deserted now, he sees thy gray-worn towers,
Thy vaults, where dead of feudal ages sleep,
Thy cloisters, pensive to the wintry showers,
These--these lie views, and views them but to weep.

"Yet he prefers thee to the gilded domes,
Or gawg grottoes of the vanni! yest,
Yet lingers mid thy damp and mossy tombs,
Nor breathes a murmur 'gainst the will of fate."‡

Lord Byron had not fortune sufficient to put the pile in extensive repair, nor to maintain anything like the state of his ancestors. He restored some of the apartments, so as to furnish his mother with a comfortable habitation, and fitted up a quaint study for himself, in which, among books and busts, and other library furniture, were two skulls of the ancient friars, grinning on each side of an antique cross. One of his gay companions gives a picture of Newstead when thus repaired, and the picture is sufficiently desolate.

"There are two tiers of cloisters, with a variety of cells and rooms about them, which, though not inhabited, nor in an inhabitable state, might easily be made so; and many of the original rooms, among which is a fine stone hall, are still in use. Of the Abbey church, one end only remains; and the old kitchen, with a long range of apartments, is reduced to a heap of rubbish. Leading from the Abbey to the modern part of the habitation is a noble room, seventy feet in length, and twenty-three in breadth; but every part of the house displays neglect and decay.

† Moore's Life of Lord Byron.
‡ Lines on leaving Newstead Abbey.
§ Elegy on Newstead Abbey.
The confidence of Lord Byron in the good feeling and good taste of Colonel Wildman has been justified by the event. Under his judicious eye and munificent hand the venerable and romantic pile has risen from its ruins in all its old monastic and baronial splendor, and additions have been made to it in perfect conformity of style. The grounds and forests have been replanted; the lakes and fish-ponds cleaned out, and the gardens rescued from the "hemlock and thistle," and restored to their pristine and dignified formality.

The farms on the estate have been put in complete order, new farm-houses built of stone, in the picturesque and comfortable style of the old English granges; the hereditary tenants secured in their paternal homes, and treated with the most considerate indulgence; everything, in a word, gives happy indications of a liberal and beneficent landlord.

What most, however, will interest the visitors to the Abbey in favor of its present occupant, is the reverential care with which he has preserved and renovated every monument and relic of the Byron family, and every object in anywise connected with the memory of the poet. Eighty thousand pounds have already been expended upon the venerable pile, yet the work is still going on, and Newstead promises to realize the hope faintly breathed by the poet when bidding it a melancholy farewell—

"Happy thy sun emerging, yet may shine,
Thine to irradiate with meridian ray;
Hours spend as the past may still be thine,
And bless thy future, as thy former day."

ARRIVAL AT THE ABBEY.

I had been passing a merry Christmas in the good old style at Harboro’ Hall, a venerable family mansion in Derbyshire, and set off to finish the holidays with the hospitable proprietor of Newstead Abbey. A drive of seventeen miles through a pleasant country, part of it the storied region of Sherwood Forest, brought me to the gate of Newstead Park. The aspect of the park was by no means imposing, there were no old trees that once adorned it being hewed low by Lord Byron’s wayward predecessor.

Entering the gate, the postchaise rolled heavily along a sandy road, between naked deciduous, gradually descending into one of those gentle and sheltered valleys, in which the sleek monks of old loved to nestle themselves. Here a sweep of the road round an angle of a garden wall brought us full in front of the venerable edifice, embosomed in the valley, with a beautiful sheet of water spilling out before it.

and that it may see you as happy, as I am very sure that you will make your dependents. With regard to myself, you may be sure that whether in the fourth, or fifth, or sixth form at Harrow, or in the declamations of my old schoolfellows—fellow monitor, and friend, and recognize with respect the gallant soldier, who, with all the advantages of fortune and allurements of youth to a life of pleasure, could not be surrounded and exposed of such an exalted position, but you may rely upon having the very first that may be painted, and which may seem worth your acceptance.

I trust that Newstead will, being yours, remain so.

NEWSTEAD ABBEY.
The irregular gray pile, of motley architecture, as answered to the description given by Lord Byron:

"An old, old monastery once, and now
Still older mansion, of a rich and rare
Mixed Gothic—"

One end was fortified by a castellated tower, bespeaking the baronial and warlike days of the edifice; the other end maintained its primitive monastic character. A ruined chapel, flanked by a solemn grove, still reared its front entire. It is said, the threshold of the once frequented portal was grass-grown, and the great lancelot window, once glorious with painted glass, was now entwined and overhung with ivy; but, the old convent cross still braved both time and tempest on the pinnacle of the chapel, and below, the blessed effigies of the Virgin and child, sculptured in gray stone, remained uninjured in their niche, giving a sanctified aspect to the pile.

A flight of rocks, tenants of the adjacent grove, were hovering about the ruin, and balancing themselves upon every airy projection, and looked down with curious eye and cawed as the post-chaise rattled along below.

The chamberlain of the Abbey, a most deco- rous personage, dressed in black, received us at the portal. Here, too, we encountered a momento of Lord Byron, a great black and white Newfoundland dog, that had accompanied his remains from Greece. He was descended from the famous Boatswain, and inherited his generous qualities. He was a cherished inmate of the Abbey, and honored and caressed by every visitor. Conducted by the chamberlain, and followed by the dog, who assisted in doing the honors of the house, we passed through a long low vaulted hall, supported by massive Gothic arches, and not a little resembling the crypt of a cathedral, being the basement story of the Abbey.

From this we ascended a stone staircase, at the head of which a pair of folding doors admitted us into a broad corridor that ran round the interior of the Abbey. The windows of the corridor looked into a quadrangular grass-grown court, forming the hollow centre of the pile. In the midst of it rose a lofty and fantastic fountain, wrought of the same gray stone as the main edifice, and which has been well described by Lord Byron.

"...Amidst the court a Gothic fountain play'd,
Summon'd by its name to ceaselessNIntermission,
Strange faces, like men in masquerade,
And here perhaps a monster, there a saint;
The spring rush'd through grim mouths of granite
It made,
And sparkled into basins, where it spent
Its little torrent in a thousand bubbles,
Like man's vain glory, and his vainer troubles."

Around this quadrangle were low vaulted cloisters, with Gothic arches, once the secluded walks of the monks: the corridor along which we were passing was built above these cloisters, and their hollow arches seemed to reverberate every footfall. Everything thus far had a solemn monastic air; but, on arriving at an angle of the corridor, the eye, glancing along a shadowy gallery, caught a sight of two dark figures in plate armor, with closed visors, bucklers braced, and swords drawn, standing motionless against the wall. They seemed two phantoms of the chivalrous era of the Abbey.

Here the chamberlain, throwing open a folding door, ushered us at once into a spacious and lofty saloon, which offered a brilliant contrast to the quaint and sombre apartments we had traversed. As elegantly furnished, and the walls hung with paintings, yet something of its original architecture had been preserved and blended with modern embellishments. There were the stone-shafted casements and the deep bow-window of former times. The carved and panelled wood-work of the lofty ceiling had likewise been carefully restored, and its Gothic and grotesque devices painted and gilded in their ancient style.

Here, too, were emblems of the former and latter days of the Abbey, in the effigies of the first and last of the Byron line that held sway over its destinies. At the upper end of the saloon, above the door, the dark Gothic portrait of "Sir John Byron the Little with the great Beard," looked grimly down from his canvas, while, at the opposite end, a white marble bust of the genius loci, the noble poet, shone conspicuously from its pedestal.

The whole air and style of the apartment partook more of the palace than the monastery, and its windows looked forth on a suitable prospect, composed of beautiful groves, smooth verdant lawns, and silver sheets of water. Below the windows was a small flower-garden, inclosed by stone balustrades, on which were stately peacocks, sunning themselves and displaying their plumage. About the grass-plots in front, were gay cock pheasants, and plump partridges, and nimble-footed water hens, feeding almost in perfect security.

Such was the medley of objects presented to the eye on first visiting the Abbey, and I found the interior fully to answer the description of the poet—

"...The mansion's self was vast and venerable,
With more of the monastic than has been
Elsewhere preserved; the cloisters still were stable,
The cells, too, and refectory, I ween;
An exquisite small chapel had been able,
Still unimpaired, to decorate the scene;
The rest had been reformed, replaced, or sunk,
And spoke more of the friar than the monk.

"...huge halls, long galleries, spacious chambers, joined
By no quite lawful marriage of the arts,
Might shock a connoisseur; but when combined
Formed a whole, which, irregular in parts,
Yet left a grand impression on the mind,
At least of those whose eyes were in their hearts."

It is not my intention to lay open the scenes of domestic life at the Abbey, nor to describe the festivities of which I was a partaker during my sojourn within its hospitable halls; I simply wish merely to present a picture of the edifice itself, and of those personages and circumstances about it, connected with the memory of Byron.

I forbear, therefore, to dwell on my reception by my excellent and amiable host and hostess, or to make my reader acquainted with the elegant
inmates of the mansion that I met in the saloon; and I shall pass on at once with him to the chamber allotted me, and to which I was most respectfully conducted by the chamberlain.

It was one of a magnificent suite of rooms, extending between the court of the cloisters and the Abbey garden, the windows looking into the latter. The whole suite formed the ancient state apartment, and had fallen into decay during the neglected days of the Abbey, so as to be in a ruined condition in the time of Lord Byron. I had since then returned to its ancient tenor, of which my chamber may be cited as a specimen. It was lofty and well proportioned; the lower part of the walls was panelled with ancient oak, the upper part hung with gobelin tapestry, representing oriental hunting scenes, wherein the figures were of the size of life, and of great vivacity of attitude and color.

The furniture was antique, dignified, and cumbrous. High-backed chairs curiously carved, and wrought in needlework, a massive clothes-press of dark oak, well polished, and inlaid with landscapes of various tinted woods; a bed of state, ample and lofty, so as only to be ascended by a movable flight of steps, the huge posts supporting a high tester with a tuft of crimson tassels at each angle, which certainly crimson damask hanging in broad and heavy folds.

A venerable mirror of plate glass stood on the toilet, in which belles of former centuries may have contemplated and decorated their charms. The floor of the chamber was of tessellated oak, shining with wax, and partly covered by a Turkey carpet. In the centre stood a massive oaken table, waxed and polished as smooth as glass, and furnished with a writing-desk of perfumed rosewood.

A sober light was admitted into the room through Gothic stone shafted casements, partly shaded by crimson curtain, and partly overshadowed by the trees of the garden. This solemnly tempered light added to the effect of the stately and antiquated interior.

Two portraits, suspended over the doors, were in keeping with the scene. They were in ancient Vandyke dresses; one was a cavalier, who may have occupied this apartment in days of yore, the other was a lady with a black velvet mask in her hand, who may once have arrayed herself for cumbrous masque or pageant and feigned death.

The most curious relic of old times, however, in this quaint but richly dim apartment, was a great chimneypiece of panel-work, carved in high relief, with niches or compartments, each containing a human bust, that protruded almost entirely from the wall. Some of the figures were in ancient Gothic garb; the most striking among them was a female, who was earnestly regarded by a fierce Saracen from an adjoining niche.

This panel-work is among the mysteries of the Abbey, and includes the whole of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Some suppose it to illustrate an adventure in the Holy Land, and that the lady in effigy had been rescued by some Crusader of the family from the turbaned Turk who watches her so earnestly. What tends to give weight to these suppositions is, that similar pieces of panel-work exist in other parts of the Abbey, in all of which are to be seen the Christian lady and her Saracen guardian or lover.

I shall not detain the reader, however, with any further description of my apartment, or of the mysteries connected with it. As he is to pass some days with me at the Abbey, we shall have time to examine the old edifice at our leisure, and to make ourselves acquainted, not merely with its interior, but likewise with its environs.

The Abbey Garden.

The morning after my arrival, I rose at an early hour. The sky was clear and bright, between the window curtains, and drawing them apart, I gazed through the Gothic casement upon a scene that accorded in character with the interior of the ancient mansion. It was the old Abbey garden, but altered to suit the tastes of different times and occupants. In one direction were shady walls and alleys, broad terraces and lofty groves; in another, beneath a grey monastic-looking angle of the edifice, over run with ivy and surmounted by a cross, lay a small French garden, with formal flower-pots, gravel walks, and stately stone balustrades.

The beauty of the morning, and the quiet of the hour, tempted me to an early stroll; for it is pleasant to enjoy such old-time places alone, when one may indulge poetical reveries, and spin in solitude fancies, without interruption the song of birds, or the whisper of the wind. Therefore, with all speed, I descended a small flight of steps from the state apartment into the long corridor over the cloisters, along which I passed to a door at the farther end. Here I emerged into the open air, and, descending another flight of steps, found myself in the centre of what had once been the Abbey chapel.

Nothing of the sacred edifice remained, however, but the Gothic front, with its deep portal and large lancet window, already described. The nave, the side walls, the choir, the sacristy, all had disappeared. The open sky was over my head, a smooth shaven grass-plot beneath my feet. Gravel walks and shrubberies had succeeded to the shadowy aisles, and stately trees to the clustering columns.

"Where now the grass exhales a musky dew, The humid pall of life-extinguished clay, In saltnelt fame the sacred fathers grew, Nor raised their pious voices to pray. Where now the cheer they once did extend, Soon as the gloaming spreads her warning shade, The choir did oft their mingling vespers blend, Or matins orisons to Mary said."

Instead of the matin orisons of the monks, however, the ruined walls of the chapel now resounded to the cawing of innumerable rooks that were fluttering and hovering about the dark grove which they inhabited, and preparing for their morning flight.

My ramble led me along quiet alleys bordered by shrubbery, where the solitary water-ten would now and then scud across my path, and take refuge among the bushes. From hence I entered upon a broad terraced walk, once a favorite resort of the friars, which extended the whole length of the old Abbey garden, passing along the ancient stone wall which bounded it. In the centre of the garden lay one of the monkish fish-pools, an oblong sheet of water, deep set like a mirror, in green sloping banks of turf. In its glassy bosom was reflected the neighboring grove, one of the most important features of the garden.

This grove goes by the sinister name of...
Devil's Wood,” and enjoys but an equivocal character in the neighborhood. It was planted by Lord Byron in the early part of his residence at the Abbey, before his fatal duel with Mr. Chaworth. Having something of a foreign and classical taste, he set up leaden statues of satyrs or fauns at each end of the grove. The statues, like everything else about the old Lord, fell under the suspicion and obloquy that overshadowed him in the latter part of his life. The country people, who knew nothing of heathen mythology and its sylvan deities, looked on them with horror, and invested them with the diabolical attributes of horns and cloven feet. They probably supposed them some object of secret worship of the gloomy and secluded misanthrope and reputed murderer, and gave them the name of “The old Lord's Devils.”

I penetrated the recesses of the mystic grove. There stood the ancient and much slandered statues, overshadowed by tall arches, and stained by dark green mold. It is not a matter of surprise that strange figures, thus behooved and horned, and set up in a gloomy grove, should produce the effects of the simple and superstitious yeoman. There are many of the tastes and caprices of the rich, that in the eyes of the uneducated must savor of insanity.

I was attracted to this grove, however, by memorial of a more touching character. It had been one of the favorite haunts of the late Lord Byron. In his farewell visit to the Abbey, after he had parted with the possession of it, he passed some time in this grove, in company with his sister, and as a last momento, engraved their names on the bark of a tree.

The feelings that agitated his bosom during this farewell visit, when he beheld round him objects dear to his pride, and dear to his juvenile recollections, but of which the narrowness of his fortune would not permit him to retain possession, may be gathered from a passage in a poetical epistle, written to his sister in after years:

"I did remind you of our own dear lake
By the old hall, which may be mine no more; Leman's is fair; but think not I forsake
The sweet remembrance of a dearer shore:
Sad have I been, with my memory gone
Farewell, or die! can these eyes before:
Though, like all things which I have loved, they are
Regain'd for ever, or divided far.

"I feel almost at times as I have felt
In happy childhood; trees, and flowers, and brooks,
Which do remember me of where I dwelt
Err my young mind was sacrificed to books,
Come as of yore upon me, and can melt
My heart with recognition of their looks;
And even at moments I would think I see
Some living things I love—but none like thee."

I searched the grove for some time, before I found the tree on which Lord Byron had left his frail memorial. It was an elm of peculiar form, having two trunks, which sprang from the same root, and, after growing side by side, mingled their branches together. He had selected it, doubtless, as emblematical of his and his sister． His name of Byron and Augusta were still visible. They had been deeply cut in the bark, but the natural growth of the tree was gradually rendering them illegible, and a few years hence, strangers will seek in vain for this record of fraternal affection.

Leaving the grove, I continued my ramble along a spacious terrace, overlooking what had once been the kitchen garden of the Abbey. Below me lay the mother swale, or fish pond, a dark pool, overhung by gloomy cypresses, with a solitary water-hen swimming about in it.

A little farther on, and the terrace looked down upon the stately scene on the south side of the Abbey; the floor of the balustrades and stately peacocks, the lawn, with its pleasant and parterres, and the softly valley of Newstead beyond.

At a distance, on the border of the lawn, stood another memento of Lord Byron; an oak planted by him in his boyhood, now the property of the Abbey. With a superstitious feeling, inherent in him, he linked his own destiny with that of the tree. "As it fares," said he, "so will fate fare my fortunes." Several years elapsed, many of them passed in idleness and dissipation. He returned to the Abbey a youth scarce grown to manhood, but, as he thought, with vices and follies beyond his years. He found his emblem oak almost choked by weeds and brambles, and took the lesson to himself.

"Young oak, when I planted thee deep in the ground,
I hoped that thy days would be longer than mine,
That thy dark wavy branches would flourish around,
And riv thy trunk with its mantle entire.

"Such, such was my hope—when in infancy's years
On the land of my fathers I reared thee with pride;
They are past, and I water thee with my tears—
Thy decay not the weeds that surround thee can hide."

I leaned over the stone balustrade of the terrace, and gazed upon the valley of Newstead, with its silver sheets of water gleaming in the morning sun. It was a sabbath morning, which always seems to have a hallowed influence upon the landscape, probably from the quiet of the day, and the cessation of all kinds of week-day labor. As I gazed upon the mild and beautiful scene, and the wayward destinies of the man, whose stormy temperament forced him from this tranquil paradise to battle with the passions and perils of the world, the sweet chime of bells from a village a few miles distant came stealing up the valley. Every sight and sound this morning seemed calculated to summon up touching recollections of poor Byron. The chime was from the village spire of Hucknall Torkard, beneath which his remains lie buried!

I have since visited his tomb. It is in an old gray country church, venerable with the lapse of centuries. He lies buried beneath the pavement, at one end of the principal aisle. A light falls on the spot through the stained glass of a Gothic window, and a tablet on the adjacent wall announces the family vault of the Byrons. It had been the wayward intention of the poet to be entombed, with his faithful dog, in the monument erected by him in the garden of Newstead Abbey. His executors showed better judgment and feeling, in consigning his ashes to the familiar sepulchre, to mingle with those of his mother and his kindred. Here,

"After life's fatal fever, he sleeps well,
Malice domestic, foreign envy, nothing
Can tone him further!"

How near did his dying hour realize the wish made by him, but a few years previously, in one
of his fitful moods of melancholy and misanthropy:

* When time, or soon or late, shall bring
  The dreamless sleep that dulls the dead,
  Oblivion I may thy languid wing
  Wave gently o'er my dying bed!

* No band of friends or heirs be there,
  To weep or wish the coming blow:
  No maids on dishevelled hair
  To feel, or feign sorrowful.

* But silent let me sink to earth,
  With no officious mourners near:
  I would not mar one hour of mithe,
  Nor startle friendship with a tear.

He died among strangers, in a foreign land,
  Without a kindred hand to close his eyes—
  Yet he did not die unwept. With all his faults and errors, and passions and caprices, he had the gift of attaching his humble dependents warmly to him.

One of them, a poor Greek, accompanied his remains to England, and followed them to the grave. I am told that, during the ceremony, he stood holding on by a pew in an agony of grief, and that when all the other servants had gone down into the tomb with the body of his master—a nature that could inspire such attachments, must have been generous and benevolent.

### PLough MONDAY.

SHERWOOD FOREST is a region that still retains much of the quaint customs and holiday games of the olden time. A day or two after my arrival at the Abbey, as I was walking in the cloisters, I heard the sound of rustic music, and now and then a burst of merriment, proceeding from the interior of the mansion. Presently the chamberlain came and informed me that a party of country lads were in the servants' hall, performing Plough Monday antics, and invited me to witness their merrymaking. I gladly assented, for I was somewhat curious about these relics of popular usage.

The servants' hall was a fit scene for the exhibition of an old Gothic game. It was a chamber of great extent, which in monkish times had been the refectory of the Abbey. A row of massive columns extended lengthwise through the centre, whence sprung Gothic arches, supporting the low vaulted ceiling. Here was a set of rustics dressed up in something of the style represented in the books concerning popular antiquities. One was in a rough garb of frieze, with his head muffled in bear-skin, and a bell dangling behind him, that jingled at every movement. He was the clown, or fool of the party, probably a traditional representative of the ancient satyr.

The rest were decorated with ribbons and armed with wooden swords. The leader of the troop recited the old ballad of St. George and the Dragon, which had been current among the country people for ages; his companions accompanied the recitation with some rude attempt at acting, while the clown cut all kinds of antics.

To these succeeded a set of morris-dancers, gayly dressed up with ribbons and bells—hats. In this troop we had Robin Hood and Maid Marian, the latter represented by a smooth-faced boy; also Beelzebub, equipped with a broom and accompanied by his wife Bessy, a terri-...
had almost sunk into the class of mere rustic laborers, once more to hold up their heads among the yeomanry of the land.

I visited one of these renovated establishments that had long since been a ruin, and now was a substantial grange. It was inhabited by a young couple. The good woman showed every part of the establishment with decent pride, exulting in its comfort and respectability. Her husband, I understood, had risen in consequence of his industry, and the latter was now to be known among his rustic neighbors by the appellation of "the young squire."

OLD SERVANTS.

In an old, time-worn, and mysterious looking mansion like Newstead Abbey, and one so haunted by monkish, and feudal, and poetical associations, it is a prize to meet with some ancient crone, who has passed a long life about the place, so as to have become a living chronicle of its fortunes and vicissitudes. Such a one is Nanny Smith, a worthy damosel, near seventy years of age, who has long been served as housekeeper to the Byrons. The Abbey and its domain comprise her world, beyond which she knows nothing, but within which she has ever conducted herself with native shrewdness and old-fashioned honesty. When Lord Byron sold the Abbey her vocation was at an end, still she lingered about the place, having for it the local attachment of a cat. Abandoning her comfortable housekeeper's apartment, she took shelter in one of the "rock houses," which are nothing more than a little neighborhood of cabins, excavated in the perpendicular walls of a stone quarry, at no great distance from the Abbey. Three cells cut in the living rock, formed her dwelling; these she fitted up humbly but comfortably; her son William labored in the neighborhood, and aided to support her, and Nanny Smith maintained a cheerful aspect and an independent spirit. One of her gossips suggested to her that William should marry, and bring home a young wife to help her and take care of her. "Oh, no," replied Nanny Smith, "oh, no, I want no young mistress in my house." So much for the love of rule—poor Nanny's house was a hole in a rock!

Colonel Wildman, on taking possession of the Abbey, found Nanny Smith thus humbly nestled. With that active benevolence which characterizes him, he immediately set William up in a small farm on the estate, where Nanny Smith has a comfortable mansion in her old days. Her pride is roused by her son's advancement. One remark with exultation that people treat William with much more respect now that he is a farmer, than they did when he was a laborer. A farmer of the neighborhood has even endeavored to make a match between him and his sister, but Nanny Smith has grown fastidious, and interfered. The girl, she said, was too old for her son, besides, she did not see that he was in any need of a wife.

"No," said William, "I ha' no great mind to marry the wench: but if the Colonel and his lady with it, they ha' a wone no kind to me that I should think it my duty to please them." The Colonel and his lady, however, have not thought proper to put honest William's gratitude to so severe a test.

Another worthy whom Colonel Wildman found vegetating upon the place, and who had lived there for at least sixty years, was old Joe Murray. He had come there when a mere boy in the train of the "old Lord," and about the middle of the last century, and had continued with him until his death. Having been a cabin boy when very young, Joe always fancied himself a bit of a sailor, and had charge of all the pleasure-boats on the lake, though he afterward rose to the dignity of butler. In the later days of the old Lord Byron, when he shut himself up from all the world, Joe Murray was the only servant retained by him, excepting his housekeeper, Betty Hardstaff, who was reputed to have an undue sway over him, and was derisively called Lady Betty among the country folk.

When the Abbey came into the possession of the late Lord Byron, Joe Murray accompanied it as a fixture. He was reinstated as butler in the Abbey, and high admiral on the lake, and his sturdy honest marstiff qualities won so upon Lord Byron as even to rival his Newfoundland dog in his affections. Often when dining, he would pour out a bumper of choice Madeira, and hand it to Joe as he stood behind his chair. In fact, when he built the new mansion in the Abbey garden, he intended it for himself, Joe Murray, and the dog. The two latter were to lie on each side of him. Boatman died not long afterward, and was regularly interred, and the well-known epitaph inscribed on one side of the monument. Lord Byron departed for Greece; during his absence, a gentleman to whom Joe Murray was showing the tomb, observed, "Well, old boy, you will take your place here some twenty years hence." "I don't know that, sir," growled Joe, in reply, "if I was sure his Lordship would come here, I should like it well enough, but I should not like to lie alone with the dog." Joe Murray was always extremely neat in his dress, and attentive to his person, and made a most respectable appearance. A portrait of him still hangs in the Abbey, representing him a hale fresh-looking fellow, in a flaxen wig, a blue coat and buff waistcoat, with a pipe in his hand. He discharged all the duties of his station with great fidelity, unquestionable integrity, and in all other respects. He was a very tricked man in manner and in greed, as well as in the way he wore his honors. He was an old soldier, and had a great deal of the soldier in him.

Nanny Smith was extremely fond of him, and on one occasion she went to the Abbey dining room during a general tenantry, and took the place of one of them, who was sick. As he was dining with his family, the young gentleman who was present, taking the latter's place, and described the picture of the table in the servants' hall, or sat taking his ale and smoking his pipe by the evening fire. Joe had evidently derived his convivial notions from the race of English country squires who flourished in the days of his juvenility. Nanny Smith was scandalized at his rickard songs, but being above harm herself, endured them in silence. At length, on his singing them before a young girl of sixteen, she could contain herself no longer, but read him a lecture that made his ears ring, and then flounced out to bed. The lecture seems, by her account, to have staggered Joe, for he told her the next morning that he had had a terrible dream in the night. An Evangelist stood at the foot of his bed with a great Dutch Bible, which he held with the printed part toward him, and after a while, it was in the face of Nanny Smith undertook to interpret the vision, and read from it such a homily, and deduced such awful warnings, that Joe became quite serious, left off singing, and took to reading good books.
Wildman found who had lived old Joe Murray boy in the train middle of the last was laid to rest, Lucy the abbey. He found Joe Murray flourishing in a green old age, though upward of fourscore, and conducted him to her station as butler. The old man was rejoiced at the extensive repairs that were immediately commenced. and anticipated with pride the day when the abbey should rise out of its ruins with renovated splendor, its gates be thrown open with trains and equipages, and its halls once more echo to the sound of joyous hospitality.

What chiefly, however, concerned Joe's pride and ambition, was a plan of the Colonel's to have the ancient refectory of the convent, a great vaulted room, supported by Gothic columns, converted into a servants' hall. Here Joe looked forward to rule the roost at the head of the servants' table, and to make the Gothic arches ring with those hunting and hard-drinking ditties which were his especial delight--at least, for he had no Nanny. Time, however, was fast wearing away with him, and his great fear was that the hall would not be completed in his day. In his eagerness to hasten the repairs, he used to get up early in the morning, and sometimes, in his httwtastic sinnings, at his great age, also, he would turn out half-dressed in cold weather to cut sticks for the fire. Colonel Wildman kindly reprimanded him for this risking his health, as others would do the work for him.

"You, sir," exclaimed the hale old fellow, "it's my air-bath, I'm all the better for it."

Unluckily, as he was thus employed one morning a splinter flew up and wounded one of his eyes. An inflammation took place; he lost the sight of that eye, and subsequently of the other. Poor Joe gradually pined away, and grew melancholy. Colonel Wildman kindly tried to cheer him up--"Come, come, old boy," cried he, "be of good heart, you will yet take your place in the servants' hall."

"Ah, sir," replied he, "I don't hope--that I should live to see it--I looked forward to it with pride, I confess, but it is all over with me now--I shall soon go home!"

He died shortly afterward, at the advanced age of eighty-six, seventy of which had been passed as an honest and faithful servant at the abbey. Colonel Wildman had him decently interred in the church of Hucknall Torkard, near the vault of Lord Byron.

NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

SUPERSTITIONS OF THE ABBEY.

The anecdotes I heard of the quondam housekeeper of Lord Byron, rendered me desirous of paying her a visit. I rode in company with Colonel Wildman, therefore, to the cottage of her son William, where she resides, and found her seated by her fireside, with a favorite cat purring in her lap and a book in her ear. "Nanny Smith is a large, good-looking woman, a specimen of the old-fashioned country housewife, combining antiquated notions and prejudices, and very limited information, with natural good sense. She loves to gossip about the Abbey and Lord Byron, and was soon drawn into a course of anecdotes, though mostly of an humble kind, such as such a suited the housekeeper's room and servants' hall. She seemed to entertain a kind recollection of Lord Byron, though she had evidently been much perplexed by some of his vagaries; and especially by the means he adopted to counteract his tendency to corpulence. He sometimes would lie for such long time in a warm bath, sometimes he would walk up the hills in the park, wrapped up and loaded with great coats; "a sad task for the poor youth," added Nanny, "he being so lame."

His meals were a medley of dishes which Nanny seemed to hold in great contempt, such as pillau, maccaroni, and light puddings.

She contradicted the report of the licentious life which he was reported to lead at the Abbey, and of the paramours said to have been brought with him from London. "A great part of his time used to be passed lying on a sofa reading. Sometimes he had young gentlemen of his acquaintance with him, and they played some mad prank; but not one of his young gentlemen may do, and no harm done."

"Once, it is true," she added, "he had with him a beautiful boy as a page, which the housemaids said was a girl. For my part, I know nothing; but about the little bats might have been a mystery; but all the comfort he had to be little with the lasses. The housemaids, however, were very jealous; one of them, in particular, took the matter in great dudgeon. Her name was Lucy; she was a great favorite with Lord Byron, and had been much noticed by him, and began to have high notions. She had her fortune told by a man who squatted, to whom she gave two-and-sixpence. He told her to hold up her head and look high, for she would come to great things. Upon this," she added Nanny, "the poor thing dreamt of nothing less than becoming a lady, and mistress of the Abbey; and promised me, if such luck should happen to her, she would be a good friend to me. Ah well-a-day! Lucy never had the fine fortune she dreamed of; but she had better than I thought for; she is now married, and keeps a public house at Warwick."

Finding that we listened to her with great attention, Nanny Smith went on with her gossiping. "One time," said she, "I heard a story that there was a deal of money buried about the Abbey by the monks in old times, and nothing would serve him but he must have the flagging taken up in the cloisters; and they dug and dug, but found nothing but stone coffins full of bones. Then he must needs have one of the coffins put in one of the great halls, so that the servants were afraid to go there of nights. Several of the skull's were cleaned and put in a frame in his room. I used to have to go into the room at night to shut the windows, and if I glanced an eye at them, they all seemed to grin; which I believe skulls always do. I can't say but I was glad to get out of the room."

"There was at one time (and for that matter there is still) a good deal said about ghosts haunting about at night, when the clock ticked--and she said she saw two standing in a dark part of the cloisters just opposite the chapel, and one in the garden by the lord's seat. Then there was a young lady, a cousin of Lord Byron, who was staying in the Abbey and slept in the room next to the clock; and she told me that one night when she was lying in bed, she saw a lady in white
come out of the wall on one side of the room, and go into the wall on the opposite side.

"Lord Byron one day said to me, 'Nanny, what nonsense they tell about ghosts, as if there ever were any such things! I have never seen anything of the kind about the Abbey, and I warrant you have not.' This was all done, do you see, to draw me out; but I said nothing, but shook my head. However, they say his lordship did see something. It was in the great hall—something all black and hairy, he said it was the devil.

"For my part," continued Nanny Smith, "I never saw anything of the kind—but I heard something once. I was one evening scrubbing the floor of the little dining-room at the end of the long gallery; it was after dark; I expected every moment to be called to tea, but wished to finish what I was about. All at once I heard heavy footsteps in the great hall. They sounded like a door, and a door of abysms. I took the light and went to see what it was. I heard the steps come from the lower end of the hall to the fireplace in the centre, where they stopped; but I could see nothing. I returned to my work, and in a little time heard the same noise again. I went again with the light; the footsteps stopped by the fireplace as before; still I could see nothing. I returned to my work, when I heard the steps for a third time. I then went into the hall without a light, but they stopped just the same, by the fireplace, half way up the hall. I thought this rather odd, but returned to my work. When it was finished, I took the light and went through the hall, as that was my way to the kitchen. I heard no more footsteps, and thought no more of the matter, when, on coming to the lower end of the hall, I found the door locked, and then, on one side of the door, I saw the stone coffin with the skull and bones that had been dug up in the cloisters.

Here Nanny paused. I asked her if she believed that the mysterious footsteps had any connection with the skeleton in the coffin; but she shook her head, and would not commit herself. We took our leave of the good old dame shortly after, and the story she had related gave subject for conversation on our ride homeward. It was evidently what the Friar had spoken to her as to what she had heard, but had been deceived by some peculiar effect of sound. Noises are propagated about a huge irregular edifice of the kind in a very deceptive manner; footsteps are prolonged and reverberated by the vaulted cloisters and echoing halls; the creaking and hacking of distant gates, the rushing of the blast through the groves and among the ruined arches of the chancel, have all a strangely delusive effect at night.

Colonel Wildman gave an instance of the kind from his own experience. Not long after he had taken up his residence at the Abbey, he heard one moonlight night a noise as if a carriage was passing at a distance. He opened the window and leaned out. It then seemed as if the great iron roller was dragged along the gravel walks and tarrace, but there was nothing to be seen. When he saw the gardener on the following morning, he questioned him about working so late at night. The gardener declared that no one had been at work, and the roller was chained up. He refused to examine it, and came back with a countenance full of surprise. The roller had been moved in the night, but he declared no mortal hand could have moved it. "Well," replied the Colonel, good-humoredly, "I am glad to find I have a brownie to work for me."

Lord Byron did much to foster and give currency to the superstitious tales connected with the Abbey, by believing, or pretending to believe in them. Many have supposed that his mind was really tinged with superstition, and that this innate infirmity was increased by passing much of his time in a lonely way, about the empty halls and cloisters of the Abbey, in a ruinous melancholy state, and brooding over the skulls and effigies of its former inmates. I should rather think that he found poetic enjoyment in these supernatural themes, and that his imagination delighted to people this gloomy and romantic pile with all kinds of shadowy inhabitants. Certain it is, the aspect of the mansion under the varying influence of twilight and moonlight, and cloud and sunshine operating upon its halls, and galleries, and monkish cloisters, is enough to breed all kinds of fancies in the minds of its inmates, especially if poetically or superstitiously inclined.

I have already mentioned some of the fabled visitants of the Abbey. The goblin friar, however, is the one to whom Lord Byron has given the greatest importance. It walked the cloisters by night, and sometimes glimpses of it were seen in other parts of the Abbey. Its appearance was said to portend some impending evil to the master of the mansion. Lord Byron pretended to have seen it about a month before he contracted his ill-starred marriage with Miss Milbanke. He has embodied this tradition in the following ballad, in which he represents the friar as one of the ancient inmates of the Abbey, maintaining by night a kind of spectral possession of it, in right of the fraternity. Other traditions, however, represent him as one of the friars doomed to wander about the place in atonement for his crimes. But to the ballad—

"Beware I beware! of the Black Friar,
Who sitteth by Norman stone,
For he mutters his prayer in the midnight air,
And his mass of the days that are gone.
When the Lord of the Hill, Amundeville,
Made Norman Church his prey,
And expelleth the friars, one friar still
Would not be driven away.

"Though he came in his might, with King Henry's right
To turn church hands to lay,
With sword in hand, and torch to light
Their walls, if they said nay,
A monk remained, unchained, unchained;
And he did not seem form'd of clay,
For he's seen in the porch, and he's seen in the church,
Though he is not seen by day.

"And whether for good, or whether for ill,
It is not mine to say;
But still to the house of Amundeville
He abideth night and day.
By the marriage bed of their lords, 'tis said,
He flits on the heir'd eye;
And 'tis held as faith, to their bed of death,
He comes—but not to grieve.

