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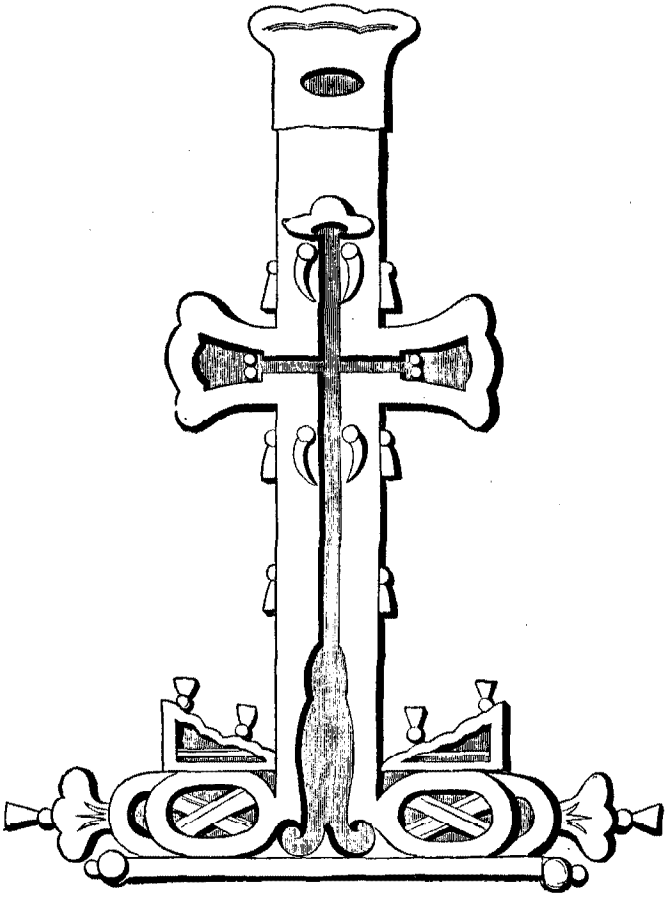

PALENQUE EMBLEM PHŒNICIAN.

PHŒNICIAN COINS.

"ASHTEROTH, GODDESS OF THE SIDONIANS."

A NEW

HISTORY

OF THE

CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

IN WHICH

LAS CASAS' DENUNCIATIONS OF THE POPULAR HISTORIANS OF THAT WAR ARE FULLY VINDICATED.

BY

ROBERT ANDERSON WILSON,

COUNSELLOR AT LAW; AUTHOR OF "MEXICO AND ITS RELIGION," ETC.

PHILADELPHIA:

1859.

MEARS & DUSENBERY, STEREOTYPERS. LIPPINCOTT & CO., PRINTERS.

TO

COLONEL AND MRS. POWELL.

THE ACTIVE PART,

MY DEAR UNCLE,

YOU TOOK IN THE LATE WAR AGAINST MEXICO,

AND YOUR SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS,

MY DEAR AUNT,

FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE AUTHOR'S HEALTH,

AFTER HE HAD BEEN GIVEN UP BY PHYSICIANS,

ARE HIS APOLOGY FOR DEDICATING TO YOU, JOINTLY,

A Work

IN WHICH YOU BOTH MUST TAKE

A LIVELY INTEREST.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ARE due to M. ROUSSEAU DE ST. HILAIRE, Professor in the Department of Letters of the University of France (Sorbonne), Author of the "History of Spain," &c., &c., both for the flattering notice he has taken of our preliminary work on Mexico, and for the advantages derived from his writings.

Likewise, to the Hon. LEWIS CASS, who, in the American Quarterly Review, even before Mr. Prescott wrote his histories, pointed out the gross inconsistencies and fables of the Spanish historians of the Conquest; they are due also for his notice of our work when only the preliminary chapter had been published—a notice most highly prized, as it came from one who had devoted over half a century to the investigation of Indian affairs.

To AARON ERICKSON, Esq., of Rochester, N. Y., we are also indebted for the advantages he has afforded us in the

prosecution of our arduous investigations; and to Major ROBERT WILSON, now at Fort Riley, Kansas.

Nor may the dead be forgotten;—to that once distinguished *littérateur*, as well as Finance Minister, the late ALBERT GALLATIN, father of American Ethnology, we owe the heaviest obligation for his complete exposure of one great imposture, the pretended Aztec *picture writing*. Many others also who have laid us under obligations, by the successful investigation of isolated branches of the subject we have embodied into a system; and to Divine Providence, above all, we are indebted for restoration to perfect health, and for ability to consummate so great a labor, after having been given over by physicians, as a victim of hereditary disease.

INTRODUCTION.

An inspection of the country itself, first shook our belief in those Spanish historic romances upon which Mr. Prescott has founded his magnificent tale of the Conquest of Mexico.

In a transition state between faith and disbelief, our first work was written. But, even then it was suggested that Bernal Diaz—whose personal narrative was the foundation of every subsequent account—might yet prove a myth. That proof is now presented in so uncontrovertible a shape, as to carry with it, to the region of romance, all former histories of the great event which they affect to chronicle.

The despatches of Cortez are our only written authority. These are found to consist of two distinct parts—one an accurate detail of adventures consistent throughout with the topography of the region in which they occurred, as shown by our section maps; the other,

a mass of foreign material, apparently borrowed from fables of the Moorish era, for effect in Spain. This element removed, both the hero and the war occupy a more commanding position than has hitherto been assigned them.

To locate these aright has been our effort. In doing so, we have not only had to modify our previously-expressed opinions, but also to introduce an entirely new theory to account for the pre-existence of American civilization. The popular belief having been proved fabulous, we had to construct another, consistent with the newly-discovered facts of archæology.

This will be found in the fifth chapter, supported by copious notes; while in the sixth is a condensed summary of Spanish-Arabian history; showing the mine from which historians have drawn the enchanting tales they have transferred to an American soil.

Our pictures of Indian character, are not imported from abroad, or extracted from fashionable novels, but drawn with care from real life. These are the peculiar features of our work.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

ENGRAVINGS.—The only engravings custom authorizes in works of this character, are the portraits of its heroes. Mr. Prescott has introduced into his first volume a fine engraving of Cortez—from a copy-painting which has confessedly no known original! That engraving represents the hero in a full set of steel armor, which he could not possibly have worn, at least in American Indian wars. In his second volume there is an engraving which purports to be a representation of Montezuma in full costume. It is unnecessary to add, that this, like the other, is undoubtedly a modern fabrication.

Having no certain originals, and not wishing to impose upon my readers factitious portraits, I have been compelled to depart from established custom. As a compensation, I have produced a correct representation of the pyramidal mound of Cholula, as it *actually appears* to persons approaching it from *Puebla.* An attempt was made to introduce it into my preliminary work, but the engraver misconceived the sketch.

There are a great many fancy sketches of *Cholula restored,* and Castanada has made a correct view of its modern front, as published in the fourth volume of Lord Kingsborough, with a modern road built up its face, but mine is probably the only correct view of its southern front. All other pictures, quoted or designed, are to prove some doctrine of the text; excepting the frontispiece, the PALENQUE CROSS, which differs from the representation of it in Stephens, but is identical with the copy in the fourth volume of Lord Kingsborough (Plate L., part 3, No. 41). The difference consists in one retaining more of the allegorical surroundings than the other.

MAPS.—The maps of Spanish America, before the time of Humboldt, were little better than the weather prognostics in the almanac. That distinguished philosopher and traveller corrected them so far as his personal survey extended, which must necessarily have been quite limited. Mr. Prescott has introduced the same maps, with some further amendments, but allowed suppositious portions to remain. I have inserted in this work the American army survey of the valley of Mexico, to demonstrate that lakes could not have existed there in the time of Montezuma.

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CHAPTER PRELIMINARY.

In this work the standard Spanish authorities have been followed as long as they followed the truth. Whenever they departed from the path of physical possibilities we have also departed from them, and thenceforward groped our way, as best we could, through a crude mass of other materials. "*Weight of authority*" has not deterred us from rejecting whatever was manifestly untrue, nor have we relied on the sanction of a *Superior* or an *Inquisitor* to justify a false assertion.

The *picture writings* copied into the monster volumes of Lord Kingsborough, we have denounced as Spanish fabrications; as they, independent of containing internal evidence of imposture, do not purport to be originals. All the evidence we have in relation to them, is the statement of their *ci-devant* transcriber, the monk Pietro. He tells us they were copied from Indian records, continued for a period of thirty-two years subsequent to the conquest. On this unstable foundation the whole fabric rests. If originals ever existed, and of Indian workmanship, to so late a date, they must have been the production of Romanized, and not of pagan Aztecs.

In the second generation succeeding the conquest the

increased product of silver excited a general interest throughout Europe in the affairs of Mexico and Peru, and then the Aztec *picture writings* appeared; but, the foreign market supplied, they disappeared, too, as mysteriously, under the management of Bishop Zumarraga, as the Virgin Mary herself, after she had furnished him with her miraculous portrait. It was then the ghost of Bernal Diaz was evoked to write a new narrative of the conquest; one that should enlarge the general scope of that adventure, while it cut away some of the more monstrous fictions of its leader.

Gomora, the chaplain of Cortez, is the leading historian of the conquest. Though his work is but a continuous laudation of his patron, the elegance of its style, and the beauty of its diction, supply the place of truth. He is but the De Foe of history, Cortez is his Crusoe, and the *lagunas* of Mexico the seas that witnessed his hero's adventures. Bernal Diaz* says of this writer, "we must write one thousand when Gomora says eighty thousand!" Denounced and thoroughly exposed both by him and Las Casas, yet is he still habitually quoted as an historic authority.

A number of monkish historians appeared also about the time of Diaz. Their productions abound in statements absurd, contradictory, and impossible. All have but one object,—the glory of the Virgin and the church, —and all claim some unproduced picture writing for

* We mean the book that bears the title, "The Memoirs of *Bernal Diaz* del Castillo written by himself, containing a full and true account of the discovery and conquest of Mexico and New Spain."

their authority. The better to advance this darling object, works in relation to the new world were, by law, finally restricted, to persons in the priestly office. The fact, then, that these authors composed under the eye of a Superior, and could not publish without a license from seven other independent censors, utterly forbids their citation as authority. Not only are there mistakes among these chroniclers, in matters of topography—they were to be expected—and fables which the church supported—and the church desired—these were to be expected also; beyond these lies another cause of error; the monstrous exaggeration which pervades the entire fabric of every Spanish account of the conquest. Thread by thread, warp and woof, has received that dye, and now, to present the subject in the simplicity of unadorned truth, appears almost impossible.

Some fifty years later than Diaz a new historian arose, Fernando de Alva, *the quadroon.* By the magic of his pen alone, his native mud-built village of Tezcuco, became the metropolis of an extinct empire, surpassing that of Bagdad or the Great Mogul. This empire in the clouds depends too for its history on other unproved *picture writings;* records, it is averred, that had escaped the alleged burning of Bishop Zumarraga.

A hundred and fifty years more, and we reach a new batch of authors, who, in Italy and Spain, repeat the fables of their predecessors, with various modifications—Boturnini, Clavigero, Veytia, &c., standard authorities among our own writers. In an unguarded moment these chroniclers ventured to produce specimens of Indian *pic-*

ture writing. To prove the Aztec theory of the flood, an Italian, in gown and curled wig, paddles a little boat in one, while other similar figures are engaged upon the sacrifice of a female victim, whose Italian head-dress, is about the only means of distinguishing her from a sheep. Three instances of record-burning are usually cited in connexion with the Spanish histories of Mexico. The first is that of the Toltec records, destroyed by the Aztec emperor, Ytzcoult. The second, the Votan MS. of the Phœnician era, committed to the flames by a Bishop of Chiapa after a copy had been taken! This may be found in the Rev. Dr. Hawks's translation of *Ribero.* The last apocryphal *auto* is that of the Aztec and Tezcucan *picture writings* by Zumarraga.

The tales of human sacrifice rest on as unreliable witnesses as those of the *picture writing.* Spaniards, composing under constraint, necessarily repeated all the monstrous statements of Cortez. But Robertson not only reproduces them, in his history of America,—he goes out of his way to charge the Iroquois of New York with *cannibalism!* The accusation has as much foundation as that of human sacrifice. The origin of that fiction is due to the first discoverers of Yucatan. These adventurers found, the Indians' huts and the ruins of Phœnician temples together, near the fresh water, along the whole coast. Upon the walls of those temples were, as at Palenque, representations of priests in the act of offering infants to the mask of Saturn (*Moloch*), and to the cross of *Ashteroth* (the Latin cross), and also the marks of blood-red hands. In their ignorance, they supposed the existing race

also the builders of the temples, and when the story travelled back to Cuba from Europe, the Indians were transformed into a civilized people, practising human sacrifice. Cortez found this idea rife before he sailed, and carried it with him from Yucatan to Mexico, where, though no such ruins existed, it supplied a specious justification for his crimes.

No claim is made to originality in this exposure of monkish fables, revamped for American history. A writer in the North American Review for October, 1840, understood to be that veteran in literature and Indian affairs, Hon. Lewis Cass, U. S. Secretary of State, had already taken the initiative in that inquiry; and the first volume of the transactions of the American Ethnological Society bears witness to the labors of another pioneer, once also a distinguished cabinet minister, the late Mr. Albert Gallatin. Nor can we indeed, when assigning to the Phœnicians every vestige of antique civilization on this continent, be deemed the asserter of any new truth; that was the popular Spanish doctrine to the days of Dupaix and Stephens, and in reaffirming it we have drawn our strongest arguments from those very explorers.

Monkish authors claim the Madonna, the infant and the cross, portrayed on the ruins of Yucatan, as their own. But this admitted, it does not prove the visit of the Apostle Thomas, as they insist, but rather, if anything, the identity of the Romish with the Phœnician adoration of the Queen of Heaven. We identify them only as Phœnician.

When any chapter treats of a particular division of

country, there is usually appended to it the author's personal survey of that section, besides the general description contained in the third chapter. The supplemental notes comprise also extended notices of the chief historians of the conquest.

Both Robertson and the American historian Prescott, relying upon the historical romances they quote, have entirely mistaken the character and genius of Cortez. It was not in great battles, but in a rapid succession of skirmishes, that he distinguished himself, and won, not the character of a Roman propagandist, but that of an adroit leader in Indian War. Mr. Prescott's non-acquaintance with Indian character is much to be regretted, otherwise he would have perceived the un-Indian dress which the Aztecs wear in the works of Spanish historians. In this work their natural character is restored, and their resistance shown to have been not one of pitched battles, as he has presented it, but of plots and counterplots, night assaults, surprises, and ambuscades; the true Indian system of hostility.

On newly discovered evidence Mr. Prescott has very properly produced a corrected edition of Robertson's history. In like manner, on newly discovered evidence, and on a remarshalling of former witnesses, the statements of both, relating to America, are not only corrected, but the history of the empire of Montezuma and of the Peruvians entirely rewritten.

On mature reflection we have also been led to modify our first published impressions, and, giving greater weight

to Cortez, to regard all subsequent narratives either as literary forgeries or as resting on the fictions of others.

The reader will doubtless excuse the mass of notes in the fifth chapter. They were necessary to establish beyond a cavil the Egyptian and Phœnician origin of every vestige of civilization found on this continent.

MEXICAN HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

The preliminary chapter of Mr. Wilson's forthcoming work upon Mexico, which was published in this journal on the 26th instant, has turned our attention to an article in the North American Review for October, 1840, understood to have been written by General Cass, and which corroborates the views of Mr. Wilson respecting Mexican antiquities. We give a few extracts from the Review.—*National Intelligencer.*

To the American scholar and archæologist we know no subject more interesting than the study of the true condition of the Mexican people when they fell under the Spanish yoke. And indeed it is an historical problem which well merits the favorable attention of the most general reader. There are certainly many considerations which throw doubts upon the vivid representations that the conquerors and their immediate successors have left us respecting the government, state of society, religion, population, and progress of the arts among the several nations, or perhaps, more properly speaking, tribes, which inhabited the extensive regions, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, north of the Isthmus of Darien; while, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that they were in advance of the more erratic hordes beyond them, and reaching to the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes, in some of the elements of human improvement. * * * *

Every one at all conversant with the Spanish conquest of Mexico, must have read with surprise the accounts of the immense armies which opposed the progress of the invaders, and of those also who ultimately joined them and facilitated their own subjugation, while they thought only of crushing a rival, an enemy, or an oppressor. Cortez, in his second letter to the emperor, dated October 30, 1520, estimates the number opposed to him in his first battle at 6000, in his second at 100,000, and in his third at 150,000. His friend and chaplain, Gomara, adopts the same estimate, with this difference, however, that he reduces the enemy in the second battle from 100,000 to 80,000. But

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who appears to have been a frank and hardy soldier, describing, in his old age, what he had seen and done in his youth, and who participated in all the campaigns of Cortez in New Spain, makes a wonderful deduction from the statements of the general in the force they encountered upon these occasions. He says that the Indians were 3000 in the first battle, 6000 in the second, and 50,000 in the third. And he makes a remark upon this subject which furnishes a thread to guide the explorer in his examination of this labyrinth, and which does honor to the judgment as well as to the principles of the veteran. He says: "When Gomara, on some occasions, relates that there were so many thousand Indians or auxiliaries, and on others that there were so many thousand houses in this or that town, no regard is to be paid to his enumeration, as he has no authority for it, the numbers not being in reality the fifth of what he relates." If further proof were wanting of this propensity to overrate and overstate, it may be found in the assertion of Solis that there were two thousand temples in the capital of Mexico when it fell into the possession of the Spaniards—a number which would have startled an Egyptian in the palmy days of priesthood in that temple-loving country, and which could find no parallel in the long extent from On to Thebes. And to render, if possible, this gross exaggeration still less excusable, Gomara, who entered Mexico with the conqueror, says that there were but eight places destined to the worship of idols in the city. * * * Even Clavigero, the panegyrist rather than the historian of Mexico, in his strictures upon the state of architecture among the original Mexicans, specifies only one pile of buildings as among existing ruins; and, while he speaks of it as worthy of admiration, he says that neither this nor any other relic of Mexican work can "be compared with the famous aqueduct of Chempoallan." But unluckily this latter structure was built after the conquest, and planned and directed by a Franciscan missionary; while the former happened to be no Mexican ruins at all, being those at Mitla, which belong to an entirely different race. * * * * * *

No useful induction, proving the existence of an early state of civilization, can be drawn from the Mexican *tumuli* or from those found in the United States. This kind of primitive monument was constructed, as we have seen, in the earliest ages of the world, and by nations widely separated from each other, and they are, no doubt, the oldest relics of human labor which have come down to us. They are described by authors as existing in France, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Greece, Asia Minor, and several other countries. Their double office of tombs and monuments is indicated by the Latin name *tumulus* given to these constructions, which signifies equally a tomb

and an elevation. One of the earliest works of this description which history mentions is the *tumulus* erected by Semiramis to the memory of her husband on the banks of the Tigris. Every reader, familiar with Homer, will recollect the funeral ceremonies of Patroclus and of Hector, and the mounds which were raised to their memory, and which contained their ashes.
* * * * * * * * * *

We have already adverted to the fact that all the Mexican constructions existing at the period of the conquest have long ago disappeared, with the exception of two or three ruins, which teach us nothing respecting the state of the arts at that period. Two centuries after the Spanish conquest, and perhaps a small part of this period, were found sufficient to sweep away all the works of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. If the temples, and houses, and fortifications, and walls of stone described by the early historians had corresponded at all to the magnificent accounts given by them, such a destruction would have been impossible. A much longer time would be necessary in any country to cause the disappearance of even wooden structures. We shall not stop to extend this view, for we consider it wholly unnecessary. We shall merely present a few statements from early authors to show the exaggeration to which they were addicted. * * * * * *

But Cortez himself is the great panegyrist of Mexican architecture, for he says, in his first letter to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, that Montezuma "had, besides those in Mexico, other such admirable houses for his habitation that I do not believe I shall ever be able to express their excellence and grandeur; *therefore I shall only say there are no equals to them in Spain.*" Alas! for the remains of Roman and Moorish art, which constitute the pride of the Lusitanian peninsula. "Woe is me, Alhama!"

The best commentary upon this text is that Cortez himself, not finding a house fit for his habitation in all Mexico, was compelled to construct one.
* * * * * * * * * *

Having much more faith in the ordinary operation of natural causes than in the judgment and accuracy of men who were surrounded by circumstances of a nature to excite and delude them, it is much easier for us to believe that there is gross exaggeration in these descriptions than that such constructions were reared by Mexican savages, and that they have all disappeared without leaving a vestige of their existence, and that they were built with stone axes, and by a people without domestic animals, and without any conventional representative of value, where the seller of maize must have exchanged his produce for a *natte*, and the workman, after his day's labor, picked up the articles as he could, we do not see how.

But there is no end to the exaggerations of Clavigero. In truth his relation is unworthy of credit where it is in opposition to the moral circumstances of the Mexicans, as these can be deduced from the confused accounts which are in our possession. A proof of his credulity, or of something worse, is found in his seventh book, where he describes what he calls the Mexican "granaries." The reader would suppose, from the terms with which the description commences, that some important structure was about to be introduced, and it is only towards the conclusion that he finds these magnificent depositories are nothing but plain corn-cribs, such as every Indian and every frontier settler makes for himself in a day to contain his corn. They are formed, says Clavigero, "by placing round and equal trunks of the ojametl in a square one upon the other," &c.

And what furnishes a singular contrast to the accounts given of the large stone buildings which have long since disappeared is the statement of Clavigero, "that there are yet existing some of these granaries so very ancient that they appear to have been built before the conquest." * * *

After the foregoing chapter and extract were printed in the *National Intelligencer*, the author submitted his argument to the honorable reviewer above named, who gave it the following indorsement, which we publish by permission:—

WASHINGTON, May 12, 1858.

Dear Sir:—I thank you for your letter, and for the just sentiments it expresses. I was led, some years since, to investigate the truth of the early reports of the state of civilization among the Mexicans, at the time of the Spanish Conquest. I became satisfied, to use your language, that the accounts were not merely exaggerations, but fabrications; and I am glad to find that impression has been confirmed by the able and critical inquiry you have made. I shall not fail to peruse your work as soon as it comes out; and I am sure I shall receive both profit and pleasure from it.

I am, dear sir,

Truly yours,

LEWIS CASS.

R. A. WILSON, Esq.,

We conclude this note by adding, Mr. Prescott was a contributor to the above-named review, and he did not publish his history until three years after this impeachment of his leading witnesses, yet he nowhere refers to the subject as we think he ought to have done.

HISTORY

OF

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE AZTEC AND OTHER INDIANS.

How historic material must be gathered, 31—Causes of the extermination of the Indians, 33—The law of the forest, 34—The effect of task labor on the Indians, 35—The absurdity of assigning to them a Jewish origin, 35—The modification of races at the dispersion, 36—The pretended Jewish origin of the Aztecs, 37—The origin of the Aztecs, 38—The pretended Aztec covenant with the Devil, 39—Where did the monks get their information? 40—The arrival of the Aztecs in the valley of Mexico, 41—The first settlement in that valley, 42—The value of Indian traditions, 42—Indio-monkish traditions, 44—The ethnologist in Indian dialects, 46—The founding of Mexico and Tacuba, 48—Tezcuco in its glory, 49—Aezahualcoyotl, the Magnificent, 49—The adornments of his palace, 50—The imperial children, 51—The palace of Tezcocingo, 52—He plays the part of David in the tragedy of Uriah, 52—Aezahualcoyotl a religious reformer, 53—Aezahualcoyotl a poet, 54—A translation from his poems, 55—The fabulous city of Tezcuco, 56—The genius of Fernando de Alva, 57—The value of De Alva, as witness, 60—Tezcuco without the fable, 60—The federative system of the Aztecs and other Indians, 61—Their law of descent, 62—Indian law of succession, 62—Their tribal divisions, 63—Effect of this law on marriage and inheritance, 64—Indian agrarian laws, 64—Aztec laws of the common type, 66—The existence of an Indian monarchy doubtful, 67—Lord Kingsborough, 68—The author's visit to Tezcuco, 70.

As the pilots of the olden time ventured upon unknown coasts by the guidance of the stars alone, so, the searcher after historic truth, among Spanish authorities, has likewise to go forth without compass or chart. Here and there he

may pick up material not in conflict with natural law—matter that bears the marks of apparent truth. This he must so weave, as to constitute the outline of his history. He has to sift barrels of chaff for a grain of wheat; to con musty folios innumerable, and, when he has thus gathered that which is probable from among the obviously false, he must then in person carefully survey, also, the country itself, to determine whether the apparently true is likewise the physically possible. He cannot trust to Spanish historians, even of the highest rank, in any matter that affects the interests of the church, or the interests of the state; for he knows their works were licensed by the Inquisitors and Royal Councillors of Castile, after a most exact inquiry.* Those who are interested he must scan more closely still, as their glory is involved in the magnitude of the affairs which they relate, in which they had borne, perhaps, a leading part.

As for the supernatural, this is of course to be discarded, and with it every dramatic myth of the Virgin and the saints—often constituting as prominent a part as that of the prince in Shakspeare's Hamlet. He has to watch narrowly those, too, who, for popular applause, have changed history into mere romance, and gratified a morbid appetite for fiction under the color of historic truth. In writing a history of the Aztecs all must be rejected that is inconsistent with well established Indian traits. Mon-

* In a subsequent note I have quoted from Lord Kingsborough an account of the seven censorships of Spain, and the extreme severity with which the censors exercised their authority, even revoking the license after first publication.

tezuma must be presented without a Moorish dress, and his people as they were—Indians, not Arabs.

More than three hundred years have passed since Spain established her dominion over the valley of Mexico. Of the three confederate Indian states, Tezcuco, Mexico, Tlacupa (Tacuba) which before that time occupied the valley and lorded it over the Anahuac, Tezcuco alone retained its independent existence, unimpaired to the last. Its rights were zealously watched over by a king's agent sent from Spain.* The others, subjugated by Cortez, had their people reduced to servitude. So widely were they sundered in their relations to the Spaniards, and to each other. If cruelty and severity were the true and only causes of the extinction of the Indian races, then Tezcuco should have flourished; as Tezcuco suffered nothing by the war—when the Mexicans and Tacubans were enslaved. One enjoyed all a king's favor could confer, while the others were subjected to the miseries that conquest entails. Yet the same result has befallen both—contact with the whites has exterminated alike, friend and foe. A forest life, a forest atmosphere, was their wont, together with such a living as that forest had furnished for generations untold. The beaver and the elk are not more certainly doomed by the destruction of our forests, than were and are that race of men, who were set apart in the primitive divisions of mankind as its lords. Like caged lions, a few generated and a handful survived the revolution in their mode of life—enough to evidence what

* See note to subsequent page, extracted from Thomas Gage, page 90.

once existed—enough to prove too that a race differing from our own in its organism were the primitive inhabitants of the whole of this continent. Spanish crime and Spanish cruelty has indeed destroyed its thousands, but the wasting of the forests of the table-land its tens of thousands more.

The history of Tezcuco is a history of Tlascala. The Spanish king most faithfully fulfilled the treaties of Cortez with that tribe, and with Cholula. But the power of an absolute king was unequal to restrain the operation of a natural law. The Tlascalans have shrunken to a fragment; like our own Six Nations, the Iroquois, they have melted away. The great state of New York was the home country of the latter, though their dominion extended to the Mississippi and Cumberland.* They were Indians that neither feared nor suffered from the cruelty of the whites; on the contrary, they gave protection first to the Dutch, and then to the English settlers,

* This territory, lying between the Hudson and Lake Erie, and embracing the most valuable portion of our state [the state of New York], constituted the Home Country of the Iroquois, as distinguished from other territory upon the north, south, east, and west, which they held in subjection by conquest, and occupied only in the season of the hunt. At the era of their highest military supremacy, about the year 1660, the Iroquois in their warlike expeditions ranged unresisted from New England to the Mississippi, and from the St. Lawrence to the Tennessee.

They held under their dominion the greater parts of these vast territories by the slender tenure of Indian conquest. But New York was their hereditary country, the centre of their power, and the seat of their council fires. Here were their villages, their fields of maize and tobacco, their fishing and hunting grounds, and the burial place of their fathers. The Long House to which they likened their political edifice, opened its eastern door upon the Hudson, while the western looked out upon Niagara. —MORGAN'S *League of the Iroquois*, page 39.

nor had they cause to complain of their ingratitude. The Algonquins, allies of the French, have also wasted like chaff before the wind; and this in spite of all the favors heaped upon them. They have perished, the victims of an inexorable law, which exterminates the inhabitants of the forest when other races of mankind appear and dwell upon its borders.

This principle in the constitution of the human family was not understood by Las Casas. He saw only the cruelty the Indians suffered, and the rapid progress of their decay; and concluded the one to be the cause of the other, without suspecting, that a higher law was involved in the result; a law whose operation neither cruelty nor kindness could materially influence. His brethren, the monkish missionaries, in after ages reached the true cause and the remedy, empirically. The Indian, compelled to abandon a forest life, was subjected to task-labor. If he survived the hardships of his new condition he became the progenitor of a family of agriculturalists (*Pueblanos*)—a race that is now repeopling Spanish America. This grand distinction, between the indolent and warlike aborigines, and their present degenerate descendants, who have endured the servitude of centuries, must be carefully noted.

Las Casas, and most monkish historians of the New World, have laid great stress upon the probable Jewish origin of the North American races; and where they have not taken this ground, they have assumed them to be descendants of the captive Ten Tribes. Lord Kingsborough devotes nearly the whole of one ponderous vol-

ume to a digest of the absurd reasoning of these monkish authors in favor of this improbable hypothesis. Among the learned in Europe and here—not the learned in Indian affairs—the idea has been a popular one. The testimony upon which it rests does not indeed amount to much, though the Indians, one of the primitive races, may bear some slight resemblance to the Jews—the scion of another. Instead of believing America was peopled by accident—by some stray party of vagabond Jews, or cast out Israelites—it is more reasonable to conclude that it received its proportion of the aboriginal population with the rest of the earth. Mankind was not created for the eastern continent alone, but to replenish the whole earth. When God confounded the languages of men—viz., separated them into distinct races, and scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth—did He neglect the western half? He that had power to create and afterwards to separate mankind into races, could certainly contrive many ways of transporting each to the region destined for it.

Travellers who are daily brought into contact with a repellent stock, are slow to believe, that all have had a common origin. They conclude rather, without much reflection, to adopt the old Greek theory of autochthones, or that each race had its origin in the region in which it is now found. Thus, to resolve a difficulty of their own, they unnecessarily complicate the work of creation. Instead, we get at a simpler solution by adopting the theory—that on a common stock, certain peculiarities have been engrafted; fitting each race for some distinct portion of the globe; and that this modifi-

cation in the organism of the different families of mankind, took place at the time of the dispersion; and was accompanied with a modification also, of the animal races divided among the various dispersed branches. All this, too, may well be implied in the dispersion. The object of the "confusion of tongues" was to destroy the unity of the human family—which could hardly be accomplished by a simple confusion of words. To make the *confusion* perpetual there must be, too, a difference in the desires, the tastes, and ruling passions, otherwise the object would not be effected for which the dispersion had been decreed. In the one case a language of signs would supply that of words until the original could be again learned. In the other, on the supposition that they were divided into divers races, each would repel the other, and then a separation would become inevitable. This is apparently the idea of Holy Writ in using both the expressions, "one language," and "one speech."* It is tautology, if but one idea is expressed, but if unity of purpose as well as unity of words is implied, by "one language and one speech," the whole narrative becomes intelligible.