"When an heir is born, he is heard to mourn,
And when aught is to befall
That ancient line, in the pale moonshine
He walks from hall to hall.
His form you may trace, but not his face,
'Tis shadow'd by his cowl;
But his eyes may be seen from the folds between,
And they seem of a parted soul.
NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

*But beware I beware of the Black Friar,
He still retains his sway,
For he is yet the church's heir,
What ever be the lay.
Amundeville is lord by day,
But the monk is lord by night,
No wine or liquor could raise a villain
To quench that friar's right.*

"Say not he to him, he walks the hall,
And he'll say nought to you:
He sweeps along in his ducy stalk,
As o'er the grass the dew.
Then grammar! for the Black Friar;
Sain him for an evil soul,
And whatsoever may be his prayer
Let ours be for his soul.*

Such is the story of the goblin friar, which,
partly through old tradition, and partly through
the influence of Lord Byron's rhymes, has be-
come completely established in the Abbey, and
threatens to hold possession so long as the old
edifice shall endure. Various visitors have either
fancied, or pretended to have seen him, and a
cousin of Lord Byron, Miss Sally Parkinsons, is even
said to have made a sketch of him from mem-
ory. But whatever be the case at the Abbey, they have
become possessed with all kinds of superstitious
fancies. The long corridors and Gothic halls,
with their ancient portraits and dark figures in
armor, are all haunted regions to them; they
ever fear to sleep alone, and will scarce venture
at night on any distant errand about the Abbey
unless they go in couples.

Even the magnificent chamber in which I was
lodged was subject to the supernatural influences
which reigned over the Abbey, and was said to be
haunted by "Sir John Byron the Little with
the great beard." The ancient black-looking
portrait of a most worthy, which hangs over
the door of the ancient saloon, was said to descend
occasionally from the frame, and walk the
rooms of the state apartments. Nay, his visits
were not confined to the night, for
a young lady, on a visit to the Abbey some years
since, declared that, on passing in broad day by
the door of the identical chamber I have
described, which stood partly open, she saw Sir
John Byron the Little seated by the fireplace,
reading out of a great black-letter book. From
this circumstance some have been led to sup-
pose that the story of Sir John Byron may be in
some measure connected with the mysterious sculp-
tures of the chimney-piece already mentioned;
but this has no countenance from the most authen-
tic antiquaries of the Abbey.

For my own part, the moment I learned the
wonderful stories and strange suppositions con-
ected with my apartment, I beheld an imagi-
nary realm to me. As I lay in bed at night and
gazed at the mysterious panel-work, where Gothic
knight, and Christian dame, and Paynim lover
gazed upon me in effigy, I used to weave a thou-
sand fancies concerning them. The great figures
in the tapestry also, were almost animated by the
workings of my imagination, and the Van-
dyke portraits of the cavalier and lady that looked
down with pale aspects from the wall, had almost
a spectral effect, from their immovable gaze and
silent companionship.

"For by dim lights the portraits of the dead
Behold a ghastly, desolate, and dread.
Their hurried looks still wave
Along the canvas; their eyes glance like dreams
On ours, as spars within some dusky cave,
But death is mingled in their shadowy beams."

In this way I used to conjure up fictions of the
brain, and clothe the objects around me with
ideal interest and import, until, as the Abbey
tolled midnight, I at last looked to see Sir
John Byron the Little with the long beard stalk
to the room with his book under his arm, and
take his seat beside the mysterious chimney-
piece.

ANNESLEY HALL.

At about three miles' distance from Newstead
Abbey, and contiguous to its lands, is situated
Annesley Hall, the old family mansion of the
Chaworths. The families, like the estates, of the
Byrons and Chaworths, were connected in former
times, until the fatal duel between their two
representatives. The feud, however, which prev-
ailed for a time, promised to be cancelled by
the attachment of two youthful hearts. While
Lord Byron was yet a boy, he beheld Mary Ann
Chaworth, a beautiful girl, and the sole heiress of
Annesley. With that susceptibility of female
fancies which was evident, most from childhood,
he became almost immediately enamored of her.
According to one of his biographers, it would
appear that at first their attachment was mutual,
yet clandestine. The father of Miss Chaworth
was always more severe than what of the family hostility, for we are told that the
interviews of Lord Byron and the young lady
were private, at a gate which opened from her
father's grounds to those of Newstead. How-
ever, she was young at the time that these
meetings could not have been regarded as of any
importance: they were little more than children
in years; but, as Lord Byron says of himself, his
feelings were beyond his age.

The passion thus early conceived was blown
into a flame, during a six weeks' vacation which
he passed with his mother at Nottingham. The
father of Miss Chaworth was dead, and she
resided with her mother at the old Hall of Annesley.
During Byron's minority, the estate of Newstead
was let to Lord Grey de Ruthven, but its youthful
Lord was always a welcome guest at the Abbey.
He would pass days at a time there, and make
frequent visits thence to Annesley Hall. His visits
were encouraged by Miss Chaworth's mother;
the partook of none of the family feud, and
probably looked upon complacency upon an at-
tachment that might heal old differences and
unite two neighboring estates.

The six weeks' vacation passed as a dream
amongst the beautiful flowers of Annesley. Byron
was scarce fifteen years of age, Mary Chaworth
was two years older; but his heart, as I have said,
was beyond his age, and his tenderness for her
was deep and passionate. These early loves, like
the first run of the uncrushed grape, are the
sweetest and strongest gustings of the heart, and
however they may be superseded by other at-
tachments in after years, the memory will con-
tinually recur to them, and fondly dwell upon their
recollections.

His love for Miss Chaworth, to use Lord By-
ron's own expression, was "the romance of the
most romantic period of his life," and I think we
can trace the effect of it throughout the whole
course of his writings, coming up every now and
then, like some lurking theme which runs through
a complicated piece of music, and links it all in a
pervading chain of melody.
NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

How tenderly and mournfully does he recall, in after years, the feelings awakened in his youthful and inexperienced bosom by this impassioned yet innocent attachment; feelings, he says, lost or hardened in the intercourse of life:

"The love of better things and better days; The unbounded hope, and heavenly ignorance Of what is called the world, and the world's ways; The moments when we gather from a glance More joy than from all future pride or praise, More bliss than in the kindle manhood, but can not entrance The heart in an existence of its own. Of which another's bosom is the zone."

Whether this love was really responded to by the object, is uncertain; Byron sometimes speaks as if he had met with kindness in return, at other times he acknowledges that she never gave him reason to believe she loved him. It is probable, however, that at first she experienced some flutterings of the heart. She was of a susceptible age; he had yet formed no other attachments; her lover, though boisterous in years, was a man in intellect, a poet in imagination, and had a countenance of remarkable beauty.

With the six weeks' vacation ended this brief romance. Byron returned to his school, corps-fields, and beloved grove, but if he had really made any impression on Miss Chaworth's heart, it was too slight to stand the test of absence. She was at that age when a female soon changes from the girl to a woman, and leaves her boisterous lovers far behind her. While Byron was pursuing his school-boy studies, she was mingling with society, and met with a gentleman of the name of Musters, remarkable, it is said, for manly beauty. A story is told of her having first seen him from the top of Annesley Hall, as he dashed through the park, with hound and horn, taking the lead of the whole field in a fox chase, and that she was struck by the spirit of his appearance, and his admirable horsemanship. Under such favorable auspices, he wooed and won her, and when Lord Byron next met her, he learned to his dismay that she was the affianced bride of another.

With that pride of spirit which always distinguished him, he controlled his feelings and maintained a serene countenance. He even affected to be at a loss on the subject of her brilliant nuptials. "The next time I see you," said he, "I suppose you will be Mrs. Chaworth" (for she was to retain her family name). Her reply was, "I hope so."

I have given these brief details preparatory to a sketch of a visit which I made to the scene of this youthful romance. Annesley Hall I understood was shut up, neglected, and almost in a state of desolation; for Mr. Musters rarely visited it, residing with his family in the neighborhood of Nottingham. I set out for the Hall on horseback, in company with Colonel Wildman, and followed by the great Newfoundland dog Boatswain. In the course of our ride we visited a spot memorable in the love story I have cited. It was the scene of this parting interview between Byron and Miss Chaworth, prior to her marriage. A long ridge of upland advances into the valley of Newstead, like a promontory into a lake, and was formerly crowned by a beautiful grove, a landmark to the neighboring country. The grove and environs of this grove are graphically described by Lord Byron in his "Dream," and an exquisite picture given of himself, and the lovely object of his boyish idolatry—

"I saw two beings in the hues of youth Standing upon a hill, a gentle hill, Green, and of mild declivity, the last As were the cape of a long ridge of such, Save that there was no sea to love the bare, But a most living landscape, and the wave Of woods and corn-fields, and the abodes of men Scattered at intervals, and wretching smoke Arising from such rustic roofs—the hill Was crowned with a peculiar diadem Of trees, in circular array, so fixed, Not by the sport of nature, but of man: These two, a maiden and a youth, were there Gazing—the one on all that was beloved Fair as herself—but the boy gazed on her; And both were fair, and one was beautiful And both were young,—yet not alike in youth. As the sweet moon in the horizon's verge. The maid was on the verge of womanhood; The boy had fewer summers, but his heart Had far outgrown his years, and to his eye There was but one beloved free on earth, And that was shining on him."

I stood upon the spot consecrated by this memorable interview. Below me extended the "living landscape," once contemplated by the loving pair; the gentle valley of Newstead, diversified by woods and corn-fields, and an extensive deep-wooded grove, and gleams of water, and the distant towers and pavilions of the venerable Abbey. The diadem of trees, however, was gone. The attention drawn to it by the poet, and the romantic manner in which he had associated it with his early passion, made it more interesting. Mary Chaworth, had not the irritable feelings of her husband, who but ill brooked the poetic celebrity conferred on his wife by the enamored verses of another. The celebrated grove stood on his estate, and in a fit of spleen he ordered it to be levelled with the dust. At the time of my visit the mere roots of the trees were visible; but the hand that laid them low is execrated by every poetical pilgrim.

Descending the hill, we soon entered a part of what once was Annesley Park, and rode among time-worn and tempest-riven oaks and elms, with ivy clambering about their trunks, and rooks' nests among their branches. The park had been cut up by a post-road, crossing which, we came to the gate-house of Annesley Hall. It was a large old brick mansion, and the view of it, as an outpost or barbacan to the Hall during the civil wars, when every gentleman's house was liable to become a fortress. Loopholes were still visible in its walls, but the peaceful ivy had mantled the sides, overrun the roof, and almost buried the ancient clock in front, that still marked the waning hours of its decay.

An arched way led through the centre of the gate-house, secured by grated doors of open iron work, wrought into flowers and flourishes. These being thrown open, we entered a paved courtyard, decorated with shrubs and antique flower-pots, with a ruined stone fountain in the centre. The whole approach resembled that of an old French chateau.

On one side of the court-yard was a range of stables, now tenantless, but which bore traces of the fox-hunting squire; for there were stalls boxed up, into which the hunters might be turned loose when they came home from the chase.

At the lower end of the court, and immediately opposite the gate-house, extended the Hall itself; a rambling, irregular pile, patched and pieced at various times, and in various tastes, with gable ends, stone balustrades, and enormous chimneys.
that strutted out like buttresses from the walls. The whole front of the edifice was over-run with evergreens.

We were admitted for admission at the front door, which was under a heavy porch. The portal was strongly barred with iron and our knocking was echoed by wails and empty halls. Everything bore an appearance of abandonment. After a time, the gatekeeper admitted a solitary tenant from some remote corner of the pile. It was a decent-looking little dame, who emerged from a side door at a distance, and seemed a worthy inmate of the antiquated mansion. She had, in fact, grown old with it. Her name, she said, was Nanny Marsden; if she lived until next August, she would be seventy-one; a great part of her life had been passed in the Hall, and when the family had removed to Nottingham, she had been left in charge of it. The front of the house had been thus warily barricaded in consequence of the late riots at Nottingham, in the course of which the dwelling of her master had been sacked by the mob. To guard against any attempt of the kind upon the Hall, she had put it in this state of bolted doors. The and old superannuated gardener comprised the whole garrison. "You must be attached to the old building," said I, "after having lived so long in it." "Ah, sir!" replied she, "I am getting in years, and do not expect a furred quarter of my own in Annesley Wood, and begin to feel as if I should like to go and live in my own home."

Guided by the worthy little custodian of the fortress, we entered through the sally port by which she had issued forth, and soon found ourselves in a spacious, but somewhat gloomy hall, where the light was partially admitted through square stone-shafted windows, overhung with ivy. Everything around us had the air of an old-fashioned country squire's establishment. In the centre of the hall was a billiard-table, and about the walls were hung portraits of race-horses, hunters, and favorite dogs, mingled indiscriminately with family pictures.

Staircases led up from the hall to various apartments. In one of the rooms we were shown a couple of Staffordshire and a pair of ancient jack-boots, of the time of the cavaliers; relics which are often to be met with in the old English family mansions. These, however, had peculiar value, for the good little dame assured us that they had been brought from the site of old Hall, where they were in the midst of the region over which that famous outlaw once bore ruffian sway, it was not for us to gain his claim to any of these valuable relics, though we might have demanded that the articles of dress here shown were of a date much later than his time. Every antiquity, however, at least Sherwood Forest is apt to be linked with the memory of Robin Hood and his gang.

As we were strolling about the mansion, our footed attendant, Bowswain, followed leisurely, as if taking a survey of the premises. I turned to rebuke him for his intrusion, but the moment the old housekeeper understood he had belonged to Lord Byron, her heart seemed to yearn toward him.

"Nay, nay," exclaimed she, "let him alone, let him do as he pleases. It's welcome. Ah, dear me! If he lived here I should take great care of him—he should want for nothing—Well!" continued she, fondling him, "who would have thought that I should see a dog of Lord Byron in Annesley Hall!"

"I suppose, then," said I, "you recollect something of Lord Byron, when he used to visit here?" "Ah, bless him!" cried she, "that I do! He used to ride over here and stay three days at a time, and sleep in the blue room. Ah poor fellow! He was very much taken with my young mistress; he used to walk about the garden and the terrace with her, and seemed to love the very ground she trod on. He used to call her his bright morning star of Annecy."

I felt the beautiful poetic phrase thrill through me.

"You appear to like the memory of Lord Byron," said I.

"Ah, sir! why should not! He was always main good to me when he came here. Well, well, they say it is a pity he and my young lady did not make a match. Her mother would have liked it. He was always a welcome guest, and some think it would have been well for him to have had her; but it was not to be! He went away to school, and then Mr. Musters saw her, and so things took their course."

The simple soul now showed us into the favorite sitting-room of Miss Chaworth, with a small flower-window, in which she had delighted. In this room Byron used to sit and listen to her as she played and sang, gazing upon her with the passionate, and almost painful devotion of a love-sick stripling. He himself gives us a glowing picture of his mute idolatry:

"He had no breath, no being, but in hers;
She was his voice; he did not speak to her,
But trembled on her words; she was his sight,
For his eye followed hers, and saw with hers,
Which colored all his objects; he had ceased
To live within himself; she was his life,
The ocean to the river of his thoughts,
Which terminated all: upon a tone,
A touch of hers, his blood would ebb and flow,
And his cheek change tempestuously—his heart
Unknown of its cause of agony."

There was a little Welsh air, called "Mary Ann," which, from bearing her own name, he associated with herself, and often persuaded her to sing it over and over for him.

The chamber, like all the other parts of the house, had a look of sadness and neglect; the flower-pots beneath the windows, which once bloomed beneath the hand of Mary Chaworth, were over-run with weeds; and the piano, which had once vibrated to her touch, and thrilled the heart of her stripling lover, was now unstrung and out of tune.

We continued our stroll about the waste apartments, of all shapes and sizes, and without much elegance of decoration. Some of them were hung with family portraits, among which was painted out that of the Miss Chaworth who was killed by the "wicked Lord Byron."

These dismal looking portraits had a powerful effect upon the imagination of the stripling poet, on his first visit to the hall. As they gazed down from the wall, they thought they scowled upon him, as if they had taken a grudge against him on account of the duel of his ancestor. He even gave this as a reason, though probably in jest, for not sleeping at the Hall, declaring that he feared they would come down from their frames at night to haunt him.

A feeling of the kind he has embodied in one of his stanzas of "Don Juan:"

NEWSTEAD ABBEY.
She knew she was by him beloved; she knew
For quickly comes such knowledge, that his heart
Was darkened with her shadow, and she saw
That he was wretched, but she saw not all.
He rose, and with a cold and gentle grasp
He took her hand; a sentiment o'er his face
A tablet of unutterable thoughts
Was traced, and then it faded as it came;
He dropped the hand he held, and with slow steps
Returned, but not as laddering his slumber.
For they did part with mutual smiles—he pass'd
From out the massy gate of that old Hall,
And mounting on his steed he went his way,
And ne'er repaid that hoary threshold more.

In one of his journals, Lord Byron describes
his feelings after thus leaving the oratory.
Arriving on the summit of a hill, which commanded
the last view of Annesley, he checked his horse,
and gazed back with mingled pain and fondness
upon the groves which embellished the Hall, and
thought upon the lovely being that dwelt there,
until his feelings were quite dissolved in tenderness.
The conviction at length recurred that she
never could be his, when, rousing himself from
his reverie, he struck his spurs into his steed and
dashed forward, as if by rapid motion to leave
reflection behind him.

Yet, notwithstanding what he asserts in the
verses last quoted, he did pass the "hoary threshold" of Annesley again. It was, however, after
the lapse of several years, during which he had
grown up to manhood, and had passed through
the ordeal of pleasures and tumultuous passions,
and had felt the influence of other charms.
Miss Chaworth, too, had become a wife and a mother,
and he dined at Annesley Hall at the invitation of
her husband. He thus met the object of his
early idolatry in the very scene of his tender devotions, which, as he says, her smiles had once
made a heaven to him. The scene was but little
changed. He was in the very chamber where
he had so often listened entranced to the witchery
of her voice; there were the same instruments
and music; there lay her flower garden beneath
the window, and the walks through which he had
wandered with her in the intoxication of youthful
love. Can we wonder that amidst the tender
recollections which every object around him was
calculated to awaken, the fond passion of his
boyhood should rush back in full current to his heart?
He gripped himself surpris'd to read in him
a sudden reversion of his feelings, but he had acquired
self-possession and could command them. His
firmness, however, was doomed to undergo a
further trial. While seated by the object of his
secret devotions, with all these recollections
throbbing in his bosom, her infant daughter was
brought into the room. At sight of the child he
started; it dispelled the last lingering of his
dream, and he afterward confessed, that to
repress his emotion at the moment, was the severest
part of his task.

The conflict of feelings that raged within his
bosom throughout this fond and tender, yet painful
and embarrassing visit, are touchingly depicted in lines which he wrote immediately afterward,
and which, though not addressed to her by name,
are evidently intended for the eye and
the heart of the fair lady of Annesley:

"Well I thou art happy, and I feel
That I should thus be happy too;
For still my heart regards thy seal
Warmly, as it was wont to do,
"Thy husband's best—and I'll impart
Someлан to make his happier lot;
But let him pass—Oh! I how my heart
Would hate him, if he loved thee not!

When late I saw thy favorite child
I thought my jealous heart would break;
But when the unconscious infant smiled,
I kissed it for its mother's sake.

I kiss'd it, and repress'd my sighs
Its father in its face to see;
But then it had its mother's eyes,
And they were all to love and me.

Mary, adieu! I must away:
While thou art blest I'll not repine;
But near thee I can never stay;
My heart would soon again be thine.

I deem'd that time, I deem'd that pride
Had quench'd at length my boyish flame;
Nor knew, till seated by thy side,
My heart in all, save love, the same.

Yet I was calm: I knew the time
My breast would thrill before thy look;
But now to tremble were a crime—
We met, and not a nerve was shook.

I saw thee gaze upon my face,
Yet meet with no confusion there;
One only feeling could'st thou trace;
The soiled calmness of despair.

Away! away! my early dream
Remembrance never must awake;
Oh! where is Lethe's failed stream?
My foolish heart, be still, or break.

The revival of this early passion, and the melancholy associations which it spread over those scenes in the neighborhood of Newstead, which would necessarily be the places of his frequent resort while in England, are alluded to by him as a principal cause of his first departure for the Continent:

"When man expell'd from Eden's bowers
A moment linger'd near the gate;
Each scene recalled the vanished hours,
And bade him curse his future fate.

But wandering on through distant climes,
He learnt to bear his load of grief;
Just gave a sigh to other times,
And found in busier scenes relief.

Thus, Mary, must it be with me,
And I must view thy charms no more;
For, while I linger near to thee,
I sigh for all I knew before."

It was in the subsequent June that he set off on his pilgrimage by sea and land, which was to become the theme of his immortal poem. That image of Mary Chaworth, as he saw and loved her in the days of his boyhood, followed him to the very shore, is shown in the glowing stanzas addressed to her on the eve of embarkation—

"'Tis done—and shivering in the gale
The bark unfurls her snowy sail;
And whistling o'er the bending mast,
Loud sings on high the fresh'ning blast;
And I must from this land be gone,
Because I cannot love but one.

And I will cross the whitening foam,
And I will seek to foreign home;
Till I forget a false fair face,
I ne'er shall find a resting place;
My own dear thoughts I cannot shun,
But ever love, and love but one.

To think of every scene,
Of what we are, and what we've been,
Wouldwhelm some softer hearts with woe—
But mine, alas! I have stood the blow;
Yet still beats on it as begun,
And never truly loves but one.

And who that dear loved one may be
Is not for vulgar eyes to see,
And why that early love was cross'd,
Thou know'st the best, I feel the most;
But few that dwell beneath the sun
Have loved so long, and loved but one.

I've tried another's fetters too,
With charms, percyance, as fair to view;
And I would fain have loved as well,
But some unconquerable spell
Forbid me my bleeding breast to own
A kindred care for aught but one.

The painful interview at Annesley Hall, which revives with such intensity his early passion, remained stamped upon his memory with singular force, and seems to have suffered all his "wandering through distant climes," to which he trusted as an oblivious antidote. Upward of two years after that event, when, having made his famous pilgrimage, he was once more an inmate of Newstead Abbey, his vicinity to Annesley Hall brought the whole scene vividly before him, and he thus recalls it in a poetic epistle to a friend—

"I've seen my bride another's bride,—
Have seen her seated by his side,—
Have seen that infant which he bore,
Weary the sweet smile the mother wore,
When she and I in youth have smiled
As fond and faultless as her child—
Have seen her eyes, in cold disdain,
Ask if I felt no secret pain.

And I have acted well my part,
And made my cheek blemish my heart,
Returned the freezing glance she gave,
Yet felt the while that woman's slave—
Have kiss'd, as if without design,
The babe which ought to have been mine,
And show'd, alas! in each care,
Time had not made me love the less.

It was about the time," says Moore in his life of Lord Byron, "when he was thus bitterly feeling and expressing the blight which his heart had suffered from a real object of affection, that his poems on an imaginary one, 'Thyrza,' were written." He was at the same time grieving over the loss of several of his earliest and dearest friends, the companionships of his joyous school-boy hours. To recur to the beautiful language of Moore, who writes with the kindred and kindling sympathies of a true poet: "All these recollections of the young and the dead mingled them-
selves in his mind with the image of her, who, though living, was for him, as much lost as they, and diffused that general feeling of sadness and fondness through his soul, which found a vent in these poems. It was the blending of the two affections in his memory and imagination, that gave birth to an ideal object combining the best features of both, and drew from him those saddest and tenderest of love poems, in which we find all the depth and intensity of real feeling, touched over with such a light as no reality ever wore.

An early, innocent, and unfortunate passion, however fruitful of pain it may be to the man, is a lasting advantage to the poet. It is a well of sweet and bitter fancies; of refined and gentle sentiments; of elevated and ennobling thoughts; shut up in the deep recesses of the heart, keeping it green amidst the withering blights of the world, and, by its casual gushings and overflows, recalled at times all the freshness, and innocence, and enthusiasm of youthful days. Lord Byron was conscious of this effect, and purposely cherished and brooded over the remembrance of his early passion, and of all the scenes of Annelsey Hall connected with it. It was this remembrance that attuned his mind to some of its most elevated and virtuous strains, and shed an inexplicable grace and pathos over his best productions.

Being thus put upon the traces of this little love-story, I cannot refrain from threading them out, and of course appear from time to time in various passages of Lord Byron's works. During his subsequent rambles in the East, when time and distance had softened away his "early romance" almost into the remembrance of a pleasing and tender dream, he received accounts of the object of it, which represented her, still in her paternal Hall, among her native bowers of Annelsey, surrounded by a blooming and beautiful family, yet a prey to secret and withering melancholy —

"In her home, A thousand leagues from his, her native home, She dwelt, begirt with growing infancy, Daughters and sons of beauty, but — beheld! Upon her face there was the tint of grief, The settled shadow of an inward strife, And an unquiet drooping of the eye, As if its lids were charged with unshed tears."

For an instant the buried tenderness of early youth and the fluttering hopes which accompanied it, seemed to have revived in his bosom, and the idea to have flashed upon his mind that his image might be connected with her secret woes — but he rejected the thought almost as soon as formed.

"What could her grief be? — she had all she loved, And he who had so loved her was not there To trouble with bad hopes, or evil wish, Or ill-repro'd affection, her pure thoughts. What could her grief be? — she had loved him not, Nor given him cause to deem himself beloved, Nor could he be a part of that which prey'd Upon her mind — a spectacle of the past."

The cause of her grief was a matter of rural comment in the neighborhood of Newstead and Annelsey. It was disconnected from all idea of Lord Byron, but attributed to the harsh and capricious conduct of one to whose kindness and affection she had a sacred claim. The domestic squabbles which had long preyed in secret on her heart, at length affected her intellect, and the bright morning star of Annelsey" was eclipsed for ever.

"The lady of his love,— oh! she was changed As by the sickness of the soul; her mind Had wandered from its dwelling, and her eyes, They had not their lustre, but the look Which is not of the earth; she was become The queen of a fantastic realm: but her thoughts Were combinations of disjointed things; And forms impalpable and unperceived Of others' sight, familiar to her, And this the world calls frenzy."

Notwithstanding lapse of time, change of place, and a succession of splendid and spirit-stirring scenes in various countries, the quiet and gentle scene of his boyish love seems to have held a magic sway over the recollections of Lord Byron, and the image of Mary Chaworth to have unexpectedly obtruded itself upon his mind like some supernatural visitation. Such was the fact on the occasion of his marriage with Miss Milbanke; Annelsey Hall and all its fond associations floated like a vision before his thoughts, even when at the altar, and on the point of pronouncing the nuptial vows. The circumstance is related by him with a force and feeling that persuade us of its truth.

"A change came o'er the spirit of my dream. The wanderer was returned. — I saw him stand Before me in the Hall, a man. — The man! His face was fair, but was not that which made The star-light of his boyhood; — as he stood Even at the altar, o'er his brow there came The self-same aspect, and the quivering shock That in the antique oratory shook His bosom in its solitude; and then — As in that hour — a moment o'er his face The tablet of mutterable thoughts Was traced, and then it faded as it came, And he stood calm and quiet, and spoke The fitting vows, but heard not his own words, And all things round about him; he could see Not that which was, nor that which should have been — But the old mansion, and the accustomed hall, And the remember'd chambers, and the place, The day, the hour, the sunshine, and the shade, All things pertaining to that place and hour, And her who was his destiny, came back, And thrust themselves between him and the light; What business had they there at such a time?"

The history of Lord Byron's union is too well known to need narration. The errors, and humiliations, and heart-burnings that followed upon it, gave additional effect to the remembrance of his early passion, and tormented him with the idea, that had he been successful in his suit to the lovely heiress of Annelsey, they might both have shared a happier destiny. In one of his manuscripts, written long after his marriage, having accidentally mentioned Miss Chaworth as "my M. A. C. " "Alas!

"What was the sudden burst of feeling, 'why do I say my? Our union would have healed feuds in which blood had been shed by our fathers; it would have joined lands broad and rich; it would have joined at least our heart, and two persons not ill-matched in years — and — and — what has been the result?"

But enough of Annelsey Hall and the poetical themes connected with it. I felt as if I could linger for hours about its ruin, its oratory, and silent hall, and neglected garden, and spin revi-
world around me. The day, however, was fast declining, and the shadows of evening throwing deeper shades of melancholy about the place. Taking our leave of the worthy old housekeeper, therefore, with a small compensation and many thanks for her civilities, we mounted our horses and pursued our way back to Newstead Abbey.

**NEWSTEAD ABBEY.**

**THE LAKE.**

**Before the mansion lay a lucid lake,**
Broad as transparent, deep, and freshly fed,
By a river, which its softened way did take
In currents through the calmer water spread
Around: the wild fowl nestled in the brake
As serpents, brooding in their liquid bed;
The woods sloped downward to its brink, and stood
With their green faces fixed upon the flood.

Such is Lord Byron's description of one of a series of beautiful sheets of water, formed in old times by the monks by damming up the course of a small river. Here he used daily to enjoy his favorite recreations in swimming and sailing. The 'wicked old Lord,' in his scheme of rural devastation, had cut down all the woods that once fringed the lake; Lord Byron, on coming of age, endeavored to restore them, and a beautiful young wood, planted by him, now sweeps up from the water's edge, and clothes the hilside opposite to the Abbey. To this woody nook Colonel Wildman has given the appropriate title of 'the Poet's Corner.'

The lake has inherited its share of the traditions and fables connected with everything in and about the Abbey. It was a petty Mediterranean sea on which the 'wicked old Lord' used to gratify his nautical tastes and humor. He had his mimic castles and fortresses along its shores, and his mimic fleets upon its waters, and used to get up mimic sea-fights. The remains of his petty fortifications still awaken the curious inquiries of visitors. In one of his vagaries, he caused a large vessel to be brought on wheels from the sea-coast and launched in the lake. The colonel's people were to see a ship thus sailing over dry land. They called to mind a saying of Mother Shipton, the famous prophet of the vulgar, that whenever a shipwright fringed with life should cross Sherwood Forest, Newstead would pass out of the Byron family. The country people, who detested the old Lord, were anxious to verify the prophecy. Ling, in the dialect of Nottingham, is the name for heath; with this plant they heaped the fated bark as it passed, so that it arrived full freighted at Newstead.

The most important stories about the lake, however, relate to the treasures that are supposed to lie buried in its bosom. These may have taken their origin in a fact which actually occurred. There was one time fished up from the deep part of the lake a great eagle of molten bronze, with expelled wings, and upon the pedestal or perch of the same metal. It had doubtless served as a stand or reading-desk, in the Abbey chapel, to hold a folio Bible or missal.

The sacred relic was sent to a brazer to be cleaned. As he was at work upon it, he discovered that the pedestal was hollow and composed of several pieces. Unscrewing these, he drew forward a number of parchment deeds and grants appertaining to the Abbey, and bearing the seals of Edward III. and Henry VIII., which had thus been concealed, and ultimately sunk in the lake by the friars, to substantiate their right and title to these domains at some future day.

One of the parchment scrolls thus discovered, throws rather an awkward light upon the kind of life led by the friars of Newstead. It is an indulgence granted to them for a certain number of months, in which plenary pardon is assured in advance for all kinds of crimes, among which, several of the most gross and sensual are specifically mentioned, and the weakness of the flesh to which they are prone.

After inspecting these testimonials of monkish life, in the regions of Sherwood Forest, we cease to wonder at the virtuous indignation of Robin Hood and his outlaw crew, at the sleek sensualists of the cloister:

"I never hurt the husbandman,
That use to fill the ground,
Nor spill their blood that range the wood
To follow hawk and hound.

"My chiefest spite to clergy is,
They keep these woods away.
With friars and monks with their fine spunks,
I make my chiefest prey."

**OLD BALLAD OF ROBIN HOOD.**

The brazen eagle has been transferred to the parochial and collegiate church of Southall, about twenty miles from Newstead, where it may still be seen in the centre of the chancel, supporting, as of yore, a ponderous Bible. As to the documents it contained, they are carefully treasured up by the Colonel Wildman among his other deeds and papers, in an iron chest secured by a patent lock of nine bolts, almost equal to a magic spell.

The fishing up of this brazen relic, as I have already hinted, has given rise to the tales of treasure lying at the bottom of the lake, thrown there by the monks when they abandoned the Abbey. The favorite story is, that there is a great iron chest there filled with gold and jewels, and choicest curiosities. Nay, that it has been seen, when the water of the lake was unusually low. These attempts to move it were ineffectual; either the gold it contained was too ponderous, or what is more probable, it was secured by one of those magic spells usually laid upon hidden treasure. It remains, therefore, at the bottom of the lake to this day; and it is to be hoped, may one day or other be discovered by the present worthy proprietor.

**ROBIN HOOD AND SHERWOOD FOREST.**

While at Newstead Abbey I took great delight in riding and rambling about the neighborhood, studying out the traces of merry Sherwood Forest, and visiting the haunts of Robin Hood. The relics of the old forest are few and scattered, but as to the bold outlaw who once held a kind of freebooting sway over it, there is scarce a hill or dale, a cliff or cavern, a well or fountain, in this part of the country, that is not connected with his memory. The very names of some of the tenants on the Newstead estate, such as Healdall and Hardstaff, sound as if they may have been borne in old times by some of the stalwart fellows of the outlaw gang.
One of the earliest books that captivated my fancy when a child, was a collection of Robin Hood ballads, "adorned with cuts," which I bought of an old Scotch pedlar, at the cost of all my holiday money. How I devoured its pages!... and devoured upon the woodcuts! For a time my mind was filled with picturings of "merry Sherwood," and the exploits and reveling of the bold foresters; and Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, and their doughty companions, were my heroes of romance, of our ride. Our devils road wound down, at one time among rocky dells, by wandering streams, and lonely pools, haunted by shy water-fowl. We passed through a skirt of woodland, of more modern plantings, but considered a legitimate offspring of the ancient forest, and commonly called Jock of Sherwood. In riding through these quiet, solitary scenes, the partridge and pheasant would now and then burst upon the wing, and the hare scud away before us.

Another of these rambling rides in quest of popular antiquities, was to a chain of rocky cliffs, called the Kirkby Crags, which skirt the Robin Hood hills. Here, leaving my horse at the foot of the crags, I scaled the ragged steeps, and seated myself in a niche of the rock, called Robin Hood's chair. It commands a wide prospect over the valley of Newstead, and here the bold outlaw is said to have taken his seat, and kept a look-out upon the roads below, watching for merchants, and bishops, and other wealthy travellers, upon whom to pounce down, like an eagle from his eyrie.

Descending from the cliffs and remounting my horse, a ride of a mile or two further along a narrow path, as it was called, which wound up into the hills between perpendicular rocks, led to an artificial cavern cut in the face of a cliff, with a door and window wrought through the living stone. This bears the name of Friar Tuck's cell, or hermitage, where, according to tradition, that jovial anchorite used to make good cheer and boisterous revel with his freebooting comrades.

Such were some of the vestiges of old Sherwood and its renowned "syllable" county that I visited in the neighborhood of Newstead. The worthy clergyman who officiated as chaplain at the Abbey, seeing my zeal in the cause, informed me of a considerable tract of the ancient forest, still in existence about ten miles distant. There were many fine old oaks in it, he said, that had stood for centuries, but were now shattered and "stag-headed," that is to say, their upper branches were bare, and blasted, and straggling out like the antlers of a deer. Their trunks, too, were hollow, and full of crows and jackdaws, who made them their nesting places. He occasionally rode over to the forest in the long summer evenings, and pleased himself with loitering in the twilight about the green alleys and under the stately trees.

The description given by the chaplain made me anxious to visit this remnant of old Sherwood and he kindly offered to be my guide and companion. We accordingly sallied forth one morning on horseback on this sylvan expedition. Our ride took us through a part of the country, where King John had once held a hunting seat; the ruins of which are still to be seen. At that time the whole neighborhood was an open royal forest, or Frank chase, as it was termed; for King John was an enemy to parks and forests and other enclosures, by which game was fenced in for the benefit of the nobility.

Here and there, in the depths of the forest, we found a small garden, which had been of late years neglected, for the purpose of planting oaks by the thousands; this may be owing to the great number of trees that had to be felled, to make room for new plantings. We paused not long at these spots, for we were on a holiday ride, and we found our enjoyment in the woods, not in gazing with wondering delight at a collection of trees, or at a single specimen of a different kind. We passed through this wood, with all its bare spots, until at length we came to a kind of glade, where a few fine oaks, and a clump or two of stately trees, had been left standing in a green lawn, which had evidently been plowed out for the purpose of planting trees of another kind. We halted here, and enjoyed the change, taking a long look at the glade, for it was still in a fair state of growth; and the wood in which it stood, still a forest, with no signs of being cut down.

Thus our day's ramble concluded, we retired from the woods to the road, which we followed to the town, where we dined at the "Boar's Head," and then continued our journey, content to have passed the day in the woods.
for the private benefit and recreation of the nobles and the clergy.

Here, on the brow of a gentle hill, commanding an extensive prospect of what had once been forest, stood another of those monumental trees, which, to my mind, gave a peculiar interest to this neighborhood. It was the Parliament Oak, so called in memory of an assemblage of the kind held by King John beneath its shade. The lapse of upward of six centuries had reduced this once mighty tree to a mere crumbling fragment, yet, like a gigantic torso in ancient statuary, the grandeur of the mutilated trunk gave evidence of what it had been in the days of its glory. In contemplating its moulderings remains, the fancy busied itself in calling up the scene that must have been presented beneath its shade, when this sunny hill swarmed with the pageant of a warlike and hunting court. When silken pavilions and heavy tents decked its crest, and royal standards, and baronial banners, and knightly pennons rolled out to the breeze. When prelates and courtiers, and steel-clad chivalry thronged round the person of the monarch, while at a distance the forests in green, and all the rural and hunting train that waited upon his sylvan sports.

"A thousand vassals mustered round
With horse, and hawk, and horn, and hound;
And through the brake the rangers start,
And falconers hold the ready hawk;
And foresters in green-wood trim
Lead in the lead the greyhound grim."

Such was the phantasmaporia that presented itself for a moment to my imagination, peopling the silent place before me with empty shadows of the past. The reverie however was transient; king, courtier, and steel-clad warrior, and forester in green, with horn, and hawk, and hound, all faded again into oblivion, and I awoke to all that remained of this once stirring scene of human pomp and power—a mouldering oak, and a tradition.

"We are such stuff as dreams are made of!"

A ride of a few miles farther brought us at length among the venerable and classic shades of Sherwood. Here I was delighted to find myself in a genuine wild wood, of primitive and natural growth, and not to be met with. This thickly peopled and highly cultivated country. It reeled me of the aboriginal forests of my native land. I rode through natural alleys and green wood-groves, carpeted with grass and shaded by lofty and beautiful birches. What most interested me, however, was to behold amid these mighty trunks of veteran oaks, old monumental trees, the patriarchs of Sherwood Forest. They were shotted, hollow, and moss-grown, it is true, and their leafy branches were nearly departed; but like mouldering towers they were noble and picturesque in their decay, and gave evidence, even in their ruins, of their ancient grandeur.

As I gazed about me upon these vestiges of the ancient "Merrie Sherwood," the picturings of my boyish fancy began to rise in my mind, and Robin Hood and his men to stand before me.

"He clothed himself in scarlet then,
And his men were all in green:
A finer show throughout the world
In no place could be seen."

NEWSTEAD ABBEY.
and ended in the treaty of fellowship. As to the
hardy feats, both of sword and treacher, per-
fixed among the "curt friar," behold are they
not recorded at length in the ancient ballads, and
in the magic pages of Ivanhoe?

The evening was fast coming on, and the twi-
light thickening, as we rode through these haunts
famous in outlaw story. A melancholy seemed
to gather over the landscape as we proceeded,
for our course lay by shadowy woods, and across
naked heaths, and along lonely roads, marked by
some of those sinister names by which the coun-
try people in England are apt to make dreary
places still more dreary. The horrors of
Thieves' Wood," and the "Murderers' Stone,
and "the Hag Nook," had all to be encountered
in the gathering gloom of evening, and threatened
to beset our path with more than mortal peril.
Happily, however, we passed these ominous
places unharmed, and arrived in safety at the
portal of Newstead Abbey, highly satisfied with
our green-wood foray.

THE ROOK CELL.

In the course of my sojourn at the Abbey, I
changed my quarters from the magnificent old
state apartment haunted by Sir John Byron the
Little, to another in a remote corner of the
ancient edifice, immediately adjoining the ruined
chapel. It possessed still more interest in my
eyes, from having been the sleeping apartment
of Lord Byron during his residence at the Abbey.
The furniture remained the same. Here was the
bed in which he slept, and which he had brought
with him from college; its gilded posts sur-
mounted by coronets, giving evidence of his
aristocratical feelings. Here was likewise his
college sofa; and about the walls were the
portraits of his favorite butler, old Joe Murray,
of his fancy acquaintance, Jackson the pugilist,
and, together with pictures of Harrow School and the
College at Cambridge, at which he was educated.

The bedchamber goes by the name of the Rook
Cell, from its vicinity to the Rookery which, since
time immemorial, has maintained possession of a
solemn grove adjacent to the chapel. This vener-
able community afforded me much food for
speculation during my residence in this apartment.
In the morning I used to hear them
gradually waking and seeming to call each other
up. After a time, the whole fraternity would be
in a flutter; some balancing and swinging on the
tree tops, others perched on the pinnacle of the
Abbey church, or wheeling and hovering about
in the air, and the ruined walls would reverberate
with their incessant cawings. In this way they
would linger about the rookery and its vicinity
for the early part of the morning, when, having
apparently mustered all their forces, called over
the roll, and determined upon their line of march,
they one and all would sail off in a long straggling
flight to murder the distant fields. They would
forge the country for miles, and remain absent
day, excepting now and then a scout would
come home, as if to see that all was well. Tow-
ard night the whole host might be seen, like a
dark cloud in the distance, winging their way
homeward. They came, as it were, with whoop
and hallow, wheeling high in the air above the
Abbey, making various evolutions before they
alighted, and then keeping up an incessant caw-

ing in the tree tops, until they gradually fell
asleep.

It is remarked at the Abbey, that the rooks,
though they sally forth on forays throughout the
week, yet keep about the venerable edifice on
Sundays, as if they had inherited a reverence for
the day, from their ancient confreres, the monks.

Indeed, a believer in the metempsychosis might
easily imagine these Gothic-looking birds to be
the embodied souls of the ancient friars still
hovering about their sanctified abode.

I dislike to disturb any point of popular and
pastoral faith, and was loth, therefore, to question
the authenticity of this mysterious reverence for
the Sabbath on the part of the Newstead rooks;
but certainly in the course of my sojourn in the
Rook Cell, I detected them in a flagrant out-
break and foray on a bright Sunday morning.

Beside the occasional clamor of the rookery,
this remote apartment was often greeted with
sounds of a different kind, from the neighboring
ruins. The great lancet window in front of the
chapel, adjoining the very wall of the chamber;
and the mysterious sounds from it at night have
been well described by Lord Byron:

"Now loud, now frantick,
The gale sweeps through its fretwork, and oft sings
The owl his anthem, when the silent quire
Lie with their hallelujahs quenched like fire.

"But on the noontide of the moon, and when
The wind is winged from one point of heaven,
There moans a strange unearthy sound, which then
Is musical—a dying accent driven
Through the huge arch, which soars and sinks again.
Some deem it but the distant echo given
Back to the night wind by the waterfall,
And harmonized by the old choral wall.

"Others, that some original shape or form,
Shaped by decay perchance, hath given the power
To this gray ruin, with a voice to charm.
Sail, sail, but serene, it sweeps o'er tree or tower
The cause I know not, nor can solve; but such
The fact is—I've heard it,—once perhaps too much."

Never was a traveller in quest of the romantic
in greater luck. I had in sooth found, in
another haunted apartment of the Abbey; for in
this chamber Lord Byron declared he had more
than once been harassed at midnight by a mys-
erious visitor. A black shapeless form would
sit cowering upon his bed, and after gazing at
him for a time with glaring eyes, would roll off
disappear. The same uncouth apparition is
said to have disturbed the slumber of a newly
married couple that once passed their honey-
moon in this apartment.

I would observe, that the access to the Rook
Cell is by a spiral stone staircase leading up into
it, as into a turret, from the long shadowy cori-
der over the cloisters, one of the midnight walks
of the Goblin Friar. Indeed, to the fancies en-
gendered in his brain in this remote and lonely
apartment, incorporated with the floating super-
stitions of the Abbey, we are no doubt indebted
for the spectral scene in "Don Juan."

"Then as the night was clear, though cold, he threw
His chamber door wide open, and went forth
Into a gallery, of sombre hue,
Long furnish'd with old pictures of great worth.
Of knights and dames, heroic and chaste too,
As doubtless should be people of high birth,
No sound except the echo of his sigh
Or step can radially that antique house
When suddenly he heard, or thought so, nigh.
A supernatural agent—or a mouse.
Whose little nibbling rustle will increase
Marrying people as it plays along the area.

It was a mouse, but to a monk, arrayed
In cowl, and beads, and dusky garb, appeared,
Now in the moonlight, and now lapsed in shade;
With steps that trod as true, yet unheard,
His garments only a slightly murmured noise;
And he was a sly, or rather weird,
But slowly; and as he passed Juan by
Glared, without pausing, on him a bright eye.

Juan was petrified; he had heard a hint
Of such a spirit in these halls of old,
But thought, like most men, there was nothing in
Beyond the rumor which such spots unfold,
Coin'd from surviving superstition's mist,
Which passes ghosts in currency like gold,
But rarely seen, like gold compared with paper.
And did he see this? or was it a vapor?

Once, twice, thrice passed, repass'd—the thing of air,
Of sight, or sound, or other place;
And Juan gazond upon it with a stare,
Yet could not speak or move; but, on its base
As stands a statue, stood; he felt his hair
Like a lift of water around his face;
He tax'd his tongue for words, which were not
Granted to ask the reverend person what he wanted.

The third time, after a still longer pause,
The shadow pass'd away—where but where the hall
Was long, and thus far no great cause
to think his vanishing unnatural;
Doors there were many, through which, by the laws
Of physics, bodies, whether short or tall,
Might come or go; but Juan could not state
Through which the spirit seem'd to evaporate.

He stood, how long he knew not, but it seem'd
An age, exasperate, powerless, with his eyes
Strain'd on the spot where first the figure gleam'd;
Then by degrees recall'd his energies,
And would have pass'd the whole off as a dream,
But could not wake; he was, he did rise,
Waking already, and return'd at length
Back to his chamber, thing of half his strength.

As I have already observed, it is difficult
to determine whether Lord Byron was really subject
to the superstitious fancies which have been imputed
to him, or whether he merely amused himself
by giving currency to them among his domestics and dependents. He certainly never
scrupled to express a belief in supernatural visitations,
both verbally and in his correspondence.
If such were his folly, the Rook Cell was an admirable place
to engender these delusions. As
I have lain awake at night, I have heard all kind
of mysterious and sighing sounds from the neighboring
ruin. Distant footsteps, too, and i.e.
closing doors in remote parts of the Abbey,
would send hollow reverberations and echoes
along the corridor and up the spiral stair-case.

Once, in fact, I was roused, by a strange sound
at the very door of my chamber. I threw it open,
and a form "black and shapeless with glaring eyes" stood before me.
It proved, however, neither ghost nor goblin, but my friend
Boatswain. Now, that I had conceived a companionable liking for,
and occasionally sought me in my apartment.
To the hauntings of even such a visitor as honest
Boatswain may we attribute some of the marvellous stories about the Goblin Friar.

THE LITTLE WHITE LADY.

In the course of a morning's ride with Colonel Wildman, about the Abbey lands, we found ourselves
in one of the prettiest little wild woods imaginable. The road to it had led us among rockv ravines overgrown with thicket, and how
wound through birch-dingles and among beautiful groves and clumps of elms and beeches. A
limpid rill of sparkling water, winding and doubling
in perplexed maze, crossed our path repeatedly, so as to give the wood the appearance of
being watered by numerous rivulets. The solitary
and romantic look of this piece of woodland,
and the frequent recurrence of its many streams,
put him in mind, Colonel Wildman said, of the
little German fairy tale of Undine, in which
is recorded the adventures of a knight who had married
a water-nymph. As he rode with his bride
through her native woods, every stream claimed her as a relative; one was a brother,
other an uncle, another a cousin.

We rode on amusing ourselves with applying
this fanciful tale to the charming scenery
around us, until we came to a lovely grey-stone
farmhouse, of ancient date, situated in a solitary glen,
on the margin of the brook, and overshadowed
by venerable trees. It was told, of the Weir Mill farm-house.
With this rustic mansion was connected a little tale
of real life, some circumstances of which were related
from the house, and others collected in the course of
the sojourn at the Abbey.

Not long after Colonel Wildman had purchased the estate of Newstead, he made it a visit for
the purpose of planning repairs and alterations.
As he was rambling one evening, about dusk, in
company with his aunt, through this little
piece of woodland, he was struck with its peculiar characteristics, and, then, for the first time,
compared it to the haunted wood of Undine. While
he was making the remark, a small female figure
in white, flitted by without speaking a word, or
indeed appearing to notice them. Her step was
scarcely heard as she passed, and her form
was distinct in the twilight.

"What a figure for a fairy or sprite!" exclaimed Colonel Wildman. "How much a poet
or a romance writer would make much of such
an apparition, at such a time and in such a place!"
He began to congratulate himself up in having
some elfin inhabitant for his haunted wood, while,
on proceeding a few paces, he found a white
fly lying in the path, which had evidently fallen
from the figure that had just passed.

"Well," said he, "after all, this is neither
sprite nor fairy, but a being of flesh, and blood,
and muds."

Continuing on, he came to where the road
passed by an old mill in front of the Abbey. The
people of the mill were at the door. He paused
and inquired whether any visitor had been at
the Abbey, but was answered in the negative.

"Has nobody passed by here?"

"No one, sir."

"That's strange! Surely I met a female in
white, who must have passed along this path."

"Oh, sir, you mean the Little White Lady—
oh, yes, she passed by here not long since."

"The Little White Lady! And pray who is
the Little White Lady?"

"Why, sir, that nobody knows; she lives in
the Weir Mill farm-house, down in the skirts of
the wood. She comes to the Abbey every
morning, keeps about it all day, and goes away at
night. She speaks to nobody, and we are rather shy of her, for we don't know what to make of her."

Colonel Wildman now concluded that it was some artist or amateur employed in making sketches of the Abbey, and thought no more about the matter. He went to London, and was absent for some time. In the interim, his sister, who was newly married, came with her husband to the honeymoon at the Abbey. The Little White Lady still resided in the Weir Mill farmhouse, on the border of the haunted wood, and continued her visits daily to the Abbey. Her dress was always the same, a white gown with a little black Spencer or bodice, and a white hat with a short veil that screened the upper part of her countenance. Her habits were shy, lonely, and silent; she spoke to no one, and sought no companionship, excepting with the Newfoundland dog that had belonged to Lord Byron. His friendship she secured by caressing him and occasionally bringing him food, and became the companion of her solitary walks. She avoided all strangers, and wandered about the retired parts of the garden; sometimes sitting for hours by the ruins of which Lord Byron had carved his name, or at the foot of the monument which he had erected among the ruins of the chapel. Sometimes she read, sometimes she wrote with a pencil on a small slate which she carried with her, but much of her time was passed in a kind of reverie.

The people about the place gradually became accustomed to her, and suffered her to wander about unmolested; their distrust of her subsided on discovering that most of her peculiar and lonely habits arose from the misfortune of being deaf and dumb. Still she was regarded with some degree of shyness, for it was the common opinion that she was not exactly in her right mind.

Colonel Wildman's sister was informed of all these circumstances by the servants of the Abbey, among whom the Little White Lady was a theme of frequent discussion. The Abbey and its monastic environs being haunted ground, it was natural that a mystery, even a vanished one, and one supposed to be under the influence of mental hallucination, should inspire awe in a person unaccustomed to the place. As Colonel Wildman's sister was one day walking along a broad terrace of the garden, she suddenly beheld the Little White Lady coming toward her, and, in the surprise and agitation of the moment, turned and ran into the house.

Day after day elapsed, and nothing more was seen of this singular personage. Colonel Wildman at length arrived at the Abbey, and his sister mentioned to him her encounter and fright in the garden. It brought to mind his own adventure with the Little White Lady in the wood of Undine, and he was surprised to find that she still continued her mysterious wanderings about the Abbey. The mystery was soon explained. Immediately after his arrival he received a letter written in the most minute and delicate female hand, and in elegant and even eloquent language. It was from the Little White Lady. She had not been asleep, but shocked by the abrupt return of Colonel Wildman's sister on seeing her in the garden walk, and expressed her unhappiness at being an object of alarm to any of her family. She explained the motives of her frequent and long visits to the Abbey, which proved to be a stimulating, enthusiastic idolatry of the genius of Lord Byron, and a solitary and passionate delight in haunting the scenes he had once inhabited. She hinted at the infirmities which cut her off from all social communion with her fellow beings, and at her situation in life as desolate and bereaved; and concluded by hoping that he would not deprive her of her only comfort, the permission of visiting the Abbey occasionally, and lingering about the walks and gardens.

Colonel Wildman now made further inquiries concerning her, and found that she was a great favorite with the people of the farmhouse where she boarded, from the gentleness, quietude, and innocence of her manners. When at home, she passed the greater part of her time in a small sitting-room, reading and writing.

Colonel Wildman immediately called on her at the farmhouse. She received him with some agitation and embarrassment, but his frankness and urbanity soon put her at her ease. She was past the bloom of youth, a pale, nervous little being, and apparently deficient in most of her physical organs, for in addition to being deaf and dumb, she saw but imperfectly. They carried on a communication by means of a small slate, which she drew on; by which they wrote their questions and replies. In writing or reading she always approached her eyes close to the written characters. This defective organization was accompanied by a morbid sensitivity almost amounting to disease. She had not been born deaf and dumb; but had lost her hearing in a fit of sickness, and with it the power of distinct articulation. Her life had evidently been checkered and unhappy; she was apparently without family or friend, a lonely, desolate being, cut off from society by her infirmities.

"I am always among strangers," she said, "as much so in my native country as I could be in the remotest parts of the world. By all I am considered a stranger and an alien; no one will acknowledge any connection with me. I seem not to belong to the human species."

Such were the circumstances that Colonel Wildman was able to draw forth in the course of his conversation, and they strongly interested him in favor of this poor enthusiast. He was too devout an admirer of Lord Byron himself, not to sympathize in this extraordinary zeal of one of his votaries, and he entreated her to renew her visits at the Abbey, assuring her that the edifice and its grounds should always be open to her.

The Little White Lady now resumed her daily walks in the Monk's Garden, and her occasional seat at the foot of the monument; she was shy and diffident, however, and evidently fearful of intruding. If any persons were walking in the garden she would avoid them, and seek the most remote parts; and was seen like a sprite, only by gleams and glimpses, as she glided among the groves and thickets. Many of her feelings and fancies, during these lonely strolls, were embodied in verse, noted down on her tablet, and transferred to paper in the evening on her return to the farmhouse. Some of these verses now lie before me, written with considerable harmony of versification, but chiefly curious as being illustrative of that singularity and strangeness with which she almost worshipped the genius of Byron, or rather, the romantic image of him formed by her imagination.

Two or three extracts may not be unacceptable. The following are from a long rhapsody addressed to Lord Byron:

...
By what dread charm thou rulest the mind
It is not given to us to know;
We glow with feelings undefined,
Nor can explain from whence they flow.

Not that fond love which passion breathes
And youthful hearts inflame;
The soul a nobler hommage gives,
And bows to thy great name.

Oft have we tried the muse's skill,
And proved the power of song;
But sweet were the soft thrill
That solely to thy verse belong.

This—but far more, for thee we prove,
Something that bears a solemn name,
Than the pure dream of early love,
Or friendship's nobler flame.

Something divine—Oh! what it is
Thou must alone can tell,
So sweet, but so profound the bliss
We dared to break the spell.

This singular and romantic infatuation, for
such it might truly be called, was entirely spiritual
and ideal, for, as she herself declares in another of her
rhapsodies, she had never beheld
Lord Byron; he was, to her, a mere phantom of
the brain.

I ne'er have drank thy glance—thy form
My earthly eye has never seen,
Though oft when fancy's visions warm,
It greets me in some blissful dream.

Greets me, as greets the sainted seer,
Some radiant visitor from high,
When heaven's own strains break on his ear,
And wrap his soul in ecstasy.

Her poetical wanderings and musings were not
confined to the Abbey grounds, but extended to
all parts of the neighborhood connected with the
memory of Lord Byron, and among the rest to
the groves and gardens of Annesley Hall, the
seat of his early passion for Miss Chaworth.
One of her poetical effusions mentions her having
seen from Howett's Hill in Annesley Park, a
'symphonic in car daisies by milk-white horses,
passing by the foot of the hill, who proved to be
the "favorite child," seen by Lord Byron,
in his memorable interview with Miss Chaworth
after her marriage. That favorite child was now
a blooming girl approaching to womanhood, and
seems to have understood something of the
character and story of this singular visitor, and to
have treated her with gentle sympathy. The
Little White Lady expresses, in touching terms,
in a note to her verses, her sense of this
courtesy: "The benevolentcondescension," says she,
"of that amiable and interesting young lady,
to the unfortunate writer of these simple
lines will remain engraven upon a grateful
memory, till the vital spark that now animates a
heart that too sensibly feels, and too seldom
experiences such kindness, is for ever extinct.

In the meantime, Colonel Wildman, in
occasional interviews, had obtained further particulars
of the story of the stranger, and found that
poverty was added to the other evils of her forlorn
and isolated state. Her name was Sophin Hyatt.
She was the daughter of a country bookseller,
but both her parents had died several years
before. At their death, her sole dependence was
upon her brother, who allowed her a small
nutuity on her share of the property left by their
father, and which remained in his hands. Her
brother, who was a captain of a merchant vessel,
removed with his family to America, leaving her
almost alone in the world, for she had no other
relative in England but a cousin, of whom she
knew almost nothing. She received her annuity
regularly for a time, but unfortunately her brother
died in the West Indies, leaving his affairs in
confusion, and his estate hung over by several
commercial claims, which threatened to swallow
up the whole. Under these disastrous circum-
cstances, her annuity suddenly ceased; she had
in vain tried to obtain a renewal of it from the
widow, or even an account of the state of her
brother's affairs. Her letters for three years past
had remained unanswered, and she would have
been exposed to the horrors of the most abject
want, but for a pitance quarterly doled out to
her by her cousin in England.

Colonel Wildman entered with characteristic
benevolence into the story of her troubles. He
saw that she was a helpless, unprotected being,
unable, from her infirmities and her ignorance
of the world, to prosecute her just claims. He
obtained from her the address of her relations in
America, and of the commercial connection of
her brother; he promised, through the medium
of his own agents in Liverpool, to institute an
inquiry into the situation of her brother's affairs,
and to forward any letters she might write, so as
to insure their reaching their place of destination.

Inspired with some faint hopes, the Little
White Lady continued her wanderings about the
Abbey and its neighborhood. The delicacy and
timidity of her deportment increased the interest
already felt for her by Mrs. Wildman. That
lady, with her wonted kindness, sought to make
acquaintance with her, and inspire her with
confidence. She invited her into the Abbey; treated
her with the most delicate attention, and, seeing
that she had a great turn for reading, offered her
the loan of any books in her possession. She
borrowed a few particularly the works of Sir
Walter Scott, but soon returned them; the
writings of Lord Byron seemed to form the only
study in which she delighted, and when not occu-
pied in reading those, her time was passed in
passionate meditations on his genius. Her
enthusiasm spread an ideal world around her
in which she moved and existed as in a dream,
forgetful at times of the real miseries which beset
her in her mortal state.

One of her rhapsodies is, however, of a very
melancholy cast; anticipating her own death,
which her fragile frame and growing infirmities
rendered but too probable. It is headed by the
following paragraph.

Written beneath the tree on Crowthorpe Hill,
where it is my wish to be interred (if I should die
in Newstead).

I subjoin a few of the stanzas: they are ad-
dressed to Lord Byron:

Thou, while thou stand'st beneath this tree,
Think, while thy foot this earth is pressed,
'Witnere the wanderer's ashes lie—
And wilt thou say, sweet be thy rest!

'Twould add even to a seraph's blest,
Whose sacred charge thou then may be,
To guide—to guard—yes, Byron I yes,
That glory is reserved for me.
NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

"If woes below may plead above,  
A frail heart's errors, mine forgiven,  
To that 't high world! "I soar, where 'love  
Surviving' forms the bliss of Heaven.

"O wherefore, 'in realms above,  
Assign'd my spirit's new abode,  
'Twill watch thee with a seraph's love,  
Till thou too soar'st to meet thy God.

"And here, beneath this lonely tree—  
Beneath the earth thy feet have press'd,  
My dust shall sleep—once dear to thee  
These scenes—here may the wanderer rest!"

In the midst of her reveries and rhapsodies, tidings reached Newstead of the untimely death of Lord Byron. How they were received by this humble but passionate devotee I could not ascertain; her life was too obscure and lonely to furnish much personal anecdote, but among her poetic effusions are several written in a broken and irregular manner, and evidently under great agitation.

The following sonnet is the most coherent and most descriptive of her peculiar state of mind:

"Well, thou art gone—but what wert thou to me?  
I never saw thee—never heard thy voice,  
Yet my soul seemed to claim alliance with thee.  
The Roman bard has sung of fields Elysian,  
Where the soul sojourns ere she visits earth;  
Sure it was there my spirit knew thee, Byron!  
Thine image haunteth me like a past vision;  
It hath enshrined itself in my heart's core;  
'Tis my soul's self—'tis all the whole creation.  
For I do live but in that world ideal  
Which the muse peopled with her bright fancies,  
And of that world thou art a monarch real,  
Nor ever earthly sceptre ruled a kingdom,  
With sway so potent as the thy lyre, the mind's dominion."

Taking all the circumstances here adduced into consideration, it is evident that this strong excitement and exclusive occupation of the mind upon one subject, operating upon a system in a high state of morbid irritability, was in danger of producing that species of mental derangement called monomania. The poor little being was aware, herself, of the dangers of her case, and alluded to it in the following passage of a letter to Colonel Wildman, which presents one of the most lamentable pictures of anticipated evil ever conjured up by the human mind.

"I have long," writes she, "too sensibly felt the decay of my mental faculties, which I consider as the certain indication of that dreaded calamity which I anticipate with such terror. A strange idea has long haunted my mind, that Swift's dreadful fate will be mine. It is not ordinary insanity I so much apprehend, but something more than this—something peculiar.

"O sir! I think what I must suffer from such an idea, without an earthly friend to look up to for protection in such a wretched state—exposed to the indecent insults which such spectacles always excite. But I dare not dwell upon the thought; it would facilitate the event so much more, and contemplate with horror. Yet I cannot help thinking of people's behavior to me at times, and from after reflections upon my conduct, that symptoms of the disease are already apparent."

Five months passed away, but the letters written by her, and forwarded by Colonel Wildman to America relative to her brother's affairs, remained unanswered; the inquiries instituted by the Colonel had as yet proved equally fruitless. A deeper gloom and despondency now seemed to gather upon her mind. She began to talk of leaving Newstead, and repairing to London, in the vague hope of obtaining relief or redress by instituting some legal process to ascertain and enforce the will of her deceased brother. Weeks elapsed, however, before she could summon up sufficient resolution to tear herself away from the scene of poetical fascination. The following simple stanzas, selected from a number written about the time, express, in humble rhymes, the melancholy that preyed upon her spirits:

"Farewell to thee, Newstead, thy time riven towers,  
Shall meet the fond gaze of the pilgrim no more;  
No more shall she roam: through thy walks and thy bowers,  
Nor muse in thy cloisters at eve's pensive hour.

"Oh, how shall I leave you, ye hills and ye dales,  
When lost in sad musings, though sad not unblest,  
A lone pilgrim I stray—Ah! in these lonely vales,  
I hoped, vainly hoped, that the pilgrim might rest.

"Yet rest is far distant—in the dark vale of death,  
Alone I shall find it, an outcast forlorn—  
But hence vain complaints, though by fortune bereft  
Of all that could solace in life's early morn.

"Is not man from his birth doomed a pilgrim to roam  
O'er the world's dreary wilds, whence by fortune's rule goad,  
In his path, if some flower of joy chanced to bloom,  
It is torn and its foliage laid low in the dust."

At length she fixed upon a day for her departure. On the day previous, she paid a farewell visit to the Abbey; wandering over every part of the grounds and garden; pausing and lingering at every place particularly associated with the recollection of Lord Byron; and passing a long time seated at the foot of the monument, which she used to call "her altar." Seizing Mrs. Wildman, she placed in her hands a sealed packet, with an earnest request that she would not open it until after her departure from the neighborhood. This done, she took an affectionate leave of her, and with many bitter tears bade farewell to the Abbey.

On retiring to her room that evening, Mrs. Wildman could not refrain from inspecting the legacy of this singular being. On opening the packet, she found a number of fugitive poems, written in a most delicate and minute hand, and evidently the fruits of her reveries and meditations during her lonely rambles; from these the foregoing extracts have been made. These were accompanied by a voluminous letter, written with the pathos and eloquence of genuine feeling, and depicting her peculiar situation and singular state of mind in dark but painful colors.

"The last time," says she, "that I had the pleasure of seeing you, in the garden, you asked me why I leave Newstead; when I told you my circumstances obliged me, the expression of concern which I fancied I observed in your look and manner would have encouraged me to be more explicit at the time, but from my inability of expressing myself verbally."

She then goes on to detail precisely her pecuniary circumstances, by which it appears that her whole dependence for subsistence was on an allowance of thirteen pounds a year from her cousin,
who bestowed is through a feeling of pride, lest his native should come upon the parish. During two years, I had no faults; but last year they went to twenty-three pounds, and was yielded so grandly, that she could not feel sure of its continuance from one quarter to another, and then it was withdrawn on slight pretences, and she was in constant dread lest it should be entirely withdrawn.

"It is with extreme reluctance," observeth she, "that I have so far exposed my unfortunate situation; but I thought you expected to know something more of it, and I feared that Colonel Wildman, deceived by appearances, might think that I am in no immediate want, and that the delay of a few weeks, or months, respecting the inquiry, can be of no material consequence. It is absolutely necessary to the success of the business that Colonel Wildman should know the exact state of my circumstances without reserve, that he may be enabled to make a correct representation of them to the gentleman whom he intends to interest, who, I presume, if they are not of America themselves, have some connections there, through whom my friends may be convinced of the reality of my distress. If they pretend to doubt it, or suppose that it is not more explicit or impossible, it would be too hazardous to particularize the circumstances of the embarrassment in which I am unhappily involved—my utter destitution. To disclose all might, too, be liable to an inference which I hope I am not void of delicacy, of natural pride, as to the endn of the thought.

Pardon me, madam, for thus giving trouble where I have no right to do—compelled to throw myself upon Colonel Wildman's humanity, to entreat his earnest exertions in my behalf, for it is now my only resource. Yet do not too much despise me for thus submitting to impetuous necessity—it is not love of life, believe me it is not, nor anxiety for its preservation. I cannot say, "There are things that make the work dear to me,"—for in the world there is not an object to make me wish to linger here another hour, could I find that rest and peace in the grave which I have never found on earth, and I fear will be denied me there.

And an opinion which often occurs to me, she says, "That my existence has hitherto been prolonged," says she, "often beyond what I have thought to have been its destined period, is astonishing to myself. Often when my situation has been as desperate, as hopeless, or more so, if possible, than it is at present, some unexpected interposition of Providence has rescued me from a fate that has appeared inevitable. I do not particularly allude to recent circumstances or former years, for from my earliest years I have been the child of Providence—then why should I distrust its care now? I do not distrust it—it neither do I trust it. I feel perfectly unanxious, unconcerned, and indifferent as to the future; but this is not trust in Providence—not that trust which alone claims its protection. I know this is a blank feeling, without any keenness for it reaches to the interminable future. It turns almost with disgust from the bright prospects which religion offers for the consolation and support of the wretched, and to which I was early taught, by an almost adored mother, to look forward with hope and joy; but to me they are anathema in consolation. Yet that I doubt the sacred truths that religion inculcates. I cannot doubt—though I confess I have sometimes tried to do so, because I no longer wish for that immortality of which it assures us. My only wish now is for rest and peace—endless rest. For rest—but not to feel his rest,' but I cannot delude myself with the hope that such rest will be my lot. I feel an internal evidence, stronger than any arguments that reason or religion can enforce, that I have that within me which is immeasurable; that does not its origin from the 'clod of the valley.' With this conviction, but without a hope to brighten the prospect of that dread future:

"I dare not look beyond the tomb, Yet cannot hope for peace before.

"Such an unhappy frame of mind, I am sure, madam, must excite your commiseration. It is perhaps owing, in part at least, to the solitude in which I have lived, may I say, even in the midst of society; when I have mixed in it; as my infirmities entirely exclude me from that sweet intercourse of kindred spirits—that sweet solace of refined conversation; the little intimacies which I have at any time with me could not be termed conversation—they are not kindred spirits—and even where circumstances have associated me (but barely indeed) with superior and cultivated minds, who have not disdained to admit me to their society, they could not by all their generous efforts, even in early youth, lure from my dark soul the thoughts that loved to lie buried there, nor inspire me with the courage to attempt their disclosure; and yet of all the pleasures of polished life which fancy has often pictured to me in such vivid colors, there is not one that I have so ardently coveted as that sweet reciprocation of ideas, the supreme bliss of enlightened minds in the hour of social converse. But this I knew was not decreed for me—

"Yet this was in my nature—

but since the loss of my hearing I have always been incapable of verbal connection; yet, however, inform you, madam, of this. At the first interview with which you favored me, you quickly discovered my peculiar unhappiness in this respect; you perceived from my manner that any attempt to draw me into conversation would be in vain—had it been otherwise, perhaps you would not have declined now and then to soothe the lonely wanderer with yours. I have sometimes fancied when I have seen you in the walk, that you seemed to wish to encourage me to throw myself in your way. For in my imagination, too apt to beguile me with such dear illusions, has deceived me into two presumptuous an idea here. You must have observed that I generally endeavored to avoid both you and Colonel Wildman. It was to spare your generous hearts the pain of witnessing distress you could not alleviate. Thus cut off, as it were, from all human society, I have been compelled to live in a world of my own, and certainly with the beings with which my world is peopled, I am at no loss to comprehend; though I love solitude and am never in want of subjects to amuse my fancy, yet solitude too much indulged in must necessarily have an unhappy effect upon the mind, which, when left to seek for resources wholly
within itself will, unavoidably, in hours of gloom and despondency, brood over corroding thoughts that prey upon the spirits, and sometimes terminate in confirmed misanthropy—especially with those who, from constitution, or early misfortunes, are inclined to melancholy, and to view human nature in a dark light; which have it not for cause for gloomy reflections? The utter loneliness of my lot would alone have rendered existence a curse to one whom nature has formed glowing with all the warmth of social affection, yet I would fain fix on which to cast it, with every natural connection, one earthily friend to appeal to, to shield me from the contempt, indignities, and insults, to which my deserted situation continually exposed me.

I am giving long extracts from this letter, yet I cannot refrain from subjoining another letter, which depicts her feelings with respect to Newstead.

"Permit me, madam, again to request your and Colonel Wildman's acceptance of these acknowledgments which I cannot too often repeat, for your unexampled goodness to a rude stranger. I know I ought not to have taken advantage of your extreme good nature so frequently as I have. I should have absented myself from your garden during the stay of the company at the Abbey, but, as I knew I must be gone long before they would leave it, I could not deny myself the indulgence, as you so freely gave me your permission to continue my walks, but now they are at an end. I have taken my last farewell of every dear and interesting spot, which I now hope to see again, unless my disembodied spirit may be permitted to revisit them.—Yet O! if Providence should enable me again to support myself with any degree of respectability, and you should grant me some little humble shed, with what joy shall I return and renew my delightful rambles. But dear as Newstead is to me, I will never again come under the same unhappy circumstances as I have this last time—never without the means of at least securing myself from contempt. How dear, how very dear Newstead is to me, how unconquerable the infatuation that possesses me, I am now going to give a too convincing proof. In offering the acceptance of the worthless titles that will accompany this, I hope you will believe that I have no view to your amusement. I dare not hope that the consideration of their being the products of your own garden, and most of them written there, in my little tablet, while sitting at the foot of my Altar—I could not, I cannot resist the earnest desire of leaving this memorial of the many happy hours I have there enjoyed. Oh I do not reject them, madam; suffer them to remain with you, and if you should deign to honor them with a perusal, when you read them repress, if you can, the smile that I know will too naturally arise, when you recollect the appearance of the wretched being who has dared to devote her whole soul to the contemplation of such more than human excellence. Yet, ridiculous as such devotion may appear to some, I must take leave to say, that if the sentiments which I have entertained for that exalted being could be duly appreciated, I trust they would be found to be of such a nature as is no dishonor even for him to have inspired."

"I am now coming to take a last, last view of scenes too deeply impressed upon my memory ever to be effaced even by madness itself. O madam I may you never know, nor be able to conceive the agony I endure in tearing myself from all that the world contains of dear and sacred to me: the only spot on earth where I can ever hope for peace or comfort. May every blessing the world has to bestow attend you, or, rather, may you long, long live in the enjoyment of the delights of your own paradise: in secret seclusion from a world that has no real blessings to bestow. Now I go—but O! I dare to hope that when you are enjoying these blissful scenes, a thought of the unhappy wanderer might sometimes cross your mind, how soothing would such an idea be, if I dared to indulge it? Could you see my heart at this moment, how needless would it be to assure you of the respectful gratitude, the affectionate esteem, this heart must ever bear you both."