Color appears less a peculiarity of race, than of climate.† The Jew varies in that with the country he inhabits. But be his color what it may, his race is indelibly engraven upon his countenance. The Saxon, comparatively a modern emigrant from that great hive

* Genesis xi. 1.

† Dr. Livingstone attributes to heat and moisture the jet black of the inhabitants of the humid shores of Central Africa; while showing them to be of the same race with the coffee-and-milk colored dwellers upon the higher, and dryer portions of the country.

of nations—Central Asia—is now undistinguishable from the aboriginal inhabitant of Europe—the Celt.* None look for Jewish customs among them, or the Germans, and if they did, they would look in vain; though the Saxon must have left his oriental home a thousand years later than the American Indian. The Indians, remaining in a state of barbarism, may have retained many habits of their pastoral ancestors; and the Israelites, oriental shepherds during the greater part of their sacred history, must have had those common to every eastern nomad. This is about all the foundation which the thousand folios of monkish speculation possess on the subject of the Jewish origin of the Indians. A single glance, without an argument, at the facial type of the two races, is sufficient to overturn so absurd a theory.

The physiognomy of the Aztecs, unaided by tradition, clearly establishes their Californian origin, and places them in the great Indian family of the Pacific side—the black Indians. Yet, the difference between them and those of the Atlantic slope, is rather one of color and climate, than of organism or race. A milder temperature, a greater abundance of the necessaries of life, and exemption from the hardships of a northern forest existence, has made them less fierce and untamable than their copper-colored brethren. This of itself accounts for the readiness with which they and the other tribes of the Anahuac submitted to the cruel servitude of their conquerors, without referring it to the "all powerful interpo-

* We use the word Celt here as it was used in the discussion between the French and Spanish ambassadors at the Council of Trent.

sition of the blessed Virgin and the saints," that idea belongs to poets and Mexican tradition-mongers.

We come now to a peculiar feature of Aztec history—one to which the Spanish historian never refers without devoutly crossing himself—we mean the covenant relations existing between the Aztecs and the author of all evil—the Devil. This forms the substratum of Spanish Mexican history—and is also "the foundation and key"* of the great work of Torquemada—his "INDIAN MONARCHY." The title to one of whose chapters reads thus:—"*How it has been the wish of the Devil to substitute himself in the place of God by taking a chosen people, which he constituted in the Mexicans.*" Herrera, the royal historiographer of the Indians, expresses himself also in relation to this evil spirit:—"*Never did Devil hold such familiar converse with men as he; and accordingly he thought proper in all things to copy the departure from Egypt and the pilgrimage performed by the children of Israel.*"* Even Friar Sahagan, whose "UNIVERSAL HISTORY OF NEW SPAIN" occupies the whole of the seventh and part of the fifth volume of Lord Kingsborough, is troubled by hearing "a voice that appeared to him to exceed all human limits," and which he very devoutly ascribes to the Devil—the Devil, the children of Israel, and the Jews are the staple of all Spanish historians of the Aztecs. The question as they state it is, "Were the Aztecs the "peculiar people" whom the Devil chose out of Aztlan—California, to lead through the wilderness and finally plant in Mexico? In our humble opinion there are divers objections to this story, notwithstanding

* Lord Kingsborough, vi., page 242.

the "*weight of historical authority*" upon which it rests! The great Sahagan, "*the father of Aztec history;*" Torquemada, "who derived his information, like Sahagan, from almost fifty years' intercourse with the natives;" Herrera, the royal historian, and almost every other named as authority by our own, are filled with such childish trash.

It would be unpardonable, perhaps, to presume these monkish chroniclers derived their knowledge from a living witness—from Satan himself!—"from an almost fifty years' intercourse" with one whose reputation for truth is even worse than theirs. The "best authenticated" story sets forth that the Devil led his *peculiar people* out of Aztlan—California, personally, and finally, after sundry migrations, planted them in the valley of Mexico! It was a blessing to California, no doubt, thus to have got rid of that *peculiar people!* But what motive there was in this exodus, and why they were thus led from that land of gold to the Mexican valley, does not clearly appear. Was it the corrupting influence of gold upon their morals? or was it only a freak of Satan to withdraw them from temptation? Whatever the cause, these pretended movements of the Devil constitute "*the foundation and key*" of the official and duly licensed tales of the conquest of Mexico, and its imaginary Aztec Empire. Before the time of Cortez, the staple thread is the wonderful working of the Devil. Then the miracle of the conquest—in which the Devil clearly performed the principal part—succeeds, though his acts are wrongfully ascribed to the Virgin and the saints. Excepting in the interested testimony of Cortez, the adventures of the Devil have exactly the same

high authority as that which endorses the Spanish history of the conquest! The historians we have quoted give it the sanction of their exalted names; and it has the support of tradition, regulated by authority—that is, Spanish tradition! And these myths stand side by side with those of the conquest—with those of the miraculous apparition of the Virgin in the Guadalupe suburb, and with those of the Virgin of Remedies.

Rejecting this agency in the Aztec migration, we find in it but an ordinary instance of the roving propensities of American Indians. They wandered from point to point, leaving colonies at each stopping-place, until one party more venturous than the rest entered the lower valley of Mexico—a spot possessing few attractions for any but savages.* It was then an everglade, containing several mud islands, conveniently located for fishing and the snaring of birds, that to this day abound in the long grass and rushes of the fresh water *lagunas*. On these islands they built huts, and there gathered nightly, when war or the chase did not prevent. There they listened to such tales of wild adventure as the childish fancies of Indians conjure up; or to historic traditions, the real

* An island embosomed in a marsh has always formed a favorite retreat for an Indian tribe, whether among the everglades of Florida, or the wild-rice swamps of north-western Canada. Such a retreat is still more desirable when, in addition to the security it affords from an enemy, it is likewise a resort for wild ducks, as was and is the case with the laguna of the Mexican valley. Hence, probably, the Aztecs selected this place as the site of their village; and to reach it, it was necessary to make one or more footpaths across the marsh. As the Aztecs had no beasts of burden, this must have been a task of no little magnitude. To have made it thirty feet wide would not only have been a work of immense difficulty, but would have destroyed the defensive character of their position.—WILSON'S *Mexico*.

and the fabulous united; or to the adventures of their war-chiefs with hobgoblins and giants. And there they slept in peace too, protected by the morass that begirt them.

Before entering the valley of Mexico, these rovers appeared at Tlascala; where the Nahuatlac, the language of the Aztecs, is still the predominant tongue, of the three spoken or that were spoken by that people. The next effort at colonization was the establishment of a small settlement on the most convenient spot for procuring salt. Such a spot was found where Tezcuco now stands; and there, according to unanimous Indian tradition, was the original settlement in the valley. From Tezcuco, parties wandered off, fishing and bird-catching, so says tradition; and from them came the founders of the cities of Mexico and Tacuba.

As we have been driven to Indian tradition, to establish an unimportant point, it is proper at once to fix the value hereafter to be given to such testimony. The chronicles of a primitive and patriarchal age must not be confounded with those of our forests. They are as much elevated above the latter as the patriarchs themselves were above the condition of savages. The pastoral life of those early times was unfavorable to the preservation of records. The few facts necessary to be perpetuated were the chronology of their family and their religion; next in importance to these, was that of their domestic animals.* For as, on their purity of blood

* "A Bedouin, wrapped in his ragged cloak, was seated listlessly in the tent. He had been my guest the preceding evening, at Nimrod, and had

depended the chief value of that property; thus the purity of their own was scarcely less a subject of solicitude. So far chronological accuracy was an object with those famous dwellers in tabernacles. Among the Indians of Mexico none of these causes existed. They have indeed innumerable legends. The passion for romantic tales is not confined to our fashionable circles; it extends to the remotest limits of the forest. In civilized society these are printed and read. There they are recited, by story-tellers or tradition-mongers, to circles of eager listeners. These tales are as wild as the homes in which they are rehearsed, and as childish as the untaught intellect would necessarily produce. Their number is legion.*

announced himself on a mission from the Shammar to the Tai to learn the breed of the mares that had been taken in the late conflict. His message might appear to those ignorant of the customs of the Arabs, one of insult and defiance. But he was on a common errand, and although there was blood between the tribes, his person was as sacred as that of an ambassador in any civilized community. Whenever a horse falls into the hands of an Arab, his first thought is how to ascertain its descent."—LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon*, page 187.

* "The proneness of the Indian mind to superstitious beliefs is chiefly to be ascribed to their legendary literature. The fables which have been handed down from generation to generation, to be rehearsed to the young from year to year, would fill volumes. These fabulous tales for exuberance of fancy and extravagance of invention not only surpass the fireside stories of all other people, but to their diversity and number there is apparently no limit. There were fables of a race of pigmies who dwelt within the earth, but who were endued with such herculean strength as to tear up by its roots the forest oak, and shoot it from their bows; fables of a buffalo of such huge dimensions as to thresh down the forest in his march; fables of ferocious flying heads winging themselves through the air; of serpents paralyzing by a look; of a monster mosquito, who thrust his bill through the bodies of his victims; drew their blood in the twinkling of an eye. There were fables of a race of stone giants, who dwelt in the North; of a monster bear, more terrible than the buffalo; of a monster lizard, more destructive than the serpent. There were tales of witches, and supernatural visitations, together with marvellous stories of personal adventure. Superadded to the fables of this de-

The Indians have also some vague notions on the subject of religion, of ghosts and of spirits. But so ill-defined are and were these, that their Spanish oppressors have represented them as utter pagans, while we consider them the worshippers of one Great Spirit. Much that is probably true in these relations, is intermixed with the impossible adventures of their braves. As in the case of every uncivilized race, the distinction between the fabulous and the real is not very clearly marked. Unsupported by other evidence, proof, such as this, is not therefore reliable as authority; and yet the folios of Spanish Aztec history have no other foundation—the fiction of the Aztec pictured manuscripts being admitted.

There is yet, however, another class of traditions—monkish ideas distilled through Indian brains. Contending daily with the wild animals of the forest for a livelihood, the savage acquires a development of his sensuous abilities unknown to the dwellers in cities, or the cultivators of the soil. These faculties outstrip his intellectual advancement. His very language is so barren of words, that the native orator is compelled to tropes and figures drawn from forest life, to give force to those wild harangues which distinguish the meetings of the tribes. The ideas and the language of the Indian are peculiarly devoted to the affairs of this life. When, therefore, their monkish teachers instructed them in a religion beyond the Indian myth of the Great Spirit, the work could not begin without the pre-creation of compound words to express their

scription were legends upon a thousand subjects, in which fact was embellished with fiction."—MORGAN'S *League of the Iroquois*, page 166.

meaning. Latin and Spanish formularies, these missionaries could compel their hearers daily to recite, but of course, they could not comprehend them. New words that grew inconveniently long, in process of time were arbitrarily shortened, according to the rules of contraction in Indian languages. Many words, therefore, and the ideas expressed by them, were unintelligible beyond the limits of the missions.* Within the missions they were useful in two ways—useful to the monks in communicating incomprehensible ideas, and useful to the Indians in their replies. When questioned about the ancient mythology, the latter had only to repeat with slight variations the lessons daily taught, and this was entirely satisfactory to the most inquisitive! True, the "*fathers*" were filled with astonishment often to find that there had been such a striking resemblance in the ancient worship to their own. But this, when corroborated by the crosses and madonnas portrayed on the ruined Phœnician temples of the hot country, they looked upon as evidence that the Apostle Thomas had actually preached the Gospel in the Anahuac.† In their eagerness to discover Romish cus-

* The Iroquois rule of contraction is to strike out the two last syllables of the first of the words compounded, and the two first of the next word, &c.

† Boturnini, speaking of his collection of MSS. and paintings, says, "I likewise possess some historical notices concerning the preaching of the Gospel in America by the glorious Apostle St. Thomas. They are contained in thirty-four sheets of Chinese paper, and I suppose assisted Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora in the composition of his work on the same subject which he entitled The Phœnix of the West, which I have not been able yet to procure, as it never was printed. I say in reference to the preaching of the holy apostle that I am in possession of a painting on linen of the most holy cross of the mountain Tianguiztepetl, which I have before spoken of in Sec. 20, No. 20, of this catalogue, which is painted in the form of a *Tau*, about a cubit in height, and of a beautiful azure

toms among their converts, they neglected to sift carefully the evidence. They never dreamed these figments were their own, distorted by their passage through an Indian medium. Human sacrifice, we will leave for the present.

Before closing this discussion of Indian peculiarities, we must refer to a new class of philosophers, that have arisen among us—the Ethnologists, who trace the pathways of tribes and nations by an analogy of words and language. With them the Persians and Saxons are alike offspring of the Sanscrit—and with the Bramins, have a common origin. This kind of evidence has really weight only when it is shown, that the original was a settled, if not a written tongue, before any migration took place. But applied to the ever shifting dialects of savage tribes, the facts assumes another phase. When a missionary settles among a new race, his first labor is to reduce the ver-

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blue, intermixed with figures resembling white stars, having on its right side a shield likewise of a blue color, with five white balls in the middle, undoubtedly emblematical of the five most precious wounds of the Redeemer, which monuments have been preserved from the time of Paganism to our days, without the rain or the other inclemencies of the atmosphere to which they had been exposed having been able, during so many ages, to fade the colors. I also possess a painting on linen of another most holy cross of wood, which was drawn by means of a machine, that was made on purpose out of an inaccessible cave of Mizteca Baxa, and which is at present venerated in the Convent Church of Touala, belonging to the fathers of St. Dominic, which had also been deposited in the said cave since the Pagan times, and was discovered by the music of angels being heard in the said cave on every vigil of the glorious apostle. The above-mentioned preaching is so clearly indicated in the histories of the Indians, that it is even recounted in the paintings of the Chontales, amongst whom a most miraculous cross was discovered besides the other crosses which the Spaniards found in the Island of Potonchan to which the Indians offered adoration, presenting them flowers and incense, and invoking them under the name of the God Tluloc, the God of Rain. Many traces moreover of the holy feet of the said apostle have remained in different places of New Spain."—LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., p. 418.

nacular of those about him to a written form—by the combination of certain Latin letters which recall to him certain sounds. The grammar thus produced is a Latin one, slightly modified to the peculiarities of the case. The process of this language improvisator is purely arbitrary—it is the work of an alien. In a distant portion of this same tribe there may be, perhaps, another missionary employing another set of letters to recall the self-same sounds, and one who may differ too in his grammatical variations. Here, we should have two distinct written, for one spoken language. We can also conceive a case, wherein those really different, might be represented by the same set of foreign characters. Thus much for Indian dialects turned into a modified Latin. Now comes the ethnologist. He compares these various foreign grammars, and from them reads the history of, as he supposes, races, and determines their origin!

For the present we give over the labor of rescuing Indian character from the false coloring given it by monks and *savans*, and begin our narrative. Near the foot of the *laguna* (pond) of Tezcuco, on the lowest spot of dry-land in the valley of Mexico, and close under its eastern mountain barrier, stands the "imperial city"* of that name. There died, and there was buried, *Don Fernando*, its first Christian lord or king; and there, beside him, in after years, were laid the bones of his friend Cortez.† A

* This is the title applied to Tezcuco by Mr. Prescott, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter; he has adopted as an authority the *quadroon* Don Fernando de Alva.

† Algunos años despues de su muerte, y en complimiento de su ultima voluntad fueron conducidas sus cenizas á este antigo teatro de sus glorias, depositandose en una caja en

pile, or rather wall, of rough stones marks their place of burial. On one side is a small stone chapel built by Cortez; on the other, a Franciscan church and convent of more ample dimensions, and of more modern construction, where vegetate eight monks whose evil reputation pollutes the moral atmosphere of Tezcuco.* There, according to the quadroon, Don Fernando de Alva, also styling himself by the unpronounceable Indian name of Iztlilxochitl, was located the famous Nalhuatlan Academy (council) of Music, in which seats were provided for the three crowned heads of the empire,† viz., the lords of Tezcuco, of Mexico, and Tacuba. The last two scions of the ancient seat of empire;‡ for, from Tezcuco migrated the founders of the second imperial city of the *laguna*—

el iglesia de San Francisco de Tezcoco, donde se conservaron hasta el mes Febraro de 1629, en que fueron conducidas y sepultadas con gran pompa y solemnidad en union de las de sue nieto D. Pedro que falleció en Mexico en la capilla mayor del convento de San Francisco de esta capital. Alli permanecieron los vestos del conquistador hasta el dia 2 de Julio de 1794 en que fueron transladados a la iglesia de Jesus.—*Apuntes Historicos por* MIGUEL M. LERDO DE TEZJADA, page 260.

* There are here eight Franciscan monks and a convent; seven of these monks, I was assured, were living at home with their families and children, but the eighth, who happened to be a cripple, lived in the convent. A major in the guard was pointed out to me, who, having committed a murder, took sanctuary in the church, where he remained several days, when—and we have his own word for it—the Virgin Mary appeared to him and freely forgave him. On this news getting abroad, there was great rejoicing in Tezcuco that the Virgin had at last visited them.—WILSON'S *Mexico.*

† "Seats were provided for the three crowned heads of the Empire." —PRESCOTT, Vol. I., page 171.

Three imperial capitals, and three crowned heads of the empire within a space of sixteen miles, in a mountain valley twenty miles in extent, and more than half that space filled with salt-marsh! If the upper or northern valley of Mexico be added to it, then we have an additional territory of sixty by about twelve miles. Rather a limited space for three imperial crowned heads to occupy.

‡ In Indian phrase it would be the Bark House, and the Archon would be the keeper of the Wampum.

Mexico; erected upon a mud island* fifteen miles distant across the marsh. From Mexico migrated a third colony, which founded upon the opposite main land, and at the distance of about a league, the third and least important monarchy of the three—Tacuba.

For a long time the question of the *Archonship* was in abeyance among historians; to which of the three imperial cities of the confederacy belonged the pre-eminence they knew not. Tezcuco at one time was in danger from the great renown of the island-city, and the melancholy interest excited by the fate of Montezuma and his people. But the brilliant genius of her above-named son, *de Alva*, the quadroon,—like most of his class, claiming imperial descent on his mother's side,—has fully established the ancient renown of his alleged ancestors, and the former magnificence of his native village. He has restored its fame and its title to leadership among historians, besides establishing its claim to the pre-eminent position of "the Athens of the western world."†

After following the migrations of savage tribes and listening to the songs of Indian strollers, the historic scene shifts, and the historian introduces us to the elegancies of what might well be called oriental civilization—to the voluptuous magnificence of the fabled Imperial Seraglio of Tezcuco; to the grandeur of the court of its imperial lord, to his city and to his rural palaces, to his hanging gardens, and his villas, which combined all the sensuous

* Every building in the city of Mexico, above the condition of a mud hut, is founded upon piles driven into the ground.

† See Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, vol. I., page 173.

delights, represented in the tales of the Arabians, or romances of the Moors. The scene opens with Aezahualcoyotl the Magnificent, under whose wise administration Tezcuco reached, as alleged, the climax of imperial greatness. His is the golden age of her annals. Aezahualcoyotl distinguished himself as a warrior; leading forth the armies of the imperial confederacy to the conquest of rich provinces and powerful kingdoms. His dominion extended over vast regions of the hot country; which produced in spoil and tribute sufficient to support the most extravagant conceptions of his genius. While war was waged without, at home agriculture and the arts flourished. Cities and villages sprung up everywhere. The very mountain-steeps were made to reward the labors of the agriculturist.

Aezahualcoyotl was said to be as successful in prosecuting the arts of peace as those of war. He made his capital to rival Bagdad, in the days of its greatest prosperity. His city palace, for he had divers others, was twelve hundred and thirty-four yards in length by nine hundred and seventy-six in breadth. The palaces of a numerous nobility also adorned his capital. Alabaster with stucco, in variegated colors, adorned the walls. Shrubbery and the richest ornamental trees of the tropics* formed, according to Moorish custom, a pleasant relief to the stiffness of architecture; while fountains enveloped in artificial dew both shrubs and trees. Among these arbors were baths and ponds stocked with beautiful fish, while gaudy plumed birds of the tropics filled exten-

* Tezcuco is not in the hot country!

sive aviaries. "Many birds and animals that could not be obtained alive were represented in gold and silver, so skilfully that they furnished the great naturalist, Hernandez, with models for his work."*

In the palace were accommodations provided, on a lordly scale, for the sovereigns of Mexico and Tacuba, when they visited the court, as well as apartments for the king and his harem, halls for public archives, a council chamber, and the courts of justice. But, notwithstanding the vast extent of this abode, and its three hundred apartments—so vast that it employed two hundred thousand workmen in its construction—the building was insufficient to shelter the king's children. His "sixty sons and fifty daughters"* were accommodated in buildings adjoining; where they were taught accomplishments suited to their station; including the arts of working in metals, jewelry, and feather mosaic. This king's wealth and resources were so enlarged by his wise and prudent administration, that he was enabled to sustain a domestic establishment even greater than that of Solomon, as appears from the following items, which Torquemada declares he extracted from an imperial account-book,† viz. 4,900,300 *fanagos*,

* Prescott, vol. I., page 173.

† *Torquemada, Lib.* 2, c. 53. It is unfortunate that our very first introduction to so distinguished an author, as Torquemada really is, should be under such unfortunate circumstances. It is unnecessary to inform the reader that the probability is, there never was any such imperial account book as the one Torquemada professes to have had in his possession; or an imperial account book of any kind. We can never find fault with a Spanish author for inventing embellishments to exalt the achievements of the hero of his history, for he enjoyed the same license as the poets. But here we have unfortunately no such apology, but an exhibition of the besetting sin of Spaniards—the "monks' evil," lying.

or hundreds weight, of corn, 2,744,000 *fanagos* cacao, and 8000 turkeys! Dreadful eaters those Tezcucans!

Besides his numerous villas, this prince built Tezcuzingo, or little Tezcuco, upon a conical hill, some five miles from the capital. It was approached by five hundred steps; some of them hewn in the solid porphyry. About this hill were hanging gardens, terraced upon its sides; while the crest was plentifully supplied with water from an aqueduct, carried for several miles over hills and valleys on huge buttresses of solid masonry.* In the reservoirs there was statuary, and jets of water raining continuous moisture upon the lower beds of these gardens. In the midst of this elysium were marble porticos, with pavilions, and baths of solid porphyry. In one was a winged lion, with a portrait of the emperor in his mouth. The water was also carried over artificial rocks in cascades, and carried about the gardens in canals. In the main reservoir was a large rock on which was sculptured the most important events of the reign, while in three smaller were marble statues representing each one of the three states of the empire.

This Aezahualcoyotl played the part of David in the tragedy of Uriah. The old lord of Tepechpan had a beautiful girl, whom he was educating to become his wife, according to the custom of the country. This girl did the honors of the table to his Indian majesty, when a guest of the old lord. The consequence was, that a violent passion sprang up in the king for the betrothed of his

* In this description the author has followed the most *authentic* historians, but must be distinctly understood as not endorsing them.

host, which he determined to gratify at the sacrifice of the old man's life. Accordingly he sent orders to him to assume the command of an expedition against the Tlascalans. At the same time two persons were instructed to keep close by him, and to entice him into the thickest of the fight, that he might lose his life. The result of this plot was the same as in the case of Uriah: the doomed victim was slain by the enemy. After this obstacle was removed the royal courtship began, and of course terminated with the most happy results. In such cases the current of love does not run very roughly in its course. Dazzled with the brilliance of a royal lover, who had the additional charm of youth to commend him, the dusky maiden was not likely long to wear the weeds of widowhood for one neither young nor royal. Believing the death of her old lord one of the casualties of war, she was easily persuaded that a living king was better than a dead hero, and eventually became the wife of the royal murderer of her betrothed. Matters being secretly arranged, the intended bride appeared in public to witness some spectacle at Tezcosingo. There Aezahualcoyotl, the royal murderer, espied the beautiful virgin from a balcony, and inquired, in pretended ignorance, who she was, and where she was from. The gratification of the royal inquisitiveness led to an acquaintance, which terminated in public pledges of mutual affection; and in the end, the old lord's betrothed becomes the young king's wife. Thus ends the parody.

Aezahualcoyotl plays also the part of the Calif Haroun, in the Arabian Nights, wandering about the markets to hear, likewise, what his people said of him. But, like

most such listeners, he was not always gratified by what he heard. He was a religious reformer; abjuring the paganism of the Mexicans,* he restored the worship of the Great Spirit. He built a mound, and on it a tower nine stories high to represent the nine heavens, while over all a tenth was placed with a roof painted black outside, and profusely gilded with ornamental stars. Within, this upper story was encrusted with metals and precious stones. From the top of this tower [minaret] the worshippers were summoned to prayers at stated intervals. No image was allowed in this mosque. Such, according to *de Alva*, was the worship he encouraged.

Aezahualcoyotl was not only a patron of the fine arts, but likewise of learning, and of learned men. In his council of music sat, by invitation, the most learned of the realm; associated with whom were the three crowned heads of the empire. But the greatest achievement of this Indian prince was his dalliance with the muses. In the academy he contended with citizens for the prizes that were to be bestowed as the rewards of superior excellence. De Alva has preserved, in Castilian, poetic specimens, which he claims as the production of his alleged maternal ancestor, Aezahualcoyotl. These specimens, in look and color suggesting a Moorish origin, have yet so much real merit, they cannot fail securing for *de*

* There was no hazard in telling the truth about the religious worship of Tezcuco, as that village was in favor with Cortez. Besides the Indian belief in the Great Spirit, they believed the sky to be filled with spirits, the spirit of the wind, the spirit of the corn, &c.—(MORGAN'S *Iroquois*, page 157.) As they worshipped only one of these, the Great Spirit, it was easy to represent them either as Monotheists, or Polytheists, according to the caprice of the author. Thus the Mexicans were Polytheists, and the Tezcucans Monotheists, though their religion was doubtless the same.

Alva, whether as a translator or the real author, the reputation of superior genius. Whether the MS. of *de Alva* be regarded as a history or a fable, our interest in its author must be the same. To wipe out the disgrace that in his day rested upon a quadroon, and upon all tainted with Indian blood, he consecrated his talents. And in the production of a work, which has sufficient merit to have gained it a position among standard histories, he accomplished his purpose; merging his own claims, as a poet, with those of his alleged ancestor of a despised race. We subjoin a specimen of this Indian's muse—to which is added a borrowed translation:—

A CASTILIAN AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF AN EXTRACT FROM A POEM BY THE EMPEROR OF TEZCUCO.

"Y en tan triste suceso
los nobles descendientes de tu nedo
de Principis el peso
los que de nobles Padre nan nacido
metando tu cabeza
gustaran la amargura de podreza.
Y traeran a la memoria
quien fuiste en pompa de todos envidiada
tus triumphos y victoria;
y con la gloria y Magistad pasada
cotejando pesares
de lagrimas haran crecidus Mares.
. . . . . .
En Mexico famoso
Montezumá valor de pecho Indiano

"The birds of thy ancestral nests
The princes of thy line—
The mighty of thy race—shall see
The bitter ills of poverty;—
And then shall memory recall
Thy envied greatness, and on all
Thy brilliant triumphs dwell;
And as they think on by-gone years
Compared with present shame, their tears
Shall to an ocean swell.
. . . . . .
Brave Montezuma's Indian band
With Mexico the great
And Aezahualcoyotl's* hand
Blessed Colhuacan's† State

* As this emperor poet died in 1470, at the age of 72, it follows that this notice of Montezuma the Great was written about fifty years before he was born, and before the time of the first Montezuma.

† As these Indian proper names are probably now unpronounceable by any persons living, it is well enough to adopt the practice of the inhabitants of Mexico, and call them all Montezuma.

† This is the name given to Tezcuco. The common language of the valley is called Nahuatlac.

á Culhuacan dichosa
de Aeçahualcoyotl rigio la mano
Acatlapan la fuerte
Totoquilhuastli le salió por suerte
Y ningun olvido temo
de la bien que tu regno dispusiste
estando en el supremo
lugar, que mano recibiste
de aquel Señor del Mundo
factor de aquestas cosas sin segundo.

Whilst Totoquil his portion drew
In Acatlapan strong and true
But no oblivion can I fear
Of good by thee accomplished here
Whilst high upon thy throne
That station which to match thy worth
Was given by the Lord of Earth
Maker of good alone."

Such, substantially, is the picture which poets and *historians* are alike accustomed to draw of the famous empire of Tezcuco—the intellectual creation of Fernando de Alva, styling himself Ixtliloxochitl—a creation so enchanting, that strangers have adopted it as a verity, without stopping to inquire whether this beautiful fabric rested upon air, or a more substantial foundation. This fancy-created city, it is pretended, however, was built of the most solid material. Its hanging gardens were upon a hill of porphyry. Its aqueduct was "carried over hill and valley for several miles, upon huge buttresses of masonry." Such a city existing at the time of the conquest, could not be entirely destroyed in the short period of three centuries, and every vestige of its magnificence obliterated by the slight earthquakes which have visited the valley of Mexico since. What it was then, it should be substantially now. We ought still to read the inscriptions on the "large rock in the midst of the basin," as we do those upon the ruins of Nineveh. It has not been subjected to the casualties that befell that ancient city. Its ruins could not be used for building the mud village that has supplanted it. Hardly four hundred years have passed since the alleged period of its glory, while as many thousand, with all the

casualties that time carries in its train, have been unable to blot out Nineveh's ancient grandeur. We can read to-day its history upon its extensive ruins.* But nothing like this can be found upon the site of the alleged city of Tezcuco. There are no remains of ancient aqueduct, or hanging garden, nor of its magnificent palaces and surrounding villas, nor of its halls of justice. Even the walls of its vast enclosures have left no trace. Like the baseless fabric of a *Chateau d'Espagne,* there is not a wreck—not even an epitaph.

It is not often that a man, resting under the disabilities of a quadroon, can, by the force of his genius alone, wash away the stigma of impure blood, and still more, make even that a means of exalting himself to rank and nobility. We may question the morality of *de Alva,* but not his intellect. Holding the humble position of an Indian interpreter, he, a hundred years after the conquest, painted a genealogical tree, so beautifully, that the very birds might lodge upon its branches; and the traveller, as he passes, can fancy he inhales its fragrance. By a happy combination of Moorish, Arabic, and Oriental story, he has produced a dramatic sketch so enchanting, that its many physical, moral, and mental impossibilities are entirely overlooked, and this fancy creation of *de Alva* is named and ranked with Spanish-American history.†

* See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon; also Nineveh and its Remains.

† If the reader will turn to Folsom's edition of the Letters of Cortez (translation), p. 110, he will find that this picture, which our Indian author draws of the imperial city of Tezcuco, is only the counterpart of the fabulous picture Cortez drew of the imperial city of Mexico, under the reign of Montezuma, with a few additions drawn from Scripture History, Moorish Romances, and the Arabian Nights.

It was hard to give up so beautiful an historic dream, even after the author had explored the spot, and found there only the usual reliques of savage art, such as they are over the entire continent—rude stone images hammered out with hatchets of stone, and small Indian mounds. Nearly all else was dried mud,* except two churches. The reality we ascertain from *de Alva's* contemporary, the English Friar, Thomas Gage, who sets it down as a small village, which might contain a population of three hundred Indians and one hundred whites, whose "chief riches come by gardening, and sending daily herbs and sallers to Mexico;"† and, he might have

* It is not proper to call *adobes* unburnt brick. With the word brick we connect the idea of clay. But *adobes* are not made out of clay unless by accident. It is simply the surface earth (soil) stirred up in water and mixed with straw. It is moulded in very large blocks; the ordinary width of a house wall, and dried by exposure to the sun in the dry season.