The effect of this letter upon the sensitive heart of Mrs. Wildman may be more readily conceived than expressed. Her first impulse was to give a home to this poor homeless being, and to fix her in the midst of those scenes which formed her earthly paradise. She communicated her wishes to Colonel Wildman, and they met with an immediate response. It was settled on the spot, that an apartment should be fitted up for the Little White Lady in one of the new farmhouses, and every arrangement made for her comfortable and permanent maintenance on the estate. With a woman's prompt benevolence, Mrs. Wildman, before she laid her hand upon her pillow, wrote the following letter to the destitute stranger:

"Newstead Abbey,
Tuesday night, September 20, 1825.

"On retiring to my bedchamber this evening I have opened your letter, and cannot lose a moment in expressing to you the strong interest which it has excited both in Colonel Wildman and myself, from the details of your peculiar situation, and the delicate, and, let me add, elegant language in which they are conveyed. I am anxious that my note should reach you previous to your departure from this neighborhood, and should be truly happy, if, by any arrangement for your accommodation, I could prevent the necessity of your undertaking the journey. Colonel Wildman begs me to assure you that he will use his best exertions in the investigation of matters which you have confided to him, and should you remain here at present, or return again after a short absence, I trust we shall find means to become better acquainted, and to convince you of the interest I feel, and the real satisfaction it would afford me to contribute in any way to your comfort and happiness. I will only now add my thanks for the little packet which I received with your letter, and I must confess that the letter has so entirely engaged my attention, that I have not as yet had time for the attentive perusal of its companion.

"Believe me, dear madam, with sincere good wishes,

"Yours truly,

"Louisa Wildman."

Early the next morning a servant was dispatched with the letter to the Weir Mill farm, but returned with the information that the Little White Lady had set off, before his arrival, in company with the farmer's wife, in a cart for Nottingham, to take her place in the coach for London. Mrs. Wildman ordered him to mount horse instantly,
follow with all speed, and deliver the letter into her hand before the departure of the coach.

The bearer of good tidings spared neither whip nor spur, and arrived at Nottingham on a gallop. On entering the town a crowd obstructed him in the principal street. He checked his horse to make his way through it quietly. As the crowd opened to the right and left, he beheld a human body lying on the pavement.—It was the corpse of the Little White Lady.

It seems that on arriving in town and dismounting from the cart, the farmer's wife had parted with her to go on an errand, and the White Lady continued on toward the coach-office. In crossing a street a cart came along driven at a rapid rate. The driver called out to her, but she was too deaf to hear his voice or the rattling of his cart. In an instant she was knocked down by the horse, and the wheels passed over her body, and she died without a groan.
ABBOTSFORD.

BY

WASHINGTON IRVING.

I sit down to perform my promise of giving you an account of a visit made many years since to Abbotsford. I hope, however, that you do not expect much from me, for the travelling notes taken at the time are so scanty and vague, and my memory so extremely fallacious, that I fear I shall disappoint you with the meagreness and crudeness of my details.

Late in the evening of August 29, 1817, I arrived at the ancient little border town of Selkirk, where I put up for the night. I had come down from Edinburgh, partly to visit Melrose Abbey and its vicinity, but chiefly to get sight of the "mighty minstrel of the north." I had a letter of introduction to him from Thomas Campbell, the poet, and had reason to think, from the interest he had taken in some of my earlier scurrilities, that a visit from me would not be deemed an intrusion.

On the following morning, after an early breakfast, I set off in a post-chaise for the Abbey. On the way thither I stopped at the gate of Abbotsford, and sent the postilion to the house with the letter of introduction and my card, on which I had written that I was on my way to the ruins of Melrose Abbey, and wished to know whether it would be agreeable to Mr. Scott (he had not yet been made a Baronet) to receive a visit from me in the course of the morning.

While the postilion was on his errand, I had time to survey the mansion. It stood some short distance below the road, on the side of a hill sweeping down to the Tweed; and was as yet but a snug gentleman's cottage, with something rural and picturesque in its appearance. The whole front was over-run with evergreens, and immediately above the portal was a great pair of elk horns, branching out from beneath the foliage, and giving the cottage the look of a hunting lodge. The huge baronial pile, to which this modest mansion in a manner gave birth, was just emerging into existence; part of the walls, surrounded by scaffolding, already had risen to the height of the cottage, and the courtyard in front was encumbered by masses of hewn stone.

The noise of the chaise had disturbed the quiet of the establishment. O" sallied the warden of the castle, a black greyhound, and, leaping on one of the blocks of stone, began a furious barking. His alarum brought out the whole garrison of dogs:

"Both mongrel, puppy, whelp, and hound,
And curs of low degree;"

all open-mouthed and vociferous.—I should correct my quotation;—not a cur was to be seen on the premises; Scott was too true a sportsman, and had too high a veneration for pure blood, to tolerate a mongrel.

In a little while the "lord of the castle" himself made his appearance. I knew him at once by the descriptions I had read and heard, and the likenesses that had been published of him. He was tall, and of a large and powerful frame. His dress was simple, and almost rustic. An old green shooting-coat, with a dog-whistle at the button-hole, brown linen pantaloons, stout shoes that tied at the ankles, and a white hat that had evidently seen service. He came limping up the gravel walk, aiding himself by a stout walking-staff, but moving rapidly and with vigor. By his side jogged along a large iron-gray stag-hound of most grave demeanor, who took no part in the clamor of the canine rabble, but seemed to consider himself bound, for the dignity of the house, to give me a courteous reception.

Before Scott had reached the gate he called out in a hearty tone, welcoming me to Abbotsford, and asking news of Campbell. Arrived at the door of the chaise, he grasped me warmly by the hand: "Come, drive down, drive down to the house," said he, "ye're just in time for breakfast, and afterward ye shall see all the wonders of the Abbey."

I would have excused myself, on the plea of having already made my breakfast. "Hout, man," cried he, "a ride in the morning in the keen air of the Scotch hills is warrant enough for a second breakfast."

I was accordingly whisked to the portal of the cottage, and in a few moments found myself seated at the breakfast-table. There was no one present but the family, which consisted of Mrs. Scott, her eldest daughter Sophia, then a fine girl about seventeen, Miss Ann Scott, two or three years younger, Walter, a well-grown stripling, and Charles, a lively boy, eleven or twelve years of age. I soon felt myself quite at home, and my
ABBOTSFORD.

He pointed out also among the carved work a man's head of much antiquity, which he said Scott always stopped in admiration for the Shira had a wonderful eye for all sic matters.

I would observe that Scott seemed to derive more consequence in the neighborhood from being sheriff of the country than from being poet. In the interior of the Abbey Johnny Bower conducted me to the identical stone on which St. William of Deloraine and the monk took their seat on that memorable night when the wizard's book was to be rescued from the grave. Nay, Johnny had even gone beyond Scott in the minuteness of his antiquarian research, for he had discovered the very tomb of the wizard, the position of which had been left in doubt by the poet. This he boasted to have ascertained by the position of the oriel window, and the direction in which the moonbeams fell at night, through the stained glass, casting the shadow to the red cross on the spot; as had all been specified in the poem. I pointed out the whole to the Shira, said he, and he condescension but it was varra clear. I found afterward that Scott used to amuse himself with the simplicity of the old man, and his zeal in verifying every passage of the poem, as though it had been authentic history, and that he always acquiesced in his deductions. I subjoin the description of the wizard's grave, which called forth the antiquarian research of Johnny Bower.

He landed! now the cross of red
Points to the grave of the mighty dead;
Slow moved the monk to the broad flag-stone,
Which the bloody cross was traced upon:
He pointed to a sacred nook;
An iron bar the warrior took;
And the monk made a sign with his withered hand,
The grave's huge portal to expand.

It was by dint of passing strength,
That he moved the massy stone at length.
I would you had been there to see,
How the light broke forth so gloriously,
Streamed upward to the chancel roof,
And through the galleries far afield!
And, issuing from the tomb,
Showed the monk's cowl and visage pale,
Danced on the path of the wild bee's mail,
And kissed his waving plume.

Before their eyes the wizard lay,
As if he had not been dead a day,
His hoary beard in silver rolled,
He seemed some seventy winters old;
A palmer's amice wrapped him round;
With a wondrously baldric bound.
Like a pilgrim from beyond the sea;
His left hand held his book of might;
A silver cross was in his right:
The lamp was placed beside his knee.

The fictions of Scott had become facts with honest Johnny Bower. From constantly living among the ruins of Melrose Abbey, and pointing out the scenes of the poem, the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" had, in a manner, become interwoven with his whole existence, and I doubt whether he did not now and then mix up his own identity with the personages of some of its cantos.

He could not bear that any other production of the poet should be preferred to the "Lay of the Last Minstrel." "Faith," said he to me, "it's just e'en as gude a thing as Mr. Scott has written—and if he were stannin' there I'd tell him so—ah then he'd lauf.
He was loud in his praises of the affability of Scott. "He'll come here sometimes," said he, "with great folks in his company, and the first I come it is of his, calling out 'Johnny! - Johnny Bower! and when I go out, I am sure to be caught with a jest beginning: 'Him that auld wi' me, just like an auld wife — and to think of that a man who has such an awful knowledge of history!"

One of the ingenious devices on which the worth'ly little man prided himself, was to place a visitor opposite to the Abbey, with his back to it, and bid him bend down and look at it between his legs. This, he said, gave an entirely different aspect to the ruin. Folks admired the plan amusingly, but as to the "ledgers" they were dainty on the matter, and contented themselves with looking from under their arms.

As Johnny Bower piqued himself upon showing everything laid down in the poem, there was one passage that perplexed him sadly. It was the opening of one of the cantos:

"If thow wuld'at view fair Melrose aright,
Goe ind it by the pale moonlight,
For the moon shone plain as day,
Gild but to float the ruins gray," etc.

In consequence of this admonition, many of the most devout pilgrims to the ruin could not be contented with a daylight inspection, and insisted it could be nothing, unless seen by the light of the moon. Now, unfortunately, the moon shines but for a part of the month; and, while it is more beautiful, is yet still more uncertain in Scotland to be observed by clouds and mist. Johnny was sorely puzzled, therefore, to accommodate his poetry-struck visitors with this indispensable moonsheen. At length, in a lucky moment, he devised a substitute. This was a great double tallow candle stuck upon the end of a pole, with which he could conduct his visitors about the ruins on dark nights, so much to their satisfaction that, at length, he began to think it even preferable to the moon itself.

"It does na light up a' the Abbey at aince, to be sure," he would say, "but then you can shift it about and show the auld ruin bit by bit, while the moon only shines on one side."

Honest Johnny Bower! so many years have elapsed since the time I trod of, that it is more than probable his simple head lies beneath the walls of his favorite Abbey. It is to be hoped his humble ambition has been gratified, and his name recorded by the pen of the man he so loved and honored.

After my return from Melrose Abbey, Scott proposed a ramble to me something of the surrounding country. As we walked forth, every dog in the neighborhood turned out to attend us. There was the old stag-hound Maida, that I have already mentioned, a noble animal, and a great favorite of Scott's, and Harriet, the black greyhound, a wild, thoughtless youngster, not yet arrived to the years of discretion; and Pinette, a beautiful setter, with soft, silken hair, long pendent ears, and a mild eye, the parlor favorite. When in front of the house, we were joined by a superannuated greyhound, who came from the kitchen warming his tail, and was cheered by Scott as an old friend and comrade.

In our walks, Scott would frequently pause in conversation to notice his dogs and speak to them, as if rational companions; and indeed there appears to be a vast deal of rationality in these faithful attendants on man, derived from their close intimacy with him. Maida devoted himself to Scott with a gravity that bewildered me, and seemed to consider himself called upon to preserve a great degree of dignity and decorum in our society. As he jogged along a little distance ahead of us, the young dogs would gambol about him, leap on his neck, and worry at his coat, on the endeavor to tease him into a frolic. The old dog would keep on for a long time with imperturbable solemnity, and then seeming to rebuke the wantonness of his young companions. At length he would make a sudden turn, seize one of them, and tumble him in the dust; then giving a glance at us, as much as to say, "You see, gentlemen, I can't help giving way to this nonsense," would resume his gravity and jog on as before.

Scott amused himself with these peculiarities. "I make no doubt," said he, "when Maida is alone with these young dogs, he throws gravity aside, and plays the boy as much as any of them; but he is ashamed to do so in our company, and seems to say, 'Ha! done with the nonsense of the youngsters; what will the laird and that other gentleman think of me if I give way to such folly?'

Maida reminded him, he said, of a scene on board an armed yacht in which he made an excursion with his friend Adam Ferguson. They had taken much notice of the boatswain, who was a fine steady seaman, and evidently felt flattered by their attention. On one occasion the crew were "pip'd to" and the sailors were dancing and cutting all kinds of capers to the music of the ship's hand. The boatswain looked on with a wistful eye, as if he would like to join in; but a glance at Scott and Ferguson showed that there was a struggle with his dignity, tending to lessen himself in their eyes. At length one of his messmates came up, and seizing him by the arm, challenged him to a jig. The boatswain, continued Scott, after a little hesitation complied, made an awkward gambol or two, like our friend Maida, but soon gave it up. "It must be," said he, jerking up his waistband and giving a side glance at us, "one can't dance always nouter."}

Scott amused himself with the peculiarity of another of his dogs, a little sharp-faced terrier, with large glassy eyes, one of the most sensitive little bodies to insult and indignity in the world. If ever he whipped him, he said, the little fellow would sneak off and hide himself from the light of day, in a lumber garret, whence there was no drawing him forth but by the sound of the chopping-knife, as if chopping up his victuals, when he would steal forth with humble and downcast look, but would skulk away again if any one regarded him.

While we were discussing the humors and peculiarities of our canine companions, some object provoked their spleen, and produced a sharp and petulant barking from the smaller fry, but it was some time before Maida was sufficiently aroused to jump forward two or three bounds and join in the chorus, with a deep-mouthed bow wow!

It was but a transient outbreak, and he returned instantly, wagging his tail, and looking up dubiously in his master's face; uncertain whether he would censure or applaud.

"Aye, aye, old boy!" cried Scott, "you have
done wonders. You have shaken the Eldon hills
with your roaring; you may now lay by your
artillery for the rest of the day. Maida is like
the great gun at Constantinople," continued he;
"it is right to get it in the dark. Not to fire a
doon times first, but when it
does go off it plays the very d—I!"

These simple anecdotes may serve to show
the delightful play of Scott's humors and feelings
in private life. His intimate friends were his
men; everything about him seemed to rejoice
in the light of his countenance; the face of the
humblest dependent brightened at his approach,
as if he anticipated a cordial and cheering word.
I had occasion to observe this particularly in a
visit which we paid to a quarry, where several
men were cutting stone for the new edifice; who all
passed from their labor to have a pleasant
"crack wi' the lard." One of them was a burg-
gess of Selkirk, with whom Scott had some joke
about the old song:

"Up with the Souters of Selkirk,
And down with the Earl of Home."

Another was present at the Kirk, and, besides
leading the psalmody on Sunday, taught the lads
and lasses of the neighborhood dancing on week
days, in the winter time, when out-of-door labor
was scarce.

Among the rest was a tall, straight old fellow,
with a healthful complexion and silver hair, and a
round-crowned white hat. He had been
about to shoulder a hod, but paused, and stood
looking at Scott, with a slight sparkling of his
blue eye, as if waiting his turn; for the old fell-
low knew himself to be a favorite.

Scott accosted him in an affable tone, and
asked for a pinch of snuff. The old man drew
forth a horn snuff-box. "Hoot, man," said
Scott, "not that old muff wheres the bonnie
French one that I brought you from Paris?"
"Trout, your honor," replied the old fellow,
"sic a mull that as is for week-days."

On leaving the quarry, Scott informed me
that when absent at Paris, he had purchased several
trilling articles as presents for his dependents,
and among others the gay snuff-box in question,
which was so carefully reserved for Sundays, by
the veteran. "It was not so much the value of the
gift," said he, "that pleased them, as the idea
that the lord should think of them when so
far away."

The old man, in question, I found, was a great
favorite with Scott. If I recollect right, he had
been a soldier in early life, and his straight, erect
person, his ruddy yet rugged countenance, his
grey hair, and an arch gleam in his blue eye, re-
minded me of the description of Edie Ochiltree.
I find that the old fellow has since been introduced
by Willie, in his picture of the Scott family.

We rambled on among scenes which had been
familiar in Scottish song, and rendered classic by
pastoral muse, long before Scott had thrown
the mantle of his poetry over them. What a
thrill of pleasure did I feel when first I saw the
broom-covered tops of the Cowden Knowes, peep-
ing above the gray hills of the Tweed; and what
touching associations were called up by the sight
of Ettrick Vale, Gala Water, and the Braes of
Yarrow? Every turn brought to mind some

nursery, by which I had been lulled to sleep in
my childhood; and with them the looks and
voices of those who had sung them, and who
were now no more. It is these melodies, chanted
in our tales by the dark infants, that the small
guns can fire off a dozen times first, but when it
does go off it plays the very d—I!"

This is the poet's song, and yet it is the
song of the shepherd. The shepherd, like the
poet, has a mission, and a task to perform. He
must, like the poet, speak for the world, and
express its emotions. He must, like the poet,
give expression to the feelings of the people,
and make them known to the world. He must,
like the poet, speak to the heart, and win for
himself a place in the affections of the people.

This is the mission of the shepherd. It is the
mission of the poet. It is the mission of the
shepherd to speak to the heart, and win for
himself a place in the affections of the people.

This is the song of the shepherd. This is the
song of the poet. This is the song of the
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This is the song of the shepherd. This is the
song of the poet. This is the song of the
shepherd to speak to the heart, and win for
himself a place in the affections of the people.
at least, are mongrels. Their music is all made up of foreign scraps, like a harlequin jacket, or a pied piper coat. Even so, every one of the heather and briar-creepers that we have lovingly collected, and the songs of the Scottish landranger, has something intrinsically attractive, in all probability the life of those. We have moreScottish songs, which once indelibly imprinted, are the favorite haunt for a mountain or a hill, or a haw running wild, or some popular air which bears the name of favorite fancies and memories. We think of the morning songs, which Burns sings in "Auld Lang Syne," with his dance and his cup in his head. I was once in a tea-house among the hills of Scotland, and was charmed with the Scotch shouting the purpose of the song to him. Burns' father was a man of letters, to whom he had dedicated his poems. His songs were in the language of the literate of the land, and he was a man of character. The songs of Burns and his contemporaries were the most popular in Scottish song, and most of which had recently received a romantic interest from him. In fact, I saw a great part of the border country spread out before me, and could trace the scenery of those poems and romances which had, in a manner, bewitched the world. I gazed about me for a time with mute surprise, I may almost say with disappointment. I beheld a mere succession of gray waving hills, line beyond line, as far as my eye could reach; monotonous in their aspect, and so destitute of trees, that one could almost see a stout fly walking along their profile; and the far-famed Tweed appeared a naked stream, flowing between bare hills, without a tree or thicket on its banks; and yet, such had been the songs of poetry and romance thrown over the whole, that it had a greater charm for me than the richest scenery I beheld in England.

I could not help giving utterance to my thoughts. Scott hummed for a moment to himself, and looked grave; he had no idea of having his muse complimented at the expense of his native hills. "It may be partiality," said he, at length; "but to my eyes, these gray hills and all this wild border country have beauties peculiar to themselves. I like the very nakedness of the land; it has something bold, stern, and solitary about it. When I have been for some time in the rich scenery about Edinburgh, which is ornamented with garden land, I begin to wish myself back again among my own honest gray hills; and if I do not, the weather at least once a year, I think I should die!"

The last words were said with an honest warmth, accompanied with a thump on the ground with his staff, by way of emphasis, that showed his heart was as true as his speech. He vindicated the Tweed, too, with a beautiful truth in it, we believe, and observed that he did not dislike it for being bare of trees, from having been much of an angler in his time, and an angler does not like to have a stream overhung by trees, which embarrass him in the exercise of his rod and line. If so, we have, in like manner, the associations of early life, for my disappointment in respect to the surrounding scenery. I had been so accustomed to hills crowned with forests, and streams breaking their way through a wilderness of rocks and mountainous landscape, to be apt to wellwood.

"Aye, and that's the great charm of your country," cried Scott. "You love the forest as you do the heather—but I would not have you think I do not feel the glory of a great wood. There is nothing I should like more than to be in the midst of one of your grand, wild, original forests with the idea of hundreds of miles of untrodden forest around me. I once saw, at Leith, an immense stick of timber, just landed from America. It must have been an enormous tree when it stood on its native soil, at its full height, and with all its branches. I gazed at it with admiration; it seemed like one of the gigantic obelisks which are now and then brought from Egypt, because the pines and cedars of Europe; and, in fact, these vast aboriginal trees, that have sheltered the Indians before the intrusion of the white men, are the monuments and antiquities of your country."

The theme of the following poem, which is upon Campbell's poem of "Gertrude of Wyoming," as illustrative of the poetic materials furnished by American scenery. Scott spoke of it in that liberal style in which I always found him to speak of the writings and passions of my countrymen. He repeated several passages of it with great delight. "What a pity it is," said he, "that Campbell does not write more often, and give full sweep to his genius. He has wings that would bear him to the skies; and he does now and then spread them grandly, but folds them up again and resumes his perch, as if he was afraid to launch away. He don't know or won't trust his own strength. Even when he has done a thing well, he has often misgivings about it. He left out several fine passages of his Lochiel, but I got him to restore some of them. Here Scott repeated several passages in a magnificent style. "What a grand idea is that," said he, "about prophetic boding, or, in common parlance, second sight—"

"Coming events cast their shadows before,"

It is a noble thought, and nobly expressed. And that is glorious little poem, too, of "Hohenlinden;" after he had written it, he did not seem to think much of it, but considered some of it "a—d drum and trumpet lines." I got him to recite it to me, and I believe that the delight I felt and expressed had an effect in inducing him to print it. The fact is," added he, "Campbell is, in a manner, a bugbear to himself. The brightness of his early success is a detriment to all his further efforts. He is afraid of the shadow that his own fame casts before him."

While we were thus chatting, I heard the report of a gun among the hills. "That's Walter, I think," said Scott; "he has finished his morning's studies, and is out with his gun. I should not be surprised if he had met with the black cock; if so, we shall have an addition to our larder, for Walter is a pigmy.

I inquired into the nature of Walter's studies. "Faith," said Scott, "I can't say much on that head. I am not over bent upon making prodigies
of any of my children. As to Walter, I taught him, while a boy, to ride, and shoot, and speak the truth; as to the other parts of his education, I leave them to a very worthy young man, the son of one of our clergymen, who instructs all my children.

I afterward became acquainted with the young man in question, George Thomson, son of the minister of Melrose, and found him possessed of much learning, intelligence, and modest worth. He used to come every day from his father's residence at Melrose to superintend the studies of the young folks, and occasionally took his meals at Abbotsford, where he was highly esteemed. Nature had cut him out, Scott used to say, for a stalwart soldier, for he was tall, vigorous, active, and fond of athletic exercises, but accident had marred her work, the loss of a limb in boyhood having reduced him to a wooden leg. He was brought up, therefore, for the Church, whence he was occasionally called the Dominie, and is supposed, by his mixture of learning, simplicity, and amiable eccentricity, to have furnished many traits for the character of Dominie Sampson. I believe he often acted as Scott's amanuensis, when composing his novels. With him the two feeling people were occupied in general during the early part of the day, after which they took all kinds of healthful recreations in the open air; for Scott was as solicitous to strengthen their bodies as their minds.

We had not walked much further before we saw the two Miss Scotts advancing along the hill-side to meet us. The morning studies being over, they had set off to take a ramble on the hills, and gather heather blossoms, with which to decorate their hair for dinner. As they came bounding lightly like young fawns, and their dresses fluttering in the pure summer breeze, I was reminded of Scott's own description of his children in his introduction to one of the cantos of Marthon—

"My lads, though hardy, bold, and wild, As best suits the mountain child, Their summer gambols tell and mourn, And anxious ask will spring return, And birds and lambs again be gay, And blossoms clothe the hawthorn spray.

"Yes, prattlers, yes, the daisy's flower Again shall paint your summer bower; Again the hawthorn shall supply The garlands you delight to tie; The badges on the reed shall bound, The wild birds carol to the round, And while you frolic light as they, Too short shall seem the summer day."

As they approached, the dogs all sprang forward and gambolled around them. They played with them for a time, and then joined us with countenances full of health and glee. Sophia, the eldest, was the most lively and joyous, having much of her father's varied spirit in conversation, and seeming to catch excitement from his words and looks. Ann was of quieter mood, rather silent, owing, in some measure, no doubt, to her being some years younger.

At dinner Scott laid by his half-rustic dress, and appeared clad in black. The gals, too, in completing their toilet, had twisted in their hair the sprigs of purple heather which they had gathered on the hillside, and looked all fresh and blooming from their breezy walk.

There was no guest at dinner but myself. Around the table were two or three dogs in attendance. Maidie, the old stag-hound, took his seat at Scott's elbow, looking up with great feeling and affection of his favorite, Campy, who is depicted by his side in the earlier engravings of him. He talked of him as of a real friend whom he had lost, and Sophia Scott, looking up archly in his face, observed that Papa shed a few tears when poor Camp died. I may here mention another testimonial of Scott's fondness for his dogs, and his humorous mode of showing it, which I subsequently met with. Rambling with him one morning about the grounds adjacent to the house, I observed a small antique monument, on which was inscribed, in Gothic characters—

"Cy git le preux Percy."

(Here lies the brave Percy.)

I paused, supposing it to be the tomb of some stark warrior of the olden time, but Scott drew me on, "Pooh!" cried he, "it's nothing but one of the monuments of my nonsense, of which you'll find enough hereabouts." I learned afterward it was the grave of a favorite greyhound.

Among the other important and privileged members of the household who figured in attendance at the dinner, was a large gray cat, who, I observed, was regularly fed on the table, and dined at table, and dined at the same time, with the rest of the family, and took things out of the windows. This sage grimalkin was a favorite of both master and mistress, and slept at night in their room, and Scott laughingly observed, that one of the least wise parts of their establishment was, that the window was left open at night for puss to go in and out. The cat assumed a kind of ascendency among the quadrupeds—sitting in state on Scott's arm-chair, and occasionally stationing himself on a chair beside the door, as if to review his subjects as they passed, giving each dog a cuff beside the ears as he went by. This clapper-clawing was always taken in good part; it appeared to be, in fact, a mere act of sovereignty on the part of grimalkin, to remind the others of their vassalage; which they acknowledged by the most perfect acquiescence. A general harmony prevailed between sovereign and subjects, and they would all sleep together in the sunshine.

Scott was full of anecdote and conversation during dinner. He made some admirable remarks upon the Scottish character, and spoke strongly in praise of the quiet, orderly, honest conduct of his neighbors, which one would hardly expect, said he, from the descendants of moss troopers, and horsemongers, or from a neighborhood famed in old times for brawl and feud, and violence of all kinds. He said he had, in his official capacity of sheriff, administered the laws for a number of years, during which there had been very few trials. The old feuds and local interests, and rivalries, and animosities of the Scotch, however, still slept, he said, in their ashes, and might easily be roused. Their hereditary feeling for names was still great. It was not always safe to have even the game of foot-ball between villages, the old clans' spirit was too apt to break out. The Scotch, he said, were more revengeful than
and blooming

but myself. I love the company of dogs in all its forms, and the more informations in his house; the pet spaniel, the Jack Russell terrier, the labrador, and the small pet dog, all equally endearing in their ways.

He had a great fondness for water, and whenever the opportunity presented itself, he was ready to indulge in a pleasant dip in the river or lake. His love for nature was evident in his choice of activities, and he always made sure to spend time outdoors, regardless of the weather.

Scott was an avid collector of books and manuscripts. His library was filled with rare and valuable items, including first editions of some of the most famous works of literature. He had a particular fascination with the works of William Shakespeare, and was known to read and re-read his plays at every opportunity.

Scott was a man of many interests, and his hobbies included gardening, fishing, and playing the piano. He was also an accomplished musician, and often played for his guests at soirées and other social events.

Scott was highly regarded in his community, and was known for his generosity and kindness. He was always willing to help those in need, whether it was providing a meal for a hungry child or a place to stay for a lost traveler. His compassion and empathy made him a beloved figure among the people who knew him.
of her father. She never wanted to be asked twice, but complied frankly and cheerfully. Her songs were all Scotch, sung without any accompaniment, in a simple manner, but with great spirit and expression, and in their native dialects, which gave them an additional charm. It was delightful to hear her skirl and the singing, and with an animated air, some of those generously spirited old Jacobite songs, once current among the adherents of the Pretender in Scotland, in which he is designated by the appellation of "The Young Chevalier."

These songs were much relished by Scott, notwithstanding his loyalty; for the unfortunate "Chevalier" has always been a hero of romance with him, as he has with many other staunch adherents to the House of Hanover, now that the Stuart line has lost its terrors. In speaking on the subject, Scott mentioned as a curious fact, that among the papers of the "Chevalier," which had been submitted to government by his inspection, he had found a memorial to Charles from some adherents in America, dated 1778, proposing to set up his standard in the back settlements. I regret that, at the time, I did not make more particular inquiries of Scott on the subject; the document laden with information, however, is still exists among the Pretender's papers, which are in the possession of the British Government.

In the course of the evening, Scott related the story of a whimsical picture hanging in the room, which had been drawn for him by a lady of his acquaintance. It represents the doleful per-plexity of a wealthy and handsome young English knight of the olden time, who, in the course of a border foray, had been captured and carried off to the castle of a hard-headed and high-handed old baron. The unfortunate youth was thrown into a dungeon, and a tall gallows erected before the castle gate for his execution. When all was ready, he was brought into the castle hall where the grim baron was seated in state, with his warriors armed to the teeth around him, and was given his choice, either to swing on the gibbet or to marry the baron's daughter. The last may be thought an easy alternative, but unfortunately, the baron's young lady was hideously ugly, with a mouth from ear to ear, so that not a suitor was to be found for her in all the land. She was known throughout the border country by the name of Muckle-mouthed Mag!

The picture in question represented the unhappy dilemma of the handsome youth. Before him sat the grim baron, with a face worthy of the father of such a daughter, and looking daggers and rat's-bane. On one side of him was Muckle-mouthed Mag, with an amorous smile on the whole breadth of her countenance, and a leer of triumph to turn a man to stone; on the other side was the father confessor, a skeik frater, joggling the youth's elbow, and pointing to the gallows, seen in perspective through the open portal.

The story goes, that after long laboring in mind, between the altar and the halter, the love of life prevailed, and the youth resigned himself to the charms of Muckle-mouthed Mag. Contrary to all the probabilities of romance, the match proved a happy one. The baron's daughter, if not beautiful, was a most exemplary wife; her happiness never troubled with any idea of hers, and she was one of the happiest and most contented of the noble line, which still flourishes on the border.

I give but a faint outline of the story from vague recollection; it may, perchance, be more richly related elsewhere, by some one who may retain something of the delightful humor with which Scott recounted it.

When I retired for the night, I found it almost impossible to sleep; the idea of sleeping under the roof of Scott's appartment on the borders of the Tweed, in the very centre of that region which had for some time past been the favorite scene of romantic fiction; and above all, the recollection of the ramble I had taken, the company in which I had taken it, and the conversation which had passed, all fermented in my mind, and nearly drove sleep from my pillow.

On the following morning, the sun darted his beams from over the hills through the low lattice window. I rose at an early hour, and looked out between the branches of egantile which overhung the casement. To my surprise Scott was already up and forth, on a fragment of stone, and chatting with the workmen employed on the new building. I had supposed, after the time he had wasted upon me yesterday, he would be closely confined, but he appeared like a man of leisure, who needed not to do but bask in the sunshine and amuse himself.

I soon dressed myself and joined him. He talked about his proposed plans of Abbotsford; happy would it have been for him he could have contented himself with his delightful little wove-covered cottage, and the simple, yet hearty and hospitable style, in which he lived at the time of my visit. The great pile of Abbotsford, with the huge expense it entailed upon him, of servants, retainers, guests, and baromial style, was a drain upon his purse, a tax upon his exertions, and a weight upon his mind, that finally crushed him.

As yet, however, all was in embryo and perspective, and Scott pleased himself with picturing out his future residence, as he would one of the fanciful creations of his own romances. "It was one of his air castles," he said, "which he was reducing to solid stone and mortar." About the place were strewn ancient morsels from the ruins of Melrose Abbey, incorporated in his mansion. He had already con-structed out of similar materials a kind of Gothic shrine over a spring, and had surmounted it by a small stone cross.

Among the relics from the Abbey which lay scattered before us, was a most quaint and antique little lion, either of red stone, or painted red, which hit my fancy. I forget whose cognizance it was; but I shall never forget the delightful observations concerning old Melrose to which it accidentally gave rise.

The Abbey was evidently a pile that called up all Scott's poetic and romantic feelings; and one to which he was enthusiastically attached by the most fanciful and delightful of his early associations. He spoke of it, I may say, with affection. "There is no telling," said he, "what treasures are hid in that glorious old pile. It is a famous place for antiquarian plunder; there are such rich bits of old time sculpture for the architect, and old time story for the poet. There is as rare picking in it as in a Stilton cheese, and in the same taste—the mouldier the better."

He went on to mention circumstances of "mighty import" connected with the Abbey, which had never been touched, and which had even escaped the researches of Johnny Bower.
The heart of Robert Bruce, the hero of Scotland, had been buried, but quaint and picturesque: it is a remarkable relic. Much might be made of this in his dying hour, that his heart might be carried to the Holy Land and placed in the Holy Sepulchre; in fulfilment of a vow of pilgrimage; and of the proper and distinguishing of Sir James Douglas to carry the glorious relic. Much might be said, too, out of the adventures of Sir James in that adventurous age; of his fortunes in Spain, and his death in a crusade against the Moors; with the subsequent fortunes of the heart of Robert Bruce, until it was brought back to its native land, and enscribed within the holy walls of old Melrose.

Scott sat on a stone talking in this way, and knocking with his staff against the little red lion which lay prostrate before him, his gray eyes twinkled beneath his shagged eyebrows; scenes, images, incidents, kept breaking upon his mind as he proceeded, mingled with touches of the mysterious and supernatural as connected with the heart of Bruce. It seemed as if a poem or romance might well be generated from this imagination. That he subsequently contemplated something of the kind, as connected with this subject, and with his favorite ruin of Melrose, is evident from his introduction to the Monastery; and it is a fact that he never succeeded in following out these shadowy, but enthusiastic conceptions.

A summons to breakfast broke off our conversation, when I begged to recommend to Scott's attention my friend the little red lion, which had led to such an interesting topic, and hoped he might receive some niche or station in the future castle, worthy of his evident antiquity and apparent dignity. Scott assured me, with comical gravity, that the valiant lion should be most honorably entertained; I hope, therefore, that he still flourishes at Abbotsford.

Before dismissing the theme of the relics from the Abbey, I will mention another, illustrative of Scott's varied humors. This was a human skull, which had probably belonged to yore to one of those jovial friars, so honorably mentioned in the old border ballad:

"O the monks of Melrose made gude kale
On Fridays, when they fasted;
They wanted neither beef nor ale.
As long as their neighbors lasted."

This skull had caused to be cleaned and varnished, and placed it on a chest of drawers in his chamber, immediately opposite his bed; where I have seen it, grinning most dismally. It was an object of great awe and horror to the superstitious housemaids; and Scott used to amuse himself with their apprehensions. Sometimes, in changing his dress, he would leave his neckcloth coiled round it like a turban, and none of the "lasses" dared to remove it. It was a matter of great wonder and speculation among them that the laird should have such an "awful gale for a skull."  

At breakfast that morning Scott gave an amusing account of a little Highland chief called Campbell of the North, who had a lawsuit of many years' standing with a nobleman in his neighborhood about the boundaries of their estates. It was the leading object of the little man's life; and from his conversations he used to detail all the circumstances at full length to everybody he met, and, to aid him in his description of the premises, and make his story "mair preces," he had a great map made of his estate, a huge roll several feet long, which he used to carry about on his shoulder. Campbell was a long-bodied, but short- and bandy-legged little man, always clad in the Highland garb; and as he went about with this great roll on his shoulder, and his little legs curving like a pair of pantaloons below his kilt, he was an odd figure to behold. He was like little David shaking the spear of Goliath, which was "like unto a weaver's beam."

Whenever sheep-shearing was over, Campbell used to set out for Edinburgh to attend to his lawsuit. At the inn he paid double for all his meals and his night's lodgings, telling the landlords to keep it in mind until his return, so that he might come back that way at free cost; for he knew, he said, that he would spend all his money among the lawyers at Edinburgh, so he thought it best to secure a retreat home again.

On one of his visits he called upon his lawyer, but was told he was not at home, but his lady was. "It's just the same thing," said little Campbell. On being shown into the lawyer's room, he unrolled his map, stated his case at full length, and, having gone through with his story, gave her the customary fee. She would have declined it, but he insisted on her taking it. "I had just as much loving you for telling the whole tale to you, as I should have had in telling it to your husband, and I believe full as much profit."

The last time he saw Scott, he told him he believed he and the laird were near a settlement, as they agreed to within a few miles of the boundary. If I recollect right, Scott added that he advised the little man to consign his cause and his map to the care of "S'low Willie Mowbray," of sedulous memory, an Edinburgh worthy, much employed by the country people, for he tried out everybody in office by repeated visits and drawing, endless prolixity, and gained every suit by dint of boring.

These little stories and anecdotes, which abounded in Scott's conversation, rose naturally out of the subject, and were perfectly unforced, though, in thus relating them in a detached way, without the observations or circumstances which led to them, and which have passed from my recollection, they take their setting to give them proper relief. They will serve, however, to show the natural play of his mind, in his familiar moods, and its fecundity in graphic and characteristic detail.

His daughter Sophia and his son Charles were those of his family who seemed most to feel and understand his humors, and to take delight in his conversation. Mrs. Scott did not always pay the same attention, and would now and then make a casual remark which would operate a little like a damper. Thus, one morning at breakfast, when Dominie Thompson, the tutor, was present, Scott was going on with great glee to relate an anecdote of the laird of Macnab, "who, poor fellow," he paused, "is dead and gone;" and, "by the by," asked he, "the good lady, Macnab's not dead, is he?" "Father, my dear," replied Scott, with humorous gravity, "if he's not dead they've done him great injustice—for they've buried him."

The joke passed harmless and unnoticed by Mrs. Scott, but hit the poor Dominie just as he had raised a cup of tea to his lips, causing a burst of laughter which sent half of the contents of the table.
After breakfast, Scott was occupied for some time correcting proof-sheets which he had received by the mail. The novel of Rob Roy, as I have already observed, was at that time in the press, and I supposed them to be the proofs of that work. In the Waverley novels was still a matter of conjecture and uncertainty; though few doubted their being principally written by Scott. One proof to me of his being the author, was that he never advanced a novel without a name. A man so fond of anything Scottish, and anything relating to national history or local legend, could not have been mute respecting such productions, had they been written by another. He was fond of quoting the works of his contemporaries; he was continually reciting scraps of border songs, or relating anecdotes of border story. With respect to his own poems, and their merits, however, he was mute, and while with him I observed a scrupulous silence on the subject.

I may here mention a singular fact, of which I was not aware at the time, that Scott was very reserved with his children respecting his own writings, and was even disinclined to their reading them in his lifetime. Poems, I believe, sometime after, from a passage in one of his letters to me, advertizing to a set of the American miniature edition of his poems, which, on my return to England, I forwarded to one of the young ladies.

"In my hurry," writes he, "I have not thanked you, in Sophia's name, for the kind attention, which furnished her with the American volumes. I am not quite sure I can add my own, since you have made her acquainted with much more of papa's folly than she would otherwise have learned; for I have taken special care they should never see any of these things during their earlier years."

To return to the thread of my narrative. When Scott had got through his brief literary occupation, we set out on a ramble. The young ladies started to accompany us, but they had not gone far, when they met a poor laborer and his distressed family, and turned back to take them to the house, and relieve them.

On passing the bounds of Abbotsford, we came upon a little farm, belonging to his own brothers, in front of a forlorn, crazy old manse, or farm-house, standing in naked desolation. This, however, Scott told me, was an ancient hereditary property called Lauckend, about as valuable as the patrimonial estate of Don Quixote, and which, in like manner, conferred an hereditary dignity upon its proprietor, who was a laird, and, though poor as a rat, prided himself upon his ancient blood, and the standing of his house. He was accordingly called Lauckend, according to the Scottish custom of naming a man after his family estate, but he was more generally known through the country round by the name of Lauckie Long Legs, from the length of his limbs. While Scott was giving this account of him, we saw him at a distance striding along one of his fields, with his plain flapping about him, and he seemed well to deserve his appellation, for he looked all legs and tarts.

Lauckie knew nothing of the world beyond his native acres; but after the war, or rather the end of it, he was called on by his neighbors generally to inquire after foreign parts. Among the number came Lauckie Long Legs and an old brother as ignorant as himself. They had many inquiries to make about the French, whom they seemed to consider some remote and semi-barbarous horde—"And what like are these barbarians in their own country?" said Lauckie, "can they write?—can they cipher?" He was quite astonished to learn that they were nearly as much advanced in civilization as the gude folks of Abbotsford.

After living for a long time in single blessedness, Lauckie all at once, and not long before my visit to the neighborhood, took it into his head to get married. The neighbors were all surprised; but the family connection, who were as proud as they were poor, were grievously scandalized, for they thought the young woman on whom he had set his mind quite beneath him. It was in vain, however, that they remonstrated on the misalliance he was about to make; he was not to be swayed from his determination. Arraying himself in his best, and saddling a gaunt steed that might have rivaled Rosinante, and placing a plaid behind his saddle, he departed to wed and bring home the humble lassie who was to be made mistress of the venerable hovel of Lauckend, and who lived in a village on the opposite side of the Tweed.

A small distance from this farm is a curious little place, standing near the banks of the Tweed, and looking into a quiet little corner neighborhood. The word soon circulated through the village of Melrose, and the cottages in its vicinity, that Lauckie Long Legs was to have gone over the Tweed to fetch home his bride. All the good folks assembled at the bridge to await his return. Lauckie, however, disappointed them; he crossed the river at a distant ford, and conveyed his bride safe to his mansion without being perceived.

Let me step forward in the course of events, and relate the fate of poor Lauckie, as it was communicated to me a year or two afterward in letter from Scott. From the time of his marriage he had no longer any peace, owing to the constant intermeddling of his relations, who would not permit him to be happy in his own way, but endeavored to set him at variance with his wife. Lauckie refused to credit any of their stories to her disadvantage; but the incessant warfare he had to wage in defense of her good name, wore out both flesh and spirit. His last conflict was with his father, whom he jostled at home, in his mansion. A furious scolding match took place between them; Lauckie made a vehement profession of faith in favor of his impecunious honesty, and then fell dead at the threshold of his own door. His person, his character, his name, his story, and his fate, entitled him to be immortalized in one of Scott's novels, and I looked to recognize him in some of the succeeding works from his pen; but I looked in vain.

After passing by the domains of honest Lauckie, Scott pointed out, at a distance, the Eildon stone. There in ancient days stood the Eildon tree, beneath which Thomas the Rhymer, according to popular tradition, dealt forth his prophecies, some of which still exist in antiquated ballads.

Here we turned up a little glen with a small burn or brook running along it, making an occasional waterfall, and overhung in some places with mountain ash and weeping birch. We are now, said Scott, talking classic, or rather fairy ground. This is the haunted glen of Thomas the Rhymer, where he met with the queen of fairy land, and this the hogle burn, or...
and semi-barbarous
that barbarians
as to be quite astonish
early as much ad-
had folk of Ab-
single blessed
not long before
it took to its
neighbors were all
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A course of events,
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A further stroll among the hills brought us to
what Scott pronounced the remains of a Roman
camp, and as we sat upon a hillock which had
once formed a part of the ramparts, he pointed
out the traces of the lines and bulwarks, and
the praetorium, and showed a knowledge of cadastrum
that would have disarmed the anti-
Oldbuck himself. Indeed, various cir-
stances that I observed about Scott during my
visit, concurred to persuade me that many of
the antiquarian humors of Monbarns were
taken from his own richly compounded character,
and that some of the scenes and personages of that
admirable novel were furnished by his immediate
neighborhood.

He gave me several anecdotes of a noted
pauper named Andrew Gemmells, or Gemmell,
as it was pronounced, who had once flourished
on the banks of Galla Water, immediately op-
posite Abbotsford, and whom he had seen and
talked and joked with when a boy; and I
stantly recognized the likeness of that mirror of
philosophic vagabonds and Nestor of beggars,
Edie Ochiltree. I was on the point of pronoun-
cing the name and recognizing the portrayal, when
I recollected the incognito observed by Scott
with respect to his novels, and checked myself;
but it was one among many things that tended
to convince me of his authorship.

His picture of Andrew Gemmells exactly ac-
corded with that of Ed : as to his height, car-
paign, and soldier-like air, as well as his arch
sarcasm humor. His home, if home he had, was
at Galashiels; but he went "daunting" about
the country, along the green shaws and beside
the burns, and was a kind of walking chronicle
throughout the valleys of the Tweed, the Etriek,
and the Yarrow; carrying the gospel from house
to house, commenting on the inhabitants and
their concerns, and never hesitating to give them
a dry rub as to any of their faults or follies.

A shrewd beggar like Andrew Gemmells, Scott
added, who could sing the old Scotch airs, tell
stories and traditions, and gossip away the long
winter evenings, was no means an unwelcome
visitor at a lonely mause or cottage. The chil-
dren would run to welcome him, and place his
stoat in a warm corner of the ingle nook, and
the old folks would receive him as a privileged
guest.

As to Andrew, he looked upon them all as
a person does upon his parishioners, and consid-
ered the alms he received as much due as the
other does his titles. "I rather think," added
Scott, "Andrew considered himself more of a
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gentleman than those who toiled for a living, and that he secretly looked down upon the painstaking peasants that fed and sheltered him. He has derived his aristocratic notions in some degree from being admitted occasionally to a precocious sociability with some of the small country gentry, who were sometimes in want of company to help while away the time. With these Andrew would now and then play at cards and dice, and he never lacked 'siller in pouch' to take on a game, which he did with a perfect air of a man to whom money was a matter of little moment, and no one could lose his money with more gentlemanlike coolness.

Among those who occasionally admitted him to this familiarity, was old John Scott of Galla, a man of family, who inherited his paternal mansion of Torwoodlee. Some distinction of rank, however, was still kept up. The Laird sat on the inside of the window and the beggar on the outside, and they played cards on the sill.

Andrew now and then told the Laird a piece of his mind very freely; especially on one occasion, when he had sold some of his paternal lands to build himself a larger house with the proceeds. The speech of honest Andrew smacks of the shrewdness of Edie Ochiltree.

"It's a' varra weel—it's a' varra weel, Torwoodlee," said he; "but who would ha' thought that your father's son would ha' sold two guide estates to build a shaw's (cuckoo's) nest on the side of a hill?"

That day there was an arrival at Abbotsford of two English tourists—one a gentleman of fortune and landed estate, the other a young clergyman whom he appeared to have under his patronage, and to have brought with him as a traveling companion.

The patron was one of those well-bred, commonplace gentlemen with which England is overrun. He had great reverence for Scott, and endeavored to acquit himself learnedly in his company, aiming continually at abstract disquisitions, for which Scott had little relish. The conversation of the latter, as usual, was studied with anecdotes and stories, some of them of great path and humor; the well-bred gentleman was too dull to feel the satirical or too decorous to indulge in hearty mirth. The honest parson, on the contrary, was not too refined to be happy, laughed loud and long at every joke, and enjoyed them with the zest of a man who has more merriment in his heart than can be seen in his pockets.

After they were gone, some comments were made upon their different deportments. Scott spoke very respectfully of the good breeding and measured manners of the man of wealth, but with a kind of coldness into the parson, and the honesty but heartily enjoyment with which he relished every pleasantness. "I doubt," said he, "whether the parson's lot in life is not the best: if he cannot command as many of the good things of this world as his patron can, he beats him all hollow in his enjoyment of them when set before him by others. Upon the whole," he added, "I rather think I prefer the honest parson's good humor to his patron's good breeding; I have a great regard for a hearty laugh.

He went on to speak of the great influx of English travellers which of late years had influxed Scotland; and doubted whether they had not injured the old-fashioned Scottish character. "Formerly they came here occasionally as sportsmen," said he, "but any idea of looking at scenery, when they moved about the country in hardy simple style, coping with the country people in their own way; but now they come rolling about in their equipages, to see ruins, and spend money, and their luxuriating extravaigances have played the common people. It has made them rapacious in their dealings with strangers, greedy after money, and extravagant in their demands for the most trivial services. Formerly," continued he, "the poorer classes of our people were comparatively, disgustedly, they offered their services gratuitously, in promoting the amusement, or aiding the curiosity of strangers, and were gratified by the smallest compensation; but now they make a trade of showing rocks and ruins, and are as greedy as Italian cicerones. They look upon the English as so many walking money-bags; the more they are shaken and poked, the more they will leave behind them."

I told him of what a great deal to answer for on that head, since the romantic associations he had thrown by his writings over so many out-of-the-way places in Scotland, that had brought in the influx of curious travelers.

Scott had heard, and said he believed might be in some measure in the right, as he recollected a circumstance in point. Being one time at Glenrosa, an old woman who kept a small inn, which had but little custom, was uncommonly glibious in her attentions upon him, and frequently inquired him with her civilities. The secret at length came out. As he was to depart, she addressed him with many curtsies, and said she understood he was the gentleman that had written a bonnie book about Loch Katrine. She begged him to write a little about their lake also, for she understood his book had done the inn at Loch Katrine a muckle deal of good.

On the following day I made an excursion with Scott and the young ladies to Dryburgh Abbey. We went in an open carriage, drawn by two sleek old black horses, for which Scott seemed to have an affection, as he had for every dumb animal that belonged to him. Our road lay through a variety of scenes, rich in poetical and historical associations of which Scott had something to relate. In one part of the drive, he pointed to an old tower keep, or fortress, on the summit of a naked hill, several miles off, which he called Smallholm Grange, or farm-house; and he had been sent there, when but two years old, on account of his lameness, that he might have the benefit of the pure air of the hills, and be under the care of his grandmother and aunts.

In the introduction of one of the cantos of Marmion, he has depicted his grandfather, and the residence of the farm-house; and has given an amusing picture of himself in his boyish years:

"Still with vain fondness could I trace
Anew each kind familiar face,
That brightened at our evening fires,
From the thatched mans'is's crested sire
Wise without learning, plain and good,
And sprung of Scotland's gentler blood;"
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Whose eye in age, quick, clear and keen,
Showed what in youth's glance had been;
Whose doom discarding neighbors sought,
Content with equity unloathed:
To him the venerable priest,
Our frequent and familiar guest,
Whose life and manners well could paint
Alike the student and the saint;
Ais, whose speech too oft I broke
With gambol rude and jest:
For I was wayward, bold, and wild,
A self-willed imp, a grandame's child;
But half a plague, and half a jest,
Was still ensnared, beloved, caroT.

It was, he said, during his residence at Smallholl crags that he first imbibed his passion for legendary tales, border traditions, and old national songs and ballads. His grandmother and aunts were well versed in that kind of lore, so current in Scottish country life. They used to recount them in long, gloomy winter days, and about theingle nook at night, in concave with their gossip visitors; and little Walter would sit and listen with greedy ears; thus taking into his infant mind the seeds of many a splendid fiction.

There was an old shepherd, he said, in the service of the family, who used to sit under the sunny wall, and tell marvellous stories, and recite old tales of ballads, as he knitted stockings. Scott used to be wheeled out in his chair, in fine weather, and would sit beside the old man, and listen to him for hours.

The situation of Sandy Knowe was favorable both for story-teller and listener. It commanded a wide view over all the border country, with its feudal towers, its haunted glens, and wizard streams. As the old shepherd told his tales, he could point out the very scene of action. Thus, before Scott could walk, he was made familiar with the scenes of his future stories; they were all seen as through a magic medium, and took that tinge of romance, which they ever after retained in his imagination. From the height of Sandy Knowe, he may be said to have had the first look-out upon the promised land of his future glory.

On referring to Scott's works, I find many of the circumstances related in this conversation, about the old tower, and the by-scenes connected with it, recorded in the introduction to Marmon, already cited. This was frequently the case with Scott; incidents and feelings that had appeared in his writings, were apt to be mingled up in his conversation, for they had been taken from what he had witnessed and felt in real life, and were connected with those scenes among which he lived, and moved, and had his being. I make no scruple at quoting the passage relative to the tower, though it repeats much of the foregone imagery, and with vastly superior effect:

Thus, while I use the measure wild
Of tales that charmed me yet a child,
Rude though they be, still with the chime
Return the thoughts of early time;
And feelings rose in life's first day,
Glow in the line, and prompt the lay.

There those crags, that mountain tower,
Which charmed my fancy's waking hour,
Though no broad river swept along
To claim perchance heroic song;
Though no invader in summer gale
To prompt of love a softer tale;
Though scarce a puny streamlet's speed
Claimed homage from a shepherd's rod;

Yet was poetic impulse given
By the green hill and clear blue heaven.
It was a barren scene, and wild,
Where naked cliffs were rudely piled;
But ever and anon between
Lay velvet tufts of loveliest green;
And well the lonely infant knew
Recesses where the wall-flower grew,
And honey-suckle loved to sprawl
Upon the low crag and ruined wall.
I deemed such nooks the sweetest shade
The sun in all his round surveyed;
And still I thought that shattered tower
The mightiest work of human power
And marv'led as the aged hind
With some strange tale bewitched my mind,
Of forayers, who, with headlong force,
Down from that strength had spurred their horse,
Their southern rapine to renew,
Far in the distant Cheviot's blue,
And, home returning, filled the hall
With revel, wassail-out, and braw—
Methought that still, with tramp and clang
The gate-way's broken arches rang;
Methought grim features, seamed with scars,
Gazed through the window's rusty bars,
And ever by the winter hearth,
Old tales I heard of woe or mirth,
Of lovers' slights, of ladies charms,
Of witches' spells, of warlike arms,
Of patriot battles, won of old,
By Wallace wight and Bruce the bold,
Of later fields of feud and fight,
When pouring from the Highland height,
The Scottish clans, in headlong sway,
Had swept the scarlet ranks away,
While stretched at length upon the floor,
Again I fought each combat o'er,
Fellows and shells, in order laid,
The mimic ranks of war displayed;
And onward still the Scottish Lion bore,
And still the scurried Southern fled before.

Scott eyed the distant height of Sandy Knowe with an earnest gaze as we rode along, and said he had often thought of buying the place, repairing the old tower, and making it his residence. He has in some measure, however, paid off his early debt of gratitude, in clothing it with poetic and romantic associations, by his tale of 'The Eve of St. John.' It is to be hoped that those who actually possess so interesting a monument of childhood, will take some measure, however, to preserve it from further dilapidation.

Not far from Sandy Knowe, Scott pointed out another old border hold, standing on the summit of a hill, which had been a kind of enchanted castle, the ruin of which, it is said, was the tower of Beremser, the baronial residence of the Haigs, or De Haigs, one of the oldest families of the border. "There had seemed to him," he said, "almost a wizard spell hanging over it, in consequence of a prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer, in which, in his young days, he most potently believed:"

'Betide, betide, what'er betide,
Haig shall be Haig of Beremser.'

Scott added some particulars which showed that, in the present instance, the venerable Thomas had not proved a false prophet, for it was a noted fact that, amid all the changes and chaos of the border throughout all the feuds, and forays, and sackings, and burnings, which had reduced most of the castles to ruins, and the proud families that once possessed them to poverty, the tower of Beremser still remained
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One of my pleasant rambles with Scott, about the neighborhood of Abbotsford, was taken in company with Mr. William Laidlaw, the steward of his estate. A melancholy man, in truth, to his own mind, yet able to feel the power of his own words. A man of wide reading, and a connoisseur in all that he could comprehend on the subject. But his own name was no small advantage to him as a poet, and he had been well educated, his mind was richly stored with varied information, and he was a man of moral worth.

Having been reduced by misfortunes, he had got him to the charge of the estate. He lived at a small farm on the hillside above Abbotsford, and was treated by Scott as a cherished and confidential friend, rather than as a dependent.

As the day was showery, Scott was attended by one of his retainers, named Tommie Purdie, who carried his plaid, and who deserves especial mention. Sophia Scott used to call him her father's grand vizier, and she gave a playful account one evening, as she was hanging on her father's arm, of the consultations which he and Tommie used to have about matters relating to farming. Purdie was tenacious of his opinions, and he and Scott would have long disputes in front of the house, as to something that was to be done on the estate, until the family tied out, and he would abandon the ground and the argument, exclaming, "Well, well, Tom, have it your own way." After a time, however, Purdie would present himself at the door of the parlor, and observe, "I have been thinking over the matter, and upon the whole, I think I'll take your honor's advice." Scott laughed heartily when this anecdote was told of him. "It was with him and Tom," he said, "as it was with an old laird and a pet servant, whom he indulged until his wit had lost its power beyond all endurance." "This won't do," cried the old laird, in a passion, "we can't live together any longer—we must part." "An' where will the devil do your mean go to?" replied the other.

I would, moreover, observe of Tom Purdie, that he was a firm believer in ghosts, and warlocks, and all kinds of old wives' fable. He was a religious man, too, mingling a little degree of Scottish pride in his devotion; for though his salary was but twenty pounds, he once paid a form to the church, and gave seven pounds for a family Bible. It is true, he had one hundred pounds clear of the world, and was looked up to by his comrades as a man of property.

In the course of our morning's walk, we stopped at a small house belonging to one of the laborers on the estate. The object of Scott's visit was to inspect a relic which had been dug up in a Roman camp, and which, if I recollect right, he pronounced to have been a tongue. It was produced by the cottage's wife, a Rudd, healthy-looking dame, whom Scott addressed by the name of Alie. As he stood regarding the relic, turning it round and round, and making comments upon it, half grave, half comic, with the cottage group around him, all joining occasionally in the colloquy, the inimitable character of Monkhams was again brought to mind, and I seemed to see before me that prince of antiquarians and humorists holding forth to his unlearned and unbelieving neighbors.

Scott was a poet, in the truest sense of the word, a poet every way. He was not a poet by rote, he could not write a verse under pain of losing his life, as I once heard over. When I asked him if he could not write a verse, Scott looked at me, and said, "Not by rote, you see. Not the faintest in the world," and I went under the table, quite abashed. We said no more. When the moment came, he could turn out in a moment, and say to me, "There, I thought you said I could not write a verse?"
own enthusiasm, and was disposed to droll upon
his own humorous and peculiarities, yet, at
the same time, a poetic gleam in his eye would show
that he really took a strong relish and interest in
them. "It was a pity," he said, "that anti-
quarlians were generally so dry, for the subjects
they handled in their historical and poetical
recollections, in picturesque details, in quaint
and heroic characteristics, and in all kinds of
curious and obsolete ceremonies. They are al-
ways groping among the rarest materials for
poetry, but they have no idea of turning them to
poetic use. Now every fragment from old times
has, in some degree, its story with it, or gives
an inkling of something characteristic of the cir-
cumstances and manners of its day, and so sets
the imagination at work."

For my own part I never met with antiquarian
so delightful, either in his writings or his con-
versation; and the quiet subacid humor that was
prone to mingle in his disquisitions, gave
them, to me, a peculiar and an exotic flavor.

But to proceed to understand in everything
that concerned him. The play of his

genius was so easy that he was unconscious of
its mighty power, and made light of those subjects
which shamed the efforts and labors of other
writers.

Our ramble this morning took us again up
the Rhymers, and by Huntley Bank, and
Huntley Wood, and the silver waterfall overhung
with weeping birches and mountain ashes, those
delicate, beautiful trees which grace the green
shaws and burnsides of Scotland. The heather,

too, that closely woven robe of Scottish land-

scape which covers the nakedness of its hills
and mountains, tinted the neighborhood with soft
and rich colors. As we ascended the glen, the
prospects opened upon us: Melrose, with its
towers and pinnacles, lay below; beyond was the
Eildon hills, the Cowden Knowes, the Tweed,
the Galla Water, and all the storied vicinity; the
whole landscape varied by gleams of sunshine
and driving showers.

Scott, as usual, took the lead, limping along
with great activity, and in joyous mood, giving
scrapes of border rhymes and border stories; two
or three times in the course of our walk there
were dazzling showers, which I supposed
would posses our way, but my companions,
truedged on unconcernedly as if it had been fine
weather.

At length, I asked whether we had not better
seek some shelter. "True," said Scott, "I did
not recollect that you were not accustomed to our
Scottish mists. This is a lachrymose climate,

evermore showering. We, however, are children
of the mist, and must not mind a little whimpering
of the clouds any more than a man must mind
the weeping of an hysterical wife. As you are
not accustomed to be wet through, as a matter of
course, in a morning's walk, we will hide a bit
under the lee of this bank until the shower is
over." Taking his seat under shelter of a thicket,
he called to his man George for his tartan, and
then turning to me, "Cow," said he, "come under
my plaid, as the old song goes;" so, making
me nestle down beside him, he wrapped a part of
the plaid round me, and took me, as he said,
under his wing.

This was not after the weather turned together, he
pointed to a hole in the opposite bank of the glen.
That, he said, was the hole of an old gray
badger, who had doubtless snugly housed in this
bad weather. Sometimes he saw him at the
entrance of his hole, like a hermit at the door of
his cell, telling his beads, or reading a homily.
He had a great respect for the venerable anchro-
rite, and would not suffer him to be disturbed.
He was a kind of successor to Thomas the
Rhymer, and perhaps might be Thomas himself
who were returned from fairy land, but still under fairy
rules.

Some accident turned the conversation upon
Hogg, the poet, in which Laidlaw, who was
seated beside us, took a part. Hogg had once
been a shepherd in the service of his father, and
Laidlaw gave many interesting anecdotes of him,
of which I now retain no recollection. They
used to tend the sheep together when Laidlaw
was a boy, and Hogg would recite the first strug-
gling conceptions of his muse. At night when
Laidlaw was quartered comfortably in bed, in
the farmhouse, poor Hogg would take to the
shepherd's hut in the field on the hillside,
and there lie awake for hours together, and look
at the stars and make poetry, which he would
repeat the next day.

Scott spoke in warm terms of Hogg, and
repeated passages from his beautiful poem of
"Kelman," to which he gave great and well-mer-
lited praise. He gave, also, some amusing anec-
dotes of Hogg and his public career. On one
occasion, Hogg, who was at that time just rising into the
bibliographical importance which he has since enjoyed.

Hogg, in one of his poems, I believe the "Pil-
grems of the Sun," had dabbled a little in
metaphysics, and like his heroes, had got into the
effects, Blackwood, who began to affect criti-
ism, argued stoutly with him as to the necessity
of omitting or elucidating some obscure passage.
Hogg was immovable.

"But, man," said Blackwood, "I dinna ken
what ye mean in this passage." "Hout toot,
man," replied Hogg, impatiently. "I dinna ken
always what I mean mysel." There is many a
metaphysical poet in the same predicament with
honest Hogg.

Scott promised to invite the Shepherd to
Abbotsford during my visit, and I anticipated
much gratification in meeting with him, from
the account I had received of his character
and manners, and the great pleasure I had derived
from his works. Circumstances, however, pre-
vented Scott from performing his engagement,
and to my great regret I left Scotland without seeing
one of his most original and national characters.

When the weather held up, we continued our
walk until we came to a beautiful sheet of water,
in the bosom of the mountain, called, if I recol-
lected right, the lake of Cauldshiel. Scott
prided himself much upon this little Mediterranean
sea in his dominions, and hoped I was not too much
spoiled by our great lakes in America to relish
it. He proposed to take me out to the centre of it,
and to a fine point of view, for which purpose we
embarked in a small boat, which had been put on
the lake by his neighbor, Lord Somervile. As
I was about to step on board, I observed in
large letters on one of the benches, "Search No. 2.
I paused for a moment and repeated the in-
scription aloud, trying to recollect something
I had heard or read to which it alluded. "Pahaw,"
cried Scott, "it is only some of Lord Somervil-
le's nonsense - get in!" In an instant scenes in
the Antiquary connected with "Search No. 2,"
"Ah! I remember now," said I, and with a laugh
took my seat, but

We had a pleasant row about the lake, which
commanded some pretty scenery. The most interesting circumstance connected with it, however, according to Scott, was, that it was haunted by a bogle in the shape of a water bull, which lived in the deep parts, and now and then came forth upon dry land, and made a tremendous roaring, that shook the very hills. This story had been current in the vicinity from time immemorial;—there was a man living who declared he had seen the bull,—and he was believed by many of his simple neighbors. "I don't choose to contradict the tale," said Scott, "for I am willing to have my best stocks fished with any fish, flesh, or fowl that my neighbors think proper to put into it; and these old wives' fables are a kind of property in Scotland that belongs to the estates and go with the soil. Our streams and lochs are like the rivers and pools in Germany, that have all their Wasser Nixe, or water witches, and I have a fancy for these kind of amphibious bogles and hogoblins."

Scott went on after we had landed to make many remarks, mingled with picturesque anecdotes, concerning the fabulous beings with which the Scotch were apt to people the wild streams and lochs. Tales occur in the faerie world, in their scenes of their mountains; and to compare them with similar superstitions among the northern nations of Europe; but Scotland, he said, was above all other countries for this wild and vivid progeny of the fancy, from the nature of the scenery, the misty magnificence and vagueness of the climate, the wild and gloomy events of its history; the clannish divisions of its people; their local feelings, notions and prejudices; the individuality of their dialect, in which all sorts of odd and peculiar notions were incorporated; by the secluded life of their mountainous; the lonely habits of their pastoral people, much of whose time was passed on the solitary hillsides; their traditional songs, which clothed every rock and streav with old world stories, handed down from age to age, and generation to generation. The Scottish mind, he said, was made up of poetry and strong common sense; and the very strength of the latter gave perpetuity and luxuriance to the former. It was a strong tenacious soil, which, when a seed of poetry fell, it struck deep root and brought forth abundantly. "You will never weed these popular stories and songs and superstitions out of Scotland," said he. "It is not so much that the people believe in them, as that they delight in them. They belong to the native hills and streams of which they are fond, and to the history of their forefathers, of which they are proud."

"If it would do your heart good," continued he, "to see a number of old country people seated round the engine length, which is generally capacious enough, and passing the long dark dreary winter nights listening to some old wife, or strolling gabardinerie, dealing out auld world stories about bogles and warlocks, or about raids and forays, and border skirmishes; or reciting some ballad stuck full of those fighting names that stir up a true Scotchman's blood like the sound of a trumpet. These traditional tales and ballads have lived for ages in mere circulatory, being passed from father to son, or rather from madman to madman, and are a kind of hereditary property of the poor peasantry, of which it would be hard to deprive them, as they have not circulating libraries to supply them with works of fiction in their place." I do not pretend to give the precise words, but, as nearly as I can from scanty memoranda and vague recollections, the leading ideas of Scott. I am constantly sensible, however, how far I fall short of his copiousness and richness. He went on to speak of the chivalrous and splendid deeds, so frequent in Scottish legend. "Our fairies," however, said he, "though they dress in green, and gambol by moonlight about the banks, and shaws, and burnside, are not such pleasant little folks as the English fairy; but are apt to utter more of the warlocks in their natures, and to play spiteful tricks. When I was a boy, I used to look wistfully at the green hillocks that were said to be haunted by fairies, and felt sometimes as if I should like to lie down by them and sleep, and be carried off to Fairy Land, only that I did not like some of the cant采用es which used now and then to be played upon us."

Here Scott recounted, in graphic style, and with much humor, a little story which used to be current in the neighborhood, of an honest burgess of Selkirk, who, being at work upon the hill of Peatlaw, fell asleep upon one of these "faire knowes," or hillocks. When he awoke, he rubbed his eyes and gazed about him with astonishment, for it was a great city, with a crowd of people bustling about him, not one of whom he knew. At length he accosted a bystander, and asked him the name of the place. "Hout man," replied the other, "are ye in the heart o' Glasgow, and speer the name of it?" The poor man was astonished, and would not believe either ears or eyes; he insisted that he had lain down to sleep but half an hour before upon the Peatlaw, near Selkirk. He came well nigh being taken up for a madman, when, fortunately, a Selkirk man came by, who knew him, and took charge of him, and conducted him back to his native place. Here, however, he was far from liking to fire no better, when he spoke of having been whisked in his sleep from the Peatlaw to Glasgow. The truth of the matter at length came out; his coat, which he had taken off when at work on the Peatlaw, was found lying near a "faire knowe," and his bonnet, which was missing, was discovered on the weathercock of Laitrigg, a village. But a few days later, the coat he had been carried through the air by the fairies while he was sleeping, and his bonnet had been blown off by the way. I give this little story but marginally from a scanty memorandum; Scott has related it in somewhat different style in a note to one of his poems; but in narration these anecdotes derived their chief zest, from the quiet but delightful humor, the bonhomiche with which he seasoned them, and the sly glance of the eye from under his bushy eyebrows, with which they were accompanied.

That day at dinner, we had Mr. Laidlaw and his wife, and a female friend who accompanied them. The latter was a very intelligent, respectable person, about the middle age, and was treated with particular attention and courtesy by Scott. Our dinner was a most agreeable one; for the guests were evidently cherished to the heart, and for this no great price was expected. When they were gone, Scott spoke of them in the most cordial manner. "I wished to show you what Scotchmen are capable of doing for every one of his guests, even if he is but a very poor man. She is the best friend, and sometimes I do not know that I have not more true friends in Scotland than any country."

That day was to me the happiest day of my life, and the sight which I beheld on my return to Laidlaw's at dinner was indescribable. I never enjoyed a meal so much before, and I have never found a better friend or a truer man than I found in Laidlaw, and a kinder neighbor than the woman who was then sitting at the table. The former, a Scotchman of a very high estate in life, and the latter, a Scotchwoman of a most high worth in heart and mind.
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you," said he, "some of our really excellent, plain Scotch people, not fine gentlemen and ladies, for such you can meet everywhere, and they are everywhere the same. The character of a nation is not to be learnt from them."

He then went on with a particular eulogium on the lady who had accompanied the Laydais. She was the daughter, he said, of a poor country clergyman, who had died in debt, and left her an orphan. She was educated. Having had a good plain education, she immediately set up a child's school, and had soon a numerous flock under her care, by which she earned a decent maintenance. That, however, was not her main object. Her first care was to pay off her father's debts, that no ill word or ill will might rest upon his memory.

This, by dint of Scotch economy, backed by filial reverence and pride, she accomplished, though, in the effort, she subjected herself to every privation. Not content with this, she in certain instances refused to take pay for the tuition of the children of some of her neighbors, who had befriended her father in his need, and had since fallen into poverty. "In a word," added Scott, "she is a fine old Scotch girl; and I dare say in her, more than in many fine ladies, I have known, and I know many of the finest."

It is time, however, to draw this rambling narrative to a close. Several days were passed by me, in the way I have attempted to describe, in constant almost, familiar, and joyous conversation with Scott; but it was as if we were admitted to a social communion with Shakespeare, for it was with one of a kind, if not equal genius. Every night I retired with my mind filled with delightful recollections of the day, and every morning I rose with the certainty of new enjoyment. The days thus spent, I shall ever look back to, as among the very happiest of my life; for I was conscious at the time of being happy.

The only sad moment that I experienced at Abbotsford was that of my departure; but it was cleared with the prospect of soon returning; for I was told that Mr. Scott would return to the Highlands, to come and pass a few more days on the banks of the Tweed, when Scott intended to invite Hogg the poet to meet me. I took a kind farewell of the family, with each of whom I had been highly pleased. If I have refrained from dwelling particularly on their several characters, and giving anecdotes of them individually, it is because I consider them shielded by the sanctity of domestic life; Scott, on the contrary, belongs to history. As he accompanied me on foot, however, to a little gate on the confines of his premises, I could not refrain from expressing the enjoyment I had experienced in his domestic circle, and passing some warm eulogisms on the young folks from whom I had just parted. I shall never forget his reply, "They have kind hearts," said he, "and that is the main point as to human happiness. They love one another, poor things, which is everything in domestic life. The best wish I can make you, my friend," added he, laying his hand upon my shoulder, "is, that when you are rich, or get married, and have a family of young bairns about you. If you are happy, they are to share your happiness—and if you are otherwise, there they are to comfort you."

By this time we had reached the gate, when he halted, and took my hand. "I will not say farewell," said he, "for it is always a painful word, but I will say, come again. When you have made your tour to the Highlands, come here and give me a few more days—but come when you please, you will always find Abbotsford open to you, and a hearty welcome."

I have thus given, in a rude style, my main recollections of what occurred during my sojourn at Abbotsford, and I feel mortified that I can give but such meagre, scattered, and colorless details of what was so copious, rich, and varied. During several days that I passed there, Scott was in admirable vein. From early morn until dinner time he was rambling about, showing me the neighborhood, and during dinner and until late at night, engaged in social conversation. No time was reserved for himself; he seemed as if his only occupation was to entertain me; and yet I was almost an entire stranger to him, one of whom he knew nothing, but an idle book I had written, and which, some years before, had amused him. But Scott—he appeared to have nothing to do but lavish his time, attention, and conversation on those around. It was difficult to imagine what time he found to write those volumes that were incessantly issuing from the press; all of which, too, were of a nature to require reading and re- search. I could not find that his life was ever otherwise than a life of leisure and happy-hazard recreation, such as it was during his visit. He scarce ever barked a party of pleasure, or a sporting excursion, and rarely pleaded his own concerns as an excuse for rejecting those of others. During my visit I heard of other visitors who had preceded me, and who must have kept him occupied for many days, and I had an opportunity of knowing the course of his daily life for some time subsequently. Not long after my departure from Abbotsford, my friend Wilkie arrived there, to paint a picture of the Scott family. He found the house full of guests. Scott's whole time was taken up in riding and driving about the countryside, and he would not take an hour of his recreation at home. "All this time," said Wilkie to me, "I did not presume to ask Mr. Scott to sit for his portrait, for I saw he had not a moment to spare; I waited for the guests to go away, but as fast as one went another arrived, and so it continued for several days, and with each set he was completely occupied. At length all went off, and we were quiet. I thought, however, Mr. Scott will now shut himself up among his books and papers, for he has made up for lost time; it won't do for me to ask him to sit for his picture. Laidlaw, who managed his estate, came in, and Scott turned to him, as I supposed, to consult about business. 'Laidlaw,' said he, 'tomorrow morning we'll go across the water and take the dogs with us—there's a place where I think we shall be able to find a hare.' "'In short," added Wilkie, "I found that instead of business, he was thinking only of amusement, as if he had nothing in the world to occupy him; so I no longer feared to intrude upon him."