† Friar Thomas Gage, just a hundred years after the conquest, thus discourses of Tezcuco and Mexicalzingo:—

"And as we talked of the greatness of it [Tezcuco] in former times, so likewise we now wondered to consider it to be but a small government where doth constantly reside a Spanish governor (Indian agent) sent from Spain, whose power reacheth to those borders of Tlascala Guacocingo, and to most of the petty towns and villages of the plain, which were formerly under the command and power of a king. But now are not able to make up above 1000 duchats a year, which is supposed to be the yearly revenue of the governor; and Tezcuco itself this day judged to consist only of a hundred Spaniards and three hundred Indian inhabitants, whose chief riches come from gardening and sending daily in their canoes herbs and sallers to Mexico. * * * At the end of this plain we passed the Mexicalzingo, which formerly was a great town, but now not of above one hundred inhabitants."—*A New Survey of the West Indians*, page 90.

The above quoted English Friar was a contemporary of Ixtlilxochitl, the famous historian of Indian descent, and according to his own showing of the blood imperial of Tezcuco. The difference in the pictures which the two draw of the same place is certainly wonderful!

added, in raking *tequesquita** for the manufacture of salt in winter.

By a clerical error in one of the volumes of Prescott,† *de Alva* is represented as flourishing at the beginning of the sixteenth century instead of the seventeenth,‡ a man of three-fourths white blood flourishing at an Indian village twenty-five years before the arrival of the first of the whites from whom he was descended! This error in dates has often misled careless readers in estimating the value of *de Alva* as a witness. He had, in fact, no greater facilities for obtaining information than Gage, except the oral and traditional records of his race, and none, perhaps, equal to ourselves, if we deny the fictive existence of the picture writings. So long as there was a restriction on discussion, and a rigid censorship of the press—or rather seven distinct censorships,§—these pretended picture records were constantly appealed to, as authority for all sorts of historic fable. But, since the publication of Lord Kingsborough's *fac similes*, this imposture has become patent to the world, as will be more fully shown in the following chapter. De Alva went a step further than the previous historians of Mexico, and alleged not only that he had consulted Tezcucan records, but even those more ancient still, that is, Toltec fragments which had escaped a pretended burning by one of the emperors

* This is a compound of one-third salt, muriate of soda; one-third carbonate of soda; and one-third common earth.

† Prescott, vol. I., page 206.

‡ The Hon. Albert Gallatin, in the transactions of the American Ethnological society, gives the proper era—"the beginning of the seventeenth century."—See *Transactions*, vol. I., page 150.

§ See Wilson's Mexico, page 128; also note to page 247, in vol. VI. Lord Kingsborough.

of Mexico, Ytzcoatl, sixty-two years before Montezuma.* But he does not explain how these strange witnesses, both Toltec and Tezcucan, disappeared. Like the plates of the Mormon Bible,† Mexican, Tezcucan, and Toltec picture writings disappear as soon as they are copied, and none but the initiated are permitted to see the originals!

The most delicate duty of the historian is to sift from these historical myths the grains of truth they may contain, and which are in danger of being lost in the mass of fable. There is a real, as well as a factitious, Tezcuco. But *adobe*, or dried mud, was probably the

* The origin and history of the fabulous Aztec picture records may be briefly stated as follows:—The ambassadors sent to Cortez by Montezuma probably made some rude marks on pieces of bark for aiding them, for they were only runners, in making a report to Montezuma. This Cortez probably noticed, and in his letters represented it, with his usual recklessness, as a species of writing. In the next generation after the conquest, when Mexico had become the absorbing subject of interest in Spain, on account of the discovery there of immense deposits of silver by the Spaniards, everything in relation to it became a matter of interest to Europeans. Great inquiry was made for the relics of Aztec civilization, which now began to be considered a reality. Picture writings were first sought after, but none could be found. A few were manufactured, which were sold to strangers at a high price, as copies, and the disappearance of the balance was accounted for by the cunning churchman, Bishop Zumarraga—the inventor of the Miracle of the Virgin of Guadalupe—by alleging that he had burnt them.

† Many years ago, within a few miles of the author's residence, in western New York, there lived one Joseph Smith, called, familiarly, Jo Smith. He was decidedly a low fellow, and much addicted to "big yarns." He professed to have had a revelation, which led to the discovery of the golden plates of a book, which he facetiously called the Mormon Bible. These plates, as soon as copied, disappeared, and his own statement is all we have in proof that they ever existed! This is the foundation of Mormonism.

Still nearer our residence, three sisters, the Misses Fox, were troubled with apparitions and strange noises, which was the starting point of "spiritual rappings," and table movings. The spirit that animated these people and their dupes was the same as that of Spanish devotees.

most costly building material ever used in that locality, until Cortez built there a small, rude chapel of stone. It is a spot admirably fitted for a village of Indian "salt rakers." That it must have been thus occupied from an extremely early period, is more than probable. The brackish waters of the *laguna*, carried high upon the beach by the summer rains and westerly winds, subside with the return of winter; leaving behind them an incrustation of *tequisquita*, which the natives gather and distribute through the interior as a substitute for salt. Some foreigners have here established a salt manufactory. There is, however, here a manufactory of glass; so that Tezcuco must now be in a more flourishing condition, probably, than it ever was under its native chiefs—as they were then engaged in a continuous war with their immediate neighbors of Tlascala, for the last fifty years of their confederacy with Mexico. We now take leave of Fernando de Alva de Ixtlilxochitl, with the remark that an epithet, too common at Mexico, cannot with justice be applied to him—"he lies like a priest;" for if he does state what he knew to be untrue, he has done it far more elegantly than any of the priestly historians whose works we shall discuss in the following chapter.

THE FEDERATIVE SYSTEM OF THE AZTECS AND OTHER INDIANS, AND THEIR LAW OF DESCENT.

THE glimmerings of truth in the ponderous folios of the monkish writers, are so indistinct as to render it difficult to determine the exact relation Montezuma held to

his people. He is represented as exercising the incompatible offices both of sachem, or civil ruler, and war chief, and also as belonging, or having belonged, to the priesthood, which doubtless means nothing more than that he was one of the "keepers of the faith;" besides, perhaps, exercising the rare and ill defined office of prophet. To account for these anomalies, I assumed, in my preliminary work, that he or his predecessors had acquired this position by successful usurpation; which involved a fundamental change of Indian polity, that is,—his position was one of force.

His office, such as it was, is alleged to have passed, on his death, not to his son, but, according to the law regulating the descent of sachem, to his brother, Cuitlahua, and then to his nephew, Guatamozin. This succession, it is claimed, carried with it the office of war chief, which is not hereditary. Thus, surrounded by difficulties and contradictions, I have preferred to hold until further developments the common belief, rather than wander too far from the beaten track, on insufficient evidence. Throughout these volumes, Cuitlahua and Guatamozin are represented then, as in all other histories of the conquest, to have been chiefs and leaders in the war against the Spaniards. Further investigations may change this opinion; but in the meantime no injury can result from still considering them as emperors of Mexico.

The Indian system of federation is blended with their peculiar law of tribal, or rather artificial family organization. So, too, is their law of descent, which distinguishes them from all other races. This organization may be

enunciated as follows:—All Indian nations, so far as the inquiry has been carried, are divided into a certain number of tribes or brotherhoods; differing in number in different confederations, but always the same in the nations of the same confederacy. Thus the nations composing the confederacy of the Iroquois were each divided into eight of these families, viz., the Hawk, the Heron, the Beaver, the Turtle, &c. The Creeks were divided into ten, the Ojibways into thirteen, the Delawares into three, &c. This accounts for the permanency of Indian confederations: it was a peculiar application of the family organization. Among the Iroquois a Hawk of the Senecas considered himself a blood brother to the Hawks of the Oneidas; so, too, the members of the Turtle, the Herons, and others. War could not arise among nations leagued together in this manner, without arraying brother against brother; that is, Hawk against Hawk, Turtle against Turtle, &c. An event almost impossible.

The restriction it imposed upon marriage is the next most remarkable feature of this artificial family division of a whole confederacy. It was made as much an act of incest for one Hawk to marry another Hawk, or Snipe another Snipe, &c., as for a brother to marry his natural sister. There was no other legal restriction upon any member of the league marrying where his inclination led him. But his children, according to the law of descent in the female line, were not his, but his wife's. They belonged exclusively to her n tion, and to her brotherhood, and could never inherit either office or property from their father. This Indian law of descent seems

never to have been comprehended by Europeans.* They often express surprise that the son of Montezuma did not succeed his father instead of the brother, and nephew; never once dreaming there was a legal prohibition in the way of that succession. Mr. Prescott, in his unfamiliarity with Indian law, supposed this to have been caused by the illegitimacy of the son of Montezuma.

Between brethren of the deceased and the sister's son, the right of inheritance was equal, and could only be determined by an election in council. The electors were the wise men [the elders] and matrons of the tribe, among whom the mother of the deceased exercised a predominant influence. Montezuma, it is evident from his badge, belonged to the Eagle family, and, from necessity, his successors were also Eagles. But his son, not being an Eagle, could not inherit.

The land laws of the Indians were also peculiar. All land belonged in common to the community, and was parcelled according to the wants of its families; or, rather, there being usually much more than was required for cultivation, every one took possession of as much as he, or rather she, required. This could not be sold. But

* Since the above paragraph was written, the author has read in Dr. Livingstone's account of his Sixteen Years' Researches in Central Africa the following:—

"The government of the Bunjui is rather peculiar, being a sort of feudal republicanism. The chief is elected, and they choose the son of the deceased chief's sister in preference to his own offspring. When dissatisfied with one candidate, they even go to a distant tribe for a successor, who is usually of the family of the late chief, a brother or a sister's son, but never his own son or daughter."—LIVINGSTONE'S *Researches* (Harper's edition), page 660.

all improvements are individual property, which, in effect, gives an indirect title to the land itself.

These fundamental laws of Indian society, seem to have entirely escaped the notice of all European authors, and were little known to American writers until fully elaborated by Lewis H. Morgan, Esq., and published in the "*Proceedings of the American Society for the Advancement of Science, Eleventh Annual Report, part 2d, page* 132, *Cambridge, Mass.*, 1858.

The same authority informs us, that the law of descent among the Chippewas is in the male line, an exception to Indian law which seems to have been borrowed from the whites. He continues as follows:—

"It is well known that the early Spanish writers upon the conquest are full of contradictory assertions, exaggerations, and fabulous statements. Very little reliance is to be placed upon them. On the other hand, the institutions of our Indian races are obscure and complicated; and can only be worked out by careful and patient research, carried down to minute particulars. Those of the Iroquois were unknown, until within the last twenty years, although the Jesuit missionaries, and both French and English travellers, had written volumes upon their civil and domestic affairs. The real structure and principles of the league eluded their inquiries. Its general features, though well known, were so encumbered with errors that the knowledge was of little value. It would not be surprising if the same were true of the institutions of the Aztecs.

"Now the institutions of all the aborigines of this con-

tinent, have a family cast [type]. They bear internal evidence of a common paternity, and point to a common origin, but remote, both as to time and place. They all sprang from a common mind, and, in their progressive development, have still retained the impress of their original elements, as is abundantly verified. The Aztecs were thoroughly and essentially Indian. We have glimpses here and there at original institutions, which suggest at once, by their similarity, kindred ones among the Iroquois and other Indian races of the present day. Their intellectual characteristics, and the predominant features of their social condition, are such as to leave no doubt upon this question; and we believe the results of modern research, upon this point, concur with this conclusion. Differences existed, it is true; but they were not radical. The Aztec civilization simply exhibits a more advanced development of those primary ideas of civil and social life, which were common to the whole Indian family, and not their overthrow by the substitution of antagonistic institutions.

"Judging, then, from the institutional point of view, the Aztec monarchy, as described to us by current histories, will not bear the test of criticism. So far as the structure of the government is concerned, a serious doubt rests upon the whole narrative. The testimony drawn from the very nature of true Indian institutions, denies that the Aztec government was a monarchy. Nay, it asserts that it is utterly impossible that it could have been a monarchical government. Venturesome as this statement may appear, it is yet proclaimed and vindicated by the

principles and structure of Indian society. If we could now break through the overlapping mass of fable and exaggeration, and bring to light the real institutions of the Aztecs, it would be found, there is every reason to believe, that their government was an hereditary oligarchy, very similar to that of the Iroquois. That Montezuma, so far from being emperor of the Aztecs, was only one of a large number of sachems, who, equally, by their joint authority in council, administered the affairs of the commonwealth. As the leading sachem residing in the metropolitan city, he was first brought in contact with the Spaniards; and they, taking it for granted that he was the emperor, determined that he should be so, right or wrong. The splendor and power of the Aztec monarchy, as set forth in their recitals, tended, in no inconsiderable degree, to magnify their own exploits." *Ibid.* p. 142.

"This is, in reality, a condensed statement of the actual history of our Indian races. They have undergone a process of repeated and continuous subdivisions from age to age, but counteracted here and there by confederacies. We know that these confederacies have existed, and still exist, in places, all over this continent; as witness, among others, the league of the Iroquois, the Powhatan confederacy in Virginia, the Sioux league of the seven council fires, and the alliance between the Aztecs, Tezcucans, and Tlacupans. But, on the other hand, we have never known of an Indian monarchy on any part of it, unless we accept the pretended Aztec monarchy. By the junction of several tribes into one

nation, and several nations into a confederacy, the people are brought under the joint authority of the sachems of the several tribes, who, in general council, administer all such affairs as relate to the common welfare; leaving each tribe and nation to the particular government of its own sachems. Such a government was that of the Iroquois; and, substantially, without much doubt, the form of government which prevailed among the whole Indian family upon this continent." *Ibid.* p. 146.*

LORD KINGSBOROUGH conferred a benefit upon the world he did not anticipate, but none the less valuable on that account. As soon as the civil and ecclesiastical despotism of Spain ceased to give tone and color to its literature, it became necessary to subject even its standard histories to the ordinary tests of criticism, to determine what was genuine, and what spurious; since neither the sanction of a *Superior*, or of an Inquisitor, could longer give them currency.

The whole of that magnificent myth—the chronology of the empire of Montezuma—rested solely upon the question of the genuineness of the picture writings. There was not a vestige of other evidence, except tradition, to support it. The authors who appealed to these writings as their authority, were nearly all members of the demoralized priesthood of Spanish America, whose reputation for truth was at the lowest ebb. If these Mexican records were genuine, then there would be no stretch of credulity in giving credence to the statement of Fernando de Alva, that he had consulted Tezcucan and Toltec picture records.

Having derived a great benefit from the labors of this superstitious lord, we can appreciate his lordship's sufferings and sacrifices in the cause of literature, though from a different reason than the one that actuated him. An

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* There is one statement in the foregoing chapter, on the authority quoted, which requires correction:—"The Ojibways are divided into thirteen tribes, or family divisions," whereas they have, in fact, eighteen. This fact has been satisfactorily established since the above chapter was written.

idea of the magnitude of his labors may be derived from the fact of his having employed *de Aglio* five consecutive years copying all the *copies* of these records to be found in the royal and princely libraries of Europe. He found none in Spain or in Mexico, for the same reason, perhaps, that the manufacturers of the wood of the true cross, or other ancient relics, are said not to reserve any of the precious article for their private use! If we add to this item of expense the engraving and printing of the whole mass, we may form some idea of the extent of his enterprise. This work is one that would have reflected the highest honor on the greatest of Spanish monarchs. Yet kings neglected it. What kings neglected, the Irish lord, whose name heads this note, effected through love to literature and devotedness to superstition.

Sincerely believing those monkish legends that make up the mass of Aztec history, he consecrated his time and the whole of his ample fortune to bring them before the world in an attractive form. He did not hesitate to believe the devil had played a part in Aztec history, nor fail to adopt the theory of their Jewish origin. He ransacked history, ancient and modern literature, to support this favorite theory of monkish chroniclers. In like manner the histories of Mexico were ransacked, every monk's opinion, every vague rumor, and even monstrous improbabilities (such as the story of the Apostle Thomas preaching the gospel in the Anahuac), were greedily swallowed, when they appeared to add color to his argument. He seems to have been entirely ignorant of the common rules of evidence, and makes no distinction between that which is improbable and fictitious and that which is real. A conglomerate of extracts, and notes without system or order, or reference to the pages and editions in which they can be found, constitutes the sixth volume of his ponderous work. The whole of his seventh volume is occupied with the work of Friar Suhagan. The fifth volume contains the translation into Spanish of the "picture writings;" a portion of the work of Dupaix, and that part of Suhagan, which contains the prayers to the gods. The sixth volume has the balance of Dupaix.

The reader of Lord Kingsborough is constantly annoyed by his want of system, and the continual mixing of the important with the trivial, yet he cannot fail to be struck with the child-like faith with which his lordship embraces the most absurd of Spanish superstitions. He objects to the inconsistency of Protestants in denying the efficacy of relics, when the Scriptures declare the bones of Elisha raised a dead man to life! And he never suspected any of his readers would object to such proof as the following; by which, among other evidences derived from Boturnini, he establishes the *fact!* of the preach-

ing of the gospel by the Apostle Thomas in the Anahuac. "Many traces, however, of the holy feet of the said apostle have remained in New Spain."*

From the four first volumes containing the "picture writings," the late Albert Gallatin drew the material for his labored scrutiny, and brought to light the important fact that the "picture writings" of any historic value were made thirty-two years after the conquest, while all others were merely *fragmentary, of no ascertainable date, and no historic value.*† *That is to say,* the "picture writings," to all appearance, were part and parcel of the pious frauds perpetrated at Mexico, under the auspices of Bishop Zumarraga, to add glory to the Virgin Mary, and to gratify the national appetite of the Spaniards for "holy wars," which subject will be treated more at length hereafter.

It would be wandering too far from the object of this note to enter here into the grave discussion of the merits of "picture writings." It is sufficient that the work of Lord Kingsborough has merits beyond those his lordship anticipated. But within the scope and intent of the author, it is about as valueless an expenditure of fortune as could well be devised.

His Irish traits of character stick out at times most amusingly. He had learned, from his Saxon associations, the value of truth, and it never occurred to him that other nations might hold it in less estimation. He seems to have carried with him an idea that truth was an essential part of religion, and cannot understand how those who are evidently conscientious men can speak falsely. Boturnini's pretension to have once possessed a Toltec MS., taken from him by an English cruiser, he never seems to question. It is the same one which Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl received from the kings of Tezcuco, his ancestors. He never thought of questioning the veracity of Boturnini, and with equal avidity gulps down the marvellous story of the painting that Boturnini in so wonderful a manner obtained from a cave, which fully and unequivocally established the mission of the Apostle Thomas to America! Lord Kingsborough is the personification of Irish credulity and Irish bungling.‡

THE AUTHOR'S VISIT TO TEZCUCO.

"It was the feast-day of the kings, *los Reyes*, when, after my return to Mexico, I was again in the saddle, riding out from Mexico toward the village

* The mark of a foot on the rock is the antique "guide board."

† *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, vol. I., pages 116, 145, 146, 306.

‡ Lord Kingsborough, vol. VI., page 245.

of Tezcuco. I had to take a by-way, as the Guadalupe road was blocked up in consequence of the holiday. In doing so, I had to leap a ditch or canal, in which both rider and horse came near closing their pilgrimage in a quagmire; but in time we were again upon the road. It is a dreary place about that rock of Tepeyac, or Guadalupe, and if the Virgin had not smiled upon the barren spot and made roses grow out of it, it would be as uninviting as one of the hills of the valley of Sodom. This hill is now called the 'Mountain of Crosses,' for upon it, in 1810, the first insurgent, Hidalgo, the priest of Dolores, won a battle against the royal troops, which should have been followed up by an entry into Mexico; but Providence ordered it otherwise, and the forest of crosses, that once covered it, proclaimed a bloody slaughter without any results.

"The shores of Tezcuco approach the hill in the wet season, leaving but a narrow margin for the road, but in the dry season this margin is greatly enlarged. I have already explained the composition of *tequisquita*, and the manner of its production; here it was lying in courses, or spots, as it had been left by the receding and drying up of the water during the dry season. Little piles of it had been gathered up here and there to be taken to town for use, probably by the bakers or soapboilers, who are said to pay fourteen *reals*—shillings—an *aroba* for it. Besides a little stunted grass, there was here no sign of vegetable life except a peculiar species of the cactus family, which resembled a mammoth beet without leaves, but bearing upon its top an array of vegetable knives that surrounded a most exquisite scarlet flower.

"There was another sight by the road side more in keeping with the gloomy thoughts which this desert place excites: it was the dead bodies of three men, who had been condemned by a military commission for robbing a bishop. They were shot, and their bodies were placed on three gibbets as a warning to others. The bishop, it is said, would have pardoned the robbery; but for their excessive depravity in searching within his shirt of sackcloth for concealed doubloons! This was more than a bishop could endure. The worthy ecclesiastic had renounced the world and all its vanities, and had put on the badges of poverty and self-mortification for $50,000 a year, and wore disguises that ought to have shielded him from the suspicion of being rich!

"These military commissions are no new invention in Mexico, for the famous Count de Galvez, the viceking who built the castle of Chapultepec and deposed an Archbishop of Mexico, had a travelling military court, with chaplain and all spiritual aids, to accompany the dragoons that scoured the road in search of robbers. When a fellow was caught, court, chaplains, and

dragoons made rapid work in dismissing him to his long resting-place, and saying a cheap mass for the repose of his soul, and then again they were ready for another enterprise. In this way the roads were made safe in the times of that viceroy.

"Had I known the real distance to Tezcuco, I ought to have abandoned the journey on account of the lameness of my horse. But the miraculous Virgin, or, more probably, the extreme purity of the atmosphere on these elevated plains, had deprived me of the power of measuring distance by the eye. This is excessively annoying to a traveller. He sees the object he is attempting to approach at an apparently moderate distance, plain in sight, and as he rides along, hour after hour, there it stands, just where it seemed to be when he first got sight of it. I finally reached my destination in good time for a dinner, and for as good a night's 'entertainment for man and beast' as could be found in all the republic of Mexico.

"When I turned the head of the lake, I was close upon the track which Cortez and his retreating band followed into the plains of Otumba. Poor wretches! what a time they must have had of it in this disconsolate retreat—wounded, jaded, like tigers bereft of their prey! They mourned for their companions slain, but most of all for the booty they had lost.

> "They grieved for those that went down in the cutter,
> And also for the biscuits and the butter:"

And hobbled on, as best they could, while the natives pursued them with hootings and volleys of inefficient weapons. Passing this point and turning to the north-east, they entered the plains of Otumba, where they encountered the whole undisciplined host of the Aztecs, and scattered them like chaff before the wind.

"Soon after I had passed the head of the lake and turned southward, I entered a cultivated country between tilled grounds and little mud villages along the road. These were the representatives of the magnificent cities enumerated by Cortez. That fine grove of cypresses which had been a landmark all day was now close at hand, and I could form some idea of its great antiquity. But the day was passing away, and it was still uncertain whether safe quarters for the night could be found, where my horse, and the silver plates on his bridle, and the silver-mounted saddle, would be secure from robbers.

"A good dinner and a clean bed could not have been found here a year earlier. But the new and enterprising firm of Escandon & Co., who now have the Real del Monte silver mines, had just completed a '*Casa Grand*,'

'Grand House,' in connection with the salt manufacture, which they carry on here solely for the use of that single mine. It was a neat one-story residence of dried mud (*adobe*), and worthy the occupancy of the proudest king of Tezcuco. Though the flagging of the interior court was not all completed, yet the managing partner had taken possession, and it was fitted up according to the most approved style of an Anglo-Saxon residence. As horse and rider passed into the outer door, there stood ready a groom to lead the former into the inner court, where were the stables for the horses, and I entered the house to enjoy the unlooked-for pleasures of English hospitality in this out-of-the-way Indian village.

"The resident partner was an Englishman. His connection with the Real del Monte Company extended only to the manufacture of salt. But even this was an extensive affair, and had already absorbed an investment of $100,000, in order to provide the salt used in only one branch of the process of refining silver at that mine. The gentleman was now absent, but his excellent English wife and her brother knew full well how to discharge the duties of host even to an unknown stranger. The dinner was of the best, and there was no lack of appetite after a hard day's ride on a trotting horse. So we all had the prime elements of enjoyment. Entertainment for man and beast is among the highest luxuries to be found by the wayside. It was an equal luxury to my hosts in their isolated residence to receive a visit from one whose only recommendation was that the English language was his native tongue.

"It is doubtful if the Emperor of Tezcuco ever knew what it was, on a raw winter's evening, to sit before a bright wood fire, in a fireplace, with feet on fender and tongs in hand, listening to an animated conversation so mixed up of two languages that it was hard to tell which predominated. Not all the stateliness to be found in Mexican palaces, where, in lordly halls, men and women now sit and shiver over protracted dinners, can yield pleasures like those grouped around an English fireside. The evening was not half long enough to say all that was to be discussed. As we sat and chatted, and drank our tea with a gusto we had never known before, we forgot altogether that we were indulging in plebeian enjoyments upon the spot where an emperor's palace had probably stood. Instead of such plebeian things as a wood floor and Brussels carpet, his imperial majesty may have here squatted upon a mat, and dealt out justice or injustice, according to his caprice, to trembling crowds of dirty Indians, whose royal feathers made them princely. Dignity and majesty are truly parts of Indian character, but a good dinner and a clean bed are luxuries that an Indian, even though he were an emperor, never knew.

"My business here, and at Tezcuco, was to search for relics, and as soon as daylight appeared I was astir. But no relics could be found except some stone images so rudely cut as to be a burlesque upon Indian stone-cutting. There was an alleged sacrificial stone and a calendar stone built into the steps of the church of San Francisco, which were so badly done that the use to which they were said to have been applied could just be made out. Here, too, was a rude stone wall, built over the grave of Don Fernando, who had been converted to Christianity by Cortez! There is also here one of those little chapels which indicate extremely limited means possessed by Cortez.

"At the distance of a bow-shot from this is the site of the 'slip' (canal) which Cortez says he caused to be dug, twelve feet wide and twelve feet deep, in order to float his brigantines. Near by, the Indians were digging a new canal for the little steamboat which now plies on the laguna. When they reached a point less than three feet from the surface, they were stopped by the water. How could Cortez, under greater disadvantages, dig to the depth of twelve feet, without even iron shovels?

"I returned to the *hacienda* and inquired if there were no other relics. The proprietor assured me that he had been unable to find any except the Indian mounds which he showed me, and some stone cellar steps that he had found in digging. And this is all that now remains of the great and magnificent city of Tezcuco, which had entered into alliance with Cortez, and which, for more than a hundred years after the conquest, was under the especial care of a superintendent sent from Spain, as an Indian reservation.

"There are here eight Franciscan monks and a convent; seven of these monks I was assured were living at home with their families and *children!* but the eighth, who happened to be a cripple, lived in the convent. A major in the guard was pointed out, who, having committed a murder, took sanctuary in the church, where he remained several days, when—and we have his own word for it—the Virgin Mary appeared to him and freely forgave him. On this news getting abroad, there was great rejoicing in Tezcuco that the Virgin had at last visited them. From being stigmatized as a murderer, the object of this visit was almost adored as a saint, and became one of the principal men of the village, and was created a major in the new corps.

"After I had surveyed the salt-works and the glass-works, I turned my horse's head toward Mexico by the road along the eastern shore, so that I made the complete circuit of Lake Tezcuco.

"Thus far my visit to the royal city of Tezcuco had been perfectly successful! The splendid high farming-lands extend from the shore to the

foot of the mountain strikingly in contrast with the flatness and barrenness of the plain on the west side, which is so slightly elevated above the level of the lake that a few inches of rise in the laguna spreads out an immense sheet of saline water, and yet there is not a solitary evaporating vat where there is an unlimited demand for the evaporated article at fourteen shillings the *aroba*.

"Cortez speaks of the fine fields of corn on the east side of the lake. But they could not have been finer in his day than they are at present, though they furnished him with the supplies that supported his army. I reached the head of Tezcuco at noontide, where the heavy water of the salt lake was driving up toward the fresh water, as described by Cortez, but it was under the pressure of a strong north wind."—WILSON'S *Mexico and its Religion.*

CHAPTER II.

SPANISH HISTORIANS AND SPANISH PICTURE WRITINGS.

Historians of the conquest, 76*—Author's facilities for conducting an investigation, 77—The result of the inquiry, 78—Criticism necessary, 78—The Spanish histories but parodies on the book of Joshua, 79—Their histories divested of Moorish elements, 80—The object of Cortez' letters, 80—The effect of the emperor's favor on evidence, 81—Romance and history intermingled, 82—A Moorish character given to the Indians, 84—The influence of the holy office on history, 86—MS. histories, 87—Indio-Spanish traditional history, 88—Burning of Aztec picture records fabulous, 90—Picture writings Spanish, not Aztec, 90—The discrepancies among historians, 92—The difficulty of writing a history of the conquest, 93—The verisimilitude of Spanish authors, 94—Bernal Diaz de Castillo, 95—Modern historians of the conquest, 97—Boturnini, 98—A specimen of *his* picture writings, 101—Veytia, 102—Clavigero, 103—Historians at Mexico, 104—Alamau, 104—Bustamente and Lerdo de Tajede, 104—Mr. Wm. H. Prescott, 104—Robertson's History of America, 106—Mr. L. H. Morgan's "League of the Iroquois" 106—M. Dupaix, 107—Alexander Von Humboldt, 107.

ONE of the most important achievements in modern literature, is its separation of history from romance: a result effected by applying the common rules of evidence to all historical statements. To this ordeal the histories of most civilized countries have been subjected for centuries. Spain forms an exception to the statement—an exception which includes her two most important quondam colonies—Mexico and Peru. The combined spiritual

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* This chapter was written before the two preceding; and before the author was aware of the labors of the Hon. Lewis Cass in the same department. As the same result is reached by a different course of proof, it is by no means a repetition.

and temporal despotism of those countries, for three hundred years, impeded, if it did not entirely prohibit, the progress of investigation. In our day, this despotism has been broken down; and Spanish history is now before the same tribunal to which that of other countries has been subjected. But this purification has not, as yet, been applied to the chronicles of either Mexico or Peru. The Spanish holy wars have already been sifted of their fables, until nothing remains of those gorgeous historical romances but their bleached and naked skeletons. But the holy war of New Spain—the conquest of Mexico by Cortez—continues the precise form and shape in which the monkish * historians fashioned it. Their writings, which should be styled a Romish theory of the conquest, still pass for its history, even among us; and, on their authority, all Anglo-Saxon accounts of that event rest. These authors wrote under a permission from the Superiors of their respective orders, and published, if at all, under the license of seven distinct censors, two of whom were Inquisitors, yet are they constantly quoted as authorities, by modern inquirers into the conquest of Mexico. And on such unworthy warrant are founded the standard English and American versions.

It was not the author's original design to call attention to the fabulous portion of these narratives. His plan was formed before he had discovered that they contained

* The writing of history, so far as it related to the New World, was, by the law of Spain, restricted to men in priestly orders.—LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., page 265. The priests of New Spain (Mexico) were mostly monks.

them. Not until after his second visit to the country, and a careful examination of the sites in which the events occurred, did he discover the real value of these historical romances. Then, too, it was that he concluded Montezuma's empire must have been similar to that of the Iroquois,* in the zenith of their prosperity.† He was aided in attaining these results by a partial knowledge of Indian character, previously acquired,‡ by several years of professional and ordinary intercourse with Spanish-Americans, and by his large acquaintance with the peculiarities of a country abounding in precious metals.§

The discovery of a common flint arrow-head—an indispensable part of the usual weapons of a North American Indian—upon the pyramidical mound of Cholula,|| first aroused suspicion, and set the author upon this inquiry

* See MORGAN'S *League of the Iroquois.*

† MORGAN'S *Iroquois.*

‡ The author's knowledge of the character of the North American Indians was acquired before he had gained any preconceived notions from the writings of others. His father, who had lived among the Iroquois, or Six Nations, in the family of Joseph Brandt, their head, and went through the usual forms of adoption in place of an Indian who had died, gave him his first lessons on Indian character; and a taste so early acquired was followed up in after life. His ancestors, for several generations, dwelt near the Indian agency at Cherry Valley, on "Wilson's Patent," though in Cooperstown village was he born. Removing early in life to a part of the country that had belonged to the Senecas, he there enjoyed a good opportunity of studying Indian character.