The countryside is picturesque, and dramatic. During the time of my visit he inclined to the comic rather than the grave, in his anecdotes and stories, and such I was told, was his general inclination. He relished a joke, or a trait of humor in social-
course, and laughed with right good will. He talked not for effect nor display, but from the flow of his spirits, the store of his memory, and the vigor of his imagination. He had a natural turn for narration, and his narratives and descriptions were without effort, yet wonderfully graphic. He placed the scene before you like a picture; he gave the dialogue with the appropriate dialect or peculiarities, and described the appearance and characters of his personages with that spirit and felicity evinced in his writings. Indeed, his conversation reminded me continually of his novels; and it seemed to me, that during the whole time I was with him, he talked enough to fill volumes, and that they could not have been filled more delightfully.

He was as good a listener as talker, appreciating everything that others said, however humble might be their rank or pretensions, and was quick to testify his perception of any point in their discourse. He arrogated nothing to himself, but was perfectly unassuming and unpretending, entering with heart and soul into the business, or pleasure, or, I had almost said, folly, of the hour and the company. No one's concerns, no one's thoughts, no one's opinions, no one's tastes and pleasures seemed beneath him. He made himself so thoroughly the companion of those with whom he happened to be, that they forgot for a time his vast superiority, and only recollected and wondered, when all was over, that it was Scott with whom they had been on such familiar terms, and in whose society they had felt so perfectly at their ease.

It was delightful to observe the generous spirit in which he spoke of all his literary contemporaries, quoting the beauties of their works, and this, too, with respect to persons with whom he might have been supposed to be at variance in literature or politics. Jeffrey, it was thought, had ruffled his plumes in one of his reviews, yet Scott spoke of him in terms of high and warm eulogy, both as an author and as a man.

His humor in conversation, as in his works, was genial and free from all causticity. He had a quick perception of faults and foibles, but he looked upon poor human nature with an indulgent eye, relishing what was good and pleasant, tolerating what was frail, and pitying what was evil. It is this beneficent spirit which gives such a air of bonhomie to Scott's humor throughout all his works. He played with the foibles and errors of his fellow beings, and presented them in a thousand whimsical and characteristic lights, but the kindness and generosity of his nature would not allow him to be a satirist. I do not recollect a sneer throughout his conversation any more than there is throughout his works.

Such is a rough sketch of Scott, as I saw him in private life, not merely at the time of the visit here narrated, but in the usual intercourse of subsequent years. Of his public character and merits, all the world can judge. His works have incorporated themselves with the thoughts and concerns of the whole civilized world, for a quarter of a century, and have had a controlling influence over the age in which he lived. But when did a human being ever exercise an influence more salutary and benign? Who is there that, on looking back over a great portion of his life, does not find the genius of Scott administering to its pleasures, beguiling his cares, and soothing his lonely sorrows? Who does not still regard his works as a treasury of pure enjoyment, an armory to which to resort in time of need, to find weapons with which to fight off the evils and the griefs of life? For my own part, in periods of dejection, I have hailed the announcement of a new work from his pen as an earnest of certain pleasure in store for me, and have looked forward to it as a traveller in a waste looks to a green spot at a distance, where he feels assured of solace and refreshment. When I consider how much he has thus contributed to the better hours of my past existence, and how independent his works still make me, at times, of all the world for my enjoyment, I bless my stars that cast my lot in his days, to be thus cheered and gladdened by the outpourings of his genius. I consider it one of the greatest advantages that I have derived from my literary career, that it has elevated me into genial communion with such a spirit; and as a tribute of gratitude for his friendship, and veneration for his memory, I cast this humble stone upon his cairn, which will soon, I trust, be piled aloft with the contributions of able heads.

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ABBOTSFORD.

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The altar of Coleridge, to which and seat I had been so often led, reseemed a help from the eyes of the divine. Assuredly these lines are sung with its spirit; and I take the opportunity of the present day to return the tribute of my admiration and love to the memory of him whose genius has charmed me as no other can. May his poem and picture, and the memory of his name, be ever with me!  

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VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES
OF THE
COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS.

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, enthralled 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, and to secure the first fruits of the pearl fisheries of Peru and Culebra, or to explore the coast of Veraguas, which he had represented as the Aurora Chersonesus of the Ancients. Others aspired to accomplish a grand discovery which he had meditated toward 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 last 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 disciples, Vasco Núñez 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 herein 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, 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, perhaps, be considered far more 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 Moors usurpers of the peninsula produced a deep and lasting effect upon the Spanish character and manners. The war being ever close at hand, mingled itself with the domestic habits and concerns of the Spanish. 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 in 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 panting 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 capitulations of the Caravel; and his first expedition may almost be said to have departed from beneath the walls of Granada. Many of the youthful cavaliers who had flashed 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 infidelia. The very weapons and armour that had been used against the Moors, were drawn from the arsenals to equip the discoverers 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-glory exploit, and the same fervent, and often bigoted, zeal for the propagation of his faith that had distinguished
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ALONZO DE OJEDA. 

HIS FIRST VOYAGE, IN WHICH HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMERIGO VESPUCCI. 

CHAPTER I.

WNE 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 Alonzo 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.

Alonzo 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 patronised Columbus during his application to the Spanish courts.

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 bloodiest and most critical of the struggles of the war of Granada, always insisting on leading his own troops in person, when the service was of peculiar difficulty and danger. Alonzo 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 Moors wars; for he was but about twenty-one years of age when he accompanied Columbus in his second voyage; he had already, however, distinguished himself by his enterprising spirit and headlong courage; 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 such unsatisfactory and hazardous employment or command, which the influence of his connexions gave him a great chance of obtaining. He had a cousin-german of his own name, the reverend Padre Alonzo de Ojeda, a Dominican friar, who was one of the first Inquisitors of Spain, and a great favourite with the Catholic sovereigns. This father inquisitor was, moreover, an intimate friend of the bishop Don Juan Rodriguez Fonseca, who had 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 special care of the Virgin he attributed the remarkable circumstance that he had never been wounded in any of the injured.

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* Ojeda is pronounced in Spanish Ojeda, with a strong aspiration of the.
+ Vespucci, Yvespuhy
SPANISH VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

CHAPTER II.

DEPARTURE FROM SPAIN—ARRIVAL ON THE COAST OF PARIA—CUSTOMS OF THE NATIONS.

OJEDA sailed from Port St. Mary on the 20th of May, 1499, and, having touched for supplies at the Canaries, took a departure from somewhere, pursuing the coast 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.

From hence he can along the coast of the Gulf of Panama, passing the mouths of many rivers, but especially those of the Esquimau and the Oronoko. These, to the astonishment of the Spaniards, uncustomed 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 the 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 Aboriginals 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 when they made, they add, from the volup-

tuousness of their lives, they might be considered Epicureans. Their habitations were built in the shape of huts of the trunks of trees, thatch'd with palm leaves, and were proof against wind and weather. They appeared to be in common, and

+ Navarrete, t. iii., p. 8.
some of them were of such magnitude as to contain six 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 habitats.

Their riches consisted in beads and ornaments from the bones of fishes; in small white and green stones looking like roses, 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 eatables 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 Bocú del Dragón, or Dragon's Mouth, which Columbus had found so formidable, and then steered his course along the coast of Terra Firme, landing occasionally until he arrived at Curiana, or the Gulf of Pears. 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 rivers infested with alligators resembling the crocodiles of the Nile.

Finding a convenient harbour at Maracapana he unloaded and caressed his vessels there, and built a small brigantine. The natives came to him in great numbers, bringing abundance of venison, fish, and casava bread, and aiding the seamen in their labour. 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. They besought Ojeda, therefore, to avenge them on those ferocious enemies.

The request was gratifying to the fighting propensities of Alonzo 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 patera or small cannon. Beside the oarsmen, each boat contained a number of savages, 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 sprung up in the boats and discharged the pateraers. 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 forest. Here, to the庆幸 of the Crusaders, one hundred and twenty were killed and twenty 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.*

* There is some discrepancy in the early accounts of this battle, as to the time and place of its occurrence. The author has collected the narratives of Vespucci, Las Casas, Herrera, and Peter Martyr, and endeavoured to reconcile them, as far as possible.
CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY OF THE GULF OF VENEZUELA—TRANSPORTS 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 Antaeus.” 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 many houses, with canoes in piers driven into the bottom, 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 in 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 this amorphous 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 Ojeda, and two to each of the others, as tokens of amity and confidence. The best of understanding now seemed to be established; and the inhabitants of the village came swimming about the ships in their canoes, and others swimming in gondolas.

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 a moment surprised at seeing war-like men starting up on every side, and the very sea bristling with weapons. Manning his boats, he immediately charged among the thickest of the enemy, and sunk several of their canoes, killed twenty Indians and wounded many more, and spread such a panic among the survivors that most of the latter flung themselves into the sea and swim 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 desperately escaping the same night.

Ojeda had five men wounded in the affair, all of whom recovered. He visited the houses, but found them abandoned and destitute of booty; notwithstanding the unprompted hostility of the inhabitants, he spared the buildings, that he might not cause useless irritation along the coast. Continuing to explore this gulf, he penetrated to a port or harbour, to which he gave the name of St. Bartholomew, which is supposed to be the same at present known by the original Indian name of Maracaibo. Here, in compliance with the request 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 features. Their figures were more than proportionate, and so admirably formed, that jealousy which prevailed in other parts of the coast; but, on the contrary, permitted the most frank and intimate intercourse with their wives and daughters. By this means Spaniards set on their return to the ship, the whole country was aroused, purifying 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 laces, 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. When the Spaniards began to sail, they had bestowed on their guests, consisting of rich laces, 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.

Vespucci.—Letter to Lorenzo de Pue Francisco de Medica

Spanish voyages of discovery.
CHAPTER V.

PROJECTION OF THE VOYAGE—RETURN TO SPAIN.

LEAVING the friendly port of Coquilhaco, 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 proceeded to the extremity of this unknown continent, until he reached that long stretching headland called Cape de la Vela. There, the state of his vessels, and perhaps the disappointment of his hopes at not meeting with abundant sources of immediate 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 trilles when his interest or inclination prompted the contrary. He trusted to excuse the infracation 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 Yaque in September, and landed with a large party of his men. Columbus at that time held command of the island, and, hearing of the unlicensed intrusion, despatched Francisco 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 already been 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 expedition, that we are told, when all the expenses were deducted, but five hundred ducats remained to be divided between fifty-five adventurers. What made this result the more mortifying was, that a petty armament which had sailed sometime after that of Ojeda, had returned with him, but in a state of poverty, and with the spoils of the New World. A brief account of this latter expedition is necessary to connect this series of minor discoveries.

PEDRO ALONZO NIÑO* AND CHRISTOVAL GUERRA.—1499.

The permission granted by Bishop Fonseca to Alonzo de Ojeda, to undertake a private expedition to the New World, caused 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 Columbus, as a pilot, in his first voyage, and also in his cruises along the coasts of Cuba and Paria. He now secured 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,

— Pronounced Niño. The Ñ is Spanish and is always pronounced as if followed by the letter y.
+ Testimony of Stades in the law-suit of Diego Columbus.
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 woods, which appeared not to be as dangerous as the Indians went about the forest armed solely with bows and arrows. From meeting with deer and rabbits, they were convinced that this was a part of Terra Firma, not having found any other continent, as 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 Cuchiche, trading as usual for pearls, and for the inferior kind of gold called guanion. At length they arrived at a place where there was a kind of fortress protecting a number of houses and gardens situated on a river, the whole prepared for the reception of the Spaniards one of the most delicious abodes imaginable. They were about to land and enjoy the pleasures of this fancied paradise, as they beheld upwards of a thousand Indians, armed with bows and arrows and in the keep of a warm reception; having been probably incensed by the recent visit of Ojeda. As Niño and Guerra were 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 presently obtained from landing, and, abandoning this hostile coast, returned forthwith to Cumana to resume their trade for pearls. They soon amassed a great number, many of which were equal in size and beauty to the most celebrated of the East, though they had been inured to the kinds of work of a 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 Costa and Vespucci.

The most successful voyagers to the New World were doomed to trouble from their very success. The ample pearls paid to the treasury, as the royal portion of the profits of this expedition, doomed the two young 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 YÁNEZ 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

name of Vicente Yánez 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 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 career, it was but temporary. The death of his unfortunate elder brother, Martin Alonso Pinzon, in a fight among the crews of the Spanish ships, and the subsequent failure of the expedition, reduced him to poverty and servitude. He was accused of profiting by the discovery of the New World, and of having profited by the discovery of the New World.

Vicente Yánez Pinzon was the acknowledged leader of this new enterprise, and he was accompanied by two nephews, Alonso and Diego Fernandez, sons of his late brother, Martin Alonso Pinzon. Several of his sailors had sailed with Columbus in his recent voyage to the West Indies, as had also those of the pirate Paulino, of the Bonaire Island, and Juan de Jerez. He was at his leisure, and was accompanied by a group of the expedition 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 the Yánez Pinzon 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 the sailors and the ungainly spirit of discoverers. In their bargains they charged honest Pinzon eighty and a hundred per cent, above the market value of their merchandise, and in the hurry and urgency of the moment he was obliged to submit to the imposition.

The expedition, beginning on the 15th of December, 1499, and after passing the Canary and Cape Verde Islands, stood to the south-west. Having sailed about seven hundred leagues, they crossed the equator and lost sight of the north star. They had scarcely passed the equatorial line when they encountered a terrible tempest, which had wrenched away their slender sails. The storm passed away and the firmament was again serene; but the mariners remaining tossed about in confusion, dismayed by the turbulence of the sea 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 the other 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 be-
ing in the eighth degree of southern latitude, he be-
held land on the 29th of January, to which he gave the name of Santa Maria de la Convocacion, from the sight of it having consolaed him in the midst of doubts and perplexities. It is now called Cape St. Augustine, and forms the most prominent part of the coast of Florida.

The sea was turbid and discoloured as in rivers, and on sounding they had sixteen fathoms of water. Pinzon landed, accompanied by a notary and witnesses, and took formal possession of the territory for the Spanish crown; no one appeared to dispute his pretensions, but he observed the print of footsteps on the beach which seemed of gigantic size.

At night there were fires lighted upon a neigh-
bouring 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, saluted forth to encounter them, armed
with bows and arrows, and seemingly of extraor-
dinary stature. A still greater number were seen in the distance hastening to the support of their compa-

tions. Pinzon ordered a Number of men on tender of bat, and the two parties remained for a short time eying each other with mutual curiosity and distrust.

The Spaniards now displayed looking-glasses, beads, and other trinkets, and jingled strings of hawks’ beaks, in an attempt to capitalize on an Indian ear, but the haughty savages treated all their overtures with contempt, regarding these offers carelessly for a short time, and then streaming out with stoic

gavity. They were ferocious of feature, and appar-
ently nice in disposition, and the supposed to have been a wandering race of unusual size, who 

were to be about 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 north-west, 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 stepped forward to grasp it, when a number of arrows rushed down to seize him: he threw himself immediately upon the offensive, with sword and target, and though but a small man, and far from robust, he handled his weapons with such dexterity and

finesse, 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, thrashing 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 the attack until they were overcome and crew of one of the boats, and bore it off in triumph.

With this they retired from the combat, and the Spaniards returned, defeated and disheartened, to

their ships, having met with the roughest reception. The Europeans had yet experienced in the New World.

Pinzon now stood forty leagues to the north-west, 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. Assembled at anchor, as so singular a place, he sent off the ten Spaniards, inhabited by a gentle

ciand hospitable race of people, gaily painted, who came off to the ships with the most frank and fearless entertainments. Pinzon soon found that these islands lay in the mouth of an immense river, more than seven 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 Maranon, since known as the Orillana and the Amazon. While lying in the mouth of this river there was a sudden stream of the winds, which, being opposed by the current of the sea, and strait-

ened by the narrow channels of the islands, rose more than five fathoms, with mountain waves, and 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 required their hospitality, in the mode as 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 mouth of the Orinoco and entering the Gulf of Paria, where he landed and cut Brazil-wood. Sailing forth by the Boca del Drago, he reached the island of Hispaniola about the 23d of June, 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 which was not made, as a wise precaution to put these Indians to death. Fortunately for the latter, the vessel which had 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 unimpaired, 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 dis-

astrous voyages that had yet been made to the New World. Yanez Pinzon had lost two of his ships, and

many of his men; but 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. The goods and goods and

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 repurchase them. Honest businessmen, according to the custom of the government, saying the imposition that had been practised upon them, and the danger he was in of imprisonment and utter ruin, should his creditors allow to sacrifice his goods at a public sale. He petitioned them to sell him only enough to return the property thus seized, and that he might be enabled to sell three hundred and fifty quintals of Brazil-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 pursuance of 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, in the last 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 had the consolation of being the first European who crossed the Equinoctial line, on the western ocean, and by discovering the great continent of Brazil.

**DIEGO DE LEPE AND RODRIGO DE BASTIDES—(1500).**

Notwithstanding the hardships and disasters that befell the voyagers to the New World, and the penury in which their golden anticipations had too frequently terminated, adventurers continued to proceed across the Atlantic, to seek the lands upon them, as they had been covered regions, each of which, in turn, was represented as the real land of promise. Scarcely had Vicente Yáñez Pinzon departed on the voyage recently narrated, when his townsmen, 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 southward, to the land of the Southsea, a name intended for 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 Tríana, 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 Casa, the same hardy Biscayan who had sailed with Columbus and Colón. On account of his having driven a charter ship 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, to the port of Nombre de Dios.

Bastides, he required him to withdraw himself from the mass of discoverers by his kind treatment of the natives, and the Casa de la Jus 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 unkilled-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 bora, 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 Cádiz. 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 valuable cargoes, and the vessels foundered with the remainder. Bastides lost, moreover, the arms and ammunition of his men; and 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 led by La Casa and himself, they set off for S. Domingo by three several routes, as the country was not able to furnish provisions for such a large body. Each band was provided with a cofre stored with trinkets and other articles of Indian trade, with which to buy provisions on the road.

Francisco de Bobadilla, the wrong-headed opponent and successor 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 cofre of gold, and-carried on their arms and ammunition. 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 arranged that he should be sent 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 Rodrigo Bastidas was one of them, and she carried the treasure canoes of the Castilla and Cadiz in September, 1502. Bastidas was ultimately acquitted of the charges advanced against him. So lucrative had been his voyage, that, notwithstanding the losses sustained by the founding of his vessels, he was allowed to take 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.* 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 Alonzo 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 singularity 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 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, authorized 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 day 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-twelfth of the profits to the crown, and abstaining from making slaves of the Indians without a special license from the sovereigns. He was to colonize Coquibacoa, and, as a recompense, was to enjoy one-half of the proceeds of his territory, provided the half did not exceed 300,000 maravedis; 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, the ransom 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, and to put a stop to the intrusions of the English.†

With this commission in his pocket and the government 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 the Crown; Ojeda's old associate 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 shared equally by the share. 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 Vergera; 3d, The Caravel Magalanena, commanded by Pedro de Ojeda, nephew to Alonzo; and 4th, The Caravel Santa Ana, commanded by Hernando de Guevara. The whole was under the command of Alonzo 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 Hernando 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 Cukaning by the natives, but which, from its beauty and fertility, Ojeda gave the name of Valveremos. While foraging here for their immediate supplies, the idea occurred to Ojeda that he should want furniture and utensils of all kinds for his private use, and it was decided 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 about 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 and corn and other provisions were destroyed. 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 gold of called guanin; 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.

The ransom paid by the poor Indians for some of their effects and some of their women, yielded the Spaniards a trilling 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 Margarita, and the coast of Jamaica, to forage for supplies; and 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 have been a present called Bahia Honda, where he found a Spaniard who had been left in the province of Citaruma by
Bastidas in his late voyage about thirteen months before, and had remained ever since among the Indians, so that he had acquired their language.

Ojeda, with the concurrence of his associates, now set to work to establish a settlement, cutting down timber, and commencing a fortress. They had scarce begun, when they were attacked by a neighboring cacique, but Ojeda saluted 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 in the isle was ordered to be 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 dispatched in search of him. The people, worn out with want and laborious life, and threatened with the situation of a 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 bora or storms. Ojeda led them forth repeatedly upon foraging parties against the adjacent country, and collected some provisions and booty in the Indian villages. The provisions he deposited in the magazine, part of the spoils he divided among his followers, and the gold he elected 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 the part of the coast lying between the straits of Magellan and the land of the Inca, and that he had no right to settle the Inca. They were all together, prisoners 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 his authority, and brought him back to Spain without his court or any of his adherents.

Ojeda applied to the sovereign, and, after some time, was honourably acquitted, by the royal council, from all the charges, and a mandate was issued in 1503, 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. He was then at the lazaretto of the law a triumphal client, but a ruined man.

**Third Voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda.**

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 Alonzo de Ojeda.
excepting that we are told he made another voyage to the vicinity of Cooquina, in 1505. No record remains of this expedition, which seems to have been carried on in an uncomfortable manner, and to have dispersed the benefits of Christian charity 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 great voyager. 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 soldier 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 not merely in feats of agility in those graceful and chivalrous exercises, which the Spanish cavaliers of those days had learned from the Moors; being noted for his vigour and address in the jousts and tilts, he was versed in the legendary battles and romances of his country, and was renowned as a capital performer on the guitar! Such were the qualifications of this candidate in the command in the wilderness, as enumerated by the reverend Bishop of 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 privileges 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, the government of it given to the governor of 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-fourth in each of the remaining years.

Juan de la Cosa, who had been indefatigable in promoting the suit of Ojeda, was appointed his lieutenant 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 pursuit of the object 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, enabling him to maintain a gay and vaunting style, for the golden shores of Veragua, the Aura Chersonesus of his imagination.
CHAPTER II.

FEUD BETWEEN THE RIVAL GOVERNORS, OJEDA AND NICUESA—A CHALLENGE. (1509.)

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 hiring a hundred of the natives, with whom he had borne off in his ships to be sold as slaves at Hispaniola.

This was Diego de Ojeda, a man of noble birth, but a hardened and fiery spirit. His experience had been greater, and his unrelenting and furious nature had been the cause of many a dispute and quarrel. He had been inured to the hardships of the life of a seaman, and had learned to endure the rigours of the climate. His fame was preceded by his name, and his presence was felt on every shore.

Ojeda welcomed his rival with joy. The arrival of his friend and lieutenant in the government, the worthy Juan de la Costa; still he could not but feel some suspicion that he was the successor of his authority. There were too many secrets in his mind to be known to others. He had been sent by the king of Spain to take charge of the affairs of the island, and to bring them to a proper state.

Nicuesa was equally balanced. He had been a sailor all his life, and was well versed in all the arts of war. He had been in the service of the crown for many years, and was well versed in the business of government. He had been in the habit of being in command of large forces, and was able to carry them to a successful issue.

The two captains met at the court of the governor, and were greeted with equal courtesy. They were both men of honor, and neither would have hesitated to make war on the other. They were both men of genius, and each had a knowledge of the customs and laws of the country.

The dispute between them was as to the right of the governor of the island. Ojeda claimed the right of the king, and Nicuesa the right of the crown. They were both men of determination, and each was determined to have his own way.

The dispute was referred to the council of the island, and they were ordered to meet at the court of the king. They were both men of honor, and each had a knowledge of the customs and laws of the country.

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The voyage was speedy and prosperous, and they arrived late in the autumn in the harbour of Cartagena. The veteran Juan de la Cosa was well acquainted with this place, having sailed as pilot with Rodrigo de Bastidas, at the time he discovered it in 1501. He warned Alonso de Ojeda to be extremely cautious, 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 oister targets, and, as affectionate love, as the more than 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 not to abandon the 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 was thought, therefore, that the man, thus dastardly mishandled, 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 force of his own, 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 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 dwelling, 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
SPANISH VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

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 trumpets. Armed detachments then stormed the coast 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 voices, 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 thickets 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 tangled and almost impervious grove, they caught a glimpse of a man in Spanish attire. They entered and, to their astonishment, found it to be Alfonso de Ojeda. He was lying on the matted roots of the

up glittering presents; they had already suffered, however, from the cruelties of the white men, and were ready to be carried away. And, as they were not only well armed but equally armed, they braved their weapons, sounded on conches, and prepared to make battle.

Juan de la Cosa saw the rising choler of Ojeda, and knew his fiery impatience. He again entreated him to consider the softness and greatness of the enemy, and to beware of the venomous weapons of the enemy. It was all in vain; Ojeda confined 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. Pleased 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, continuously remonstrating against his useless temerity, but hardly 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, and war-clubs. Ojeda led his men to the charge with the chieftain of the savages. The savages soon took to flight. Eight of their bravest warriors threw themselves into a cabin, and piled their bows and arrows so vigorously, that the Spaniards were kept at bay. Ojeda cried 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 Yuribaco; the inhabitants of which had fled to the mountains with their wives and children 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 scattered, 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 armament 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 shafts 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 arrived in the midst of the enemy, dealing his blows on every side, and Ojeda, whose left hand was crippled by his wounds, took refuge with the remnant of his men in an Indian cabin; the straw roof of which aided them to throw off, lest the enemy should set it on fire. Here he defended himself until all but one were destroyed. The suble 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," he said, "since God hath protected thee from harm, sally forth and fly, and if ever thou shouldest see Alonzo 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 paying 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 true friendship displayed in this last and fatal expedition. Warned 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, hand in hand, with the fiery Spaniard 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 heedless danger, to certain death itself, and showing no other solicitude in his dying moments but to be remembered by his friend.

The histories of these Spanish discoveries abound in noble and generous traits of character, but few have charmed us more than this instance of loyalty to 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.

[This page continues with further text from the original document.]
mangroves, his buckler on his shoulder, and his sword in his hand; but so wounded 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, and gave him to drink and fed him. He died, which was not for the want of food and drink they gave him. In this way he gradually recovered strength to tell his doleful story.

He had succeeded in cutting his way through the bush of sana, 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 Cosas, and deeply did he deplore the loss of that 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 yell 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 coast, for he 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 saluted forth to meet it. The first inquiry of Nicuesa was concerning Ojeda. The followers of the latter replied, 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; "and if he be not to me if he be not to you. I am 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 Hidalgo, like..."
SPANISH VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

CHAPTER VI.

ALONZO DE OJEDA, SUPPOSED IN 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 saluted them at the head of his men and, from his great agility, was the first to take the retreating foe. He slew more of his 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 standing their arches and drums and uttering yells of defiance. As they expected, the impetuous Ojeda saluted them 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 fort 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; or, rather, the Holy Virgin appeared to have withdrawn her protection. He had the horrible death of his followers before his eyes, and perished of their wounds in raging 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 undertake. 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 lay 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. + How far the venerable historian is correct in his postulate, surgeons may decide; but many irreconcilable persons will be apt to account for the cure by supposing 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, its active, restless, and enterprising habits, imparted animation, if not confidence, to every. 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 debts, 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 ship and earning his freedom in this new settlement. He understood that Ojeda was in need of recruits, and felt assured that, from his own reckless conduct in money-matters, he would sympathize with any one harassed by debt. He drew into his schemes a number of his friends, and several of them were scrupulous about filling his ranks with recruits whose legal embarrassments arose from more criminal causes. Never did a vagabond crew engage in a project of colonization.

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 knife 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 Tifurion, at the western extremity of the island, and, 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 embark.

The gang, accordingly, seventy in number, made their way separately and secretly to Cape Tifurion, 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 that 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 lighty by their prize, were not disposed to part with it as frankly, but demanded to be paid down in gold for the prize was sent hither to the starving colonists. Ojeda agreed to their terms, and taking the supplies to 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 undivided stock for himself. Perhaps there may have been some ground for this charge, arising, not from any selfishness in the character of Ojeda, but from care 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 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 hushing 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 threatened the settlers, and they would fight among themselves through 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 that the only need they required was a reinforcement to enable them to hold 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 the name 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 he should remain quietly at Sebastian's 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 meantime Francisco Fizarro 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 in the ship of Bernardino de Talavera. That cut-purse of the ocean and his loose-handed crew were effectually cured of their ambition to colonize, having parted in kind and left them to the abundant wealth at San Sebastian's, and dismayed at the perils and horrors of the surrounding wilderness.

* Hist. S. Domingo, lib iv.

* Herrera's Desc. 1. t. viii. c. 7.
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 dominicering 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 unshackled. He reviled Talavera and his gang as recluses, 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, he 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 navigation, and were totally ignorant of these 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 whither 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 their voyage.

Ojeda acquiesced 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-tost for many days, until the shattered vessel was almost in a foundering condition, he saw no alternative but to run it on shore 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 their trials, 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 XI.

OJEDA PERFORMS HIS VOW TO THE VIRGIN.

Being recovered from his sufferings, Alonso de Ojeda realized how true was his vow, and with the picture of the Virgin, though sorely must it have grieved him to part with a reliquary 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 all he heard, yet he observed 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 ayeitos 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 relic may not be uninteresting. The venerable Las Casas, who records these facts, informs us that he arrived at the village of Cuebas sometime 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 much veneration. The poor Indians crowded to attend mass, which they performed at the altar; they listened attentively to the words of instruction, and at his request brought their children to be baptized. The good Las Casas, having heard of this famous relic 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 make his appearance.

Las Casas went to the oratory to perform mass, but found the altar stripped of its precious relic. On inquiring, he learnt that in the night the cacique had placed the picture on a little hill, away from the village. 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.*

ARRIVAL OF OJEDA AT JAMAICA—HIS RECEPTION BY JUAN DE ESQUIVEL.

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 the cacique and his people, for such seems to have been an almost inevitable case with the natives of these islands, before they had held much intercourse with the 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 Esquivel whose head he had threatened to strike off, when departing in swelled 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 so 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 Pedro de Ordas undertook the perilous voyage of twenty leagues in the frail bark, and arrived safe at Jamaica.

No sooner did Esquivel receive the message of Ojeda, than, forgetting past menaces, he instantly despatched a caravel to bring to his discoverer and his companions. He received him

* Las Casas, Hist. Ind. i. 20, MS.—Herrera, Hist Ind. i. 18.

ARMS OF THE COUNTRY.

JAMAICA, the home of their adopted king, was not, like their former abode, an island of savages. It was already inhabited by a people of considerable Singh, who had long engaged in commerce with the Spaniards. When the first Caribs arrived in the island, they found a number of these people settled at the southern extremity of the island, at a place which they called Cozumel. Here they had erected a fort, and established a settlement, which they called La Isla de la Reina, or Queen's Island, from the fact that the queen of Spain had bestowed on them a charter of incorporation. The Caribs were a warlike people, and were always ready to attack and plunder their neighbours, whether Spaniards or Indians. They were also expert in the use of arms, and were famous for their courage and skill in battle. They were well acquainted with the art of metallurgy, and were able to make good weapons of steel. They were also skilled in the art of navigation, and were able to sail their own vessels across the ocean. They were a brave and warlike people, and were always ready to attack and plunder their neighbours, whether Spaniards or Indians. They were also expert in the use of arms, and were famous for their courage and skill in battle. They were well acquainted with the art of metallurgy, and were able to make good weapons of steel. They were also skilled in the art of navigation, and were able to sail their own vessels across the ocean.
SPANISH VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

On arriving at San Domingo the first inquiry of Alonzo de Ojeda was after the Bachelor Enesio. 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 a time, in hopes of hearing; but no news came, 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 colonization would be defeated, he now endeavored to set on foot another armament, and to enlist a new set of adventures. 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 dazed 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. Ojeda, however, was not to be thus chequed; for his interest in San Domingo as the conqueror of Cibao, 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 vice-roy at defiance, and threatening the life of Enesio, every one thought that fortune was at his beck, and he was about to accomplish wonders. A few months had elapsed, and he wished the story of San Domingo to be a tale of disasters, and of a man shipwrecked in hope and fortune. His former friends, dreading some new demand upon their purses, looked coldly on him; and the scars so exfoliated, were soon pronounced and incurable, and he was subjected to all kinds of slights and humiliations in the very place which had been the scene of his greatest triumph.

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 questioned as to the matter of the Genoese vessel; and he 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 waylaid, and 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 lingering effects of the wound received at San Sebastian, which had been but a prelude to a whole series of disasters. 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 tapering spirit. Humbled and broken, 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 at San Francisco, where he died. Such a change would not have been surprising in a man who, in his wilder years, 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 his head, covered with wounds, and his face disfigured, was buried in the monastery of San Francisco.
WORKS OF WASHINGTON IRVING.

just at the portal, in humble expiration of his past pride, "that every one who entered might tread upon his grave."

Such was the fate of Alonzo de Ojeda, and who dost not 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 dangers and 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.

NICUESA SAILS TO THE WESTWARD—HIS SHIPWRECK AND SUBSEQUENT DISASTERS.

We have now to recount the fortunes experienced by the gallant and generous Diego de Nicuesa, after his parting from Alonzo de Ojeda at Cartagena. On resuming his voyage he embarked in a caravel that might he 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 aboard.

Nicuesa feared some accident had befallen the brigantines; he stood 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 the caravel, Nicuesa and his crew passed one by one along it, and reached the shore in safety.

Scarcely had they landed when they were driven by a tempest, which 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 land. 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.

NICUEA 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 hithering upon a swampy coast, in a remote and lonely sea, where commerce never spread a sail. Their companions in the other ships, still alive and true to them, had doubtedly given them up for lost; and many years might elapse before the casual 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 sank down in silent and sullen despair.

The cravings of hunger and thirst at length roused them to action. They found no food but a few shell-fish scattered along the shore, and coarse herbs and roots, some of the latter in a wholesome 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 endeavored 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 means 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 swept that coast bore the raft out to sea, and their dejecting back upon the island and 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 dehility that they had to crawl on hands and knees in search of the herbs and shellfish 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 rescued from a new life one day by beheading a sail gleaming on the horizon. Their exaltation was checked, however, by the re-

section how many chances there were against its approach 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 harbor 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 of 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 brigantine 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 deliberately, intending to usurp the command of the expedition. Men, however, were prone to judge harshly of him from having been concerned in the treason and rebellion of Francisco de Quevedo. 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 brigantine to the river 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 on the coast and ready 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. 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 few 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.

NICUEA 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 nuss, 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 Belev, expecting 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 mean time Lope de Olano had been diligently preparing to search for the prize, and after an 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 so firmly indignantly upbraided 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 without 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 founded 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 would certainly overtake the number of which bears that 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 NICUEA AND HIS MEN ON THE COAST OF THE ISTHMUS.

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. It was, in fact, a task of no small difficulty. The strength of the survivors was so far diminished that he could only send a small party of them to the coast in search of the provisions, the food of which seemed to the Spaniards a luxury that they could not enjoy. 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 fatigue, they broke into murmurings 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 general 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 punished by the horrible retribution, 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 brought down. These he left under the command of Alonzo 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 'line harbour somewhere in that neighborhood, 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 Columbus had visited thirty years before, and which he had named Puerto Bello. The present occupants were 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 advantage, for it had been designated 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 with which names of Portobello, were in those days, were 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 sover-
SPANISH VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

CHAPTER VI.

EXPEDITION OF THE BACHELOR ENCISO IN SEARCH OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT OF OJEDA—(1510.)

In calling to mind the narrative of the last expedition of Alonzo 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 fortune, 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 trifling debts, kept his ship from the coast and the outports. 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 enterprising 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 Puerto Carrera, Lord of Moguer, and he afterwards enlisted among the adventurers who accompanied Rodrigo de Bastidas in his voyage of discovery. Peter Martyr, in his Latin decades, speaks of him as an energetic, but not very upright, man, whom he has been interpreted by some as a seditious wordsman, by others as an adroit fencing master. He intimates, also, that he was a mere soldier of fortune, of loose proclivities, and the circumstances under which he first interested himself to qualify this character. For his life, he had resided himself for a time in Hispaniola, and undertaken to cultivate a farm at the town of Salvatierra, on the coast sea, 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 contained in the cargo. 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 this, although he gained a recruit by the deception; and in the first exultation of his wrath gave the fugitive debtor a very rough reception, threatening to put him on shore on the first uninhabited island they should come to. He was again reduced 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 landed 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, surrounding 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 thicketts 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 arrows. In 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, what they sought upon their shores. The Spaniard replied that they were harm-
less people who came from other lands, and merely touched there through necessity, and he wondered that they should meet with such hostility: he at the same time warned them to beware, as there would be many of his countrymen well armed, and would wreak their revenge 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, salled 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 even and iced and spiced 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 baggage 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 harbor, 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 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 sent as his locum tenens at San Juan, 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 fort as the late Ojeda, and till 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 a hornet's agreement, therefore, to reduce, with 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 terras 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 destruction of their despairing 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 swallow its crew or destroy it, so as to cause the shipwreck. The surviving brigantine then made the best of its way to the harbour of Carthagena, 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 Carthagena, 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 westward 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 wealthy 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

* Herrera, Hist. Ind. d. i. ii. 6. 10.
had forfeited even the sanctuary of the grave, by having been buried according to the rites and ceremonies of the idolatrous religion.