§ The author resided three years and a half in California after the discovery of gold.

|| Perhaps no incident can better illustrate the utter absurdity of our taking second hand from Europeans our ideas of a North American Indian than the very one under consideration.

The author's first suspicions of the civilization of the Indians of the tableland was the discovery of this arrowhead, such a one as used to be ploughed up by scores near the place where he was born. This was sufficient to elicit an inquiry—an inquiry which involved a careful examination of the

into the pretended civilization of Montezuma and his Aztecs. The investigation has resulted in his conviction that a large portion of the narrative of Cortez was designedly untrue, and written purposely to impose upon the emperor; and, further, that all the subsequent additions to that author are pure fabrications. He was, moreover, led to believe that the narrative, bearing the name of Bernal Diaz,* was written for the purpose of sustaining other histories already needing a more ample foundation than that furnished by Cortez. It is probably nothing more than the story of Gomora, with the absurdities pointed out by Las Casas partially deducted.

It will not do to denounce, in general terms, the venerable precedents so constantly quoted by our annalists. Their defects and their errors must be shown in detail, that the reader, as well as the author, may judge how much of the old *folios* are worthy of their repute, and how much must be rejected as monkish romance, or accounted

physical evidences which the country afforded—such is the effect produced on an American on seeing an arrow-head.

On the other hand, the Indians of Tehuantepec havine brought to Dupaix, the celebrated engineer of the King of Spain, a very miserable specimen of a flint arrow or spear-head, he gives it a place among his drawings of the remarkable curiosities of the country, and discourses as follows in relation to it:—"While I was preparing to proceed thither, a military weapon was brought to me which had been found in those ruins. It is the barb of a sort of dart such as I had never seen, made of very hard flint, and of the size represented in the drawing. Like our bayonets, it has three edges, and the end is formed into a shaft, with the design of being fixed in the socket of some pole or handle."—LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., page 468.

* At the end of this chapter the reader will find a summary of the author's opinion of the book of Bernal Diaz, or rather the book which bears that name; also, in the progress of the work, the value of that authority will from time to time be considered.

as the embellishments of a holy war—a sort of parody on the book of Joshua.

Montezuma was an Indian—not a Moor. Our first duty, therefore, is to divest his empire of the European and Moorish vesture with which it has been shrouded. In vindicating his character, and the Indian character of his Aztecs, it will be needful to notice the Spanish idea of history, when that of Mexico was written. It will also be necessary to examine the testimony upon which that rests. The physical improbabilities and impossibilities contained in the letters of Cortez,* have been already noted in a former publication;† as also the contradictory testimony of Cortez and Diaz, on one material point—the greatness of Tlascala.

From his distant El Dorado, Cortez wrote without a competitor. His object was to obtain the favor of his emperor, and to shield himself and guilty companions from the consequences of their crimes. Without any fear of contradiction, he transferred to the New World such captivating pictures as the Arabians had drawn of a land of gold; and gave them a local habitation. If the emperor proved a little incredulous, the remittance

* Mr. George Folsom has executed a most excellent translation, which was published by Putnam, in 1843. It is better than the original. We always quote the most accessible editions, for the convenience of readers.

† "Mexico and its Religion," is the title of the first and smallest edition. The second edition, enlarged, has the title of "Mexico, its Peasants and its Priests." The third edition is entitled "Mexico, Central America, and California." The three are published by the Harpers. Where the first edition is cited, it will be understood to refer to any of the three editions. Where other editions are cited, it will be understood as referring to the additional chapters. "Wilson's Mexico" will be a common reference.

of $900,000* in virgin gold to an exhausted treasury, dissipated every doubt, and completely effected his object. Thus gold, and fabulous pictures of the magnificence of the New Spain which he had added to the dominions of the emperor, atoned for the crime of levying war without a royal license.

Upon the good pleasure of the emperor depended, also, the judgment of his subordinates. The imperial will was all powerful with the seven bodies,† lay and ecclesiastical, that exercised the censorship in Spain. Imperial favor gained inquisitors, and presidents at once discovered, in the unsupported statements of Cortez, conclusive evidence of a new triumph of the cross over the infidels. It was vain to object to Cortez as a witness, or, if we add Diaz, as witnesses, that they were interested in magnifying

* The records of the Treasury at Madrid establish this important fact, and show how small a sum of precious metals could at that time produce a sensation in the world. At any ordinary gold-washings, Cortez, with the aid of the Indians he could engage for a few trinkets, must have dug this amount in a very short time. The most successful gold digging in California was accomplished by the aid of Indians, who did not know its value.

† To the little work of Boturnini on Mexico there are appended, 1. The declaration of his faith in the Roman Catholic Church in the most unequivocal terms. 2. The license of the Jesuit father. 3. The license of an Inquisitor. 4. The license of the Judge of the Supreme Council of the Indias. 5. The license of the Royal Council of the Indias. 6. The approbation of the "Qualificator" of the Inquisition, who was a barefooted Carmelite monk. 7. The license of the Royal Council of Castile. Beyond all this, the writer must be a person in holy orders, and of sufficient influence to obtain the favorable notice of the bodies these persons represented, and who were instinctively hostile to the diffusion of all information, particularly in regard to the New World. Nor was this the end of the difficulty; the license of any one of these officials could be revoked at pleasure, and, when republished, the work had to be re-"*visèd*."—See LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., page 269.

the empire * of Montezuma as equal to that of Germany, in order to enhance the grandeur of their exploits. Such suggestions disappeared at once before the sunshine of imperial favor, and disappeared for ever. Thus a tale, partly true, and partly invented, was incorporated with the history of Spain in an official statement. The sufficiency of the testimony to establish its truth, was determined by its present advantages to Charles V. and those accruing to his successors. Nor was it inconsistent with the rules of evidence by which miracles were then proven to occur annually in Spain. This conquest of Mexico being a holy war, there was necessarily a succession of miracles—rather it was a continuous miracle; and no other or higher grade of evidence could be required than in the case of others. So judged both monks and inquisitors; and their judgment was then conclusive on such a point. The Anglo-Saxon idea of history requires not only exemption from all this spiritual and temporal censorship, but likewise the broadest liberty of sifting truth from the various and often conflicting statements of contemporaneous witnesses. A liberty incompatible with Spanish despotism.

What freedom the Spanish historians enjoyed they held in common with the poets—that of dealing in the marvellous—of trifling continually with natural laws, by the intervention of the "ever blessed Virgin." This exemption from criticism exposed them, however, to the temptation of supplying their works with inventions in-

* FOLSOM'S *Letters of Cortez*, p. 38.

stead of facts; and led them to assume the gaudy coloring of romance instead of the sober garb of truth, since it was more likely to attract the public favor. By this course, too, a second object was attained—the church was conciliated by new attractions thrown around a holy war. Such are Spanish historians from a remote period. Of this kind of history Mr. Prescott has written,—"In short, the elements of truth and falsehood became so blended, that history was converted into romance, and romance received the credit due to history."* If we discard the Virgin and the saints from the Spanish chronicles, we have only a romance remaining—a captivating romance, indeed, but still only a romance founded upon history. The violations of natural law, involved in the adventures of these "*Christian* heroes," can only be made credible to those who believe in the miracle-working power of the saints. Take for instance those of Cortez in the valley

* The fabulous ages of Greece are scarcely more fabulous than the close of the middle ages in Spanish history, which compares very discreditably in this particular with similar periods in most European countries. The confusion of fact and fiction continues to a very late age; and as one gropes his way through the twilight of tradition he is at a loss whether the dim objects are men or shadows. The most splendid names in Castilian annals—names incorporated with the glorious achievements of the land, and embalmed alike in the page of the chronicler, and the song of the minstrel—names associated with the most stirring patriotic recollections—are now found to have been the mere coinage of fancy. There seems to be no more reason for believing in the real existence of Bernardo del Carpio, of whom so much has been said and sung, than in that of Charlemagne's Paladins, or the Knights of the Round Table. Even the Cid, the national hero of Spain, is contended, by some of the shrewest native critics of our own times, to be an imaginary being; and it is certain that the splendid fabric of his exploits, familiar as household words to every Spaniard, has crumbled to pieces under the rude touch of modern criticism. Did these Spanish historians become any more reliable by passing under the surveillance of the Inquisition, and becoming subservient to the interests of the church?—PRESCOTT'S *Miscellanies*, page 152.

of Mexico. There nearly every important statement, as given by the historians, involves the violation of a natural law, and is in conflict with the most familiar principles of modern engineering.*

Though Spaniards are now freed from the yoke of centuries, their taste for the unadulterated truth has to be cultivated. Historians must wait upon national taste, and feed sparingly an acquired appetite. Unvarnished truth can but gradually supplant monkish fables, and rigorous rules of evidence are only to be adopted when miracles cease to be of daily occurrence. This alone will sufficiently explain why Spain has neglected to scrutinize her history of the conquest of that land which has now become a foreign country.

The passion for romance had not abated when the last

* Having before me the surveys and the levels of the American army engineers, I have presumed to doubt that water ever ran up hill, that navigable canals were ever fed by "backwater," that pyramids (*teocalli*) could rest on a foundation of soft earth, that a canal twelve feet broad by twelve feet deep, mostly below the water level, was ever dug by Indians with their rude implements, that gardens ever floated in mud, or that brigantines ever sailed in a salt-marsh, or even that 100,000 men ever entered the mud-built city of Mexico by a narrow causeway in the morning, and after fighting all day returned by the same path at night to their camp, or that so large a besieging army as 150,000 men could be supported in a salt-marsh valley, surrounded by high mountains.

In answer to the question why such fables have so long passed for history, I have the ready answer, that the Inquisition controlled every printing-office in Spain and her colonies, and its censors took good care that nothing should be printed against the exploits of Cortez, whose banner was a Latin cross, and who had bestowed a large portion of his plunder on the church; who had gratified the national taste for holy wars by writing one of the finest of Spanish romances of history; and had induced the Emperor to overlook his crime by the bestowal of rich presents and rich provinces; so that, by the favor of the Emperor and the favor of the Inquisition, a *filibustero* has come down to us as a Christian hero.—*Preface to* WILSON'S *Mexico and its Religion.*

remnant of Moorish power in Spain was extinguished. Hence arose the necessity of seeking the infidels in a new and unexplored arena; and in the New World, North American Indians were made to play the part of Moors. The mantle of the Cid was thrown upon the shoulders of Cortez. This champion of the cross,* according to the programme, with a handful of *Christian* warriors, drives before him legions of unbelievers—Indian villages grow into Moorish cities, adorned with mosques† and palaces. Montezuma becomes a Sultan, the lord of a Moorish palace. He is waited on by Moorish emirs; he is served by Moorish slaves; and calculates time by a Persian calendar. Evidently Cortez was as familiar with the history of the Cid as Cervantes was with that of Amadis de Gaul. Still that hero is inferior to ours in one respect. Other men have immortalized his adventures. Cortez has immortalized his own‡—a rare exception to that rule which forbids a hero to be his own chronicler. In recording his achievements he is unfortunate—he confesses to the practice of falsehood, though only with *the Indians!* The witness, Bernal Diaz, is deficient in good morals,§ and

* "As we carried the banner of the cross and fought for our faith," &c.—CORTEZ' *Letters*, page 64.

† "I assure your majesty that I have counted, from a mosque or temple, 400 mosques and as many towers—all which were of mosques in this city [Cholula]."—CORTEZ' *Letters* (*Folsom's Translation, N. Y.*, 1843), page 71.

‡ Cortez, besides narrating his adventures, which were truly extraordinary, has fabricated and interwoven a romance with such verisimilitude that he has astonished the world.

§ "This was a good hint to us in future, so that afterward, when we had captured any beautiful Indian females, we concealed them, and gave out that they had escaped. As soon as it was come to the marking day, or, if any one of us stood in favor with Cortez, he got them secretly marked [viz., branded with a red-hot

apocryphal. Besides the poetical license common to their country, we have then these two narrators to support a vast historic fabric! Still, like the story of the Cid, it has served its purpose—it has had its day and its generation—the church it has served well, and a despotic king best of all!

Besides the reasons already given for distrusting the correctness of Spanish statements, there is another, more secret in character, but not less potent than all combined—fear of incurring the displeasure of that tribunal which punished unbelief with fire, torture, and confiscation. A tribunal which regarded suspicion of heresy as an offence,* could hardly have sustained itself had it not exercised a controlling influence in shaping the literature of the country. The fanatically religious character of Spain, during the Moorish wars, was kept up after the fuel on which it naturally fed was exhausted, by the terrors which the "Holy Office," the Inquisition, inspired. Hypocrisy then mingled with enthusiasm in the presence of *the religious*,† while the "Holy Office" extended its labors

iron] during the night-time, and paid a fifth of their value to him. In a short time we possessed a great number of such slaves."—BERNAL DIAZ, vol. I., pages 31 and 32.

Never was there a band of Anglo-Saxon outlaws, cut-throats, pirates, or buccaneers that reached the point of human depravity at which they could brand, as cattle are branded, with a red-hot iron, swarms of women taken by violence, in order that they might not make any mistakes in recognising their numberless wives! None but Spanish heroes of a "holy war" ever exhibited such a picture of total depravity.—WILSON'S *Mexico*.

* After a trial protracted through eighteen years, the Archbishop of Toledo was convicted, on appeal to Pius VII., of "being strongly suspected of heresy." His death soon after followed, whether from natural causes or "by procurement" is of no importance to our present discussion.

† *The religious* is a general term applied in Catholic countries to all persons who have assumed religious vows. It is applied as well to nuns as to monks.

from adjudicating men to be burned to the burning of manuscripts likewise.*

There is a class of writers peculiar to Spain, whose works have exercised so great an influence upon its destinies, they must not be overlooked—those who have come down to us in manuscript. They are apparently of three degrees—the first composed of those not exactly incurring the displeasure of the "Holy Office," but not adjudged by it suitable to be licensed or printed—the second do not appear to have written for the press, but rather for the purpose of being read before the king, or to select circles of grandees; among whom these tomes appear to have been more highly prized than printed volumes. Of this class is Sarmiento's History of the Empire of the Peruvian Incas, which altogether surpasses that of Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas and the Happy Valley." In this Peruvian Empire of Sarmiento's creation, the despotism was so perfect that the private affairs of every

* "The hymns of the ancient Mexicans, which Sahagan translated into Spanish and inserted in the appendix to the second book of his history of New Spain, were destroyed by the order of the Inquisition, as a note to the original manuscript expressly states. Nor is it unlikely that the Phœnix of Siguenza perished in a pile lighted by the same hands."—LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., page 533.

I am inclined to think the above is one of the doubtful statements of Sahagan. It is easier to believe that the historian invented the statement, to add importance to his work, than to believe that the Inquisition would interfere in this way, before the work had received the sanction of the head of the order. The Inquisition has enough to answer for without being made the stalking-horse for every offence against the moral law.

Spanish historians abound in these references to authorities, which *they state* got thus and thus destroyed. They make doubtful statements, and then prove them by reference to authorities, which once existed, if we will credit them. Is this evidence?—AUTHOR.

individual were regulated by authority. Yet every one was happy and contented; though from the day he was born until the day he died none acted voluntarily.* Nothing could have been more grateful to the ears of a despot such as Philip II., than this contribution, which so forcibly illustrated the beauties of despotism. And most faithfully has it been preserved among the royal treasures of the Escurial. This manuscript, so unobjectionable however to those in authority, was never printed. But its author, as President of the Council of the Indias, took good care it should be the model of all subsequent narratives that obtained his license. The third class consisted of those displeasing to any one of the censors or officers of the Inquisition.

There is another show of historic authority, also, constantly appealed to by Spanish authors to prove statements of doubtful credibility—tradition. The appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe—the pious fraud of Zumarraga—is an instance of the kind. The form of the miracle has entirely outgrown the limits of the early narratives, and now rests for its authority partly upon the relation given by *Juan Diago*, and partly upon tradition. So with the histories of this Conquest. They rest partly upon the narrative of Cortez and the doubtful one of Diaz, and partly upon tradition—the latter an inexhaustible mine to which all can resort to prove the untrue or the impossible. The restrictions imposed upon discussion in Mexico, when under despotic rule, make these traditions,

* PRESCOTT'S *Peru*, vol. I., page 114.

however, of no value as authority. They are the mere echoes of those who regulated public opinion—the monks. The most wonderful exploits of Cortez, or the most remarkable acts performed by the Virgin at Guadalupe, were duly communicated to the common people. With many marvellous additions, these became the staple of tradition. They passed from one to another, with embellishments, of course; and none dared gainsay the story, or its new increase, on peril of conventual displeasure. Where there is freedom, there is a reasonable ground to suppose the errors of tradition will be corrected. But in the city of Mexico the power of its priesthood was not destroyed until the present year;* and still, by a curious coincidence, the Radical party are as much interested in sustaining the glory of the Empire of Montezuma as the priests themselves. The one that it may uphold the credit of the church, the other the renown of the ancient nationality.

The two great traditionary events are the burning of the Toltec picture writing by the Mexican emperor, Ytzcoatl, sixty-two years before the reign of Montezuma, and that of the Aztec annals by Zumarraga†—

* The power here referred to is the indirect methods the clergy had of persecuting obnoxious persons through the moneyed power of the church, through vexatious accusations in the church courts, &c. By the late decree *Juerez* the jurisdiction of the church courts in civil matters has been revoked.

† This allegation of burning records is a very common way of accounting for the disappearance of papers; even the oft repeated story of the burning of the Alexandrian Library is disputed by Mohammedans with a fair show against its probability.

"THE BURNING OF THE LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA.

"Many Christian writers, either on

both of these most probably originated with Zumarraga himself—a cunning and artful man; wielding substantially all the power of the church. On secular affairs, even now, tradition in Mexico is the most unreliable authority a stranger can admit; and, after a very little experience, he settles down upon the old maxim, to believe little he hears; and, following that closely, he will come off safest in the end. In religious matters tradition is even less worthy.

We have already referred to that mad enthusiasm of an Irish lord,* upon the subject of the monkish theories of the Aztec origin, and the benefit he has conferred by

account of their want of knowledge, or from an unfounded prejudice against the true faith (except Gibbon and other eminent authors), accuse our Caliph of the unpardonable crime of having ordered the contents of the famous library that once adorned this city to be used as fuel for the five thousand baths which are said to have been here. In the first place they ought to have known that Mahommedan tonets teach all true believers to hold papers of all kinds sacred, and never to touch them, even with their feet, nor allow them to be thrown into an unclean place, as they may contain the name of the Almighty Allah—contrary to the customs of the Christians of the present age, who have no regard even for their Bible, and would use its leaves, if damaged in any way, as useless papers. Secondly, it is quite absurd to think the same Caliph would commit such an act of insanity, who, on his visit to Jerusalem as a conqueror, ordered the great university there to be repaired at the public expense, and who would not say his prayers within the grand temple of that holy place, for fear of its being spoiled by his soldiers following his example. Besides, the General Amru, who was a lover of science and literature, and a man gifted with poetical talent, would by no means make himself an instrument of such an act of irrational madness." —*Autobiography of a Mohammedan Gentleman.*

One of the singular effects of Mohammedanism is the value it places on truth. In this respect Moslems compare favorably with the best of those Christians whose priests possess the dispensing power.

* The main objects of Lord Kingsborough's monster work appear to be —1st. To establish a Jewish origin for the Aztecs; and 2d. The preaching to them of the gospel by the Apostle Thomas.

publishing the much talked of, but never before scrutinized, Mexican picture writing. It resulted from this publication, that these far-famed records were at once denounced as of Spanish and not of Aztec origin. They were not in truth originals, but purported to be their copies, made when such productions were in demand at remunerating prices. The late Albert Gallatin was the first to subject these picture records to a severe scrutiny, while at the same time he pointed out the discrepancies among the Spanish historians of the Aztec Empire. The results of his laborious investigations are contained in the first volume of the transactions of the American Ethnological Society. The two most valuable specimens of these records are duplicate copies, the one called the Codex Vaticanus, and the other the Codex Tellurianus.* Each follows the Spanish chronology! The Vatican Codex, as appears from the text, is a copy by an Italian called Father Pietro, in the year 1556, about the date of the Virgin Mary's appearance at Guadalupe. Perhaps he obtained the originals as Zumarraga did her portrait. The proof in favor of the one is exactly the same as in the other—the statement of an interested party! Until some evidence, or shadow of evidence, can be found that these quasi records are of Aztec origin, it would be useless to examine the contradictions, absurdities, and nonsense they present.† Unless some further light than the world at

* Judging of the value of the historical records which may have been destroyed by those which have been preserved, the loss is perhaps less to be regretted than is generally supposed.—Hon. Albert Gallatin *in Transactions*, vol. I., page 145, *of American Ethnological Society.*

† On the two opposite sides of the first hall we entered, of the Mexican

present possesses should be discovered, the whole story must be considered as one of Zumarraga's pious frauds.

The same venerable ex-minister has also rendered an important service to literature by simply collating the standard Spanish authorities, when they give dates, for the occurrence of important historical events. Fifty and a hundred years are ordinary discrepancies with them.* No two agree in their relation of those said to have occurred during the last hundred years prior to the advent of the Spaniards. These discrepancies are so glaring as to make the whole unworthy of credit. While none pro-

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Museum, I saw spread out the pictorial chronology of two dynasties that had passed away—the viceregal line of potentates standing over against the royal line of Aztec emperors. The portraits of the vicekings, from Cortez down to the last of his successors, stretch entirely across one side of the hall, and about the same number of Indian caçiques are daubed upon a piece of papyrus that is fastened upon the opposite wall. It requires the greatest possible stretch of liberality for one accustomed to Indian efforts of this kind to dignify such intolerable daubs with the name of paintings. And yet this is the picture writing of the Aztecs, with which the world has been so edified for centuries. If there is or ever was an Iroquois Indian that should undertake to stain so miserably, I verily believe he would be expelled from his tribe. To make it manifest that this was intended for a chronological record of the imperial line, black lines were daubed from one of these effigies to another. From a printed label in Spanish affixed to this wonderful relic, I learned that it was intended to represent the wanderings of the Aztecs from California.—*Mexico and its Religion.*

* From a long table of the contradictions among the standard authors take the following items:—

	Fernando de Alva.	Sahagan.	Vutra.	Clavigero.
Mexicans leave Aztlan			1064	1160
Mexicans arrive at Huelcolluacan				1168
Mexicans arrive at Chicomoturic			1168	
Mexicans arrive in the valley of Mexico . .	1141		1229	1210
Mexicans arrive at Chapultepec			1248 1275	1248
Foundation of Mexico	1260		1325	1325

The variations in dates in the picture writings are equal to these.—*Transactions*, vol. I., page 162.

To complete the list of absurdities and contradictions, it must be borne in mind that the picture writings bring the history down to the years 1555 and 1560—nearly forty years after the conquest! That the dates

duce the authorities on which their statements rest, it is impossible to confide in any. Evidently their tales are only the embodiment of vague Indian tradition inwoven with the speculations and inferences of the cloister. The whole case, as they present it, makes a very strong argument indeed against the Aztecs ever possessing historic records of any kind, or any accurate system of computing time. The story, that a class was set apart to preserve a record of important political events* as they occurred, like the other statements to which we have alluded, rests on air. Such is literature founded on the sanction of censors.

Here would seem to be the proper place to sum up the difficulties to be encountered in an attempt to write a history, according to Anglo-Saxon ideas, of the Empire

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in the text are expressed in hieroglyphics not according to the Aztec, but according to the Spanish, or Christian era; that the Spanish pretended translation is evidently derived from some other source than the picture records.

Boturnini introduces a plate into his collection that has broad Italian countenances.—See *Ibid., passim.*

* If the difference of dates between the several authors, even for the events which took place within one hundred years before the Spanish conquest, throws some doubts on the authenticity of the documents from which they were derived, there can be no doubt with respect to more ancient times. It is evident that the accounts given by the several authors are not derived from any contemporaneous historical records, and are purely traditional. Facts may be misunderstood, or misrepresented by contemporaneous writers. But men who keep a diary, priests charged with the care of recording facts as they occur, cannot be mistaken as to the dates of such plain and simple facts as the death of a king, and the accession of his successor, which take place in their own town, and under their eyes. When therefore we find that no two authors agree in that respect, and that the difference exceeds fifty, and occasionally one hundred, years; we may safely conclude that within a few years after the conquest, there did not exist a single original historical painting, in which events prior to the fifteenth century were faithfully recorded under their proper date.—*Transactions*, vol. I., page 164.

of Mexico and of its conquest. The standard Spanish annalists are, at best, only monkish romancers, and while a Moorish coloring has been given by them to their record of events, the system of despotism then existing, precludes the idea of an unadorned history. Before the present generation, assertion could not, in Spain, be subjected to the scrutiny common to neighboring states. It depended for its valuc upon the good pleasure of those in power—so, the licensed history of the Aztecs before the conquest, may be founded upon the gleanings of some vague Indian traditions, and may as well be, the inventions of the historians themselves. The simple existence of Aztec picture records is extremely problematical, and the events of the conquest have no other authority than the statements of a party or parties interested in magnifying their own exploits, while a sevenfold censorship precluded exposure. To all this, add the standard of truth is proverbially lower in Spain than in Anglo-Saxon countries.

The cloud that rests upon every record of Mexican history has thus been frankly and fully stated, that the reader may not expect a series of captivating dramatic scenes, translated from Spanish folios; where, perhaps, they have lain buried among monkish speculations since the days of the Arabians. There is a verisimilitude in much of this quasi-history that would deceive, if it were possible, the very elect; still we must not follow shadows. A striking feature in Spanish literature is the plausibility with which it has carried a fictitious narrative through its most minute details, completely captivating the unini-

tiated. If its supporters were not permitted to write truth, they succeeded in getting up a most excellent imitation. In Bernal Diaz the alleged individual affairs of private soldiers are so artfully interwoven with the general history as to give the effect of truth to the whole. There being no fear of contradiction, this practice of inventing familiar details could be indulged in to any extent, while the beauty and simplicity of such a style fixes at once the doubting. Step by step the reader is led along, absorbed in the perils that environ the hero of the history! and, whether his genius, or the Virgin Mary, rescue him, the student at least experiences a great relief. He breathes decidedly easier, and yet, he has mistaken a romance for a history; and now, unwilling to break its charm, he dares not question its probability. This feeling influences all, and must be encountered by every author, who attempts to discard those venerable myths that for centuries have passed undoubted; and, besides, he must labor here and there, in books, in nature, in Indian customs, and in personal observation, to gather the items, one by one, that are to be woven into an Anglo-American history of the Aztecs and the conquest of their kingdom.

BERNAL DIAZ.

The name that usually follows Cortez, when the conquest of Mexico is discussed, is that of Bernal Diaz de Castillo. We hear nothing of him until he appeared on the stage as an historian, or rather as a narrator of the events of the conquest—a witness to sustain historic tales fifty years after the war. The pretence for his appearance at so late a day, is to vindicate the claims of the companions of Cortez, for a share in the glory of the conquest.

The real cause was, doubtless, the urgent necessity to have a second witness to sustain the story, as well as to enlarge the scope of the narrative to the dimensions to which the historic fictions had swelled it. Perhaps, too, something had to be done to counteract the effect of Las Casas, while in favor with the emperor.

But who was Bernal Diaz? This would be a strange question to ask in a country where there was liberty of speech and liberty of the press, but in Spain the censorship was not only repressive, it was "suggestive." It not only suppressed the writings of authors, but compelled them to father sentiments the very opposite of those they wished to publish. Take the case of poor Sahagan, who wrote what he claimed to be the Indian version of that event, but believed to have been a refutation of the histories of the conquest. When his book was allowed to see the light, after a delay of many years, it was found that his alleged Indian account had been suppressed, and the regular Spanish one substituted. Las Casas, whose "Apology for the Indians"* occupied thirty-two years of his life, was allowed only to publish that which treated of St. Domingo. But his refutation of the histories of the conquest of Mexico is wholly suppressed, his account terminating at the landing of Cortez at Vera Cruz. To have proved the Conquistadors buccaneers would have spoiled a Holy War, which was just what the Inquisition would not allow. With such facts before us, it is safe to declare that not a single statement of fact that affected either the interests of the king or the church was ever published in Spain or her colonies during the three hundred years of the existence of the Inquisition; but what was published was modified to suit the wishes of the censors, without any regard to the sentiments of the putative author.

Who then was Bernal Diaz? How came he to be familiar with the writings of Las Casas that never saw the light? Had he access to the secret archives of the convent? He refers to the account of Las Casas as follows:—

"These [the slaughters at Cholula] are, among others, those abominable monstrosities which the Bishop of Chiapas [Las Casas] can find no end in enumerating. But he is wrong when he asserts that we gave the Cholulans the above-mentioned chastisement without any provocation, and merely for pastime."* The history of Diaz is among the standard literary productions of that age, and is a very picture of candor and simplicity. On every page there are such evident efforts at verisimilitude as to raise a suspicion in the mind of those familiar with Spanish peculiarities that something more than

* LOCKHART'S *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 207.

a simple narrative was the object of writing this book fifty years after the conquest. By supposing the author only sixteen years old when he came to America, Lockhart makes him seventy years of age. But if we suppose him to have been of a reasonable age when he began his adventures, he must have been between eighty and ninety when this book is alleged to have been written. Gomora had overdone the matter in the superhuman achievements which he had ascribed to Cortez, while Las Casas had pointed out his inconsistencies, and proved the conquerors cruel monsters. Something, then, had to be done to avert the odium that was beginning to attach to this crusade against the pretended infidels. In Spain, where a padlock was upon every man's mouth, and where each one buried his suspicions in the most secret recesses of his heart, and trembled lest, even in his dreams, a thought of impiety might reach the ear of a *Familiar*, history could always be made to conform to the interests of the church.

Since the records of the Spanish Inquisition have become the property of the public, and the manner in which the facts of history were trifled with, is now understood, it is a question more easily asked than answered, Who wrote such and such a book?

Who, then, wrote the history of Bernal Diaz? We have seen that it points out the monstrous exaggerations of Gomora, and cuts down those of Cortez more than half, yet the statements of Diaz are still incredible. It is a very religious book, as the Spaniards understand the word religion,* and reflects great credit on the church. On the evidence hereafter to be presented, we have with much deliberation concluded to denounce Bernal Diaz as a myth, though in this conclusion we differ decidedly from Mr. Prescott, who says: "Bernal Diaz, the untutored child of nature, is a most true and literal copyist of nature. He introduces us into the heart of the camp. All the picturesque scenes and romantic incidents of the campaign are reflected in his pages, as in a mirror. The lapse of fifty years had no power over the spirit of the veteran. The fire of youth glows in every line of his rude history."—PRESCOTT, vol. II., p. 478.

MODERN HISTORIANS OF THE CONQUEST.

Repeating what we have already proved—that the statements of the early historians are irreconcilable with each other, and often, while self-contradictory, puerile, absurd, and impossible; yet they all claim to rest upon picture records that have disappeared. To their authorities each one adds

* Not godliness, but that kind of devotion which consists in externals.

statements, also, as of his own knowledge, which are impossible. At Mexico, Tezcuco, and throughout the country of the Aztecs, we find unmistakable relics of savage art. Every apparent exception can be accounted for, without admitting the Aztecs to have been a civilized people, though giving a fair value to all the evidence, or color of evidence, to be found at Mexico or anywhere else. Besides, we have ventured, too, to assert that these alleged histories were fabricated for the purpose of conferring glory on the Virgin and the Church; the better to accomplish which, all writings in relation to the new world were confined to the priesthood. Such are the materials out of which the modern Spanish historians of the conquest have compiled their works. They can have no other possible authorities. The pretence that they have had any secret or other source of information, is a mere subterfuge, that has often misled our historians, and induced them to quote Boturnini, Clavigero, and others we shall presently notice, as authority.

To write a history for American readers, the author must start from an American point of view, with some real knowledge of Indian character, and some knowledge, too, of the character of the Spaniards, and of their religious notions. Then he will be enabled to pick out a few truths from such doubtful writers, and that is all their value.

M. Dupaix cannot be treated as we treat historians. He speaks from his personal observation as an engineer. His arguments are legitimate. His defect consists in an inability to discriminate between the products of civilized and savage art. In his notes he battles stoutly against the unbelief in Aztec civilization then prevalent at Mexico; and not unfrequently cites savage art as evidence of Indian civilization. Where the two overlap each other, where hatchets of stone and tools of brass are found, he unwittingly confounds them. We shall speak of him when we are done with the historians.

BOTURNINI.

Chevalier Lorenzo Boturnini Benaduci, Royal Historiographer of the Indias, is the author of "*An Idea of a new General History of North America,*" and of an unpublished volume, entitled a "New History of Mexico." He is the first of the modern historians, as a hundred years only has elapsed since he completed his historical labors, in the year 1749.

As he is often quoted as an authority by Anglo-Saxon authors, it is necessary he should be noticed here. He was an Italian by birth, sent to Mexico in the year 1735, as the agent of the Countess Santibañey, one of the ten thousand pretended descendants of Montezuma. While at Mexico the active spirit of a devotee began to develop itself. He was overwhelmed with devo-

tion, on contemplating the *transcendent miracle!* of the appearance of the Immaculate Virgin at Guadalupe, and his whole soul was absorbed in gathering materials to celebrate her praises. He was the prototype of Lord Kingsborough in superstition; but a thousand-fold more intoxicated with the glorious condescension of the blessed Virgin and the saints. Having gathered all the materials relating to the miracles performed by the Virgin at Guadalupe, and all the other materials relating to those of the conquest, he hastened to Rome in his hot zeal, and there obtained from the Pope a bull, authorizing the coronation of that miserable daub, "the miraculous picture of the Virgin," at Guadalupe.*

* THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE. —I learn from a proclamation of an archbishop of Mexico, that "the adoration of this holy image" [picture] exists not only in Mexico, but in South America and Spain, and that it has propagated itself in Italy, Flanders, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Ireland, and Transylvania. I shall be excused for giving the substance of this miraculous apparition, since it is now an article of belief of all good Romanists, having been proved before the Congregation of Rites at Rome to have been a miraculous appearance of the Mother of God upon earth, in the year and at the place aforesaid. And the proclamation farther informs us that his holiness, Benedict XIV., was so fully persuaded of the truth of the tradition, that he made "cordial devotion to our Lady of Guadalupe, and conceded the proper mass and ritual of devotion. He also made mention of it in the lesson of the second *nocturnal* . . . ., declaring from the high throne of the Vatican that Mary, most holy, *non fecit taliter omni nationi.*"

THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE.

Juan Diego had a sick father, and, like a good and pious son, he started for the medicine-man. He was stopped by the Virgin at the spot where the roundhouse on the extreme right of the picture is situated. She reproached him with the slowness of the Indians in embracing the new religion, and at the same time she announced to him the important fact that she was to be the patron of the Indians, and also charged him to go and

This last *transcendent* "act of *piety*" betrayed him into difficulty. Either he neglected to obtain the sanction of the Council of the Indias, or that body, adjudging him to be a maniac or fool, had him cast into a prison at Mexico. This mishap proved the stepping-stone to royal favor. Being sent to Spain, he was taken from prison to become the historiographer of a half-witted king. In this office he had full scope for indulging his passion for superstition.

Like all devotees, he possessed an abundance of zeal, and lacked only moral principle!* For, whether upon the banks of the Ganges, or at Mexico, whether in the service of Juggernaut, or of the Virgin, the effect is the same on the devotee; he lacerates his body as an atonement for his sins—and becomes oblivious of moral obligations in the exact ratio of his fanaticism. I have yet to find a devotee, with rope and sandals and lacerated body, who is not "a l—r by instinct," and a scamp in practice. Yet, by a singular order of Providence, those of them most addicted to falsehood appear ordinarily the most credulous—they seem given up to strong delusions.

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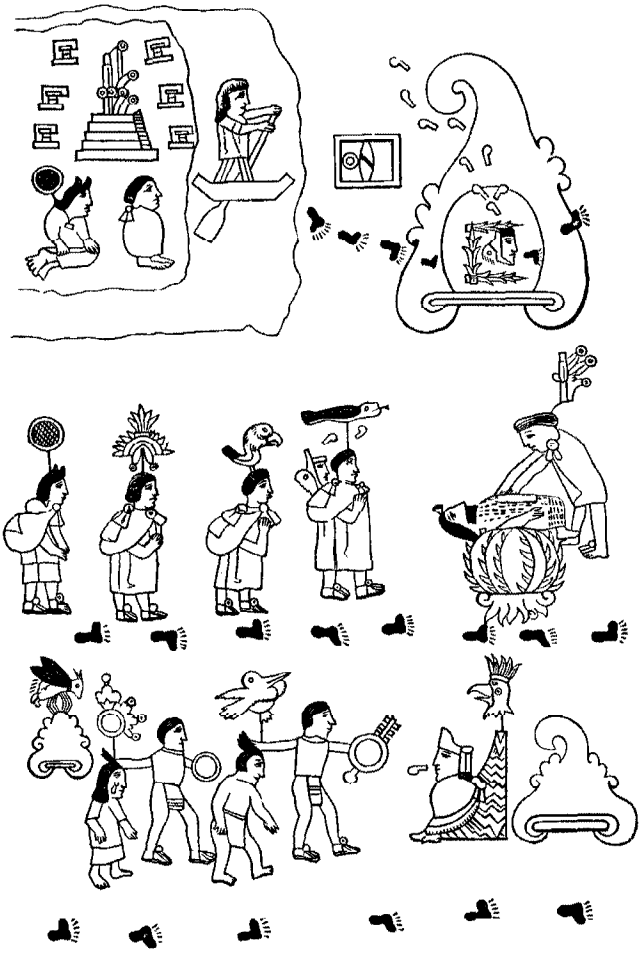
report the same to Zumarraga [the pseudo-burner of Aztec records], who then enjoyed the lucrative office of Bishop of Mexico. Juan obeyed the heavenly messenger, but found himself turned out of doors as a lying Indian. The second time he went for the medicine-man he took another path, but was again stopped on the way at the spot where the second roundhouse now stands. She now required him to go a second time to the bishop, and, in order to convince him of the truth of the story, she directed the Indian to climb to the top of the rock, where he would find a bunch of roses growing out of the smooth porphyry. The Indian did as he was commanded, and finding the roses in the place named, he gathered them in his *tilma*, and carried them to the bishop. The spot is marked by a small chapel. On opening his *tilma* before the bishop and a company of gentlemen assembled for that purpose, it was found that the roses had imprinted themselves around a very coarse picture of the Virgin. This is the story of the miraculous appearance of our Lady of Guadalupe.

The bishop was hard to convince at first, but when he considered that the Indian could not himself paint, and had no money with which to pay an artist, and, above all, as there was a fair chance of making money by the transaction, he finally yielded to conviction.—WILSON'S *Mexico*.

* The broad moral distinction that separates the non-idolatrous Christians from their idolatrous brethren, seems to extend to the heathen, far beyond European influence—in the interior of Africa; the heathen that are non-idolaters being altogether superior to the idolatrous. "But other incidents which happened subsequently showed, as well as this, that idolaters are not so virtuous as those who have no idols."—LIVINGSTONE'S *Africa*, page 332.

Boturnini is the very personification of this sort of imposture and credulity. At the city of Mexico, where there were no literary treasures, he pretends he gathered those, "he would not exchange for all the gold and silver, diamonds and pearls in the world," as he states in presenting a petition to the Council of the Indias, for a redress of grievances! He accounts for the loss of his pretended Toltec picture records, which would have established the visit of the Apostle Thomas to America, by alleging their capture by an English cruiser on their way to Spain! His Italian, with a



BOTURNINI'S FAC-SIMILE OF AZTEC PICTURE WRITINGS.

big wig and gown, in a little boat proves the existence of an Aztec tradition in relation to the flood, *to the satisfaction of the learned!* In the second line of the above picture writing, the man cutting a woman, or perhaps a sheep, with a knife, is offered as proof of human sacrifice! The third is a disputed line. The monks insist that it exhibits the Indians leading victims to sacrifice. But Dupaix contends that such representations indicate a victory, and are emblematical of conquered provinces! If only such contemptible-looking creatures were offered, as the ones represented in the picture, it might almost reconcile us to human sacrifices. But this is a question for the learned in hierographics!

VEYTIA.

Next to Boturnini comes his intimate companion and literary executor, Veytia. He was a native of that city of priests, Puebla of the Angels; a city more noted for its miracles, than for the virtue of its women, as Madame Calderon had occasion to learn to her great annoyance.* There, as in Italy,

* Perhaps I could not present a more deplorable picture of the moral condition of the ladies of Puebla, who are celebrated for being so very devout, "but not very virtuous," than by copying the following from Madame Calderon de la Barca's "Life in Mexico:"—

"Yesterday (Sunday), a great day here for visiting after mass is over. We had a concourse of Spaniards, all of whom seemed anxious to know whether or not I intended to wear a Poblana dress at the fancy ball, and seemed wonderfully interested about it. Two young ladies or women of Puebla, introduced by Señor ——, came to proffer their services in giving me all the necessary particulars, and dressed the hair of Josefa, a little Mexican girl, to show me how it should be arranged; mentioned several things still wanting, and told me that every one was much pleased at the idea of my going in a Poblana dress. I was rather surprised that *every one* should trouble themselves about it. About twelve o'clock the president, in full uniform, attended by his aids-de-camp, paid me a visit, and sat about half an hour, very amiable as usual. Shortly after came more visits, and just as we had supposed they were all concluded, and we were going to dinner, we were told that the secretary of state, the ministers of war and of the interior, and others, were in the drawing-room. And what do you think was the purport of their visit? To adjure me by all that was most alarming, to discard the idea of making my appearance in a Poblana dress! They assured us that Poblanas generally were *femmes de rien*, that they wore no stockings, and that the wife of the Spanish minister should by no means assume, even for one evening, such a costume. I brought in my dresses, showed their length and their propriety, but in vain; and, in fact, as to their being in the right, there could be no doubt,

the abundance of monks and priests determines the character of the women. This author brings down the history of Boturnini to a period about seventy-five years before the conquest. He died somewhere near the year 1780.

CLAVIGERO.

We have already seen this author's chronology amounts to nothing, it is so utterly conflicting and contradictory. But, as he follows Veytia, in chronological order, and is looked upon as a standard by *the learned!* we must notice his work—*Antiqua Studia de Mejico.* What facilities he had for acquiring knowledge, of the subjects on which he writes, does not appear. He was born at Vera Cruz in the year 1732. Being a member of the Order of Jesus, he was of course expelled from the country with its other members. In the year 1767 he took up his residence in Italy, where he devoted himself to illustrating the antiquities of a country of whose antiquities he knew nothing, though born in it. The manufactured antiquities of Mexico

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and nothing but a kind motive could have induced them to take this trouble; so I yielded with a good grace, and thanked the cabinet council for their timely warning, though fearing that, in this land of procrastination, it would be difficult to procure another dress for the fancy ball.

"They had scarcely gone, when Señor —— brought a message from several of the principal ladies here, whom we do not even know, and who had requested that, as a stranger, I should be informed of the reasons which rendered the Poblana dress objectionable in this country, especially on any public occasion like this ball. I was really thankful for my escape.

"Just as I was dressing for dinner, a note was brought, marked *reservada* (private), the contents of which appeared to me more odd than pleasant. I have since heard, however, that the writer, Don José Arnaiz, is an old man, and a sort of privileged character, who interferes in everything, whether it concerns him or not. I translate it for your benefit:—

"The dress of a Poblana is that of a woman of no character. The lady of the Spanish minister is a *lady* in every sense of the word. However much she may have compromised herself, she ought neither to go as a Poblana, nor in any other character but her own. So says to the Señor de C———n, José Arnaiz, who esteems him as much as possible."—"*Life in Mexico.*"

"If priests were angels, the town would be rightly named, for it is a city of priests and *religious;* men who have consecrated their lives to begging, and count it a merit with God to live on charity. Convents of male and female *religious* abound, and, as the books tell us, $40,000,000, in the form of mortgages upon the fairest lands of the Vega of Puebla, is consecrated to their support under the supervision of the bishop!"—*Mexico and its Religion.*

had brought so good a price in foreign countries they had all been carried away nearly two hundred years before Clavigero was born. He makes a display of his knowledge of the *grammars* of the Indian languages, but long after those languages had dwindled into a contemptible mongrelism. He is introduced by Prescott, as one "who had made himself intimately acquainted with [Mexican] antiquities, by a careful examination of the *paintings*, &c."—so utterly ignorant are the most intelligent of our people in relation to the actual state of things at Mexico! The only piece of picture writing remaining being apparently too valueless to find a foreign purchaser.

HISTORIANS AT THE MEXICAN CONQUEST. DON LUCAS ALAMAN—DON CARLOS BUSTAMENTE.

Since the independence, the priests' party, at Mexico, has furnished two distinguished *literati*, who have devoted their talents to illustrating the superstitious portions of their country's history—Don Lucas Alaman and Don Carlos Bustamente. The letter has written a voluminous history of the miraculous apparition of the ever-blessed Virgin, at Guadalupe. Manuel M. Lerdo de Tajede, on the red-republican side, has written a volume—a history of Vera Cruz—in which he has followed Mr. Prescott, literally. These are all.

MR. PRESCOTT.

A more delicate duty remains—to speak freely of an American whose success in the field of literature has raised him to the highest rank. His talents have not only immortalized himself—they have added a new charm to the subject of his histories. He showed his faith by the expenditure of a fortune at the commencement of his enterprise, in the purchase of books and MSS. relating to "America of the Spaniards." These were the materials out of which he framed his two histories of the two aboriginal empires, Mexico and Peru. At the time these works were written he could not have had the remotest idea of the circumstances under which his Spanish authorities had been produced, or of the external pressure that gave them their peculiar form and character. He could hardly understand that peculiar organization of Spanish society through which one set of opinions might be uniformly expressed in public, while the intellectual classes in secret entertain entirely opposite ones. He acted throughout in the most perfect good faith; and if, on a subsequent scrutiny, his authorities have proved to be the fabulous creations of Spanish-Arabian fancy, he is not in fault. They were the standards when he made use of them—a sufficient justification of his acts.

"This beautiful world we inhabit," said an East Indian philosopher, "rests on the back of a mighty elephant; the elephant stands on the back of a monster turtle; the turtle rests upon a serpent; and the serpent on nothing." Thus stand the literary monuments Mr. Prescott has constructed. They are castles resting upon a cloud which reflects an eastern sunrise upon a western horizon.

ROBERTSON'S HISTORY OF AMERICA.

Dr. Robertson, principal of the University [High School] of Edinburgh, has immortalized himself by informing the world that the Iroquois [the Six Nations of New York], eat human flesh.* As the writer of this note is an Iroquois (not in blood, it is true, but by the adoption of an ancestor), he is bound by the customs of his tribe—Is he too a cannibal? Such is the unmitigated nonsense with which the most learned men of Europe tarnish their volumes, when they write about American Indians. They are so profoundly ignorant of their real character, they are unable to sift fabulous statements from those which are true. Hence they put them all together, and then exhaust themselves in profound reflections upon Indian customs, existing only in the imagination of inventors of marvels. How few can believe the world has been deluded by monkish fables palmed off as Aztec history! But here is a Scotch historian—who could have had access to the records of the war and colonial offices at London—gravely informing the world, that a people most advanced of all American Indians, allies, too, of the British crown for two hundred years, were cannibals! taking as his authority a Jesuitical author, instead of applying to the proper department of his own government for information. It is not true that American Indians eat human flesh, except under those extreme circumstances, when white men do the same.†

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* ROBERTSON (Harper's edition), page 172, book IV. It can be found in any edition, by referring back from note (71). "Let us go and eat that nation," &c., is the figurative language of Indians for going to war.

† Besides the inducement of extreme hunger, there is another, very rare indeed among Indians, as well as whites—it is, as an act of vengeance. Barrow, in his "Bible in Spain," mentions an instance of seeing a human hand, drawn exultingly from his bowl of soup by one of the revolutionary mob of Madrid. So monstrous an act of atrocity may be questioned. But it is done by Indians when infuriated, and in the midst of slaughter, so rare, however, as to excite the greatest horror among the Indians themselves; the very purpose for which it was perpetrated. Wilkinson speaks of the injustice of the Greeks in charging the Egyptians with cannibalism; construing their figurative language literally. No less injustice is done to the Indians.

This historian and Presbyterian minister was consecrated to preach doctrines that seem never to have touched his own heart. His sympathy for that burlesque of godliness, exhibited by the enemies of his faith, makes such an idea improbable. He did not discriminate between the self-righteousness of the bodily torturing devotee, and the humble faith of the true believer, nor perceive that these two characters differ as essentially, as the morbid sympathizer with fabulous suffering does from the real philanthropist—the very fountains of the heart being dried up in the one, while in the other they are daily expanding. He was captivated by the convent life of abstinence and bodily mortification attributed to Charles V. Without stopping to inquire into its truth, he makes it the theme of one of his most brilliant rhapsodies. But lo! when the secrets of the convent were at last revealed, the records proved the ex-emperor passed his time in gluttonous feasting, and in financiering for his son.

He is equally unfortunate in his eloquent paragraphs on the supposed voluntary stranding of Cortez' ships; a little investigation showing that that famous captain had brought his vessels into such a position, on a tideless lee shore, as to expose them to destruction from the first "white squall" that should thereafter occur, and where, from the nature of the coast and the character of the winds, it was hardly possible he could have stranded them voluntarily.

He has devoted his finest efforts to subjects that had only a fabulous existence, thus exposing himself to ridicule in the fondness he exhibits for the vindictive enemies of his own faith. He may not have read the letter of Charles to his daughter Joanna—written in his last hours—urging her to induce the Spanish Protestants to recant, and then to commit them to the flames. But he knew enough of the emperor's real character to make him an unfit subject for the eulogiums of a Presbyterian minister.

Such are the inconsistencies of this writer of elegant periods, designed to pass for history. Not only does he accuse the Iroquois of cannibalism, at the very time they were petitioning the sovereign of England for chaplains, but holds up to Protestant admiration the chief persecutor of his own brethren. In the figurative language of the Indians: He ate the flesh and drank the blood of his brothers; and roasted them in the fire—for when he praised the enemy that did these things, he did them himself. We shall notice him hereafter.

LEWIS H. MORGAN, ESQ., OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

This is the only author, so far as the writer of this note is aware, who has correctly portrayed aboriginal character. But his history, "*The League of*

the Iroquois," had only a limited success. How could it have been otherwise? He did not follow Robertson! He did not derive his information from European sources, but simply from the Indians themselves, among whom he lived and moved! This was enough to insure his condemnation. The literary merits of his book are of a high order, and the character and standing of the author such as to give weight to his statements. But all this amounts to nothing—he presumed to tell the truth in spite of *historic authorities!* For this the literary world could not forgive him.

EXPLORERS. M. DUPAIX.

When men could at length breathe freely under the liberal administration of Charles III., they began to express their disbelief in the Aztec empire of the monkish historians. In the time of Dupaix, the disbelief amounted to a public opinion, as is evident from his manner of contending with it. The same unbelief of intelligent Spaniards is thus expressed in the language of Robertson (note 154), on the authority of persons long resident in New Spain, and who have visited every part of it,—"There is not in all the extent of that vast empire a single monument or vestige of any building more ancient than the conquest,"—a statement strictly true, if we except the Phœnician remains of the south country, which in some places extended over the border, and into the limits of New Spain. In this condition of public sentiment at Mexico, the King of Spain directed M. Dupaix, a captain of royal engineers, to make an exploration of the country in search of ancient monuments of the Aztec empire. The result of that exploration was embraced in *Castanada's* drawings and accompanying notes of Dupaix, which are transcribed into the fourth and sixth volumes of Lord Kingsborough.

Dupaix was utterly unfit to make this reconnoissance—as we stated in a former note—from his ignorance of Indian character, and his inability to distinguish the products of savage art from those of the extinguished race of the southern provinces, when the one chanced to overlap the other, as in the case of the Indian arrow-heads found in the ruins of Mitlan: he even attributes the Spanish causeways of the valley of Mexico to the Aztecs; confounding a carriage way across the marsh with the ancient Indian footpaths. With much enthusiasm, and great learning in his art, he arrives at conclusions exactly opposite to those which his facts justify, viz., that the Aztec empire was composed of civilized people.

BARON ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

It is a delicate duty to criticise a philosopher. Within his proper sphere it

would be little less than madness. He was the first Protestant traveller ever admitted to visit freely the American dominions of the King of Spain. But a philosopher, even, may err, when he attempts to account philosophically for the mud-gardens floating in the valley of Mexico, in spite of the laws of gravity and capillary attraction.

Humboldt was too busy with his philosophy to play the critic, nor were the means which we now enjoy for doing so accessible. He took for granted the historic fables, and, like Robertson, speculated upon the consequences of Indians eating human flesh! His opinions, like those of other great men, are good for nothing on subjects he has not investigated. He had no reverence for monks, and made them the butt of his keenest irony. Still he assumed their books and MSS. to be true, and philosophized upon their contents. The only defect in his work is, that he started from false premises, and of course his conclusions amount to nothing.

CHAPTER III.

THE COUNTRY OF THE AZTECS—THE TABLE-LAND OF AMERICA.

Its mountain scenery, 109—A country of silver, 112—An isolated country, 112—A tornado, 113—The way to the interior, 115—A tropical shore, 116—A country in the clouds, 116—Crossing the plateau, 117—The vegetation and climate changing, 118—A view of all the vegetable kingdoms, 119—The century plant, 120—Morning twilight, 121—The desert, 122—The country of the table-land, 123—The Aztec foreign policy, 123—The Aztec dominion to the Pacific, 124—The south-east Aztec provinces, 125—Acapulco, 125.

THE advantage of studying physically, reading as it were, the country that is the subject of discussion, will justify us in turning aside a little to contemplate nature, in the extraordinary development that it presents in Mexico. A vast table-land, higher than the tops of our mountains, stretches nearly from ocean to ocean. Stripped of its timber by Spanish recklessness, it now presents to the eye of the traveller a naked plain; broken only by isolated peaks, rising high above the level that, even in the tropics, marks the limit of human habitation. Snow and ice are there frequently to be seen among the primitive rocks, apparently as unaltered by the lapse of time, and as undisturbed by the sun and storms of centuries, as the adamant on which they rest. In some places difficult of access, immense trees, hoary with age, flourish as they flourished before the white man's axe

disturbed their quiet. Others dwarfed, yet old, the pigmies of the forest, occupy the uttermost limits of vegetation. Through these scattered woodlands stretch downward long lines of ice and snow; like the gray locks of some venerable Titan. The mountain masses are but empty caldrons, where in ages past boiled and simmered those elements, which in their fiery crucibles became "primitive rocks, pumice, and scoria," according to the mysterious workings of nature's laws. Now, as though the genial influence of fire had never been felt there, all is bleak, chill, and ice-bound, within and without* those

* "We climbed on, having reached the basaltic rock at an elevation of 16,805 feet, and with exhausting labor we travelled upon it until toward evening, when we came to that immense yawning abyss, the crater. The mouth was about three miles in circumference, of a very irregular form. Into this we entered, and soon arrived at the house which was to be our lodging for the night.

"Morning came to our relief, and with it the film had passed from our eyes. We looked up to the top of the mountain above us, and then down into that fearful abyss into which we were soon to descend. We could eat no breakfast, and could drink no coffee, and so we were soon ready for our day's journey. We followed a narrow footpath until we reached a shelf, where we were seated in a skid, and let down by a windlass 500 feet or so, to a landing-place, from which we clambered downward to a second windlass and a second skid, which was the most fearful of all, because we were dangling about without anything to steady ourselves, as we descended before the mouth of one of those yawning caverns, which are called the 'breathing-holes' of the crater. They are so called from the fresh air and horrid sounds that continually issue from them. But we shut our eyes and clung fast to the rope, as we whirled round and round in mid air, until we reached another landing-place. From this point we clambered down, as best we could, until we came among the men digging up cinders, from which sulphur, in the form of brimstone, is made.

"We took no measurements within the crater, and heights and distances here can only be given by approximation. We only know that all things are on a scale so vast that old Pluto might here have forged new thunderbolts, and Milton's Satan might here have found the material for his sulphurous bed. All was strange, and wild, and frightful.

"We crawled into several of the 'breathing-holes,' but nothing was there except darkness visible. The sides and bottom were, for the most

temporary forges, where nature once combined the materials composing the earth's crust. Whether the completion of her labors, or the exhaustion of fuel, extinguished this cluster of mountain-fires, the wit of man will never perhaps determine. They burned fiercely once, they are quiet now; and this is all we can say. They tell us nothing in relation to those causes, that

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part, polished by the molten mass, which had cooled in passing through them; and if it had not been for the ropes around our waist, we should have slipped and fallen we knew not whither. We almost fancied that, in the moving currents of air, we heard the wailings of the damned in the great sulphurous lake below. The stones we threw in were lost to sound unless they hit upon a projecting rock, and fell from shelf to shelf. The deep darkness was fearful to contemplate. The abyss looked as though it might be the mouth of the bottomless pit. What must have been the effect when each one of these 'breathing-holes' was vomiting up liquid fire and sulphur into the basin in which we stood? How immeasurable must be that lake whose overflowings fill such cavities as this! It is when standing in such a place that we get the full force of the figures used in Scripture in illustrating the condition of the souls that have perished for ever.

"We are at the top once more; and now that our eyesight, which we lost in climbing the mountain, is restored to us, we will take a view of the lower world. Looking toward the west, every object glows in the brightness of the rising sun, except where the mountain casts its vast shadow even across the valley of Toluca. How strangely diminished now are all familiar objects that are visible! The pureness of the medium through which things are seen presents distant objects with great distinctness, but it will not present them in their natural size, for it cannot change the angle of vision. The villages upon the table-land were apparently pigmy villages, inhabited by pigmy men and pigmy women, surrounded with pigmy cattle, and garrisoned by pigmy soldiery. It is, by an optical illusion, Lilliput in real life. Had the English satirist placed himself where we now stood, he would have more than realized the picture which his fancy painted. He might have seen the marshalled hosts of Lilliput marching to the beat of drum, in the proud array of war.

"If you wish to see all the sights, you must walk around the mountain, and look down its steepest side, where there is no table-land, into the 'hot country.' The distance is so vast, the descent so steep, that an inexperienced climber suffers from dizziness. If you climb to the very summit, 250 feet above the mouth of the crater, you will find more surface about you. But it is a point where few can desire to remain long, or to visit it a second time."—*Frank Kellott's statement in Wilson's Mexico.*

geologists insist are still at work in the bowels of our mother earth.

The country of the Aztecs abounds in mines of silver. But their discovery is of European origin. In the past, before the evening and the morning had begun to measure time, nature had rent and torn the porphyritic rocks asunder, and thrust up through their open seams those veins, which have since been wrought so deep into the bowels of the earth;* and from which an average of twenty-six millions† of pure metal has been annually exported. The Indians once washed gold, it is believed, from the heavy clay of the channels, or in the eddies along the shores of the rivulets of the low country. But their conquest and enslavement effectually killed the goose that laid the golden egg; for though gold washing may yield a profit to individual labor—as it is found native, and not wrought out, like silver, from the ore—still, with the loss of liberty, its search would necessarily cease. The distinction between these metals in their native state, was well understood in the most remote antiquity; for Job declares, "There is a vein for silver and a place for gold, where they find it."

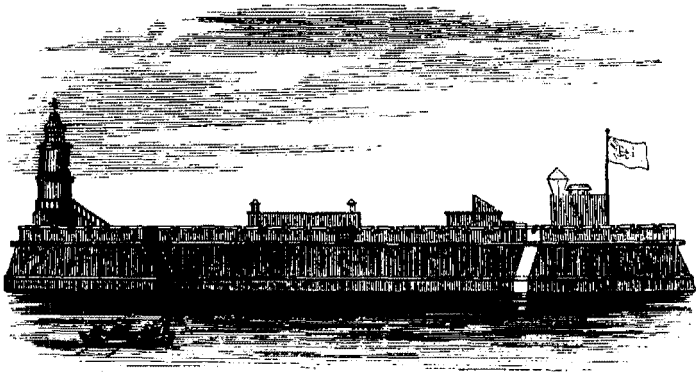
Nature, it would appear, intended to isolate the country of the Aztecs from the rest of the world, though placing it between two oceans. On the Pacific side, she shut it in by a succession of mountain ridges. Its northern or Atlantic border she bounded with an iron wall rising ten

* In the notes to another part of this volume, the depth and magnitude of the silver shafts will be stated.

† This is the present product. It could not have been much less from the first opening of the mines, if we make allowance for smuggling.

thousand feet above the sea, and with a narrow strip of low shore, to which pestilence and malaria forbade approach. Upon that belt also she concentrated the fury of every tempest that sweeps the Gulf of Mexico. Such are the obstacles she interposed to intercourse with the rest of mankind. But the passion for gold, and the trade in silver, has triumphed over all. Merchants inhabit, and ships constantly visit, at all times, a pestilential port, without a harbor, or even good holding-ground; and that, too, though exposed alternately to the *vomito*, or the fearful tornado called the *Norte*.