Enciso, accordingly, made sail from Cartagena 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, however, put his two optonaries to 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, explaining the nature 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 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 drunk to accept it. They asked at his hands what belonged to others. They added, that they were lords of those lands and needed no other sovereign, and that 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 slavery 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 raving with torment.

It does not appear, however, that his crusade against the sepoys 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 into the land with his scanty force. Certain it is, the reputed wealth of Zenu, and the tale of its fishery for 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.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE BACHELOR ARRIVES AT SAN SEBASTIAN—HIS DISASTERS THERE, AND SUBSEQUENT EXPLOITS AT DARIEN.

It was not without extreme difficulties 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 right of the long wished-for seat of his anticipated power and author ity; 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 heaps of ruins, having been destroyed with fire by the Indians.

For a few days a large and unascertained body of Spaniards, who discharged all the arms 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 misfortunes might not attend him? In this moment of doubt and despondency, Vasco Núñez, the same abscinding 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 coast with Rodrigo de Bastides. They had explored the whole gulfs 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 around was fertile and abundant, and 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 find their colony.

The Spaniards hailed the words of Vasco Núñez as if revealing a land of promise. The Bachelor adopted his advice, and, guided by him, set sail for the village, determined to ejet the inhabitants and take possession of 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 Zemaco. When he heard of the approach of the Spaniards, he sent off the women and children to a place of safety, and posted 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 recom
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 who had engaged in the enterprise in the hope of enjoying trade, lawless liberty, and golden gains. 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 handing him on an uninhabited island, when he escaped in a cask from San Domingo. He sought therefore to make a party against him, and to unsettle 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 therefore illegal.

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 to 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 COLMENARES.

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 Zamudio as alcaldes, together with a cavalier or some merit of the name of Valdefia, as regidor. They 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, declared it would be better to reinstate Enciso until the pleasure of the king should be known.

In the height of these factionalaltercations the Spaniards were aroused one day by the thundering of 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 Albitez, an active member of the law, called the Bachelor Corral, should accompany him as ambassadors, to invite this cavalier to come and assume the government of Darien.

CHAPTER XII.

COLMENARES GOES IN QUEST OF NICUESA.

RODERIGO 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 cut out by him to forestall provisions. By this vessel he was piloted to the port of Nombre de Dios, the nominal capital of the unfortunate governor, but which was so surrounded and overshadowed by forests, that he might have passed by without detecting 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.

Colmenares distributed food among them, and told them that he had come to convey them to a pleasant 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 out of fear of sudden death, all the spirit and munificence of the cavalier was 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 feast 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 if he had not perished the sudden buoyancy of his feelings carried him no further, but adversity had not taught him prudence. In conversing with the envoy 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 ire 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 Alithéz and the Bachelor Corral. They were put still more on the alert by a conversation which they had that very evening with Lope de Olano, who was still detained a prisoner for his desertion, but who found means to communicate with the envoy, 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 noble 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 his presence for from whose vision he will not rest satisfied until he has deposed his. They then related, with the usual exaggeration the unguarded threats that had fallen from Nicuesa, and instanced his treatment of Olano as a proof of a tyrannical and ungrateful disposition.

The words of the noble 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 envoy concerning the tyranny and gratitude of Nicuesa was true, that he treated his followers with the most indulgent consideration, and 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, "to be 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 concluding testimony, and confounded by the overwhelming evil that thus invoked upon them. 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.

CATACLSM OF THE UNFORTUNATE NICUESA.

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 prosecutor, or attorney, called to him with a loud voice, "You have 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 thunderstruck by so unexpected a salutation. When he recovered himself, 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.
It was in vain that Nicasius 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 a state of despair, all hastened to abandon it, and to defy 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 dangers 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 boat 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:

Aquienficio el dedicado Nicasius (Here perished the unfortunate Nicasius.)

Hence it was inferred that he and his followers had landed there, and been massacred by the Indians. Las Casas, however, discounts this story. He accompanied the first Spaniards who took possession of Cuba, and heard nothing of the fact, as he must probably 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, or that the crew perished with hunger and thirst, having been scantily supplied with provisions. The good old bishop adds, with the superstitious feeling prevalent in that age, that a short time before Nicasius 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 Nicasius, 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 Santo Domingo and died in his bed."
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 instantly came forward, and God against him and in the presence of 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 affairs and current conditions of the 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 which 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 enabled to set about the task of restoring order and firmness to the accounts, and to the laws, 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. Enceso was an able lawyer, and pleaded his cause skilfully; 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 pen. 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, rebounded to the eventual woe 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 his friends had associated him. A Spaniard to the core, 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 to accompany 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 severity of God against him in the collective acts 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 craft; and, as it was to touch at Hispaniola, Vasco Nuñez, 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 Hispañola, 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 persons of the governor and his court.

Having taken these shrewd precautions, Vasco Nuñez saw the caravel depart without dismay, though bearing to Spain his most dangerous enemy; he consigned himself, moreover, with the reflection that it likewise bore off his fellow Alcalde, Zamudio, and thus left him in the command of the colony.

CHAPTER II.

EXPLORATION TO COBYA—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 were most abounding in the precious metals. He was ready with exaggerated reports of the riches of a province about thirty leagues distant, called Coby, he sent Francisco Pizarro with six men to explore it.

The cacique Zeraco, the native lord of Darien, who cherished a bitter hostility against the corrupt intruders, and honored with his faithfulness 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 party 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 and resentment 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 Francisco Hernan in safety.

Nothing having been heard of Nicuesa since his departure, Vasco Nuñez dispatched 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 Carota, the cacique of Coby. The savages had treated them with kindness, and given them their first return for which, now that they found themselves safe among their countrymen, was to advise the latter to invade the cacique in his dwelling, where they assured them they would find immensebooty. Finding their suggestion plausible, they 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.
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 Coiba, the province of the cacique. Here landing, he invaded the territories of Ponce, the great adversary of Careta, and obliged him to take refuge in the mountains.

He then returned, his two, 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 wife, and children, and murdered several of his people. He discovered also the hoard of provisions, with which he loaded two braggartines, and returned with his booty and his captives to Darien.

When the unfortunate cacique beheld his family in the hands of strangers, his heart was wrung with despair: "What have I done to thee," said he to Vasco Nuñez, "that thou shouldest 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. Least he should be too much dazzled 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 display 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.

* P. Martyr, D. g. vi.
SPANISH VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

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 white man, says the Spaniard, was disrupted by people who have vessels almost as large as our ships, 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 sit upon the borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold, in fact, is as plentiful and common among those people of the south as iron among Spaniards.

Struck with this intelligence, Vasco Núñez inquired eagerly as to the means of penetrating to this vast ocean, and to the opulent regions that lie beyond. "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 inhabited by fierce and cruel cannibals—a wandering, lawless race; but, above all, you will have to encounter the great cacique, Tubanámí, 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 conspire against you with 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 of the strength and wealth of his country, and of the treasure he had taken in battle, and from one of his own nation, who had been for a long time in captivity to Tubanámí, the powerful cacique of the golden realm. The prince, moreover, offered to prove the sincerity of his words by accompanying Vasco Núñez in any expedition to those parts at the head of his ferry warriors.

Such was the first intimation received by Vasco Núñez of the Pacific Ocean and its golden realms, and it had an immediate effect upon his whole character. Obscured by the sight of his own gold, and destitute of other resources, he now determined to make new voyages of discovery and to seek a new and more bountiful source of wealth. He had been accustomed to the idea that the Spanish adventurers, living only by the gain of others, were the only ones who could satisfy their own avaricious appetite. He was therefore, with pardonable vanity, proud of his own achievements. He had performed the same ceremony upon his own and several of his subjects—he did not disdain to make the necessary preparations for this splendid enterprise. And, indeed, as the result of his voyage to the west, he had been permitted to ascend the throne of Dobayba, and to recover his kingdom from the hands of his enemies. He had called upon his generals and soldiers, and told them of his resolution to pursue the discovery of the world. He had also, to prevent his subjects from taking any further part in the enterprise, ordered one-fifth
where they digged pits and wells, but these likewise failing; a great part of the nations perished with this. The Spaniards hastened to propagate this new deity by tributes and sacrifices, and thus succeeded in averting her displeasure. In consequence of offerings of the mind, 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 hardest men for the purpose. Embarking them in two brigantines and a number of canoes, he set sail from Darien, and, after waiting about one league to the east, came to the mouth of the Rio Grande de San Juan, or the Great River of St. John, also called the Ataloa, which is since ascertained to be one of the branches of the river Darien. Here he detached Rodrigo Enrique de Colmenares with one-third of his forces to explore the stream, while he himself proceeded in the residue to another branch of the river, which he was told flowed from the province of Cobaya, 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 Cobaya, 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 neighbourhood 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 hanged in the deserted houses, and gathered jewels and pieces of gold to the value of seven thousand castellanos. Discouraged by the sight of the surrounding wildness, which was perplexed by deep marshes, 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 tongue-tied, Vasco Nuñez, after 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 upon a stream which emptied into the Grand River, and which, from the dark hue of its waters, they called Rio Negro, or the Black River. They also explored two 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 Abilibi, 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 research on this coast grows 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 province, and their main occupation 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 desist and to fear nothing. Upon this the cacique replied, entreating that he might not be molested, seeing he had done 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, asailed 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. He had not even the courage to reply that he might not be 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 reason to detain them.

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 opponents.

Having thus over run 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 Doble, which for some time continued to be a favourite object of enterprise among the adventures 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 informed, 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 forest. 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 lance 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 lying down the river and covering themselves with the branches. Reaching the shore in safety, they returned to Bartolome Hurtado with the tragic tidings of the death of his followers. Hurtado was so disheartened by the intelligence, that he was amazed 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 quenched in this resolution by receiving intimation of a conspiracy forming among the natives. The implacable Zemaco had drawn four other caciques 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, whom she 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 affection for Vasco Nuñez. The latter at length prevailed, and she revealed all that had been told her. Vasco Nuñez prevailed upon her to send for her brother under pretence of aiding her to escape. Having 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 in carrying the provisions and work, 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 destroyed, that they did not venture.

In this and other attempts of the kind, Zemaco resorted to the conspiracy with the neighboring caciques with which the settlement was menaced.

Five caciques had joined in the confederacy; they had prepared a hundred canoes, had amassed provisions for an army, and had 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 Colmeneres, with sixty men, sailed 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 caciques, and got possession of all their provisions, though they failed to capture the formidable Zemaco. The latter, however, 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 through the neighboring 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 FRACTIONS IN THE COLONY—ARROGANCE OF ALONSO PÉREZ AND THE BACHELOR CORRAL.—(1512).

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 insisted 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, might have 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 anxiety suspens, 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 Enríquez 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 ru
moured wealth of the province of Doabayba and the treasures of its golden temple were not forgotten; and it was taken to Spain by the commissioners, a native of the province of Zenú, where gold was said to be gathered in nets stretched across the mountain streams. To give more weight to all these stories, one every contributed some portion of gold to his private board to be presented to the king in addition to the amount arising from his fifth.

But little time elapsed after the departure of the commissioners when new dissensions broke out in the camp. It was hardly to be expected that a fortunate assemblage of adventurers could remain long tranquil during a time of suffering under rulers of questionable authority. Vasco Núñez, 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 Núñez, rather than against himself. He had invested Bartolome Hurtado, the commander of the Black River, with considerable authority in the colony, and the latter gained a footing by his oppressive conduct. The governor had particularly aggrieved by his arrogance one Alonzo Perez de la Rúa, a touchy cavalier, jealous of his honour, who seems to have peculiarly possessed the sensitive punctilio of a Spaniard. Firing at a point, whether real or fancied, Alonzo 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, threw out threats of deposing Vasco Núñez. The latter no sooner heard of these menaces, than with his usual spirit and promptness, he seized upon the testy Alonzo Perez and threw him in prison to digest his indignities and cool his passions at leisure.

The conspirators flew to arms to liberate their leader. The friends of Vasco Núñez were equally on the alert. The two parties drew out in battle array in the public square, and a singular conflict was on the point of taking place. Fortunately there were no 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. Alonzo 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 murmurings against Vasco Núñez, 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 remained unshared.

Vasco Núñez understood too well the riotous nature 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 shrewedly 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 sailed forth into the country, under pretence of going on a hunting expedition.

The next morning the mutineers found themselves in possession of the field. Alonzo Perez, the pragmatical ringleader, immediately assumed the command, seconded by the Bachelor Cortal. Their first measure was to seize upon the ten thousand castellanos, and divide them among the multitude, by way of securing their own popularity. The event proved the sagacity and foresight of Vasco Núñez. He had these hot-headed intermeddlers entered upon the portion 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 Núñez had always shewn more judgment and discrimination in his distribution to men of merit.

The adherents of the latter now ventured to lift up their voices; "Vasco Núñez," 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 fictitious means, and would squander it upon their ownions."

The multi- 

coloured, in fact, like quantities of Vasco Núñez, displayed one of the customary reverses of popular feeling. The touchy Alonzo Perez, his coadjutor the Bachelor Cortal, and several other of the ringleaders were seized, thrown in the fortress, and bounded with cold loyalties to the admissions.

How long this pseudo commander might have been able to manage the unsightly 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 Núñez, 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, their Governor of Hispaniola, of whom Vasco Núñez was jealous, and the new world the monarch was secretly jealous. At any rate, the treasurer appears to have acted in full confidence of the ultimate approbation of his sovereign. Vasco Núñez 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 forgiving temper, he was easily prevailed upon in his moment of exultation, to release and pardon Alonzo Perez, the Bachelor Cortal, 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 VIII.

EXPEDITION IN QUEST OF THE SOUTHERN SEA.

It was on the first of September that Vasco Núñez 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 dominions of the cacique Careta, whose daughter he had received as a pledge of affinity. That Indian beauty had acquired a great influence over Vasco Núñez, 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 Núñez 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 extremity of the season; Vasco Núñez was burdened with the weight of his 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 guided them by showing their ammunition and provisions, and by guiding them to the most practicable paths.

On the eighth of September they arrived at the village of Poncea, the ancient enemy of Careta. The Indians there were prepared to receive such as had been invited, and had clothed him with the authority of the Governor of the island. Then they ascended in the new vessel, each with his private train of slaves, and Forgiving them the injuries of his previous visit, the Spaniards, and that of their allies, had sent them a commission, and discovered the situation of the indians, who had ascended to the summit of a lofty ridge, to which they pointed, and which seemed to rise up to the skies, he beheld that sea spread out far below him.

Animated by the account, Vasco Núñez 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 excessive thirst and hunger. At the end of this time they arrived at the province of a warlike cacique, named Quaraqua, 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 whom they deemed 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 bloodhounds. Some were tranqushed by lances, others hewn down with swords, and many were torn to pieces by the dogs, so that Quarauna 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 absence and discovery, gave them to be torn to pieces by the bloodhounds.*

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 Quarauna, 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 the 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.

CHAPTER IX.

DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

The day had scarcely 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 wayworn, 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 supposed to be visible. This spot was gazed upon with holy wonder and admiration, and the Spaniards were filled with a feeling of triumph that they had at last reached the promised ocean glittering 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 grand discovery. The guide, finding his countenance so changed, leaned down towards him and repeated: "Behold, my friends, says 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 that he will guide and lead us to conquer the sea and land which we have discovered. And in this, I assure you, the Spaniards have never entered to preach the holy doctrine of the Evangelists. As to yourself, be as you have hitherto been, faithful and true to me, and by the favour of Christ you will become the first and greatest Spaniards that have ever come to the Indies; you will render the greatest services to your king that ever vanished from your 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 people, 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, studied 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 Indian? 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, but differing from Europe in their civilization; who might have similar laws and customs; who might form, as it were, a world of

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* Peter Martyr, in his third Decade, makes mention of these negroes as also having been captured from Quarauna in a region inhabited only by black Moors, except for palm-wood, almost as heavy and hard as black Moors sailed thither out of Ethiopia, to rob, and that by
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 the surrounding lands, in the name of the sovereigns of Castile, and by the act 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 brought into the sea, which was elevated on the spot from whence he had at 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. Only Spaniards of the sixteenth century, who had been twenty days 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 neighborhood 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 observed, 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 Chepes, who, according to the head of his warriors, looked with scorn upon the scanty number of strangers, and forbade them to set foot within his territories. Vasco Nuñez depended for safety upon the power of striking terror into the ignorant savages. One day, while he was riding through the enemy, and then let loose the bloodhounds. The flash and noise of the fire-arms, and the sulphurous 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 Chepes 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 and then wished for them, therefore, to throw himself upon their mercy and seek the friendship.

The cacique listened to their advice, and came trembling to the Spaniards, bringing with him five hundred pounds weight of wrought gold, 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 the 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 Quaraqua, and ordering his people, whom he had left at that place, to rejoin him. In the mean time he sent out three scouting parties, of twelve men each, under Francisco Pizarro, Juan de Escary, and Alonzo Martin de Don Benito, to explore the coast, and, if it were possible, to insert vessels into the sea. Alonzo Martin was the most successful. After two days' 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 from land, the tide, which rises to a height of a thousand feet on this coast, came rapidly in and set them afloat; upon this, Alonzo 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 Ilas de Etiencia, who called them likewise to testify that he was the second.*

We mention particular characteristics 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 mere sordid considerations, and to share the glory of these great discoveries. The scouting party having thus explored the direct route to the sea coast, returned to report their success to their commander.

Vasco Nuñez being rejoined by his men from Quaraqua, now left the greater part of his followers to repose and recover from their sickness and fatigue in the village of Chepes, 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 forest 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 awhile 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, and then drawing his sword and throwing his hussar 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 Ferdinando and Donna Juana, sovereigns of Castile, of Leon, and of Arragon, 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 thereto annexed; and of the kingdoms and provinces which do or may appertain to them in whatever manner, or by whatever right or title, ancient or modern, in times past, present, or to come, without any contradiction; and if other prince or captain, Christian or infidel, or of any law, sect, or position whatsoever, shall pretend any right to these lands and seas, I am ready and prepared 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 term islands, 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 companions to bear witness of the fact of his having duly taken possession. They all declared themselves ready to defend his claim to the utmost, 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 severely by intervening mountains and continents, they were salt like the seas of the north, they felt assured that they had indeed discovered 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 honour 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 adventurers 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 Chipas his headquarters, Vasco Nuñez forged the adjacent plain 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 gulph great extent, which penetrated far into the land. Through a sword and throwing his hussar 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 Ferdinando and Donna Juana, sovereigns of Castile, of Leon, and of Arragon, 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 thereto annexed; and of the kingdoms and provinces which do or may appertain to them in whatever manner, or by whatever right or title, ancient or modern, in times past, present, or to come, without any contradiction; and if 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 prepared 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 term islands, 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."

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* Many of the foregoing particulars are from the unpublished volume of Oviedo's History of the Indies.
SPANISH VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

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...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 sick 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. Overflaying 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 battle-sorcery to yield pearls 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 Tumaco. 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 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, beside 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 boxes 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 Chipepe in search of the cacique, who traced him to a gulf, near the shores of which the cacique's possessions Tumaco 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 supernaturally being, who had shown themselves so fair and white in the 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 up on 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 and four fathoms, and are only sought in calm weather: the smaller sort are found at the depth of two and 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 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 inquiries 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 burdens. 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 llama, 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 satisfy from the gulf and take possession of the main land beyond. The cacique Tumaco furnished him with a canoe of state, formed from the trunk of an enormous tree, and managed by a great number of Indians. 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 29th 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 bayonet in his pocket, went ed 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, during the calm sea seasons, 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 wishful eye at this land of riches, and would have immediately undertaken an expedition to it, had not the

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dians represented the danger of venturing on such a voyage in that tempestuous season in their frail canoes, by whose recent experience convinced him of the wisdom of their return upon a week. 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 its maraudings. In the mean time he gave to this island the name of Isthmus; and the little archipelago surrounding it the general appellation of the Pearl Islands.

On the third of November Vasco Nunez departed from the province of Tumaco, to visit other parts of the coast. He embarked with his men in the canoes, accompanied by Chiaipes and his Indians, and guided by the son of Tumaco, who had become strongly attached to the Spaniards. The young man piloted them along an arm of the sea, while 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 Taconan prisoner; who purchased their favour and kind treatment by a quantity of gold and silver, and an abundant supply of provisions. As it was the intention of Vasco Nunez to abandon the shores of the Southern Ocean at this place, and to strike across the mountains for Darien, he took leave of Chiaipes and of the youthful son of Tumaco, 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 Chiaipes, appointing a place in the mountains where they were to remain, and to join him on his way back to Darien.

The tale of Vasco Nunez for conciliating and winning the good-will of the savages is often mentioned, and to such a degree has he exerted it in the present instance, that the two chieftains shed tears at parting. Their conduct had a favourable effect upon the cacique Taconan; he entertained Vasco Nunez 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 lay over forty and sterile mountains. He sent also a large band of his subjects to vasco Nunez the northward 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 Nunez.

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 mountain nor standing pool. The burning heat, which produced intolerable thirst, had dried up all the mountain Harretans, and they were tontalized 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 them-
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, encompassed 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 extensively; 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 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 burdens, and at the same time assisted to consume the scanty stock of food which formed part of the provisions. 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 contented himself with the produce of his 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 WARRILIKE CAIQUE OF THE MOUNTAINS—RETURN TO DARIEN.

The Spaniards had now to pass through the territories of Tubanama, the most potent and warlike caique of the mountains. This was the same chief-tain of whom a formidable character had been given by the young Spanish prince, who first informed Vasco Nuñez of the southern sea. He had erroneously represented the dominions of Tubanama as lying beyond the mountains; and, when he dwelt upon the quantities of gold to be found there, had magnified the dangers that would attend any attempt to pass their borders. The name of this redoubtable caique 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 Tubanama 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 ledges of the mountains that he arrived in the neighbourhood of the residence of Tubanama by the following evening, though at the distance of two regular days' journey.

There, waiting until midnight, he assailed the village suddenly and with surges, so as to surprise and capture the caique and his whole family, in which were eighty females. When Tubanama 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 caique 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 the mountains, we have looked upon thee as a 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 Spaniards fell upon the caique's men with their arrows and cross-bows; few of them escaped 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, Visco Nuñez set the caique 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 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 find two settlements in the neighbourhood.

On parting with Tubanama, the caique 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 toilfully, they at length arrived on the northern sea-coast, at the territories of their ally, Comagre. The old caique 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.

* Oviedo, Hist. Gen. Part II. c. 6. MS.
 CHAPTER XV.

TRANSACTIONS IN SPAIN—PEDRARIAS DAVILÀ APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND OF DARIEN.

The young chief, who had embraced Christianity, received them with great hospitality, making them presents of gold. Vasco Núñez 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 the naked cannibals. After having repos'd for a few days, Vasco Núñez proceeded to Ponce, where he heard that a ship and caravel had arrived at Darien from Hispaniola with reinforcements and supplies. Hastening, therefore, to Coýba, 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 María de la 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 Coýba for the companions he had left behind, and tried, 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 captain, who was short, having the largest proportions among those who had been in the expedition and those who had remained at Darien. All were content 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 Núñez 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 valor, 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 majority of his followers, treating them with frank affability; watching, fighting, fasting, and labouring with them; visiting and consoling such as were sick or in pain, and dividing all their gains with fairness and liberality. He was chargeable at times with acts of bloodshed and injustice; but it is probable that these were often committed in pursuance of 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 favor of his kind treatment of them.

The character of Vasco Núñez 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 Núñez de Balboa, at once transformed from a rash robber to a politic and discreet captain," and that 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.

* By the English historians he has generally been called Davilà.
DEARIAS DAVILA.

AND OF DARIEN.

OF THE DISCOVERY.

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one thousand men to enable Vasco Nuñez to make

the discovery.

The avarice and ambition of Ferdinand were in-

flamed by the tidings. He rewarded the services of

the intelligence agent, and after informing Bishop

Fonseca, resolved to despatch immediately a powerful

armada, with twelve hundred men, under the command of Pedrarias, to accomplish the enter-

prise.

Just about this time the famous Gonzalo Hernan-

dez 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 gen-

eral to retrieve their fortunes. The chivalry of Spain

thronged to enlist under the banner of Gonzalo.

The Spanish nobles, with their accustomed proflig-

ty, sold or mortgaged their estates to buy gor-

geous 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 spir-

its, when the jealous mind of Ferdinand took offence

at the thought that there were ships in his service

generally, and he abruptly countermanded the expedi-

tion. The Spanish cavaliers were overwhelmed with disappoint-

ment at having their dreams of glory thus suddenly
dispelled: when, as to console them, the enter-

prise was set on foot, and opened a different career of adventure. The very idea of an

unknown sea and splendid empire, where never Eu-

ropean ship had sailed or foot had trodden, broke

upon the imagination with the vague wonder of an

Arabian tale. Even the countries already known,

in the vicinity of the settlement of Darien, were de-

scribed 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 rivers and brooks;

insomuch that the region hitherto called Terra

Firma, now received the pompous and delusive ap-

cellation of Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castle.

Excited by these reports, many of the youthful

cavaliers, who had prepared for the Italian campaign,

now offered themselves as volunteers to Don Pedro-

rias. He accepted their services, and appointed

Seville as the place of assembling. The streets of

that ancient city soon swarmed with young and no-

ble 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 cause, 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,

gain admission on board of the squadron. Not

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 Ar-

gonauts, as it lay anchored on the bosom of the

Gulf of Cadiz.

The pay and appointments of Don Pedrarias

Davila were on the most liberal scale, and no ex-

pense was spared in fitting out the armament; for

the object of the expedition were both colonization

and conquest. Artillery and powder were pro-
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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, and 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 about one 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. Nuñez devised all kinds of means to keep up the spirits 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 on 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, Núñez, and Vasco Nuñez. "They were hardened," says he, "to abide all sorrows, and were exceedingly tolerant of labour, heat, hunger, and thirst; in short, so much 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 raw 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, and that 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 landing; 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 Castle, expected, no doubt, to find a blustering warrior, maintaining barbarian 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 I am welcome, that I congratulate him on his safe arrival, and am ready, with all who are here, to obey his orders."

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 Isabelia; who, according to old Peter Martyr, had sustained the roarings and rages of war with not less 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 a straw-thatched hovel, which he had made ready for this purpose, and they seated themselves on mats spread over the thatch of such cheer as his means afforded, consisting of roots and fruits, maize and casava bread, with no other beverage than water from the river: a seem-

ing 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 Aesop; so that henceforth we shall neither envy nor reverence the nice fruitfulness of Trapanian or the rich Old Sea and 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 scorching sun in summer. Certainly the revenue of the liquidity 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."

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.

"F. Martyr, dec. 3, p. 111. Lok's translation.

"Martyr, decad. 3, chap. iii. Lok's translation.

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and fruits, with new life."

A seasoned veteran of the New World, Vasco Núñez; and the prosperity under his leadership, when in the month of December, as Davila arrived in Darien, he was met by his colonists and friends, and directed that a meagre banquet in the eyes of the gay cavaliers, who had anticipated other things from the usurper of Golden Castle. Vasco Núñez, however, acquitted himself in his humble wigwam with the 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.

PEFAUDIOUS CONDUCT OF DON PEDRARIAS TOWARDS VASCO NÚÑEZ.

On the day after his entrance into Darien, Don Pedro was held a private conference with Vasco Núñez 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 welfare 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 counsel in all public measures.

Vasco Núñez 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 politico 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 Núñez and his officers. It was to be conducted by the Licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa, who had come out as Alcalde Mayor, or chief judge. The Licenciado 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 Núñez 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 Núñez, 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 Nucues and Ojeda, to draw from them testimony which might support the charge against Vasco Núñez of usurpation and tyrannical abuse of power. The bishop and the Alcalde received information of this inclination, 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 supported the testimony of the followers of Ojeda and Nucuesas, as being dictated and discoloured by ancient enmity. Vasco Núñez 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 Núñez, who he pretended to have established to his conviction by his secret investigations; and he even determined to send him in chains to the Cape, to be tried for the death of Nucuesas, and for other imputed offences.

It was not the inclination or the interest of the bishop that Vasco Núñez 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 Núñez in Spain would be signalled 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 Núñez 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 Núñez 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 Núñez 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 colonized the coast, and Vasco Núñez 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.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CALAMITIES OF THE SPANISH CAVALIERS AT DARIEN.

The town of Darien was situated in a deep valley surrounded by lofty hills, while, which, while they kept off the breezes so grateful in a sultry climate, reflected

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* Oviedo's Hist. Ind., p. 95. 8.
and concentrated the rays of the sun, insomuch 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 in digging to the depth of a foot there would oozé 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 the 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 gayly 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 prospect of the life they were doomed to lead. They shrank 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 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 colonizing 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, all which was needed, to the other one Andres Garabito 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, for whose purpose he extended his discoveries by sea and land.

While Vasco Nuñez awaited the return of Garabito, he had the mortification of beholding various of his colonizing 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 sojourner and made treaties on his expedition to the Southern Sea. Ayora par took 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 forcing 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 commandeur; 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 Cuba, were 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.

* Fromr. deac. I. c. i.
CHAPTER XX.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF VASCO NUñEZ IN QUEST OF THE GOLD TEMPLE OF DOBAYBA.

The rich mines of Dobayba and the treasures of its golden temple had continued to form a favourite theme with the Spaniards. The Spaniards had thus always been concerned that Vasco Nuñez had stopped short of the wealthy region on his former expedition, and had missed the opportunity of exploring the temple. 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 rivers and morasses, infested by all kinds of reptiles. Clouds of grats and mosquitoes filled the air; there were large bats also, supposed to have the hantful properties of the vampire; alligators lurked in the waters, and the gloomy recesses of the jungle abounded with the dens of dragons.

Besides these objects of terror, there were such, and such things as 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 they could only be seen as they flew by or passed the tops of the trees on which they alighted. They were always the first to come when the shadows of the mountains were cast and the habitants were not bold enough to approach them in peace, 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 him on their long spears, bore him through all the towns to assuage the alarm of the inhabitants. The younger harpy, says the Indian tradition, was never seen afterwards.

The natives of Dobayba were among the first to encounter these.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 journeys 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, knowing 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, traveling the gulf, arrived at a 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 cautiously and unceremoniously up the river, they were suddenly surprised and surrounded by an immense swarm of canoes, filled with armed savages, which darted 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.

The partisans of Pedrarias rejoiced at 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 embarrased 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 GARABITO—ARREST OF VASCO NUñEZ—(1515).

A bout 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 Cuyba, 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 continue 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 mean time, as all letters from Spain were first delivered into his hands, he withheld that intended for Vasco Nuñez, and, 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 correspond
ence, which he denounced, 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 pointed, 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 inquest 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 absolutely vested in Vasco Nuñez, the government of Darien and Castilla del Oro would virtually be reduced to a trilling 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 everywhere 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 treated him as a dangerous rival and an insidious foe. Just at this critical juncture, Andres 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 reasonable plot against his authority; his passions mingles 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 release the captive, but to examine the whole matter with coolness and deliberation.

The result proved that his suspicions had been erro

**CHAPTER XXIII.**

**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 convinced that the Pearl Islands, 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 Garcia 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 dominating genius.

A brief notice of the principal incidents of this expedition is all that is necessary for the present narrative.

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 Tutibira, by whom they were amicably entertained. Their great object was to visit 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 Tutibira, under the command of a captain named Pehnosa; 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 coast, 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 sight of the armaments of the Spaniards, and at their ferocious bloodthirsty. Finding all resistance unavailing, the cacique was at length compelled to sue for peace. His prayer being granted, he received the command of the two islands, 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

*Oviedo, part 3, c. 85, 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. Oviedo, part 3, c. 85, MS.*
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main cast down  
by the haras-

spiration  
of a Muscadine pear, weighing upwards of three
shaks, and of oriental colour and lustre. The
acique considered himself more than repaid by a
present of hatchets, beads, and hawkves-bells: and, on
the Spaniards smiling at his joy, observed, “These
things are not for our purpose, but of what value
are those pearls to me?”

Finding, however, that these baubles were precious
to the eyes of the Spaniards, he took Morales and
Pizarro to the summit of a wooden tower, command-
ing an extensive view of the land, before you,”
said he, “the infinite sea, which extends even be-

don 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 stretch-
ed 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
inestimable riches, inhabited by a mighty nation.
He might have dwelt on the eastern wonders, but
finish the tale 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 in-
pressed the cacique with so great an idea of the
power of the king of Castile, that he agreed to be-
come his vassal, and to return 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 rela-
tion, Hernando Morales, with ten men in quest of
Pepalosa and his companions, who had remained in
the village of Tutira.

Unfortunately for the Spaniards, during the ab-
\*Herrera, d. 8. l. c. lv. P. Murat, d. j. c. e.
sence of the commanders, this Pehalosa had so
exasperated the natives by his misconduct, that a
conspiracy was 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 Pehalosa, put up for the night in the
village of a cacique named Chuchama, who was one
of the conspirators. They were entertained with
pretence of giving him important information. The
aciques came at the summons; they were thus taken
one by one to the number of eighteen, and put in
chains. Just at this juncture Pehalosa arrived with
the third most renowned

They arrived with joy by their
comrades, who had given them up for lost. En-
couraged 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
daybreak with the old Spanish war-cry of Santiago!

It was a slaughter rather than a battle, for the In-
dians were unprepared for resistance. Before sun-
srise, seven hundred lay dead upon the field. Return-
ing from the massacre, the commanders doomed the
aciques who were in chains to be torn in pieces by
the bloodhounds; nor was even Chiruca spared from
this sanguinary sentence. Notwithstanding this
bloody revenge, the vindictive spirit of the com-
manders was still unappeased, and they set off to
surprise the village of a cacique named Biru, who
had escaped from the massacre.

He was famed for valor and cruelty: his dwelling
was surrounded by the weapons and other tre-
phies of those whom he had vanquished; and he was
said never to give quarter.

The Spaniards assailed his village before daybreak
with fire and sword, and made dreadful havoc. Biru
escaped from his burning habitation, rallied his
people, kept up a galling fight throughout the grea-
ter 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 glad-
ly from his territory. According to some of the Span-
ish 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 Spanish had pushed their bloody revenge to
an extreme, and were now determined 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 wearily
and disheartened from the battle-field, they now
were waylaid and assailed by a host of Indians led on
by the son of Chiruca. A javelin from his hand pierced
even 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 impalpable 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 con-
tinual alarms. Morales and Pizarro, seeing the
obstinance 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 let them burn to deceive the
enemy while they made a rapid retreat. Among
their number was one poor fell, named Pelahos, 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 him-
self, nor could the prayers and tears of his
comrades dissuade him from his purpose.
The stratagem of the Spaniards, however, was unavailing. Their retreat was perceived, and at daybreak, 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 repelled the 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 Indian prisoners to be slain, hoping that the Xindos 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, wakening they knew not whither, and returning when 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. In their dreary wilderness, they seemed 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 with great difficulty extricated them; still more savage foes, 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 harks 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 at 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 precious stones granted to them by the cacique of Isla Rica. These were objects of universal admiration. One of them was put up at auction, and bought by Pedrarías, and was afterwards presented by his wife Doña Isabella de Bobadilla to the Empress, who, in return, gave her four thousand ducats.*

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 petitions of Vasco Núñez to the same region, and his superior qualifications 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 Pedrarías Davila, 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 jets; 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 hand was defeated by Tubanama, the ferocious cacique of the mountains, who bore as banns 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 excited by the expected visit of their foes. If they looked toward the land, the long, waving grass of the savannahs appeared to them to be moving hosts of Indians. If they looked toward the sea, they fancied they beheld fleets of canoes in the distance. Pedrarías endeavoured to prevent all rumours from abroad that might increase this fevered state of alarm; at the same time he ordered the smelling-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 Pedrarías was harassed and perplexed by these complicated evils, he was haunted by continual apprehensions of the ultimate ascendancy of Vasco Núñez. He knew how to be beloved by the people, and befriended by the Bishop; and he had received

* Herrera, Hist. Ind. 8. 4. 1. 6. 6.
proves 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 be heard; 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 government's mind, and endeavoured, by means of his letters, to reconcile the dissensions 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 eventuate on him the displeasure of his sovereign. "But why persist," added he, "in driving a man to become your deadliest enmity, 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 bulwark 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 upon your toils, he can carry on the affair with vigour and ability; the splendour of your position and the splendour of your administration will be redounded to the advancement of your family and the splendour of your administration."