The author once witnessed a visitation of the latter in its utmost fury. The port was filled with shipping, when a well known monitor, the sinking of the atmosphere upon the mountain northward, foretold the impending danger. A crowd gathered upon the shore, from that attraction of mutual sympathy so keenly felt towards men in imminent peril. All looked intently at the heavens, as they gathered black, and saw far off on the horizon the clouds and waves mingled together in one great vaporous mass. Now and then were brief intervals of bright skies; again to be quickly overcast, and shrouded by a more intense darkness, while the temperature fell to a degree of chilliness unusual in the "hot country." The howling of the wind was terrific. The crowd was near enough to see, or at least to catch glimpses of the shipping. Every extra anchor that could be got at was soon thrown out. But to little purpose: a coral bottom is but poor holding-ground in a Norther; and one by one the fleets

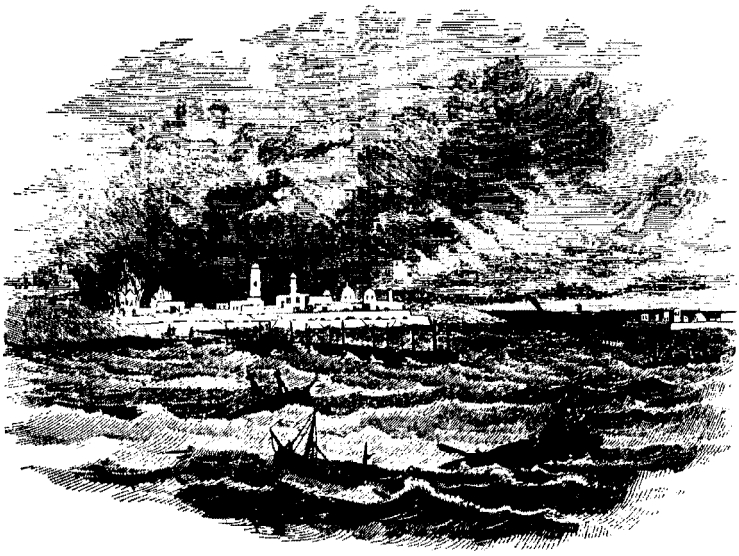


SAN JUAN DE ULUA.

began to drag; even the castle, *San Juan de Ulua*,* itself, seemed at times as though it would be torn from its rocky foundations and dashed upon the town. The terror of those on land was hardly to be described, as they saw the apparent destruction of both vessels and crews so nigh. Now and then one would hold a little by some new obstacle the anchor caught, but the resistance giving way, it soon moved again, approaching the shore, to which all tended, excepting those sheltered under the lee of the castle and island. They did not all drag at once, or together, but one by one, as their powers of endurance gave out; and one by one they drove toward the beach with little of help, or hope, if the storm continued. Even

*This famous castle, which stands upon the island of Ulua, is now fast going to decay. As a fortification it is no longer of great value, although it is computed that more than $16,000,000 was expended in its erection. In fact, its only present practical advantage is derived from the light-house which stands upon one of its towers.—*Esterior Comercio de Mexico.* M. M. Lerdo de Tegido. Mexico, 1853.

that little gave place to despair, as vessel after vessel approached the land; and, as they were dashed upon it, men held their breath, watching the hardy seamen struggling in the waves. One staunch vessel without cargo being carried broadside on, her crew leaped out of her and ran off safely. Was it such a tempest as this that stranded the vessels of Cortez?



VERA CRUZ IN A STORM.

The traveller of our day finds his advantage in landing where Cortez disembarked. Following his route northward along the belt which separates the precipitous mountains from the sea, he reaches a little river, which has opened a gorge (*gordo*) through that barrier to the upper country. This narrow strip of level land is noted for its intense heat, its excessive fertility, the pesti-

lential character of its atmosphere, and the malignity of the poisons which it engenders. On the surface, it is Paradise. Beneath, death lurks in a thousand forms, to entrap the unacclimated. Noted in the history of the conquest, it has an abundance of attractions for those who dare to linger by the way. It is all wilderness. Yet the graceful features of the creepers, hanging from branch to branch of the sycamores, and the shady arbors formed by their dense foliage, look as though a gardener's hand could be traced in so much regularity; still it is only nature's own, and there the wild birds build their nests, and breed and sing without disturbance.

Often has the author, riding through these forests, dismounted by some running brook, and, while his horse was feeding, almost fallen asleep under the soothing influence such an atmosphere inspires when heated from fast riding beneath a vertical sun! Those moments belong to sensations that can neither be described, nor appreciated by those who have not experienced them. Poets have exhausted their power in painting the beauty of this spot, where every sense is satiated with enjoyment. Yet our gratification is alloyed by evils that remind us Paradise is not to be found on earth. Here the whole animal kingdom is busily laboring for the destruction of its kind. Reptiles prey upon each other; parasitic plants affix themselves to the trees, and suck out the sap of their existence; and man, though he enjoys to a surfeit the bounties of nature, must watch narrowly against the poison that comes to mar his pleasure, and to teach him the

wholesome lesson, that true happiness is only found in heaven.

When this region of temptation has at length been passed, and a point reached where the road turns toward the interior, we have to climb a hilly gorge—*Cerro-gordo.* Through it a new climate, new scenes, and new productions are continually presented, until the famous plateau of Jalapa, in the region of clouds and perpetual moisture, is attained—more than four thousand feet above the sea. It is an extensive plateau, half way up the mountain. The beautiful *convolvulus* jalapa does not flourish there, it is brought from the Indian villages of Colipa and Masantla, situated in the valleys that run among the hills. The myrtle, too, whose grain is the spice of Tabasco, is produced in the forests by the river Boriderus; the smilax, whose root is the true sarsaparilla, grows likewise deep down in the humid and umbrageous ravines of the Cordilleras; while the cocoa is brought from Acayucan. In the ever-green forests of Papantla and Nantla, dwells the *epidendrum* vanilla, whose odoriferous fruit is used as a perfume.* These characteristic productions are from the mysterious mountain valleys, where, thousands of years before any of the present generation, an unknown race of men flourished; a race as civilized as were the people of Palmyra or Egypt, a fact clearly indicated by the ruins in the forests of Misantla and Papantla; their existence is as unknown to the Indians who now wander about the dilapidated edifices, and isolated

* HUMBOLDT'S *Essay Politique.*

pyramids of the "hot country," as to us; but of these we shall speak when we come to discuss their antiquities. These places lie to the south of the territory occupied by the Aztecs; and in the lower valleys.

The climbing is not ended by our arrival at the first plateau, above the ordinary level of the clouds. A mountain is still beyond and above us. A broad plain and valley lie, indeed, between the traveller and the new ascent, which he must make to reach the true table-land of the Aztecs. The valley is not deep, nor is the plateau broad, that he crosses to the base of the mountains; yet is it so luxuriant, nothing but the gorgeous language of the Spanish poets can well picture to the dweller in northern climates its attractions. It is a spot more beautiful even than that already described—beautiful as a fairy land.

The road now before us lies across the mountain of Perote, at an elevation of more than ten thousand feet,* the highest a stage-coach has yet reached, one from which may oftentimes be enjoyed a view of all the vegetable "kingdoms of the world in a moment of time." The coveted seat is that on the top of the coach above the driver, whence the traveller may enjoy a last, lingering look at this paradise of nature, before the mountain ridge intervenes between the world behind and the great salt desert next to be traversed. The valley passed, we ascend so rapidly that before an hour goes by we can mark a changed vegetation, and observe the products of a colder climate; and this change is a barometer, which,

* 10,400 feet. See HUMBOLDT'S *Essai Politique.*

in Mexico, marks the ascent and descent as regularly as the most nicely adjusted artificial instrument. So accurately are these strata adapted to those of the atmosphere, they lead us to imagine that cultivation has laid out the different fields as they rise one above another upon the side of the mountain constituting the eastern enclosure of the table-land. The fertility of the soil does not seem to diminish; yet the character of the vegetation changes step by step, as we wind our way towards the summit of the Perote.

At La Hoya the road becomes so steep as to reduce the travel to a walk; perhaps the better opportunities thus had to survey the novel sights that present themselves at every turn of the road, more than repay the increased fatigue. When wearied with climbing, or breathing the rarified air of this altitude, if the visitor seat himself by the roadside he catches momentary glimpses, among the floating clouds, of the country through which he passed in his ascent from the coast. We see a long distance through such a medium, but it is only a bird's-eye view we have, and the mass is more than vision can fully take in. Soon some ragged cloud passes across the picture; and the eye loses the details of the scene, and with it, a strange epitome of all the excellencies of all the climates. Still there is time to divide this world below into sections; and then the beholder contemplates in part, and at length realizes as a whole, the scene we have presented. The art of man never has, and never can, produce such a combination in the courses of vegetation. Standing at an elevation where pine trees grow in the tropics, where

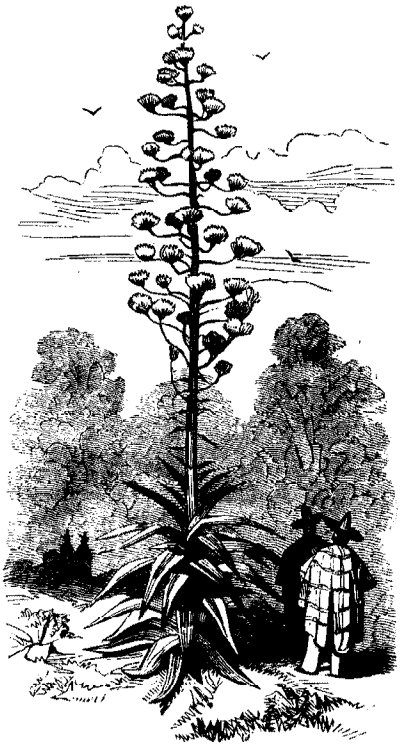
a fence encloses the field, on which a storm of snow and sleet has fallen only a few hours before, we look down upon hills and plains, one below another, each in the descending scale, exhibiting more and more of tropical production, until the region of cocoa-nuts and bananas, sarsaparilla and palms, jalap and vanilla, is reached in the perspective. It is a specimen chart, in which all the climates and productions of the world are within the scope of a single glance.

When the highest ridge is crossed, we descend into an entirely different world. A fine grain-growing country, through which well cultivated fields stretch out as far as the eye can reach. Farmhouses scattered here and there strikingly remind the traveller of his northern home at the same season of the year. Its most striking peculiarities are the fences, formed by rows of the *maguey* or century plant, growing by the side of a ditch. There it reaches its greatest perfection, and adds materially to the fine appearance of the enclosures, seen as it is everywhere. It grows wild upon the mountains, it springs up in all uncultivated places, and is grown as a domestic plant, in little patches, and also in fields of leagues in extent. It thrives luxu-

THE MAGUEY, PREPARED FOR EXTRACTING PULQUE.

riantly in the richest soils, yet shows itself in the desert plains, too, where nothing else except a few spears of stunted grass and chapparal can exist.*

* The uses to which this plant is applied are more numerous than the methods of its cultivation. When its immense leaf is pounded into a pulp, it is converted into paper and also into a substitute for cloth. The fibre of the leaf, beaten and spun, becomes a beautiful thread, resembling silk in its glossy texture, yet when woven into a fabric, more resembles linen than silk. This thread is now and ever has been the sewing thread of the country. The leaf of the maguey crudely dressed and manufactured is woven into sail-cloth and sacking, and forms the bagging in common use. The ropes made from it are of that kind called Manilla hemp. It is also the best material in use for wrapping paper. Cut into coarse straw it forms the brooms and whitewash brushes of the country, and as a substitute for bristles is used for scrub-brushes. Finally, it supplies the place of hair combs among the common people. But the great value of the maguey plant arises from the amount of intoxicating liquid it produces called *pulque*.



FLOWERING MAGUEY.

The maguey furnishes the chief source of intoxication among the common people of the table-land. There are two species of this plant cultivated. One of them flourishes in the desert portions of the country, from which an abominable liquor is distilled, called *mescal* or *mejical*. The other is the flowering maguey, or century plant, of which so many fabulous stories are told in the United States. This is one of the wonders of the vegetable world. Its juice is gathered from the central basin by cutting off a side-leaf and cutting out the heart, just before the sprouting of the *hampe*, for whose sustenance this juice is destined. The basin, thus formed, yields every day from four to seven quarts—according to the size and thriftiness of the plant—for a period of two or three months. The process of taking it out of the

There is something, too, exceedingly attractive in the appearance of the heavens upon this elevated table, 7692 feet above the ocean. The morning starlight is most beautiful. It is so much clearer, and the stars are so much brighter than in the dense atmosphere we inhabit, that the traveller, though half chilled and sleepy, rouses himself to contemplate the brilliant sights above. The brightest that he has watched from childhood up are brighter now than ever, and new ones fill the void in his celestial chart; even their satellites are to be seen dancing around the well known planets. The North Star is still visible, now 19° only above the horizon, but the Dipper has almost disappeared. The Southern Cross, that mysterious combination, and emblem of the faith of Southern America, which only reaches the meridian at midnight prayers, is here 25° above the horizon, and shining brilliantly. To watch these, besides many other unknown

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plant is a little curious. Into the end of a long gourd is inserted a cow's horn, bored at the point; through this horn and into the gourd the juice is sucked up by applying the mouth to a hole in the opposite side of the gourd. From the gourd-shell the juice is emptied into a bottle formed from the skin of a hog, which still retains much of the form of the animal. To form this bottle of honey-water into *pulque*, all that is necessary is to put into it a little of the same material which has been laid aside till it became sour, which operates like yeast, causing the honey-water to ferment.

As soon as the maguey-juice in the hog-skin has fermented, it is *pulque;* and is readily sold for eight, and sometimes as high as twenty-five cents a quart, producing a very large revenue upon the cost of the plant. It is not ordinarily sold at wholesale; but each maguey estate has its retail shops in town, from which the whole product of the estate is retailed out. One man, who has five of these shops in the city of Mexico, keeps his carriage; and is reckoned among the magnates of the land, deriving, from this source alone, it is said, $25,000 a year. The excise which government derives from the sale of this liquor, which, in taste, resembles sour buttermilk, amounted to $817,739 in the year 1793.—*Mexico and its Religion.*

and unfamiliar constellations, the short hours of the night are well spent on the driver's box. Gradually you descend into what appears to have once been the bottom of a salt lake. The ground there is everywhere partially incrusted with a compound called *tequesquita*, composed of equal parts of muriate and carbonate of soda, and insoluble matter (common earth); this material is used by Mexicans as a substitute for salt and soda. A stunted grass grows here and there, scattered in patches over the *bad land*, as these barren plains are called; and the dry earth, rarely moistened for six months together, is frequently covered with drifting sand, driven about by the fierce winds of this desert.

How great the change from those scenes we lately passed! The celestial chart, admired with so much rapture, gradually rolls itself up, and, as the sun comes out, we gage the dreariness around. It is truly a *bad land*—a land of evil—a land for prowlers; where vultures watch for the carcasses of the dying, and robbers ply their calling with little fear of detection. In the midst of all, there lies a little lake, which looks, a while, like an enchanted scene, and then disappears from our sight.

The desert of the table-land over, we are in the midst of fruitful fields of wheat and maguey, of Indian corn and barley. And now the traveller has a new view of the immense mountain barriers, that shut in his vision. Two extinct volcanoes,* twin giants, are at hand; at

* Popocatepetl (the mountain with a smoking mouth) and Izlacihuatl—the white woman—so called from a fancied resemblance to a woman laid out in a winding-sheet.

their feet lie the countries of Cholula and Tlascala; of which we shall speak at length, as we follow the footsteps of Cortez to the valley of Mexico. Upon the table-land, to the north and westward, the Aztecs do not appear to have extended their conquests. That country was occupied by fierce and warlike tribes, and had few attractions for those who follow war as a trade, for the moving cause of military expeditions, the spoils of the conquered. Their conquests were in a southerly direction, where a rich spoil lay feebly protected by effeminate tribes. The struggle with the Tlascalans was rather to shut them in, that Mexico might enjoy this plunder without a rival, than for conquest.

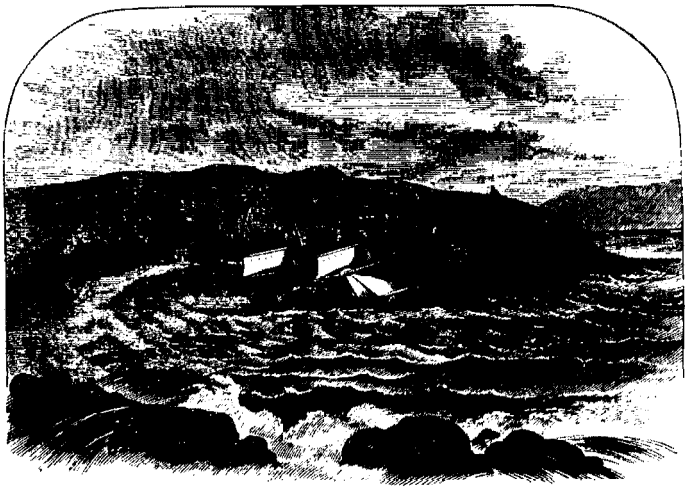
The whole foreign policy of the Aztecs seems to have been embraced in this idea—a monopoly of the plunder of the hot country. This explains their rapid progress in wealth, without any advance in civilization. A chain of garrisons, from Mexico to where Vera Cruz now lies, and from Mexico to the Pacific, shut off the northern tribes from the prolific "hot country"—the region of their most successful forays—a region abounding in the ruins of an ancient civilization, strangely in contrast with their own barbarism; and the barbarism of all North American Indians.

If we follow the Aztec border southward to the Pacific we cross again mountain ridges, that in a descending series occupy the space between the table-land and the waters of the ocean. This series is of more recent origin than that which meets us on the Atlantic side. Nature has not yet grown quiet there, and, as we near the sea,

we enter the region of earthquakes, where rocks are rent and villages overturned by the violence with which the earth is sometimes shaken. In the days of Spanish power an extensive trade in silver, and in the merchandise of the East, was carried on across these mountains by the aid of mules, to the land-locked harbor of Acapulco—a spot so romantic as to deserve a special notice. That harbor appears like a nest scooped out of the mountains, into and out of which the tide ebbs and flows by a double entrance riven by an earthquake in the solid rock. Tradition says another once existed, which an earthquake closed, while it opened the present channels. There is still in the sharp mountain ridge, that shuts it from the sea, another opening, dug by the labor of man, at a point opposite the entrance of the harbor; to let in the cool sea-breeze upon one of the hottest and most unhealthy places upon this continent. Such, in substance, is and was the little city of Acapulco, the seat and focus of the Oriental commerce of New Spain, and of the Spanish empire.

South and east of the Mexican valley lie the countries whence the Aztecs appear to have derived their richest spoils, and which probably witnessed their highest military achievements—Tabasco, Chiapa, Oajaca, Guatamala, Yucatan. Over a portion of these "hot countries" they exercised an ill-defined jurisdiction, and gathered thence, not only spoil, but also among other trophies certain vestiges of an antique civilization unknown to other tribes. This, resembling in its ruins that of Nineveh and Egypt, constitutes the only real enigma our subject

involves, and it hence becomes our duty to contribute towards its solution.



ACAPULCO.

ACAPULCO.

In order to complete the picture of the interior, let us now make a journey in another direction—from Acapulco northward to the city of Mexico—the route that the East India trade used to follow. But, first of all, let us discourse a little time about this port of Acapulco, once so famous upon the South Seas. It was not discovered when Cortez built, in Colima, the vessels that went to search for a north-west passage; but when they had returned from their fruitless voyage, they anchored in the mountain-girt harbor of Acapulco. The discoveries of the celebrated navigator, Magellan, fixed the commercial character and importance of this seaport. He had sailed through the straits that bear his name, and coasted northwardly as far as the trades. And from thence he bore away to the Spice Islands, discovering on the voyage the Philippine Islands, where the city of Manilla was founded. By this voyage he demonstrated that the advantages of a route across the Pacific were so superior to a voyage around Cape Horn, as to justify the expense of a land transit from Acapulco to Vera Cruz, and reship-

ment to Spain. Now that the Panama Railroad is made, this demonstration may prove advantageous to other nations.

The practical advantage of this discovery was the establishment of the Manilla Company, whose annual galleon carried out 1,000,000 silver dollars to purchase Oriental products for the consumption of Spain and all her American colonies. In this galleon sailed the friars that went forth to the spiritual conquest of India. In it sailed Spanish soldiers, who followed hard after the priests, to add the temporal to the spiritual subjugation of Oriental empires. To this harbor the galleon returned, freighted with the rich merchandise of China, Japan, and the Spice Islands. When the arrival of the galleon was announced, traders hastened from every quarter of New Spain to attend the annual fair. Little vessels from down the coast came to get their share of the mammoth cargo. The king's officers came to look after the royal revenue; and caravans of mules were summoned to transport the Spanish portion of the freight to Vera Cruz. Thus, for a short time, the population of this village was swollen from 4000 to 9000, which fell off again when the galleon took her departure.

Such was the commercial condition of the town of Acapulco down to the time of the independence. From this time it was lost to commerce, until it was made a half-way house on the voyage to California. The town lies upon the narrow intervale between the hills and the harbor. It is built of the frailest material, and is destroyed about once in ten years by an earthquake.

The castle of San Diego stands upon the high bank, and, though commanding the entrance to the harbor, is itself commanded by the surrounding high lands, and has so often been taken by assault during the last thirty years as to be considered untenable.

It was still dark when I left Alta in order to clear the Peregrino Pass, and reach Tierra Colorado that day. In a few hours I gained the top of the pass, and sat down to take a survey of the zigzag way up which my *mustang* had climbed, and of the extensive region of hill and mountain country before me. It is difficult to believe that over this slight mule-path all the Spanish commerce of India has passed, and cargoes of silver dollars, amounting to hundreds of millions, during a period of three hundred years. Over this pass armies have continued to advance and to retreat with one uniform result: if the army is a large one, it is starved out of the country; if it is a small one, it is destroyed. Here prevails not only that harmless cutaneous affection, the *Quiricua*, which causes people to appear spotted or painted (*Pintos*), but also the goitré. . . .

Not stopping to examine the ruins of great antiquity near this place, I rode

on six leagues farther, when I arrived at the venerable city of Cuernavaca, the place selected by Cortez as the finest spot in all New Spain. This was bestowed upon him, at his own request, by the Emperor Charles V. as a residence. It merits to this day the distinction that has been given to it as one of the finest spots on earth. It stands close under the shadow of the huge mountains that shield it from the northern blast, and it is at the same time protected from the extreme heat of the tropics by its elevation of 3000 feet. The immense church edifices here proclaim the munificence of Cortez, while the garden of Laborde, open to the world, shows with what elegant taste he squandered his three several fortunes accumulated in mining. The combination of a fine day in a voluptuous climate, the beautiful scenery, and the happy faces of the people celebrating New-Year's day in the shade of the orange-trees, made an impression upon a traveller not easily forgotten.—WILSON'S *Mexico and its Religion*, page 132.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GEOLOGY OF A COUNTRY PRODUCING THE PRECIOUS METALS.

The geology in Mexican history, 129—Civilized and savage gold diggers, 129—Civilized digger a geologist, 130—The gold diggers' geology, 131—His speculation of floods, 132—Intellectual superiority of the Anglo-Saxon, 133—The silver miner, 133—The chemistry of mining, 134—The gold digger avoids the primitive, 134—The silver miner seeks for ores in the primitive rocks, 135—Why this chapter necessary, 136—The silver mines, 137—The Real del Monte mines, 137.

A COUNTRY like Mexico, whose staple is the precious metals, has a history and character peculiarly its own. It cannot be measured by the standard of others, nor its commercial prosperity by the products of its agriculture and manufactures. The treasure that lies beneath its surface is constantly scattering with a capricious hand fortunes to individuals—fortunes as delusive to the lucky recipients as disastrous in their results to the community. These instances beget a passion for sudden wealth, in all classes, and affect even the tone and character of the body politic. The geology of such a country necessarily influences its history. The one cannot be well understood without first considering the other.

The two precious metals give rise to two classes of miners—those who delve for silver in the primitive rocks, and those who wash gold, either from the debris of moun-

tain rivulets, and exhausted river-beds, or grind it from the original quartz matrix, as yet undisturbed by mountain torrents. The Mexican Indian easily learned the simple processes by which the shining bits of gold could be gathered from the "rough rock" or "hard pan-clay" bottom of living streams; and that these could be wrought into attractive ornaments for his person, his weapons, and his wigwam—the only uses to which he could apply it. The civilized gold digger brought both art and skill to obtain that which to him has not only a value, but is a standard of all values. He quickly learned, too, that metal was to be found, as abundantly where now no signs of water exist, as in the banks and eddies of streams themselves. If by the exercise of his intellect he concluded that beneath an existing range of hills water had once ran, there he knew gold had been deposited likewise of old. Relying on these conclusions, this man unhesitatingly embarks both labor and capital in a shaft or in a drift through the earth and rocks, that impede his access to the spot fixed, as the probable depository of an auriferous clay. Herein consists the chief difference between the Indian and the civilized miner. The one employs labor, without calculation, in the acquisition of a metal of no other value, in his estimation, than its use as an ornament. The other exerts his intellect, as much as his hands, in the acquisition of a metal precious to him in every sense.

The civilized digger's employment involves him in the mazes of geological science. He searches for gold as readily beneath the "everlasting hills" as in the running

waters, though no evidence exists that water has run in those exhausted river-beds he seeks, since the oldest of the present mountain chains were formed. He feels his way among the ruins of an ancient world, as he follows the course of its choked-up rivers and subverted valleys, and thus material forms become familiar to him, that existed and passed away, apparently, long before the advent of Adam. In his daily employment he has to act upon principles, that to other classes of society are merely subjects of abstract speculation. The one idea that the surface of this solid earth has not always continued as now since the time of its creation directs his labors. Changes that appear to have taken place in countless ages past, and changes that have occurred comparatively but yesterday, to him, are registered unmistakably upon the mountains and in the valleys. Bewildered by the speculations to which his daily employment leads, he is forced to conclude that an almost infinity of years separates him from that distant past, THE BEGINNING.

A miner's avocation restricts his philosophy to the practical. He has no occasion to meddle with the wild speculations of popular geologists. The outlines of science are sufficient. In detail there may be different theories to which he does not object. The waters of the ocean may be the product of combustion deposited drop by drop. The mountains and the broken surface of the land may have been caused by the bubbling and breaking of its crust from liquid fire, and seven distinct floods may have occurred before the creation of Adam—he cares not; his business is with facts, not theories. Before the sun and

moon actually shone upon our globe, there may have been days that were really geological eras; not such as, after that event, were measured by a single revolution of the earth upon its axis. These are all subordinate questions to him, unworthy of inquiry.

To those engaged amid the disturbed strata of the earth in search of gold the theory of floods is popular, and they readily admit the disappearance of race after race of animal creations, as the result of the ordinary cataclysms that preceded the advent of man. So constantly the seeker finds what he believes are sea marks, or the beds of exhausted rivers, in unexpected places, that he not only adopts the theory of frequent floods, in the chaotic era, but looks, perhaps, even upon that of Noah as the result of natural causes—the dry land and the sea changing places. The miracle with him is rather the preservation of Noah and those in the ark than in the changes that occasioned it. These practical geologists believe the mineral they seek was disengaged from its quartz matrix in ages long past, and, though scattered since by the action of water, that it rested there until borne thence in the eddies of some new-formed river.

All gold-diggers do not thus reason; nor even all those of Saxon origin. But the secret of the success of the latter in a single one of the many neglected *placers* of Spanish America is told, when we say they think while they labor. Laboring with greater energy, too, than the Spanish-American natives, they tax their intellectual powers at the same time to the utmost to increase the profit of their toil. The Spanish-American, like his In-

dian ancestor, works sluggishly, without thought or reflection. He relies upon the *sober-stante** to direct him in temporal affairs, and on the monk to manage his spiritual concerns. This blind labor, useful in the silver mines, is utterly at fault amid the gold claims. The successful gold digger must be a free man, and the amount of his intelligence in a great measure determines his success.

The silver miner has an utterly different mission. He searches for a less precious mineral, contained in ores, in the rifts of the primitive rocks. His enterprise must be aided by vast capital, and a thorough combination of tools, labor, and science. Geology is not only appealed to in the search, but the most intricate combinations of chemistry in the separation. The highest engineering talent is also requisite to conduct the excavation of the shafts. A first class silver mine employs more men and animals than would build a moderately sized pyramid; and a mountain of "primitive" formation is sometimes pierced with more galleries than the rock of Gibraltar. The success of these princely investments depends entirely on chemical processes—processes it is not likely the Aztec Indians either knew or ever practised. It is not to be supposed, then, that the Spaniards found them in possession of silver, notwithstanding the statements of Cortez.

Let us run over the many chemical operations resorted to in separating the silver from the ore. Roll brimstone,

* Master-workman.

procured in Durango, or in "the volcano," and converted into sulphuric acid, at the mint in Mexico, is there, after it has changed silver into a sulphate, in disengaging particles of gold, itself converted into sulphate of copper, blue vitriol, in precipitating the silver; in this form it is sent to the miner. The salt required is made from *tequisquita.* Lime is burned upon the mountains. Besides these, litharge and sulphate of iron are used also in addition to quicksilver. All the machinery and scientific discoveries of modern times are needed also, to obtain less than an average of ten per cent. from the ore. Were the Aztecs capable of such a combination of science and labor?

Gold and silver regions appear to have been alike subjected to great geological changes. But the period these occurred in the gold, preceded similar disturbances in the silver districts, by, perhaps, an almost infinity of years. Electricity may have operated in decomposing the quartz matrix; and the floods that have swept the districts most abundant in gold, seem to have spread it broad-cast over the mountain's base; whence other torrents have borne it into valleys then existing that have since changed their form. The gold-digger's operations are, therefore, all in secondary formations, and in beds of silt. He avoids the mountains and precipitous rocks, unless, perchance, one of these may have been thrust into some spot that has made a tunnel necessary to success.

Not so with the silver miner. His labors are exclusively confined to the mountains of primitive formation,

excepting in certain districts of Sonora,* where the matrix seems to have decayed; and the ore often appears to be in the silver, rather than the silver in it. Thus the silver miner lives, and obtains his metal among rocks, into the interior chambers of which he has penetrated by the aid of gunpowder and steel; and without these, no silver has yet been procured in the country of the Aztecs.

We have done with the geology and the chemistry

* "The 'Good Success Mine' (Bueno Suceso) was discovered by an Indian, who swam across the river after a great flood. On arriving at the other side, he found the crest of an immense *lode* laid bare by the force of the water. The greater part of this was pure massive silver, sparkling in the rays of the sun. The whole town of Batopilos went to gaze at the extraordinary sight as soon as the river was fordable. This Indian extracted great wealth from his mine, but, on coming to the depth of three Spanish yards (*varas*), the abundance of water obliged him to abandon it, and no attempts have since been made to resume the working. When the silver is not found in solid masses, which requires to be cut with the chisel, it is generally finely sprinkled through the *lode*, and often serves to nail together the particles of stone through which it is disseminated." "The ores of the *Pastiano* mine, near the *Carmen*, were so rich that the *lode* was worked by bars, with a point at one end and a chisel at the other, for cutting out the silver. The owner of the Pastiano used to bring the ores from the mine with flags flying, and the mules adorned with cloths of all colors. The same man received a reproof from the Bishop of Durango when he visited Batopilos for placing bars of silver from the door of his house to the great hall (*sala*) for the bishop to walk upon."

The next mine of interest in our progress northward is the *Morelos*, "which was discovered in 1826, by two brothers named Aranco. These two Indian *peons* were so poor that, the night before their great discovery, the keeper of the store had refused to credit one of them for a little corn for his *tortillas*. They extracted from their claim $270,000; yet, in December, 1826, they were still living in a wretched hovel, close to the source of their wealth, bareheaded and barelegged, with upward of $200,000 in silver locked up in their hut. But never was the utter worthlessness of the metal, as such, so clearly demonstrated as in the case of the Arancos, whose only pleasure consisted in contemplating their hoards, and occasionally throwing away a portion of the richest ore to be scrambled for by their former companions, the workmen."—WARD'S *Mexico*, vol. II., page 578.

necessary to the business of gathering the precious metals. Sufficient has been said to show why the gold fields in the hands of Anglo-Saxons yield a return immensely greater than in those of the intellectually debased Spanish-Americans; and why the production of silver requiring a combination of science and mechanical powers unknown to the Aztec tribes, was inconsistent with their civilization; while the possession of gold was not—which is the important point we have sought to develope in this chapter. Beyond this we have no connection with the subject; and the ignorance of the civilized world, before the discovery of the precious metals in California, is our apology for referring to it at all.

SILVER MINES.—PACHUCA is the oldest mining district in Mexico. In its immediate vicinity are the most interesting silver mines of the republic. These were the first that were worked; and immediately after the conquest were very productive. They were wrought for generations, and then abandoned; again resumed, after lying idle for nearly a century, and operated for almost another hundred years; then abandoned once more—they were resumed again while I was in Mexico. They now produce that princely revenue to Escandon & Company, of which I have already spoken.

The HAKAL (*Haxal*) in part belonged to the number of those which the English Real del Monte Company worked on shares, with poor success, twenty-five years. It lies about three-fourths of a mile from the village of Pachuca. That company devoted their chief attention to the mines upon the top of the mountain, at an elevation of nine thousand and fifty-seven feet, and seven miles distant from this place, and these mines were comparatively neglected. The new company, immediately upon taking possession, devoted particular attention to the Hakal, which resulted in their striking a *bonanza*,* in the Rosario shaft, which was yielding, from a single pit, about $80,000 a month, if I recollect rightly. The ore of this mine is of a peculiar quality,

* This is the name given to a rich section of the vein.

and its silver is best separated from the scoria by the smelting process, of which I shall treat more fully when I come to speak of the mines of Regla. The Guadalupe shaft, close by the Rosario, was doing but little when I was there, as it does not belong to the same proprietors. On the night of my arrival they had just completed the work of pumping the water out of the San Nicholas, famous in the early mining history of Mexico.

THE REAL DEL MONTE MINE.—Mounted on a good horse, and followed by a lackey, I rode up the zigzag carriage-road which the English company constructed a quarter of a century since, in order to convey their immense steam machinery to the top of the mountain. This road is still kept in a good state of repair, and forms a romantic drive, for those who keep carriages in the mountains. The sun was shining upon the cultivated hills and rolling lands far below us, as we jogged along our winding way, up the mountain. At every turn in the road new beauties presented themselves. But it was getting too chilly for moralizing, and both lackey and I were pleased when we reached the village, upon the top of the mountain, which bears the name of Real del Monte. The house of entertainment here is kept by an English woman, who seems to be a part of the mining establishment. While in her domicile I found no occasion to regret that I was again elevated into a cold latitude.

After a hearty breakfast at the tavern, I called at the office, or, as it is here called, "the Grand House" (*Casa Grande*), and was introduced by Mr. Auld, the director, to the foreman, who took me to the dressing-room, where I was stripped, and clad in the garb of a miner, except the boots, which were all too short for my feet. My rig was an odd one; a skull-cap formed like a fireman's, a miner's coat and pants, and my own calf-skin boots. But in California I had got used to uncouth attire, and now thought nothing of such small matters. We therefore walked on without comments to the house built over the great shaft, where my good-natured English companion, the foreman, stopped me, to complete my equipment, which consisted of a lighted tallow candle stuck in a candlestick of soft mud, and pressed till it adhered to the front of my miner's hat. Having fixed a similar appendage to his own hat and to the hat of the servant, that was to follow us, we were considered fully equipped for descending the mine.

While standing at the top of the shaft, I was astonished as I looked at the size and perfect finish of a steam-pump that had been imported from England, by the late mining company. With the assistance of balancing weights, the immense arms of the engine lifted, with mathematical precision, two square timbers, the one spliced out, to the length of a thousand, the other

twelve hundred feet. These fell back again by their own weight. They were the pumping-rods, that lifted the water four hundred feet to the mouth of a tunnel or *adit*, which carried it a mile and a quarter, through the mountain, and discharged it in the creek, above the stamping-mill. There is a smaller pump, which works occasionally, when the volume of water in the mines is too great for the power of a single one.

A trap-door being lifted, we began to descend by small ladders, that reached from floor to floor in the shaft, or rather in the half of the shaft. The whole was fifteen or twenty feet square, with sides formed of solid masonry, where the rock happened to be soft, while in other parts it consisted of natural porphyritic rock cut smooth. This shaft was divided into two parts by a partition, which extended the whole distance from the top to the bottom of the mine. Through the one materials used in the work were let down, and the ore drawn up in large sacks, consisting each of the skin of an ox. The other half of the shaft contained the two pumping timbers, and numerous floorings at short distances; from one to another of these ran ladders, by which men were continually ascending and descending, at the risk of falling only a few feet, at the utmost. The descent from platform to platform was an easy one, while the little walk upon the platform relieved the muscles exhausted by climbing down. With no great fatigue I got down a thousand feet, where our farther progress was stopped by the water that filled the lower galleries.

Galleries are passages running off horizontally from the shaft, either cut through the solid porphyry to intersect some vein, or else the space which a vein once occupied is fitted up for a gallery by receiving a wooden floor and a brick arch overhead. They are the passages that lead to others, and to transverse galleries and veins, which, in so old a mine as this, are very numerous. When a vein sufficiently rich to warrant working is struck, it is followed through all its meanderings, as long as it pays for digging. The opening made in following it is, of course, as irregular in form and shape as the vein itself. The loose earth and rubbish taken out is thrown into some abandoned opening or gallery, so that nothing is lifted to the surface but the ore. Sometimes several gangs of hands will be working upon the same vein, a board and timber floor only separating one set from another. When I have added to this description that the business of digging out veins has been continued here for near three hundred years, it can well be conceived that this mountain ridge has become a sort of honeycomb.

When our party had reached the limit of descent, we turned aside into a gallery, and made our way among gangs of workmen, silently pursuing their

daily labor in galleries and chambers reeking with moisture, while the water trickled down on every side, on its way to the common receptacle at the bottom. Here we saw English carpenters dressing timbers for flooring, by the light of tallow candles, that burned in soft mud candlesticks, adhering to the rocky walls of the chamber. Men were industriously digging upon the vein, others disposing of the rubbish, while convicts were trudging along under heavy burdens of ore, which they supported on their backs by a broad strap across their foreheads. As we passed among these well-behaved gangs of men I was a little startled by the foreman remarking, that one of the carriers had been convicted of killing ten men, and was under sentence of hard labor for life. Far from there being anything forbidding in the appearance of even murderers, now that they were beyond the reach of intoxicating drink, they bore the ordinary subdued expression of the Meztizo. According to custom, they lashed me to a stanchion, as an intruder; but, upon the foreman informing them that I would pay the usual forfeit of *cigaritos* on arriving at the station-house, they good-naturedly relieved me. Then we journeyed on and on, until my powers of endurance could sustain no more; when we sat down to rest, and to gather strength for a still longer journey. At length we set out again, sometimes climbing up, sometimes climbing down; now and then stopping to examine different specimens of ores that reflected back the glare of our lights, with dazzling brilliancy, and to look at the endless varieties in the appearance of the rock, that filled the spaces in the porphyritic matrix. Then we walked for a long way on the top of the aqueduct of the adit, until we at last reached a vacant shaft, through which we were drawn up, and landed in the prison-house, from whence we walked to the station, where we were dressed in our own clothes again.

REDUCTION OF ORES.

When the underground wanderings were ended, and dinner eaten, it was too late in the day to visit the refining works; but on the next morning, bright and early, I was in the saddle, on my way to the different establishments connected with this mine. First, upon the river, at the mouth of the adit, was a stamping-mill, where gangs of stamps were playing in troughs, and reducing the hard ore to a coarse powder. A little way farther down the stream the ore was ground, and then, in blast ovens or furnaces, was heated until all the baser metals in the ore became charged with oxygen, to such a degree, that they would not unite with quicksilver. The ore was then carried and placed in the bottom of large casks, and water and quicksilver were added, and then they were set rolling by machinery for several days,

until the silver had formed an amalgam with the mercury, while the baser metals were disengaged from the silver. The whole mass being now poured out into troughs, the scoria was washed from the amalgam, which was gathered and put into a stout leathern bag, with a cloth bottom, and the unabsorbed mercury drained out. The amalgam, resembling lard in appearance, was now cut up into cakes, and placed under an immense retort, and fire applied; by which the mercury, in form of vapor, was driven through an orifice in the bottom into water, where it condensed, while the silver remained pure in the retort. This is called the barrel process, and is used for certain kinds of ore.

I had come self-introduced to the Real del Monte, but that had not prevented my receiving the accustomed hospitality of the establishment. A groom and two of their best horses were at my service during my stay. As the weather was fine, and the road a first class English carriage-way, I heartily enjoyed the ride down the mountain gorge, until it opened upon the broad plain, where the second refining establishment, that of Vincente, is situated.

FALLS OF REGLA.

THE FALLS AND BASALTIC COLUMNS OF REGLA.—THE PATIO, or open yard of Regla, on which the principal portion of the ores of the Real del Monte company are "benefited," or, as we should say, extracted, is situated deep down in a *barranca*, where both water-power and intense heat can be obtained to

facilitate the process of separation. The immense amount of mason-work, here expended in the erection of massive walls, would make an imposing appearance, if they had been built up in the open plain; but here they are so overshadowed by the mason-work of nature, that they sink into insignificance, in comparison. The bank, some two hundred feet high, of solid rock, as it approaches the waterfall on either side, has the appearance of being supported by natural buttresses of basaltic columns—columns closely joined together and placed erect by the hand of nature's Master-builder. Still, all would have been stiff and formal, had the sides of the *barranca* been lined only with perpendicular columns; but broken and displaced pillars are piled in every conceivable position, against the front, while a vine with brilliant leaves had run to every fissure, and spread itself out to enjoy the sunshine. The little stream, that had burst its way through the upright columns, and flowed over the broken fragments, fell into a perfect basin of basalt, heightening immensely the attractions of the spot. I sat down upon a fallen column, and for a long time continued to contemplate the unexpected scene, of which, at that time, I had read nothing. There was such a mingling of the rich vegetation of the "hot country" with the rocky ornaments of this pretty waterfall, that I could never grow weary of admiring the combined grandeur and beauty of the place, from which Peter Terreros derived his title.

Peter Terreros, the first Count of Regla, became one of the rich men of the last century, in consequence of a lucky mining adventure. In olden times the water in the Real del Monte mines had been lifted out of the mouth of the Santa Brigeda, and other shafts, in bulls' hides, and carried up on a windlass. When near the surface, this simple method of getting the water out has great advantages, on account of its cheapness, and is now extensively employed in Mexican mines. But after a certain depth had been reached, the head of water could no longer be kept down by this process, and, in consequence, the Real del Monte was abandoned about the beginning of the last century, and became a perfect ruin; for no wreck is more complete than that which water causes, when it once gets possession, and mingles into one mass, floating timbers, loosened earth, rubbish, and soft and fallen rock. By the mining laws of Mexico, the title to a mine is lost by abandoning and ceasing to work it. It becomes a waif open to the enterprise of any one, who may choose to "redenounce" it. The title to the soil in Mexico, as in California, carries no title to the gold and silver mineral that may be contained in the land. The precious metals are not only regarded in law as treasure-trove, but they carry with them, to the lucky discoverer, the right to enter upon another person's property, and to appropriate so much of the land, as is necessary to avail himself of his prize. All California land claims are subject to this legal condition.

THE COUNT'S FORTUNE.—This Peter Terreros, at first a man of limited capital, conceived the idea of draining this abandoned mine by means of a tunnel or adit (*socabon*) through the rock, one mile and a quarter in length, from the level of the stream till it should strike the Santa Brigeda shaft. Upon this enterprise he toiled, with varied success, from 1750 until 1762, when he completed his undertaking, and also struck a *bonanza*, which continued, for twelve years, to yield an amount of silver, which in our day appears to be fabulous. The veins which he struck, from time to time, as he advanced with his *socabon*, furnished means to keep alive his enterprise. When he reached the main shaft, he had a ruin to clear out, and rebuild, which was a more costly undertaking than the building of a king's palace. Yet his *bonanza*, not only furnished all the means, for a system of lavish expenditure upon the mines, and refining-works, but also, surplus profits sufficient to enable him to lay out half a million annually, in the purchase of plantations, or six millions of dollars in the twelve years. This is equal to about 500,000 pounds' weight of silver! Besides doing this, he loaned to the king a million of dollars, which has never been re-paid, and built and equipped two ships of the line, and presented them to his sovereign.

This once humble shopkeeper, Peter Terreros, after such displays of munificence, was ennobled by the title of Count of Regla. Among the common people he is the subject of more fables, than was Crœsus of old. When his children were baptized, so the story goes, the procession walked upon bars of silver. By way of expressing his gratitude for the title conferred upon him, he sent an invitation to the king to visit him at his mine, assuring his majesty, that if he would confer on him such an exalted favor, his majesty's feet should not tread upon the ground while he was in the New World. Wherever he should alight from his carriage, it should be upon a pavement of silver, and the places where he lodged should be lined with the same precious metal. Anecdotes of this kind are innumerable, which, of course, amount to no more than showing that in his own time his wealth was proverbial, and demonstrate, that in popular estimation, he stood at the head of that large class of miners, whom the wise king ennobled as a reward for successful mining adventures, and that he was accounted the richest miner in the vice-kingdom. The state and magnificence which he oftentimes displayed surpassed even that of the Viceking himself, without embarrassing an estate, the largest ever accumulated by one individual, in a single enterprise.

HOW HE EXPENDED HIS MONEY.—Count Peter is estimated to have expended two and a half millions of dollars, upon the buildings constituting the refining establishment of Regla, which goes under the general designation of the *patio*.

Why his walls were built so thick, or why so many massive arches should have been constructed, is an enigma to the present generation, as, in the bottom of a *barranca*, they could not have been intended for a fortress.

THE CHEMICAL PROCESSES IN SILVER MINING.—But let us go in and examine the different methods of "benefiting" silver here applied. The ores from the Rosario shaft of the Hakal mine of Pachuca are stamped and ground, and then thrown into a furnace, after having been mixed with lime, which in fire increases the heat; while upon the open *torta* we shall see that lime is used to cool the ore. Litharge (oxide of lead) is added, and the mass is burned until the litharge is decomposed, the lead uniting with the silver, while the oxygen enters into the slag, which the baser metals, or scoria, in the ore, have formed. This is cast out, at the bottom of the furnace. The mass of molten lead and silver is drawn off, and placed in a large oven, with a rotary bottom, into which tongues of flame are continually driven, until the lead, in the compound, has become once more oxidized, forming litharge, and the silver is left in a pure state. This is the most simple method of "benefiting" silver.

THE PATIO.—A little beyond the furnace is a series of tubs, built of blocks, from the broken columns. In the centre of each revolves a shaft with four arms, to each of which is fastened a block of basalt, that is dragged on the stone bottom of the tub, where broken ore mixed with water is ground to the finest paste. Here the chemical process of "benefiting" commences. A bed is prepared, upon the paved floor (*patio*) in the yard, in the same manner as a mortar bed is prepared, to receive quicklime dissolved in water. Into which is poured the semi-liquid mass. This is called a *torta*, and contains about 45,000 lbs. Upon this four and a half *cargas*, of 300 lbs. of salt is spread, and then a coating of blue vitriol (sulphate of copper) is laid over the whole, and then it is tramped by mules. If the mass is found to be too hot, for the advantageous working of the process, lime in sufficient quantities is added to cool it; and if too cool, then iron pyrites (sulphate of iron) is added. The mules are then turned again upon the bed, and for a single day it is mixed most thoroughly together, by tramping, and by turning it with shovels. On the second day 750 lbs. of quicksilver are added to the torta, and then the tramping is resumed.

The most important personage, not even excepting the director, is called "the tester;" for the condition of the ores varies so much, that experience alone can determine the mode of proceeding with each separate *torta*, and upon the tester's judgment depends, oftentimes, the question whether a mining enterprise, involving millions of dollars, shall prove a profitable or unprofit-

able adventure. Perhaps he cannot read or write, though daily engaged in carrying on, empirically, the most difficult of chemical processes. To him is intrusted the entire control of the most valuable article employed in mining—the quicksilver. He is constantly testing the various *tortas* spread out upon the *patio;* to one he determines that lime must be added; to another, an opposite process must be applied, by adding iron pyrites. When all is ready, with his own hands, he applies the quicksilver, by expressing it through the pores of a little cloth bag, as he walks over and over the *torta,* much after the manner of sowing seed with us. The tester determines when the silver has all been collected, and amalgamated with the mercury. Whether the tramping process, and the turning by shovels, shall continue for six weeks, or for only three, is decided by him. When he decides that it is prepared for washing, the mass is transported to an immense washing machine, which is propelled by water, where the base substances are all washed from the amalgam, after which it is resolved into its original elements, of silver and quicksilver, by fire, as already explained; with the loss of about seventy-five to one hundred pounds of mercury upon each *torta.*

Having thus described, with some minuteness, one of the most extensive silver mines in the world, where an average of 5000 men and unnumbered animals are employed, it will not be necessary to go into details, as we notice the many other celebrated mines of Mexico.—*Mexico and its Religion.*

CHAPTER V.

THE EXTINCT EMPIRE OF CENTRAL AMERICA IDENTIFIED AS PHŒNICIAN IN ITS ARCHITECTURE, ART, AND RELIGION.

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THE wreck of an extinct southern empire is the grand enigma of our continent. The remains of ancient cities—homogeneous in their character—extend the whole length of Yucatan, and re-appear in Honduras and Tehuantepec. These ruins are not those of temporary structures, nor of such as the revolutions of a few centuries would destroy. In their solidity they strikingly remind us of the best

productions of Egyptian art. Nor are they less venerable in appearance than those which excite our admiration in the valley of the Nile. Their points of resemblance, too, are so numerous, they carry to the beholder a conviction, that the architects on this side the ocean, were familiar with the models on the other. They bear the impress of vast wealth and resources,* and appear as though built at different eras; while repeated renewals of their stucco indicate as strongly an actual use for many centuries.

These ruins are Egyptian in their obelisks or square columns.† In their painted statues, their hieroglyphical tablets and plinths,‡ their painted sculpture§ and their paintings.|| In the use and application of hieroglyphical inscriptions,¶ they are Egyptian; and so too in some of their common emblems.** They are Egyptian likewise in their pyramids,†† and in the purposes to which their vaults are applied. Nor are some of these structures a whit behind their models in dimension.‡‡ Those extant show the remains of a stone casing like those of their prototypes.§§ Each people also excavated sepulchres in the rock.|||| And on the upright face of the block called the "sacrificial" stone, we recognise the Egyptian celebration of victory.¶¶ Their approximations of the arch*** too are the same; and so likewise their use of bronze for tools.†††

* See Note (1), at the end of this chapter. † Note (2).
‡ Notes (3) and (4). § Note (5). || Note (6). ¶ Note (7).
** Note (8). †† Note (9). ‡‡ Note (10). §§ Note (11).
|||| Note (12.) ¶¶ Note (13). *** Note (14).
††† The subject of bronze weapons and tools is fully discussed in a subsequent part of this chapter.

Yet, with all these striking points of resemblance, the ancient inhabitants of Central America *were not* Egyptians. Their largest pyramids were not complete, but truncated; and upon these lofty platforms the temples of their idol-worship were constructed.* Neither were the American dead embalmed, but, when decomposition had done its work, their bones were packed in jars, and deposited in the vaults of their pyramids.† The divinities of both races appear to have been in part identical, but their methods of worship different. All the gods of antiquity had their emblems. Among the Egyptians these emblems were living animals. They represented Apis by a bull. Thoth by an ibis. Phre by a hawk. Seb by a crocodile. Anubis by a jackal. And in this form fifteen divinities appear upon the standards among the figures of the gods in the tomb of Rameses IV. at Bab-al-Melook.‡ To these emblems certain of the divine honors were paid, which were due to the god, others were reserved for the image. Hardly an animal or insect in Egypt, but was the emblem of some divinity, and held sacred in some of its cities. In Central America the existence of sacred animals or insects is still doubtful.§

Among the ancient races we find a diversity in the titles and forms of worship paid the same divinity; most perplexing to the student of mythology. The Philistine, the Phœnician, and the Egyptian deities were manifestly of Hindoo origin;‖ and, apparently under another modification of form, the Central Americans adored the same gods. The burdens of superstition and caste so impeded

* Note (15). † Note (16). ‡ KENRICK'S *Ancient Egypt*, vol. I. p. 19.
§ Note (17). ‖ Note (18).

the people of the Nile as to render them incapable of great and distant commercial enterprises, while the sea was also unclean to them. We should therefore be surprised to find strong evidences of their actual presence in America, but, not to find there, their gods.

Rejecting those fables, which rank Noah as the first king of Egypt, and Mizraim, the son of Ham, as the second sovereign of the first dynasty, we must also reject, of course, those more absurd, which assign to that country a dynasty of gods, and a dynasty of demigods, and then, some thousand years of human rule, before the time of Adam. We find, however, other grandchildren of Mizraim,* the Philistines of Scripture, leaving the country of the Caphtorim† and spreading over Egypt, the island of Crete, and a part of the land of Phœnicia or Canaan; giving their own name to the latter country—Palestine.‡ It was probably this highly civilized and commercial people, who for six hundred and fifty years ruled Egypt under the name of the Shepherd Kings (Hyksos)—a name given them as a reproach—"for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians"§ of high-caste.|| Manifestly the kings of Egypt, in the times of Abraham, felt no aversion to shepherds, as one sought to take to wife Sarah, brought up in a shepherd's tent.¶ Two hundred and thirteen years later we find a king of the same race on the throne, as we judge from his interview with Jacob, the prince of shepherds.** About three hundred years later a king [dynasty] arose that knew not

* Note (19). † Note (19). ‡ Note (19). § Gen. xxxvi. 34.
|| Note (20). ¶ Gen. xii. 18, 19. ** Gen. xlvii.

Joseph;* that is, acknowledged not the obligation due to his memory. This clearly refers to the expulsion of that race of kings, who had treated his kindred with favor; that is, the shepherd kings;† and explains also the cause of that persecution which arose against Israel. The new rulers, professing the Egyptian superstition, turned the whole force of their fanaticism against the peaceful shepherds of Goshen. The disastrous effect of this upon the commercial interests of the country we can at once comprehend, by reference to India, where a race abhorrent to the natives, both rule the country and conduct its commerce, and, in their efforts to enrich themselves, enrich the Hindoos. The expulsion of the British, we know, would immediately be followed by the persecution of all professing their religion, and ultimately, by the extinction of all foreign commercial enterprise. Thus was it in Egypt. The long-continued and wise administration of the "Shepherds" had raised it to the highest pitch of prosperity; and during their rule, or immediately succeeding it, the greatest of the public works were constructed.‡ With their expulsion, the decline of prosperity began, and its commerce fell into the hands of neighboring states.

During the 430 years that Israel abode in the land of Goshen, the five nations of Phœnicia increased so rapidly in population and commerce, that ten of the twelve spies sent by Moses reported against the practicability of successfully invading the country, even with an army of six hundred thousand fighting men.§ Their

* Note (21). † Note (22). ‡ Note (23). § Numbers i. 46.

report was, that the cities were great and strongly fortified.* Joshua, indeed, afterwards invaded it with an army of only equal number, but still incalculably superior, from the forty years' warfare and discipline of the wilderness. Yet the contest was so unequal, he relied almost solely upon the interposition of divine power for the victory!† If we adopt the common idea, that the family of Mizraim populated Egypt, then it is not difficult to believe, that the country of Caphtor‡—the first residence of the Caphtorim and Philistim—was within, or adjacent to, its limits. These nations appear to have entered the country of Canaan, and established their five lordships there before their own expulsion from Egypt, perhaps even before their first conquest of that country.§ Joshua evidently regarded the country as a part of that land, and so apportioned it to the tribes.‖ They, the Philistians, are called by one of the later prophets—helpers of Tyre;¶ and through their country the Tyrian commerce, to and from India,** passed, until David, having subjugated both Edom and Philistia, diverted this transit to his own states. We learn afterwards the servants of Hiram navigated to Ophir the ships of Solomon; supposed to have been called Tarshish ships from their great size, viz.—ocean-going ships.

But where and what was Tarshish? For there was probably a country as well as a metropolitan city bearing that name. It was not Carthage, as the LXX. supposed, for Carthage was a Phœnician colony. The Tarshish,

* Note (24). † Note (25). ‡ Gen. x. 14.
§ CALMET, vol. II. p. 342. ‖ Josh. x. 45, 46, 47. ¶ Jer. xlvii. 4.
** Note (26).

who gave name to the city and country we have to consider, was a descendant of Japhet.* In profane history the city was called Tartessus,† and situated without the Straits of Gibraltar—was probably the ancient Gadir, now Cadiz;‡ in the country of the Turdetanians,§ the original Iberians or Basques, as distinguished from the mixed people who were called Celt-Iberians. In the prophet Ezekiel's enumeration of the customers of Tyre, he places this city in the first rank, "by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches, silver, iron, tin, and lead."‖ It is the general notion that the tin which Tarshish brought to Tyre came from Cornwall in England, as until a late day only has it been found elsewhere.¶ To procure this metal, so important to the world before the process of hardening brass had been lost,** arose the early navigation of the Celts, of civilized Iberia, to the barbarous country of Britain! It seems like romance to talk of huge ships from Tarshish, navigating the ocean in the times of the Pharaohs,†† and populating Britain and Ireland, from the then over populous Spain. But we have, in proof of the large ships of that remote era, a painting in the tomb of Rameses IV., celebrating a victory obtained by his galleys over a fleet of vessels, propelled by sails, without the aid of oars,‡‡ while in the people themselves lies the evidence of a very remote migration from Spain to Britain and Ireland. The Celts of those islands are to this day recognised as brethren by the Basques or people of Biscay,§§ viz., as Celt-Iberians; and, as such, admitted

* Gen. x. 4. † Herod. I. c. xliii. ‡ Note (27). § Note (28).
‖ Ezek. xxvii. 12. ¶ Note (29). ** Note (30).
†† Note (31). ‡‡ Note (32). §§ Note (33).

to the enjoyment of the *fueros* of the provinces,* from which Spaniards are excluded.

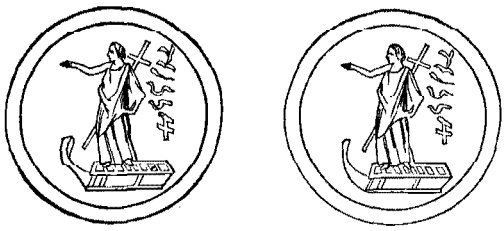
We have already ventured to suggest a common idolatry among all the highly commercial nations of antiquity. They all appear to have derived their gods from India; the eastern starting point of commerce, as Tartessa was its western. But as we journey westward, each nation adds new titles, and varies its forms of worship. Thus, Egypt, Philistia, and Phœnicia have the same deities in fact. But Egypt alone used living emblems to represent them, and adopted the Indian system of caste.† The heroes of Egypt are the demigods of Phœnicia; nor is it straining a point to add of Tarshish, since the temple there of Hercules was so famous, that, in Grecian fable, the pillars which adorned it were synonymous with the rock of Gibraltar and its counterpart on the African coast (Calpe and Abyla).‡ In the next chapter we will give the probable reason for the deification of this Hercules at Tartessa. Three of these nations indulged in the orgies of Priapus (Bacchus). "They went to Baal Peor, and separated themselves to that shame."§ The serpent too, was, to them all, the emblem of fruitfulness,|| while another tale reminds us that the heathen crosses of Ireland were covered with elaborate sculptures of serpents and turtles, which the pious zeal of Saint Patrick caused to be effaced.¶

Among the Egyptian mysteries, the Latin cross was placed beneath the monogram of the moon, thus ♀ ; an

* Note (34). † Note (35). ‡ Note (36).
§ Hosea x. 10. || Note (37). ¶ Note (38).

appropriate position for her emblem, when Astarte (Ashteroth) personifies her.* But, among the Phœnicians, whose principal employment was commerce, that goddess is represented standing on a galley, her right hand pointing to the prow, while her left grasps the staff of a Latin cross—the magnetic compass of antiquity.† Hercules, emblematized by the loadstone, claimed also a position among the gods, and took precedence of Apollo, the representative of the sun; thus, Hercules-Apollo,‡ though at first only a demigod—an Egyptian hero—or canonized king.§ In the interchange of commerce and of deities, between the Assyrians and Phœnicians, we find Astarte, or Ashteroth, an object of worship at Nineveh. The three emblems on her medals, a star, a crescent, and a cross, adorn the neck of a king as there portrayed in the act of worshipping the Queen of Heaven.|| We find the cross likewise attached to a necklace, or collar, in the dress of the oriental prisoners on an Egyptian ruin of the time of Rameses II., fifteen centuries before the Christian era.¶

The mariner's magnetic cross of ancient times is thus



† COINS FROM CALMET, NO. 6. PLATE CXL. AND PLATE XVI.

* Note (39). ‡ Note (40). § Note (41).
|| Note (42). ¶ See WILKINSON, I., p. 376.

described by Boulak Kibdjalick, an Arabian author of the thirteenth century (1242).* "They take a cup of water [the cup of Apollo, called also that of Hercules],† which they shelter from the wind. They then take a needle [the arrow of Apollo or of Abaris], which they fix in a peg of wood [reed] or a straw, so as to form a cross. They then take the magnes [magnet] and turn round for some time above the cup; moving from left to right, the needle following. They then withdraw the *magnes* [the stone of Hercules], after which the needle stands still, and points north and south."‡ Whether a permanently polarized needle was an improvement of the Chinese or Phœnicians, is of little importance; for purposes of adoration, the original form would most naturally be used, as it would be considered the most venerable.

We have called attention to the prominency of the cross among the emblems of the favorite goddess of the Phœnicians, Astarte; as this dispels one of the mysteries connected with the Central American ruins. Occupying a significant position among Egyptian mysteries, that symbol is the leading emblem on Phœnician medals also, both ancient and modern; on those bearing inscriptions in the Sidonian character, on those inscribed in Greek too, and even in Latin—when medals of the Syro-Phœnicians. On one of these coins Calmet remarks as follows:—"Nos. 2–4, medals of Sidon, the inscription in Greek, 'The Sidonian Goddess,' agrees exactly with the appellation—1 Kings v. 5, 33, 'Ashteroth, goddess of the

* Note (43) † Note (44).

‡ *Pillars of Hercules*, vol. I., page 144.

Sidonians.' No. 4, 'Astarte holding the cross, standing on a ship, the measure on her head. 12, Astarte standing in her temple holding the long cross in her hand. An altar burning before the temple,'* &c. More illustrations are needless, as the foregoing sufficiently establish our point, that the Latin cross was a religious emblem of the Phœnicians—typical of the 'Queen of Heaven.'"† To show his contempt for this Phœnician Venus,‡ Alexander the Great ordered two thousand of the principal citizens of Tyre to be executed upon this, her emblem! From that time, it seems to have been a practice among the oriental Greeks, to crucify the basest of malefactors.

The reader will doubtless excuse us for turning aside here to notice a striking similarity in the situation of the Israelites, the Protestants of antiquity, and ourselves, the Protestants of the present. The adoration of the cross, and the Queen of Heaven, was an abomination to them, as it is to us; and they were, as we are, under a divine prohibition to make no similitude. But their hewers of wood and drawers of water, as the Celts among us, adored this emblem, and also the Queen of Heaven, which familiarized them to it. Tyre was the Paris of antiquity, the centre of voluptuousness, the regulator of fashions, the seat of gentility, and there the neighboring people learned what constituted the genteel in religion—to combine voluptuousness and faith in the sensuous presentation of spiritual truths. There, too, the aspiring were taught to despise the simple forms of their own country, and to adore the cross and Queen of Heaven. From the time

* CALMET, vol. II., pp. 606–7. † Note (45). ‡ Note (46).

of Solomon,* indeed from the time of Joshua, this adoration, the building of high places,† and the setting up of her emblem, were the besetting sins of Israel. So is it to those classes among us, who find a passage to heaven like the needle's eye. Tacitus has been laughed at, by all the scholiasts‡ of the last five hundred years, for accusing the Jews of worshipping an ass; and yet modern investigation has established the charge. A class of Jews, who borrowed their religious ideas from Tyre, adored, in the last phase of their apostacy, that sentimental animal, the *jackass!*§ The Madonna and Child are associated with the donkey upon one of the latest medals of Astarte; a medal dating long after the Christian era!‖ Whether, among the improvements now going on in fashionable circles, the jackass will be again introduced, to excite the devotional sentiments of worshippers, is a question for the future to determine! It is the last phase of sentiment!