The governor and his lady were won by the eloquence of the bishop and readily listened to his suggestions; 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 eldest daughter of Pedrazas. 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; and 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, at 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 sequence in the community, and who had been one of the most furious opponents of the unfortunate Nuñez. 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 seacoast; and was then, with the anchors and rigging, transported across the lofty range of mountains to the strife of the mountains. 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 injurious 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 burdens, under the scorching rays of a tropical sun. Many of the poor Indians sank by the way and perished under this stupendous task. The Spaniards and Negroes, being of hardier constitutions, were spared the most difficult parts of the ascent, and were the more capable of bearing 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 set forward with alacrity, 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 the four brigantines; and 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 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 forge the neighbouring country for provisions.

Scarce was the timber felled and shaped for use when the rains set in, and the rivers swelled and overflowed its banks so suddenly, that the workmen were barely escaped with their lives by churning among the trees; while the wood on which they had been working was either ruined in sand or slime, or swept away by the rigging 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 all contact with the country from whence they obtained their supplies. They were reduced, therefore, to such scarcity as to be fain to assure their hunger with such roots as they could gather in the forests.

In this extremity the Indians bethought themselves of some of their rude and simple expedients. Plunging into the river they fastened a number of logs together with wares, and connected them with a log in 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 girilllas. On being safely landed, they forsook the neighborhood, 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 business of the expedition was pressed with redoubled ardor, until, at length, after a series of incredible toils and hardships, Vasco Núñez 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 piecemeal transportation across the ocean of groups of daring adventurers, in small European ships that ploughed the waves of the Pacific; and we can readily excite 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 Núñez could have conducted it to a successful issue."

CHAPTER XXV.

CRUISE OF VASCO NÚÑEZ IN THE SOUTHERN SEA—RUINOUS FROM ACLA.

The first cruise of Vasco Núñez was to the group 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 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 reconnoitering 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 dashed 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 Núñez anchored, therefore, 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; when the other course was 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 where the cacique Chuahua, who had massacred Bernardo Morales and his companions when reposing in his village. Here landing with his men. Vasco Núñez 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 Núñez re-embarked and returned to Acla.

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 Núñez 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 pretext of procuring provisions for the ships. 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, however, that a new governor he 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.

RECONNOITERING EXPEDITION OF GARABITO—STRATAGEM OF PEDRARIAS TO ENTRAP VASCO NÚÑEZ.

The person entrusted with the reconnoitering expedition to Acla was Andres Garabito, in whose fidelity and discretion Vasco Núñez 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 a simple but a natural cause. Vasco Núñez had continued 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 dared revenge. He wrote privately to Pedrarias assuring him that Vasco Núñez was in a condition 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 leave with all speed, and to put to sea as an independent commander.

This mischievous letter Garabito had written immediately after the last departure of Vasco Núñez 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 per-
songs on hand who perceived and quickened these
jealousies. One governor, finding these was the
Bachelor Corral, who cherished a deep grudge
against Vasco Nuñez for having once thrown him
into prison for his facts and conduct; and Alonso de
la Puente, the royal treasurer, whom Vasco Nuñez
had affronted by demanding the repayment of a
loan. Such was the tempest that was gradually
building in the facts. little colony of Darien.
The subsequent conduct of Garabito gives much
confirmation to the charge of perjury 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 suspicion; he was
arrested, and his papers and letters were sent to
Pedrarias. When examined he readily suffered him-
self to be brought upon by threats of punishment
and promises of pardon, and revealed all that he knew,
and declared still more that he suspected and sur-
sumed, of the plans and intentions of Vasco Nuñez.
The arrest of Garabito was, of course, a matter
of great importance to the governor and Vasco Nuñez,
and the friends of the latter trembled for his safety.
Hernando de Aguilar especially, was in great
alarm. He had embarked the most of his fortune in
the expedition, and the failure of it would be mius
ous 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 cal-
culated 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 im-
mediately ordered Aguilar to be arrested; and now
derived means to get Vasco Nuñez within his power.
While the latter remained on the shores of the South
Sea, the governor and his chief followers were
rounded up, and devoted followers. Pedrarias knew that it would be
in vain to attempt to take him by force. Dissem-
ing his suspicions and intentions, therefore, he wrote
to him in the most amiable terms, requesting him
to repair immediately to Acla, as he wished to hold
a conference with him about the impending expedi-
tion. 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
Aguilar, and by the general violence of Pedrarias,
that, though Vasco Nuñez was a favorite with the
great mass of the people, no one ventured to warn
him of the danger that attended his return to Acla.

* In consequence of the eloquent representations made to the
Spanish crown by the venerable Las Casas, of the cruel
wages and oppressions practised upon the Inca in the colonies,
the Cardinal Ximenes, in 1567, sent three Jeronimos Friars,
who, with a gold medal, were sent to placate him to his
imagination, and to return to the president, with a design
mercy to his enemies, and to restore the peace of the colonists. The
cause of their powers at San Dom-
ingo caused a great sensation in the new world, and, for a time,
and a beneficial effect on checking the oppression and licentious
conduct of the colonists.
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 demonstration of his surprise, he suffered himself 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.

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 Andres 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 set the governor adrift. This testimony, according to Las Casas, arose from a misrepresentation 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 mean time 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 affections, and shall henceforth treat you as an enemy."

Vasco Nuñez indignantly repelled the charge, and appeared 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 slandered with this charge."

The noble and ingenious 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 alquinn 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 Nunez.

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 spurting from the eager and passionate governor. He probably considered the accused as technically guilty of an 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 at least 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 Angulo, 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, the governor of the colony, was a known enemy of 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 example carried 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 once succeeded in the arduous undertaking of transporting 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 some determination in the hearing of Garabito and others of his companions. We can find ample excuse for such a resolution in his consciousness of his own deserts; his experience of past hindrances to his expedition; and his dread of the jealous and treacherous disposition and kind intentions of his sovereign towards him. We acquit him entirely of the senseless idea of rebelling against the crown; his action not being in palliation of any meditated disobedience of Pedrarias, should such a charge be supposed to have been substantiated.
CHAPTER XXIX.

EXECUTION OF VASCO NÚÑEZ—1517.

It was a day of gloom and horror at Acla, when Vasco Núñez 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 Núñez, proclaiming, “This is the punishment inflicted by command of the king and his lieutenant, Don Pedrarias Davila, on this man, a traitor and an usurper of the territories of the crown.”

When Vasco Núñez 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 a wall, about twelve paces from the scaffold.

Vasco Núñez was the first to suffer death. Having composed himself and partaken of the sacrament, he 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, Valderranna, Botello, and Hernán 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 Hernán de Argüello, 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 Núñez, for fearing 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 daylight, 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 Argüello was led to the block. The bright tropical twilight was past, and in the gathering gloom of the night the operations on the scaffold could no 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 sigh 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 corpse. His remains were placed upon a pole and exposed for several days in the public square.

Thus perished, in his forty-second year, 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 pitifully cruel tyranny.

How vain are our most confident hopes, our brightest triumphs! When Vasco Núñez 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 inveterate 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 discern too greatly.

THE FORTUNES OF VALDIVIA AND HIS COMPANIONS.

It was in the year 1512 that Valdivia, the regidor of Darien, was sent to Hispaniola by Vasco Núñez de Balboa for reinforcements and supplies for the colony. They set sail in a caravel, but the 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 ears 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 famished, and lay moaning on the strand. They then took refuge on the 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 mowed up in a kind of flaying-wreck. 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 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 horri-
ble 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 to be victims of a blood feast.
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 were cruelly treated, exposed to
all the dangers and miseries of the wilderness;
starving 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
contented 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 burdens. 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 Guer-
nero, the other a kind of clerical adventurer, named
Jeronimo. The sailor had the good luck to be trans-
ferred 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 hazard, he soon accustomed himself to his new
situation, followed the cacique to the
wars, rose by his hardihood and prowess to be a dis-
guished warrior, and succeeded in gaining the
heart and hand of an Indian princess.
The other survivor, Jeronimo de Aguiilar, was of
a different complexion. He was a native of Ejeica
in Andalusia, and had been brought up to the
church and regularly ordained, and shortly after-
wards 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
adopted by his comrade the sailor in his dealings
with the Indians, and in one more suited to his op-
posite calling. Instead of playing the hero among
the men and the gallant among the women, he rec-
collected his prudence and sagacity to use in a
way suited to his calling. Accordingly, he made himself a model of
meekness and obedience to the cacique and his war-
riors, while he closed his eyes to the charms of the
infidel women. Nay, in the latter respect, he re-
forced his clerical vows by a solemn promise to God
to resist all temptations 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. Aguiilar, by his meek obedience to every
order, however arbitrary and capricious, gradually
won the good-will of the cacique and his family.
Taxmar, however, subjected him to many trials be-
fore he admitted him to his entire confidence. One
day when the Indians, painted and decorated in war-
te style, were shooting at a mark, a warrior, who
tad for some time fixed his eyes on Aguiilar, ap-
proached 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 they hit the mouth, the worst is over. Thou
think if thou wert to be placed instead of
the mark and they were to shoot at and miss thee?"
Aguiilar secretly trembled lest he should be the
victim of some cruel caprice of the kind. Dissem-
bling his fears, however, he replied with great sub-
mission, "I am your slave and you may do with me
as you please, but you will love your slave who is so useful and obedient." His answer
pleased the cacique, who had secretly sent this war
rior to try his humility.

Another trial of the worthy Jeronimo was less
terrible and fearful, but equally perilous. The cacique had remarked his unusual discretion
with respect to the sea, but doubted his sincer-
ity. 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 accompanied by a bauxm damsel of four-
teen 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 day, and were allowed but one hammock
to sleep in. It was an embarrassing predicament—not
apparently to the Indian beauty, but certainly
of the scrupulous Jeronimo. He remembered, how-
ever, 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 blandishments and repro-
aches. His resolution, however, though often
shaken, was never overcome; and the morn-
ing dawned upon him still faithful to his vow.

The fishing over, he returned to the residence of
the cacique, where he was closely questioned, made known the triumph of his self-
denial before all the people. From that time for-
ward he was held in great respect; the cacique es-
specially treated him with unlimited confidence, entr-
usting to him the care not merely of his house, but
of his wives during his occasional absence.
Aguiilar now felt ambitious of rising to greater
consequence 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 request was complied. Aguiara
made himself expert in his new arm, and so familiarized
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 remon-
strated with Taxmar for employing a warrior who
was of a different religion, and insisted that Aguiara
should be sacrificed to their gods. "No," repli-
ced Taxmar, "I will not make so base a return for such
signal services; surely the gods of Aguiara must
be good, since they put him so effectually in main-
taining 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 councillors of the lat-
ter 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.
Aguiara assured him that his faith in the Christian's
God would be rewarded with victory; he, in fact,
concerted a plan of battle which was adopted. Con-
cealing himself 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; whereas Aguiara
and his ambuscade assaulted them in the rear. Taxmar turned upon them in front; they were thrown into 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, in 1517, 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, on a voyage of discovery. The tides 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 Cebal, 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 pleasure, in order to present them with gifts to the strangers. The ships disappeared from the coast, and he remained disconsolate at heart, but was regarded with increased confidence by the natives.

The 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 jealousy 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 bearded men to their shores, and one of them delivered a letter to Aguilar, which, being entire 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 Cortez, 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 mainland with his ships, he prevailed upon three of his crew to venture upon an embassy among their cannibal neighbours, and to convey a letter to the captive white men. Two of the smallest canovials of the squadron were sent under the command of Diego de Ordas, who was ordered to land the three messengers at the point of Cozumel, and to stay eight days for their return.

The letter brought by these little Spanish captives of the force and destination of the squadron of Cortez, 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 to him at Cotoche.

The transport of Aguilar on first reading this letter was moderated when he reflected on the obstacles that might prevent his going on his 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 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 of 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 then went on to speak of the various promises of the blessings to be expected from the friendship of the strangers. The intention 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 sight of the glittering trinkets which the ships bore.

The residence of the cacique was being closely watched by the Indians of the adjacent islands, and it was a time for further pressure of the cacique on this house, but Aguilar was prepared for all events.

He was brought to greater hope and confidence than he knew before. He had the opportunity of sending a message to his captain in Mexico. He entreated him to send him in a boat and armed with letters to Cortez, who was then among the Indians of the island of Cozumel. Aguilar soon after received a letter, this time from his superior in the church, in which the superior of the mission expressed some alarm at the manner in which the natives were treating the captive who had been sent to him. Aguilar replied, "If you wish that Aguilar be restored to you, no," replied Cortez, "but return for such a purpose." He then concluded that Aguilar must be restored to him, and maintained his deliverance.

Aguilar was returned to the coast, and to make war upon the savages of the island who was the leader of the Indians, he was ordered to depart, and Cortez was to leave only a small body of troops for the safety of the Spanish settlement. Aguilar was permitted to return to his island, but insisted upon remaining and rejoining Cortez, and was permitted to do so.

The day of his departure, seven of his [he]

The voyage of the Spanish fleet was fraught with peril and danger, and the success of the expedition was only achieved by the courage and skill of the officers and men on board. The fleet was composed of several vessels, each armed with cannon and other weapons, and manned by a force of experienced seamen. The command was given to Captain Cortez, who had been chosen for the honour and glory of leading the expedition.

The expedition was a great success, and the fleet returned to Spain laden with spoil and treasure. The ships were well received by the king, who rewarded the officers and men with honour and riches. The fleet had brought back many valuable prizes of war, and the king was pleased with the success of the expedition.
of Cozumel, but how was he to get there? While wandering disconsolately along the shore, he found a canoe half buried in sand and water, and, on one side, in a state of decay; with the assistance of the Indians he cleared it, and set it afloat, and, on looking further he found the stave of a hogshead which might serve for a paddle. It was a frail embarcation to which the canoe was driven against the wind, several leagues wide, but there was no alternative. Prevailing on the Indians to accompany him, he launched forth in the canoe and coasted the mainland until he came to the narrowest part of the strait, there it was but four leagues across; here he stood directly for Cozumel, 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 throwing 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 perfectly naked; it was the hairbright of 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 Cortez to watch the approach of the canoe, which had been described coming from Yucatan. Cortez had given up all hopes of being joined by the captives, the caravel having waited the allspiced 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 Cortez, who was surrounded by his officers, they made a profound reverence, squatted on the ground, laid their brows and arrows beside them, and touching their right hands, wet with tears, they laid them about the region of the heart, such being their sign of the most devoted submission.

Cortez 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 been entirely naked, that even this scanty covering was at first almost insupportable, and he had become so accustomed to the diet of the natives, that he found it difficult to reconcile his stomach to the meat and drink set before him.

When he had sufficiently recovered from the agitation of his arrival among Christians, Cortez drew from him the particulars of his story, and found that he was related to one of the court friends; the licentiate 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 condition of the licentiate de Aguilar at once being restored to his countrymen, was deemed to suffer some alloy from the disasters that had happened in his family. Peter Martyr records a touching anecdote 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 hole 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 Cortez 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 Cordö, the Astrologer.

The fate of the Italian astrologer, Micer Cordö, who predicted the end of Vasco Nuñez, is related by himself in a work with some particulars that border upon the marvelous. 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 Geromino 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 beseech 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 Paria. 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 Cordö," 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 harbor. 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, over, 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.

* P. Martyr, deced. c. d. 8.
Some time afterwards, Oviedo, the historian, was on the island with this very plot, who showed him the cross on the tree, and gave his honest testimony to the good character and worthy conduct of Micer Cordro. 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 Cordro 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.1

JUAN PONCE DE LEON,
CONQUEROR OF PORTO RICO, AND DISCOVERER OF FLORIDA.

CHAPTER I.

RECONNOITERING EXPEDITION OF JUAN PONCE DE LEON TO THE ISLAND OF BORIQUEN.—(1508.)

Many years had elapsed since the discovery and colonization of Hayti, yet its neighboring 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, produce a 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, un molested by the ill that overwhelmed the neighbouring island of Hayti. The time had come, however, for the Spaniards to share the common lot of their fellow savages, and to sink beneath the yoke of the white man.

At the time when Nicholas de Ovando, Governor of Hispaniola, undertook to lay waste the great province of Hayti, a high 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, Mayor 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 afterward, it is said, one of the partisans of Francisco Koldan, in his rebellion against the admi ral. Having distinguished himself in various battles with the Indians, and acquired a name for sagacity as well as valor, he received a command subordinate to Juan de Esquivel, in the camp against Hayti, 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 restless desire for exploit of a veteran campaigner. He had not been long in the tranquil command of his province of Hayti, when he began to cast a wistful eye towards the green mountains of Boriquen. They were directly opposite, and but twelve or fourteen leagues distant. Through them he 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, AgueyLana. He found the chief satined in patriarchal style under the shade of his native groves and surrounded by his family, consisting of his mother and stepfather, brother, and sister, who vied 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 stepfather 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 them 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 Yuc, the groves laden with the most delicious fruit, the sweetest and purest fountains, and the coolest 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 hospital 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 arrows 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, 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 Agueybana, who had treated them with the most hospitable courtesy. The cacique 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 submission. After remaining some time on the island, he returned to Spain and to Santo 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 Santo Domingo. To add to the perplexities of Juan Ponce, a cavalier had already arrived from Spain, empowered by the king to form a settlement 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, surrounded the Handsome, king of Teneriffa, and father of Charles V.

Don Diego Columbus was highly displeased with the act of the king in granting those powers to Sotomayor, as he 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 his office. He paid as little respect to the claims of Juan Ponce de Leon, whom he regarded with an ingratitude as a favorite of his predecessor Ovando. To settle the matter effectually, he ordered what he considered his official and hereditary privileges, 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 HOPE 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 DESIRING 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—EXTRAORDINARY TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS—THEIR EXPERIMENT TO PROVE WHETHER THE SPANIARDS WERE MORTAL.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON ASSUMED THE COMMAND OF THE ISLAND OF BORICUEN IN THE YEAR 1509. BEING A FIEREY, HIGH-BRANDED 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. *

He was far more favorable to his late competitor, Christoval de Sotomayor. Finding him to be a cavalier of noble blood and high connections, yet void of pretension, he showed no ostentation of temper, nor was he so disposed to make him his lieutenant, that he gave 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 Caparraz, which he founded on the northern side of the island, a league from the sea, in a neighborhood supposed to abound in gold. It was in front of a port called Rio, which subsequently gave its name to the island. The road to the town was 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 that league of mountain than it had 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 into repartimientos, for the purpose of exacting their labor. 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 seer spirits and indolent habits, restraint and labor 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 Brayan, determined to put their immunity to the test. Hearing that a young Spaniard named Salzedo, 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 Salzedo 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 kept and howled over him, making a thousand apologies for having fallen upon him, and kept him so long beneath the surface.

The cahicue Brayan came to 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."

* Herrera, decad. x. l. viii. 19.
† Herrera, decad. x. l. viii. 19.
CHAPTER IV.

CONSPIRACY OF THE CACIQUES—THE FATE OF SOTOMAYOR.

The prime mover of the conspiracy among the natives was Agueybana, 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 repression. 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.

Agueybana held secret councils with his confederate caciques, in which they concertcd a plan of operations. As the Spaniards were scattered about in different places, it was agreed that, at a certain time, each cacique should dispatch those within his province. In arranging the massacre of those within his own domains, Agueybana assigned to one of his inferior caciques the task of surprising the village of Sotomayor, giving him 3,000 warriors for the purpose. He was to assail the village in the dead of the night, to set fire to the houses, and to slay without a struggle of 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 village of his enemies. Being a cavalier of galling appearance and amiable and courteous manners, he had won the affections of an Indian princess, the sister of the cacique Agueybana. She had inherited from her father the council of her brother and his warriors, and had been brought up in a great mass, however, that the Spaniards could not be killed.

A Spaniard named Brayana, of superior quality to the test, and Joseph de los Santos, were dispatched by a party of his confederates to pay a secret visit to a river they took to be a Spanish ship, and kept the rapids for three days, until they were found by the conquistadors. He was found by them, dragging his body by a rope; being dead, they were taking a thousand dollars from him, and kept him a secret.

A party of Spaniards discovered the body of the Indian, and from the account of the natives, still fearing the sad fate of the unfortunate caciques, they were dismissed by the governor of the island.

The cacique visited the departure of his intended victim and set out shortly afterwards, capturing his

CHAPTER V.

WAR OF JUAN PONCE WITH THE CACIQUE AGUEYBANA.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON might now almost be considered a governor without territories, and a general
eighty men at his disposal, but then they were cased in steel and proof against the weapons of the savages. Without stopping to repose, the 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 assembled 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 they were called back in the fortification by their wary commander.

The cagie Ayueyana 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 chosen warriors around him, therefore, he led the way in a general assault, when, as he approached the fortress, he received a mortal wound from an arquebus and fell dead upon the spot.

The Spaniards were not aware at first of the importunity of the chief whose body was thus 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 warfare continued for some time, under the evident distress of the foe, to drive his small forces in the night, happy to get out of the terrible peril into which a rash confidence had betrayed them. Some of his fierce-souled officers would have kept the field in spite of the overwhelming force of the enemy. "No, said the shrewd general; it is better to protract the war than to risk all 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 repeated of the step he had ill-advisedly taken, in superseding the governor and lieutenant-governor of his lieutenant-governor. 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 with kindness, and conferred many favours on them, and set the duelsman to rights from an offending judge and 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 courage 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 to them, but that it 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 Ayueyana, 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 such a shrewd general as Juan Ponce de Leon.
defensive. In sight of the warriors assembled most of the men, as he was led away, he hastily threw himself between the ranks of the enemy, and his companions followed suit. The battle was a desperate one, and the outcome was uncertain. But the Spanish forces were stronger, and in the end they emerged victorious. Jered's valor was recognized, and he was given a high position in the Spanish army.

CHAPTER VI.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON HEARS OF A WONDERFUL COUNTRY AND MIRACULOUS FOUNTAIN.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON was informed of the existence of a wonderful country where a miraculous fountain was said to exist. He set out to discover this place, and his journey took him across the Gulf of Mexico to Bimini Island. There, he found the fountain and declared it to be the fountain of youth, a legendary place where the water had the power to rejuvenate the body.

CRUISE OF JUAN PONCE DE LEON IN SEARCH OF THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH.—(1512).

It was on the third of March, 1512, that Juan Ponce sailed with his 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 a voyage to the Bahamas. His object was to find a fountain of youth, which he believed existed in the region.

He continued his voyage, exploring the coast until he reached the island of Bimini. There, he discovered the fountain of youth, which was said to be the fountain of the island of Cuba. He was convinced that the fountain possessed the power to rejuvenate the body, and he declared it to be the fountain of youth.

Juan Ponce landed, and took possession of the country in the name of the Castilian Sovereign. He afterwards continued to explore the coasts of this flowery land, and struggling against the gulf-stream and the currents that swept it. He doubled Cape Cañaveral, and reconnoitered the southern and eastern shores without1, but there was no evidence that this was a part of the Spanish coast.

Juan Ponce, realising the importance of his discovery, wrote to the King of Spain to inform him of the existence of the fountain of youth. He also wrote to the Pope to request a papal bull in recognition of his discovery. The Pope granted the request, and Juan Ponce was officially recognized as the discoverer of the fountain of youth.

He returned to Spain, where he was hailed as a hero. His discovery was celebrated throughout the country, and he was hailed as a great man. His life was saved by the fountain of youth, and he went on to become a wealthy and influential man.
dian tradition, he turned his prow homeward on the 14th 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 group of islets surrounded by sea-fowl and marine animals. On one of these, which he termed the so-called 'island of seven nights,' he 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 group Juan Ponce gave the name of the Matanzas, or turkeys, which they still retain.

Proceeding in his cruise, he touched at another group of islets near the Lucayos, to which he gave the name of La Vieja, or the Old Woman group, because he found no inhabitant there but one old Indian woman. This ancient sybil took on board his ship to give him information about the labyrinth 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 age, she was exceedingly belligerent 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 month or a month and a half, 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 Ortaba, who departed in one of the other ships, guided by the experienced old woman of the islands, 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 endless 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 eternal 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. (1514.)

Juan Ponce de Leon now repaired to Spain to make a report of his voyage to King Ferdinand.

* Herrera, d. i, l. 6.
† 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 inhabitants of the island in discovery. That a party of the natives of Cuba once went in search of it, and remained there, appears certain, from the traditions of the people. La Casas says, that even in his days, many persons, of all ages, went in search of this river, 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 Chocoro.

The hardy old cavalier experienced much rivalry from the writings of the court on account of his own voyage, though many wise men had been as credulous as himself at the outset. The king, however, received him with great favour, and conferred on him the title of Admiral 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 the present, being probably discouraged and impoverished by the discouragements of his last expeditions, and finding a difficulty in engaging settlers. 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 coast 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 obliterate the Spaniards to abandon it.

At length, in the year 1519, he sent 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 murderers. The command of the Armada was given to Juan Ponce de Leon, from his knowledge in military affairs and his varied and skilled experience, which had mingled in him the soldier with the sailor. He was instructed in the first place to assault 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 Carthagena. He was afterwards to take the command 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 Guadalupe, 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 might have had to deal with the Caribs, usually so adroit in warfare. While the people were scattered carelessly on shore, the Caribs rushed forth from ambush, 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 Zuñiga; 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 rusty 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 distribution of the Indians.

He continued for several years in that island, in a state of growing repose, until the brilliant exploits of Hernando de Soto and the achievements of all the other forever 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 Firme, 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 1511, 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 people, but the Indians saluted forth with unusual vaulour 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, excited 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 obtained 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 cavalier:

Mole sub hac fortis requiescat Leo, Qui visis in bello non modo victor.

It has thus been paraphrased in Spanish by the Licentiate Juan de Castellanos.

Aqueste lloc estrecho
Es sepulcre del varon,
Que en el nombre fué Leon,
Qui visit facia nonomin magna sola.

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 commended 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 resolve, and I may say, filial duty of an American, and my intention was quickly accomplished. I have resided in Palos, and 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 Pizzanos, who sided 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 Pizzano family studying law in the city. I got introduced to him, and found him of most propensities and appearances. He gave me a letter of introduction to his father, Doñ Juan Fernandez Pizano, 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 barriot, but of the most primitive and rude construction; the harness is profusely ornamented with brass, the horse's head and neck are adorned with plumes and dangling bells of scarlet and yellow worsted. I had, for calasera, a tall, long-legged Andalusian, in short jacket, little round-crowned hat, breeches decorated with buttons from the hip to the knees, and a pair of russet leather fustians or spatter-dashes. He was an expert, and always in his proper attire, taciturn, and staid, and 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 noon-tide heat, and after ascending the lofty ranges of hills that border 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 herdman, who, with a long pipe planted in the earth, stood motionless in the midst of the dreary landscape, resembling an Arab of the desert. The night had somewhat advanced when we stopped for a few hours at a solitary venta or inn, if I 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 the mail to the vast town of Seville. 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 weather and the fumes from the stables made the interior of the hovel insupportable, so I was fain to lie upon 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 midday 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, and in the course of time, formed a part, and has grown into a large and mainly inhabited town, of which the name, the whole family of the Pizzanos.
So remote is this little place from the stir and bustle of travel, and so destitute of the show and vainglory of this world, that my calves, as it rattle and jingle 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 civil people, and disposed to do everything 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 muleteers, who were accustomed to sleep on the ground with their mule-cloths for beds and packsaddles 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 of those any note are generally received into private houses. I had traveled sufficiently in Spain to put out of my mind, after all, the idea of sleeping in a hotel, or any other place public, in which the beds are not on the floor or on the ground. I fancied the bed was to be a kind of piece-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 Pinzón. 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 coadjuvators of Columbus.

A short walk brought us to the house, which was most respectable in its appearance, indicating easy if not elegant circumstances. The interior, as is so common in Spanish villages during summer, stood wide open. We entered with the usual salutation, or rather summons, "Ave María!" 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 gray hair. He received me with great urbanity, and, on reading the letter from his son, appeared stricken 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 troubles his head but perhaps not so much as some of his offspring. 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 learned 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; but there is an exotic stock that never took deep and lasting root in the country; but the race of the Pinzones 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 Pinzón, the youngest of the brothers. He appeared to be between fifty and sixty years of age, somewhat husb, with fair complexion and gray hair, and a rank and manly deportment. He is the only one of the present generation that has followed the ancient profession of his ancestors. On this account he has received great applause as an officer of the royal navy, from which he retired on his marriage about twenty-two years since. He is the only one who takes the greatest interest and pride in the historical honours of his family, and tells with a smile of his own achievements and distinctions of his family, a manuscript volume of which he lent me for my inspection.

Don Juan now expressed a wish to know, during my residence in this country, if I would like to 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 rickety table had been spread out in a corner of the little room as a refectory, on top of which was propped up a grand cana de luce, 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 grand family occasion as presenting Don Juan to dispense with my sleeping at his house, promising most faithfully to make my meals there while 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 the convent La Rábida, 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. Three o'clock was the time appointed 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 I set out in the cala 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 fatigue unsuited to his age. He laughed
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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 and deserts, accompanied by a score of burros, 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; this urbanity was shown to every one where 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 sereno, 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 that and Seville. This was a low square building, well whitewashed, and of great length; one end being fitted up as a summer residence, with saloons, beds-rooms, and a domestic chapel; and the other as a bedsaloon or magazine for the reception of the produce of 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 sunk 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 broad tongue of land, or rather the sand bar of Salto, from the river Odiel, with which it soon mingled 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 steadily ruffled the surface of this beautiful river; two or three picturesque barges, call mysticks, with long limesails, were gliding down it. A little aid of the imagination might suffice to picture them as the light caravels of Columbus, sailing forth on their eventful expedition, while the distant hills of the town of Huelva, which were ringing melodiously, might be supposed as cheering the voyagers with a farewell salutation.

I cannot express to you what my feelings on stepping on the shore which had once been animate by the bustle of departure, and whose sand had been printed by the last footsteps of Columbus. The solemn and sublime nature of the event that had followed, together with the fate and fortune of those conquerors and their posterity, had so deeply impressed me, that the meditative walk I took among the ruins of Huelva, which were tinged melancholy ideas. It was like leaving the silent and empty stage of some grand drama when all the actors had departed. The very aspect of the landscape, so tranquilly beautiful, had an effect upon me, and made me feel the silent and melancholy atmosphere 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 seaport; there was neither wharf nor landing-place—nothing but a naked river bank, with the hulls 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 dwelled away from its former size, can never have been important as to extent and population. If it possessed warehouses on the beach, they are disappeared. It is at present a mere village of a dozen or so houses, 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. The race of merchants and mariners who are there employed, are no vessels belonging to the place, nor any show of traffic, excepting at the season of fruit and wine, when a few pickets and other light vessels 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 sailed forth 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 music of my hospitable host, who appeared to possess the most enviable cheerfulness of spirit and vivacity of heart.

After breakfast we set off in the calera to visit the Convent of La Rabida, which is about half a league distant. The road, for a part of the way, is through the vineyards, and was steep and sandy. The road had been at his 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 has set down as one of the very poorest places in the world, but this additional trial and struggle through deep sand to visit the old Convent of La Rabida, completed his confusion. “Because,” he exclaimed, “you are such a fool you have no business to go there!” Don Juan laugh a loud that I had come all the way from Seville precisely to see that old ruin and those two friars there!” Don Juan laughed, and told me that he had come all the way from Seville precisely to see that old ruin and those two friars.

After sending a bill and paying the notes 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 the 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 cover the promontory to the east, and darken 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 Andalucia, inherited frugality and meagre structure, without 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 horses. From the moment we entered, 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, and there is no longer a porter at hand to administer to the wants of the wayfarer. The door stood wide open, and admitted the bustle of a ferry-boat, which I was told carried passengers to Huelva, lying high and dry on the sands, deserted...
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 trace 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 led in a panic at the unusual sight of strangers.

At length, after passing nearly the whole of the empty building to the title of a host of 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 residing in an adjacent cell. They were both rather young men, and, together with a novice and a lay-brother, who officiated as cook, the whole community of the convent.

Don Juan Fernandez communicated to them the object of our desire also to inspect the archives of the convent to find if there was any record of the sojourner of Columbus. They informed us that the archives had been entirely destroyed by the French. The younger monk, however, who had perused this guer, 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 translated 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 the 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 neighborhood for the possession of it; the marvellous protection it extended to the adjacent country, especially in preventing all madness, either in man or beast, for this malady was anciently so prevalent in this place as to cast a blight on all the manufacture 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 relics 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 the Guadalquivir and the neighboring 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 triumph.

While the friar was thus dilating upon the merits and renown of the image, I amused myself with those-fairy dreams, or conjurings of the imagination to which I am a little given. As the internal arrangements of the convent were the same in age as the house, 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 pensive table before me be the very one on which he displayed his conjectural maps, and expanded his theory of a western route to India? It united all these 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, and the tale of the supposed island seen in the western parts of the ocean.

The friars, as far as their poor means and scanty knowledge extended, were disposed to do everything to promote the object of my visit. They showed us all parts of the convent, which, however, had suffered from 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 roof of the monastery is 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 careenised and fitted out in this river, and that they traversed 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 watchtower. From the roof of the convent, all the winding channels of the Tinto were seen, their junction into the stream, and the canals by which Columbus sailed forth to sea. In fact, the convent serves as a landmark, being, from its lofty and solitary situation, visible from a 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 rule, when he sought the camp of Ferdinand and Isabella in the Vega of Granada, to plead the cause 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 calasero brought his rattle and rickety vehicle for us to ascend in, and the horse was led up the hill. We were received with a welcome, a "Santa Maria! only to think! A casela 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 the vicinity, that the appearance of even a sorry casela might well cause astonishment. It is only singular that in such a by-corner the scheme of Columbus should have found intelligent listeners and connoisseurs, 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 tall, with a fair countenance, mounted on a spirited gray horse, and dressed in the Andalusian style, with the little round hat and jacket. We sat his horse gracefully, and managed him well. I was pleased with the frank and easy terms on which Don Juan appeared to talk with his father, and I was not 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.
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by the wife of Mr. capiz, 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. One dinner was served up about two o'clock, and was a most agreeable meal. The fruits and wines were from the estate, and were excellent; the rest of the provisions were from Moguer, for the adjacent village of that name is rich in hogs. A fresh breeze from the sea played through the hall, and tempered the summer weather. Indeed I do not know when I have seen a more enviable spot than this country retreat of the Pinzos. 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 and his wife have 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 our seats in the narrow courts, betrays 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 information 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 neighboring 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 breviary, and was clad in a long 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 sports, he accosted my companion the moment he came in sight. "God preserve you, Senor 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 gallant 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, I once was 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 M. de Alonso or Vicente Yafiez, before Don 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 toward the river. The remains of a Moorish arch prove it to have been a mosque, but at some former times it must have been, on the crest of the hill, 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 alcaides, regidors, 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 away into the unknown wilderness of the ocean.

The interior of the church has nothing remarkable, excepting a wooden image of the blaspheming 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, renovated young and splendid, 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 returned to Moguer, and visited the Convent, where the remains of Don Miguel de Moguer, One thing only remained to fulfil the object of my pilgrimage. This was to visit the church 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 Carreras, 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 vaulted nave and watching throughout the night, and pouring forth heart-felt prayers 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. Being of solid mason-work, 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 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 Malaga, 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 parlors, or central courts of their dwellings, beneath the shade of awnings and among shrubs and flowers. Here their time had elapsed, seated on a divan, for 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 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 on all that I could learn; and it appeared that the lapse of nearly three centuries and a half has made but little change in the condition of the Pinzones. From generation to generation they have retained the same fair standing and respectable 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 entail, 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 staunch 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 Pinzones—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 warmer for me by both hands and gave me a parting benediction, and then ran after the calasero to enjoin 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 way, fleeing, gratified to the utmost with my visit, and full of kind and grateful feelings towards Moguer and its hospitable inhabitants.

MANIFESTO OF ALONZO DE OJEDA

[The following curious formula, composed by learned divines in Spain, was first read aloud by the friars in the train of Alonzo de Ojeda as a prelude to his attack on the savages of Carthage, and subsequently adopted by the Spanish disovers in general, in their invasions of the Indian countries.]

I. ALONZO DE OJEDA, servant of the high and mighty kings of Castile and Leon, civilizers of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, notified and made known to you, in the best way I can, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heavens and the earth, and one man and one woman, from whom you, and we, and all the people of the earth are and are descendents, 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, it is necessary that some of the human race should disperse in one direction and some in another, and that they should divide themselves among the many kingdoms and provinces, as their fate would need to serve themselves in one way. All these people were given in charge, by God our Lord, to one person, named St. 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 be, by 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, has been obeyed and honoured by 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; 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 actually serve him. And, moreover, like good subjects, and with good-will, and without any resistance or delay, the moment they were made known 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 reward, become Christians, and continue so to be. And he treated them kindly and magnanimously, 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 recognize 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 decline and preach to you the foregoing; and if you shall so do, you will do well; and will do that to 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 these 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 powerfully invade and make war upon you in all parts and modes 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.