From the time of Noah a series of civilized nations had been growing, that, at the end of a thousand years, attained a point of commercial prosperity hardly reached by modern races. Nineveh multiplied her merchants above the stars.¶ Egypt, Philistia, and Phœnicia, crowded with millions of civilized inhabitants, were also utterly corrupted by this golden era. The Almighty could endure no longer, and the decree went forth for their extermination. Wars, from that time, are rather the rule than the exception. The Phœnicians, who seem to have been sinners above the rest, were the first to feel the blow,—

* Note (47). † Truncated pyramids? ‡ Note (48).
§ Note (49). ‖ Note (50). ¶ Nahum iii. 16.

"For," saith Moses, "every abomination to the Lord which he hateth have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters have they burnt in the fire to their gods."* Thus human sacrifice was the assigned cause for that indiscriminate slaughter of both the men and women of Canaan by the Israelites.

The sacrifices to Molech, or Saturn, were the remarkable features of Phœnician worship. These sacrifices were the immolation, in a furnace placed at the feet of a bronze statue, or beneath the mask of Saturn, of the choicest infants of the nation. This form of apostacy was constantly taken by the Jews: even their kings made their children to pass through the fire to Molech.† This worship of Saturn is distinctly to be recognised among the ruins of Palenque. It is there portrayed upon the walls.‡ We have there the hideous mask of that deity; the eyes widely expanded, the tongue hanging out, as thirsting for victims. Four persons are represented in connection with this mask. The principal, an old priest, in the act of offering a child is opposite a younger official, who is also making an offering; behind the elder stands a trumpeter, or an old man blowing some instrument; behind the other, a female spectator, taking so lively an interest in the proceeding as to suggest she may be the mother of the victim.§ The structure called the House of the Pigeons, at Uxmal, has this hideous masked face over each doorway, surmounted by an elaborate head-dress.||

* Deut. xii. 31. † 2 Kings xxii. 6; 2 Kings xvi. 3. ‡ Note (51).

§ For a description of the offering above referred to, see STEPHENS, vol. II., page 352.

|| STEPHENS's *Yucatan*, vol. I., page 306.

The large circular stone block, now at the city of Mexico, and known as the Calendar Stone, has this also for its central ornament.* There is likewise a painting on the ruins, near the *Hacienda* of Tankuche, of another of these masks,† and others elsewhere, but these are sufficient to identify the above-mentioned edifices with the worship of Saturn.

By reference to antique coins and medals we have shown the cross was the emblem of the "Queen of Heaven" —the Astarte of the Canaanites or Phœnicians. That she was a favorite deity is clearly evident, and the seductions of her worship, as clearly enticed the Jews from the service of their God, and eventually occasioned, the destruction of their Holy City.‡ After this goddess had furnished the Greeks and Romans with models for both their Venus and Ceres,§ according to her different attributes, we find her, in her last phase, giving to baptized Rome her Madonna. Now, if we turn to the ruins on this side the ocean, we find, at Palenque, one having broad entablatures covered with hieroglyphics; there, on each of the four square columns, or jambs between the doors, is moulded in stucco the figure of a female holding a child on her left hand and arm, *in the same manner as Astarte appears on the Sidonian medals.* Dupaix thus describes them:‖ "They [the four females represented on the square columns] are apparently absorbed in devotion, and the faces of all are turned towards the central sanctuary. Two are placed on each side, holding in one

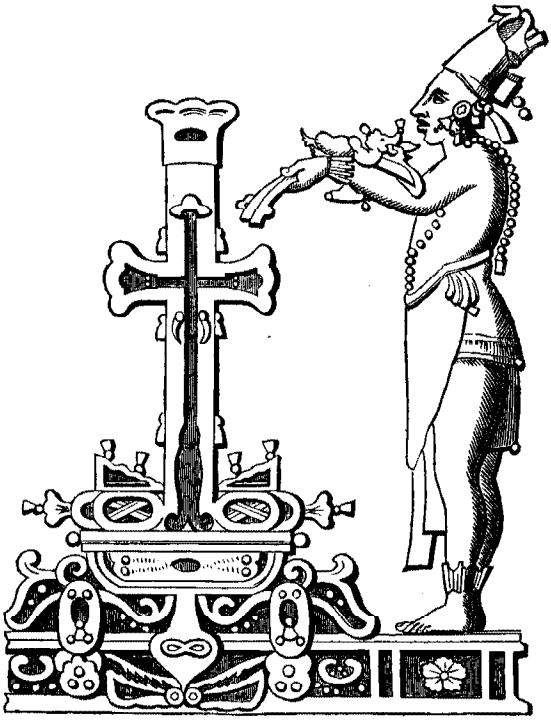
* Note (52). † *Yucatan*, vol. I., pp. 205, 306. ‡ Jeremiah xliv. 17
§ Note (53). ‖ Vol. VI. page 499.

hand a gift, with the other supporting a child, offering it as it were to the law!" It may be added, that the heads of these figures are covered with allegorical devices, as is the case with almost all those yet found there.

The commonest emblem on these remains is the cross. Dupaix, who is anxious to vindicate the Latin cross from all connection with infant sacrifice, says: "It is never plain, but loaded with ornament." At Mitla we have the Maltese cross;* and at other places divers varieties of the Greek cross, mentioned by him, and represented on the plates of his draftsman, Castanada.† At Palenque the representation of a cross, is so prominent as to give the ruined building in which it is found, the name of *La Cruz.* The figures already described as offering a sacrifice to Molech, are there represented presenting a child to the cross.† Dupaix, an ardent Romanist, thus describes the scene: "Beside it [the cross] stand four grave personages, who contemplate it with an air of deep veneration. The tallest of them is offering to it with upraised hands a child of singular shape, apparently a new-born infant; admiration is depicted in the countenances of the others. Of the two figures placed in the background, one appears to be that of a man bending under the weight of years, apparently in the act of blowing a musical instrument, which he holds with both hands to his mouth. The last personage in this group is a grave and majestic figure, apparently an admiring spectator."‡ Was this last intended for the mother?

* Note (54). † Note (54).

‡ LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., p. 481.



INFANT SACRIFICE.

Thus far had we carried the argument, but had here been compelled to stop, for want of further evidence; and the very stereotype plate that at first occupied this page, expressed our regrets that we were not able more completely to identify the Palenque statue as Hercules. At our publishers', however, the eyes of that distinguished Orientalist, the Rev. Mr. Osborn, chanced to fall upon a proof of the American goddess in the fourth note to this chapter, which he at once recognised as Astarte, repre-

sented according to an antique pattern. Her head-dress, he insisted, was in the ancient form of the mural crown, without the crescent, the prototype of that worn by Diana of the Ephesians, and so too, he insisted, was her necklace of "two rows." In support of his position, he referred to the late discoveries made in the region beyond Tiberias, and to divers others of a recent date, while he corroborated our theory of the Palenque statue.

There are, also, abundant secondary Phœnician resemblances. Among the coins of Tyre are two upon which the serpent is the prominent figure. On one it encircles a large egg; on the other, it is coiled around a tree. In the work of Dupaix, there is the representation of a copper medallion, already mentioned, *purporting* to have been found at Palenque; on one side of which is a tree, with a scaly serpent entwining itself around the trunk.* Of the prominent position occupied by the serpent throughout, we have already spoken in discussing Egyptian analogies.

The tortoise was a symbol of the Tyrian colony of Thebes, in Greece. And these two, the serpent and the turtle, are ever recurring emblems upon American ruins. At Uxmal is a building called "The House of the Turtles," from a head or row of tortoises around the cornice.† Divers turtles in stone have been also discovered among them. In a large box filled with *terra cotta* antiques once offered to the author, perhaps three-fourths of the whole

* See Castanada's copy in vol. IV., L. 2, pict. 2, of LORD KINGSBOROUGH. For Dupaix' description, see vol. VI., page 475. Same.

† *Yucatan*, vol. I., page 184.

collection was made up of serpents and turtles, with allegorical variations.

We omitted to notice, in its proper place, the Phœnician resemblance of the river wall of Copan. The reader will recollect that the great pyramid of Copan rests, or rather abuts, against a river wall between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and fifty feet in height; a counterpart of the famous sea-wall of Tyre.

The Phœnician origin of these remains has always been a popular theory among Spaniards. But the way they proceed to its proof, is in keeping with their usual practice. They produced the *copy* of an apparently antique MS. in strange characters, which, when deciphered, established the Phœnician origin and character of the Central American Empire. The non-appearance of the original, was accounted for in the same manner as that of the Aztec picture writings—an over zealous bishop had committed it to the flames! This time it was not the redoubtable Zumarraga, but a bishop of Chiapa.* The story is a fabrication out of the whole cloth, yet it serves to show, that at the time of this pretended copy, there was a general opinion prevalent, among the intelligent portion of the population of New Spain, favorable to this belief. The world must have been prepared for such an announcement, or so transparent an imposition could not have obtained currency. Like the Mexican picture records, the fictions of Cortez had prepared mankind for the discovery of Indian evidences, so that when the Monk Pietro produced his copies, thirty years after the conquest, and

* Note (56).

announced the burning of their originals, the world accepted the last as true, and paid a handsome price for the imposition.

Describing the style of architecture exhibited by the ruins, Stephens calls it Greek antique. But *Grecque antique* is Theban—Etruscan—Phœnician—Cyclopean—like Mycenæ and Argos. The work is certainly equal to the best specimens of *antique*, or *Phœnician* art. The cross, as a religious emblem, is Phœnician. The offering of infants to Saturn is Phœnician too; as are also the orgies of Baal-peor or Priapus, the Bacchus of Greece and Rome. The statue found among the ruins of Palenque, is claimed by some to be the tutelary divinity of the city, and, from the resemblance of the symbol it presses to its breast to the mural crown of the Phœnicians,* to be that of Hercules also. We admit the proof of this important link is incomplete. There are the same emblems of civil life too, and, in addition, the serpent, the tortoise, and a oneness of architecture and art, besides other resemblances supposed to have been held in common with the Egyptians, tools and weapons of bronze. But still an indisputable Hercules is wanting, though Mr. Osborn again comes to our aid. The next point is the non-discovery of implements of steel or iron. Had they been found, the fact would have destroyed the Phœnician analogies. For none have been met with, of the corresponding era, in Egypt. The finest works of its sculpture, like those of Central America, were evidently executed with bronze tools, hardened by some now unknown agency.

* Note (57).

So many ages have passed since brazen swords,* daggers,† and spears were used by civilized nations, we are apt to consider their employment an evidence of barbarism.‡ Though the Greeks at the siege of Troy may have been barbarians, other nations who used bronze weapons were not. And it must be recollected that, for at least a thousand years before, bronze performed all those duties to which we now apply steel, by the most polished of all ancient nations, the Egyptians, in their Augustan age. Travellers and philosophers are alike perplexed by its successful use in the working of granite and porphyry, on either side of the Atlantic. Wilkinson § has made a most valuable suggestion, which in part, but only in part, removes the difficulty. Picking up a bronze chisel, among the granite scales in an unfinished tomb at Thebes, he found the head had been battered by the mallet, while the edge remained uninjured, though soft as ordinary bronze. Thereupon he suggests, that the elaborate sculptures of this people, must have been executed by the process known to us as engraving.|| He produces also pretty satisfactory evidence of the employment of emery, in some portions of their work. Could this be proved, it would account for the execution of much, which cannot be now done by any known method. But the sword, the spear-head, the adze, and the hatchet, could hardly have been aided in their work by emery! Still, time, in the revolution of so many centuries, may have taken from these weapons and tools that quality of extreme hardness, which they must have once possessed. So, too, the bronze hatchets found by the

* Note (58). † Note (59). ‡ Note (60). § Note (61). || Note (62).

first Spaniards in the hands of savages, near to the remains at Cozumal, may once have been a good substitute for steel.

The difference in price between bronze and iron must have early recommended the substitution of the latter. But until its conversion into steel had been discovered, it could have been of little use in war or art. With bronze every plan that could save the wear of such costly implements would be adopted. This will account for the common Indian stone wedges and hatchets at Mitla, beside others of copper [bronze].* May not this account also for the appearance of a like phenomenon in the north of Europe? The common weapons of an Indian are represented in the sculpture at Kaba in Yucatan.† The figure there is a trophy, or was designed to represent a savage. Yet the work upon it plainly indicates, the artist did not alone use the implements of savages, but possessed some metallic substance, capable of as keen an edge, as any we can produce.‡ Far from being barbarians, we find them skilled even in the art of fortification, their works near Mitla, exhibiting the covering angles of an enclosing wall, not surpassed in modern structures of the sort, as is shown by the drawing of Castanada.§

Let us now take a retrospect of that commercial world we have evoked from the tombs and ruins of a remote antiquity. Starting with the civilization acquired from the family of Noah, in the long period of a thousand years, the nations ran a course of material prosperity, so successful, that, a single one of the family, Egypt, was

* Note (63). † *Yucatan*, vol. I., page 413. ‡ Note (64). § Note (65).

able, out of the surplus revenues of a single reign, to erect the great pyramid.* The five kindred nations of Canaan—a land of merchants or traders†—crowded their small country with walled cities; fortified in anticipation of the coming hosts of Israel. Edom excavated others in the rocks, while the Philistians strengthened themselves to resist Joshua. In Italy, the Etruscans, children of Japhet, Turdetani, then created those memorials of their attainments in art—the vases that now defy competition. Then the Celts and Turdetani, [Celt-Iberians,] were so numerous they sent forth distant colonies in ocean-ships, and brought from Britain the tin of Phœnician, and Egyptian manufacture,‡ that, in the ruins of Nineveh, we find commingled with Chinese articles. Immense as are the commercial centres of modern times, they can hardly have equalled those of antiquity. "When Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey," ships crowded her quays from India and China, while caravans from Damascus and Aleppo, loaded with the merchandise of Tyre and Egypt, filled her streets, and jostled with others from Bactria, north and east. Yet was there a city greater even than Nineveh: No [Thebes?] in Egypt; so lordly as to win the title of *populous* even there.§ Then each of the five cities of Philistia was in itself a lordship—unitedly they subjugated Israel, and possessed Cyprus and Crete. What then was India, when these were mere commercial dependencies to which she had communicated their wealth, their religion, and

* Note (66).
† A definition of the word Canaan.
‡ Note (67).
§ Nahum iii. 8.

even the form and pattern of their temples?* This was the condition of civilization in the golden age—that era when Central America was at the zenith of her prosperity—Palenque even being equal to Thebes in extent.†

It is impossible to explain away the vast resources of antiquity by averring that those structures, the ruins of which astonish us now, were but the fruits of despotism, and the product of slave labor. It is not despotism alone, or slaves laboring without wages. For they eat, they consume, and they waste. Slave is the most expensive of all labor;‡ and despotism finds its security in the lightness of the public burdens. The lands of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Central America are the same now as when they sustained a population almost incredible, yet are they waste. Commerce or the systematic exchange of the commodities of different and distant portions of the earth, can alone solve these mysteries. Without commerce, the richest productions of the earth rot—even gold is valueless without a market.§

When India, China, Japan, and the Islands of the Eastern Sea were the attractive points of ancient commerce, was it always carried on by the hazardous route of the Red Sea, and the wider ocean, or by that of the Tigris and Euphrates? The course of the trade-wind to America, was most likely adopted. Merchandise unladen in a harbor of the Caribbean Sea had but a short transit to the noble bay of Fonseca on the Pacific. Five hundred years of prosperous commerce with the Mediterra-

* Note (68). † Note (69). ‡ Note (70). § Note (71).

nean and with India otherwise hardly accounts for the magnitude of the *thirty ruined cities*, already discovered in Yucatan alone. And there may lie buried in its forests, and as yet undiscovered, even others, greater and more numerous. But whence came the untold millions that peopled that region? They have so utterly perished as to be beyond the reach of tradition by at least a thousand years. Is their extinction that of the races of ancient Egypt, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Spain, and Italy? Was it the consequence of their overthrow, or the effects of climate?

On the eastern continent a prospering commerce furnished the revenues to set up and sustain immense armies, and kept alive those exterminating wars, which finally destroyed it and reduced the world to barbarism—a barbarism so profound, too, as would forbid our belief in the existence of kingdoms and empires highly civilized, if it were not for their epitaphs so unmistakably written upon their tombs, or sculptured in the ruins of their public edifices. Our historic period reaches only to the verge of that era of decline and subjugation—to the time, when the re-colonization of Greece had commenced. The Greeks were a people whose ideas of commerce extended only to a row-boat.* Their successors, the Romans, had but one passion—and war, not commerce, was that one. Yet the freedom of intercourse between province and province of their vast empire, and the excellence of their military roads, gave to trade an internal expansion

* Note (72).

unknown in any other era. But, though it furnished the sinews of Roman valor, it did not extend, save in one direction, beyond the limits of the empire; viz., to India. The intercourse with Central America must have declined with the decline of oriental kingdoms, and ceased with the extinction of those nations and races with whom it originated. A natural law, dormant during the many ages of active intercourse and colonization, began to manifest itself among the colonial population of Central America, as soon as all connection with the old world ceased. Extinction is the doom of every immigrant population in an uncongenial climate (habitat), when migration ceases to keep up and renew the original stock. Intermarriage with the aborigines may have hastened the work of decay, by producing mongrels, abhorrent and exceptional, to the laws of our being. Colonists, too, from Central America, may have wandered over the whole of our continent, building here and there truncated pyramids, such as we find, not of hewn stone, but of earth, in which to bury their dead. But the law applied alike to them as to their Central American ancestors, and they too perished, leaving no other memorial than these burial mounds contain. Doubtless the Indians borrowed this system of interment, without ceasing to be Indians. At least such is our solution of the Central American enigma. Let us examine the apparent objections to this common sense view of it.

It is customary to ascribe to the Phœnician colony at Thebes, in Bœotia, the origin of the *Grecque antique* in

architecture and in art—that is, to admit its Phœnician origin. But modern Greek art and architecture, it now appears, were borrowed also.* We have Doric columns in Central America,† and Ionic in the ruins of Nineveh.‡ Thus what we have been accustomed to consider as peculiar to Grecian art, is, after all, but a copy from barbaric originals. The Greeks were indeed but imitators of oriental creations. Their mythology, even was foreign,§ and, that they could not comprehend, they expressed in myths and fables. The greatest of Egyptian heroes, and patron of Phœnician commerce, they represented as a demigod, armed with a club, wandering through the world in search of adventure. His twelve divisions of the zodiac are fabled as his labors, says the scholiast on Hesiod.|| The two pillars that adorned his temples in oriental worship are typified by them as two mountain peaks—Calpe and Abyla—and the Egyptian custom of granting or refusing the rights of sepulture, becomes in their hands the fabled court of Pluto.¶

The Greeks appear to have been selected from their imitative powers, to perpetuate such of the arts and civilization of the elder world, as were to be preserved from that decree of extermination, pronounced by the Almighty against its nations. Commerce had been the chief cause of the total demoralization of antiquity, and of this, they were permitted to preserve only a boat navigation. They heard indeed of the stone of Hercules, of the cup of Aby-

* Note (73). † Note (74). ‡ Note (75).
§ Note (76). || Note (77). ¶ Note (78).

ris, and of the arrow of Apollo, but they little dreamed that under these myths lay hidden, the compass of the ocean mariner. They had heard too of the Atlantis,* but not of the vast and distant country it personified. The mysteries of Egyptian worship and Phœnician commerce were shrouded in Grecian fable. Whatever the Greeks imperfectly comprehended of the affairs of other nations they thus expressed. Glimmerings of antiquity, we may obtain from Grecian sources, but nothing more. For the rest, we are indebted to records, graven on the walls of tombs, on broken monuments, and ruined temples.

"Art thou an honest pirate or an enemy that visits our shores?" said an heroic Greek to his youthful visitor. From such, the ancients studiously concealed, not only the extent and routes of their commerce, but the use of that mysterious power which directed their ships across the ocean. A nation who considered piracy a lawful calling, were certainly but dangerous neighbors. Though the Greeks undoubtedly confined their imperfect navigation to the internal seas, that argues little against a pre-existing outside commerce. The Romans, in arts and commerce were their imitators, and when they fell, another thousand years of barbarism passed, before the Tartar races, that had repeopled Europe, turned their attention to navigation. And yet, with little more than three hundred years of experience, how mighty are the revolutions and transformations commerce has produced! When

* Note (79).

our experience has extended through as many centuries as that of the elder races of mankind, we may judge them by our own knowledge, instead of through that of the Greeks and Latins.

Races of men, like the trees of the forest, have their beginnings, their maturity, and their decline. Some of soft and delicate fibre, are rapid, both in growth and in decay. Others, as the oak, of slower rise, are firm of texture, and of long endurance. Some are the *lignum vitæ* or *sapote*—lasting as the lintels in the ruined temples of Yucatan. Our generations correspond to the forest products. Grafting and inoculation may sometimes improve the quality of the crop, but they cannot resuscitate an exhausted trunk. That pseudo-philosophy which encouraged the immixture of races has had its day. It flourished once in spite of the living argument our own quadroons, and the mingled blood of Spanish-America, furnished against it. Each continent would seem to hold a common hive of nationalities. In America it is found upon the high table-lands of the central plateau;* from thence migration appears to have flowed eastward, westward, and southward. From the table-lands of central and eastern Asia, in like manner, sprang the races and migrations that have successively peopled Europe and western Asia. Africa alone appears exceptional. Its various tribes, as repugnant to others as divided among themselves, form the enigma of ethnology. The Kabils, the Mauritanians [Berbers], the Nubians, Abyssinians,

* Note (80).

Bushmen [Pigmies],* Kromen, Negroes, Caffers, Hottentots, &c., refute the idea of a common parentage since the original dispersion.† This miracle is the result of a peculiar elemental condition, continued through several thousands of years.

We now presume we have sufficiently vindicated, the antiquity, oriental origin, and commercial character of the extinct empire of Central America, and, that we have accounted for its decay and ultimate extinction. Those who have argued in favor of a North American origin for these ruins, we have summoned as our witnesses, and, from a mass of facts collected by them, proved the opposite to their inferences. Proving our case by such testimony, we have admitted their statement of fact, only rejecting their conclusions. On their showing we rest our cause, though we have yet stronger evidence, objectional perhaps on the score of prejudice, to those seeking cause of cavil.

After a very superficial view of some outlying portions of these ruins, we ventured to affirm, contrary to received notions, that they were extremely ancient, and had existed for thousands of years.‡ At that time, we had not sufficiently investigated the question, and were unprepared to abandon the common belief in their aboriginal origin. The labor necessary to the production of this chapter, has not only carried conviction to the mind of its author, but brought together a mass of testimony, beyond

* Note (81). † Note (82). ‡ Note (83).

the reach of doubt—testimony, sufficient to prove a traditional title in a court of justice—an Egyptian title, to Central American civilization, and a Phœnician title, to the religion, that at that early period was dominant on this continent, under the influence of eastern colonies, while it fully explains the necessity the Romanists were under of inventing the fabulous mission of the Apostle Thomas to account for the religious emblems which they recognised as belonging to their own superstition. Fragments of this civilization, like waifs from a foundered ship, are scattered over North America, and not unfrequently found as trophies in the more recent funeral mounds of our Indians.* The aborigines thus incidentally aided in preserving to us evidence that a people of Roman lineaments,† extended their dominion as far north, as the plains of the Anahuac, and the valley of Mexico.‡

We commenced this investigation confining ourselves to strict proof, and have therefore foregone every opportunity of indulging in the curious speculations that naturally arise, when such a mass of testimony is before us, upon the two important points—of the great antiquity of these ruins, and their indisputable oriental origin. It has not been proved, beyond a doubt, that the object in the right hand of the Palenque statue, was a mural crown. Had it been so, we should have insisted, that the statue itself, was the Phœnician Hercules—Malcroth, Prince [patron] of the city. And, that if the Hebraic form was

* Note (84). † Note (85). ‡ Note (86).

used in his adoration, if practised there, it could not fail to have exerted a lasting influence upon the surrounding Indian tribes.

A difficulty besets us in the outstart, when we attempt to connect this antique people with the classic era. It is not so much the want of the mariner's compass, among the Greeks and Romans, as the non-existence among them, of vessels fitted for ocean navigation, that we have to overcome. Their galleys were notoriously incapable of the voyage—a distance of three thousand three hundred miles from the Canary Islands. Their crews, "ten men to a ton,"* made the transit impossible to them. The tombs of the Pharaohs have solved this difficulty. There we find ships of commerce—ships propelled by sails alone. They were then in existence before the time of Moses, and, consequently, hundreds of years before the Greeks had a national existence. For purposes of piracy or war, the galley perhaps surpassed the sailing vessel, and when war usurped the place of commerce, the oar superseded the sail. Yet the ship may have rode triumphantly upon the ocean, centuries after the galley had driven it from the internal seas. But, as soon as ships, propelled by the wind alone, disappeared from the coasts of Spain and Gaul, the pathways of the ocean were lost, and the empire beyond the seas, remembered only as a tale of the *barbarians.*

There are in every community those, who take an array

* Note (87).

of great names, rather than evidence, for the foundation of their belief. There are those too, who judge a work only by the elegance with which its periods are strung together. And, besides these two, we have to encounter also the opposition of *savans*—men who live and judge the outside world through the medium of books alone. These hold as of no account, all but Greece and Rome, and receive no idea of antiquity that does not come through them. For any, then, too wise to learn or too thoughtless to inquire, this chapter is not designed. Let those, alone, who subject their knowledge to the ordeal of reason and common sense, judge, if there is reasonable ground, to doubt, the foreign origin of these American ruins. Investigation is daily wiping out, one after another, the popular theories which our ignorance adopted. As the foundations of these air structures melt away, those who dwelt in them may be heard anathematizing innovators. Many there are, who have dealt in Spanish romances, supposing them to be history; and these are slow to abandon their delusions. At enormous expense they have gathered volumes of authorities; will they readily admit them to be cheats and counterfeits? They grudge the time too they have spent in their perusal; and are loth, as well they may be, to lose it. But individual loss and injury is perhaps inevitable in the search after truth. Men cannot be held down to the theories of barbarism. These must give way to knowledge, or the intelligent, as in Roman Catholic countries, be driven to infidelity.

THE INCONGRUITY OF RACES.

The advantages arising from transplanting the human race, as well as vegetables and plants, are manifestly great. But transplanting should never be confounded with intermixing tribes, whether they be human, or of the lower animals, or of plants. When God, in his infinite wisdom, saw fit to choose out a family, that he destined to continue for thousands of years, He transplanted it into a new soil and climate, and subjected it to divers migrations. First it went down into Egypt, and then, "with a high hand and an outstretched arm," He brought it up out of Egypt, and after a sojourn of forty years in the wilderness, He re-established it in the land of Canaan. This is the origin of the most perfectly developed race of the present time. Whether in the tropics, or in the most northern latitudes, the Jew is the same intellectual and physical man, and carries about with him the indelible marks of a descendant of the patriarchs, who were commanded not to intermarry with the people among whom they dwelt. The Jew may wander, and sojourn in strange lands, but he cherishes with national pride the blood of Abraham, which he insists, still flows in his veins, and he is most careful, of all things, to transmit it pure to his children. Though Canaan abounded with fragments of nationalities, his boast is that his blood is not intermixed with any of them. To the history of the Jews we might add the experience of the Franciscan missionaries of California, that for a healthy offspring a man must marry among his own clan.

The constant complaints we hear of the deterioration of imported animals, of choice breeds, is the result of a disregard of this law of propagation. The importations of Merino sheep, and afterward of the Saxon, proved a failure, chiefly from this cause. Those engaged in the importation of English cattle begin already to make the same complaint, which they would not have done, had they taken the precaution to import their foreign stock in families. The Mulatto is an apparent, not a real exception to the rule. He is superior to the Negro, often superior to his white father; but it is a superiority for a generation only, and carries with it the seeds of its own dissolution. The mule is superior to the donkey, but lasts only for a generation. The Oregon ox, a cross between the Spanish and American breeds, is superior to either of the pure breeds. But it is the concentration in one animal of what might be the material of divers generations.

I once asked a Dutchess county farmer the cause of the great superiority of his crops of wheat, over those of his neighbors, and his reply was, that he

always brought his seed from a distance, changed it often, and took good care not to let it intermix with the wheat of that region. The same, or, rather, greater results have attended the transportation of American seeds and plants to California; there a new soil and a new climate have produced upon all the staples of agriculture such an improvement, as to astonish men, who have made this branch of industry a study. It is the result of the migration of plants, where there are no plants of the same character to intermix, and so deteriorate the race, by crossing the breed. In trees the same law holds unchangeably. We produce fine fruit by inoculation and by grafting; but experience has taught us never to inoculate upon a grafted stem, but always upon a natural branch. As the Conquistadors selected the best-looking Indian women for the mothers of the Mestizos, so the fruit-raiser selects the best natural stems to inoculate with his artificial varieties of fruit. In this way we get better fruit, by exhausting the root, and a whole race of plants are sometimes worn out by mixture, from too close a proximity of the different families of the same genus. In the laws which Moses gave to the children of Israel, we find a provision against the evils of intermixtures in the precept: "Thy cattle shall not gender with diverse kind." "Thou shalt not sow thy field with divers seeds." In these precepts God has taken care to guard the wholesome generation of plants, as well as of animals.

The successful intermingling of Protestant Saxon immigrants, with our own people, in the second and third generations, is not an exception to this law, as both are but branches of the same stock, and are successfully planted together. Nor is the mortality, which follows the Catholic immigration, an exception to the beneficial law of migration, for habits of intemperance account for their shortened lives; and though their offspring is abundant, yet it is all tainted with an inheritance of disease, and too many of the children suffer the ruinous consequences of having drawn "still slops" from a mother's breast, in infancy. For physically, and in the chain of families, most truly are the sins of the fathers visited upon the children, to the third and fourth generation. Besides, most of them are Celts, a race doomed to extinction.

Our collection of material for an argument will be complete when I have added, that the trees most prolific of artificial fruit die the earliest, and suffer most from running sores; that the vines, cultivated artificially to produce choice wines, suffer most from the mildew, and that potatoes of the most artificial varieties are the ones that have suffered most from the rot. When the cholera first visited Mexico, its passage through the country was like the

ravages of the Angel of Death, among the Meztizos, and the fragments of decaying races. And this progress toward depopulation cannot be stayed by the infusion of a vigorous stock. The law of sexuality in plants, leads to the intermarriage of the vigorous with the decaying, by the intermixture of blossoms; nor can human plants long vegetate together without intermarriages, which engraft the vigorous constitutions with the virus of the decaying. —WILSON'S *Mexico*, page 312.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

(1) [*They bear the impress of vast wealth and resources.* P. 146.]—"The whole exterior of this building ['House of the Governor' at Uxmal], presents a surface of seven hundred feet; the 'House of the Nuns' is two thousand feet, and the extent of sculptured surface exhibited by the other buildings, I am not able to give. Complete drawings of the whole would form one of the most magnificent series ever offered to the public, and such as it is yet our hope one day to be able to present. The reader will be able to form some idea of the time, skill, and labor required for making them; and more than this, to conceive the immense time, skill, and labor required for carving such a surface of stone, and the wealth, power, and cultivation of the people who could command such skill and labor for the mere decoration of their edifices. Probably all these ornaments have a symbolical meaning: each stone is part of an allegory or fable, hidden from us, inscrutable under the light of the feeble torch we may burn before it, but which, if ever revealed, will show that the history of the world yet remains to be written."—*Central America*, vol. II., page 434. STEPHENS.

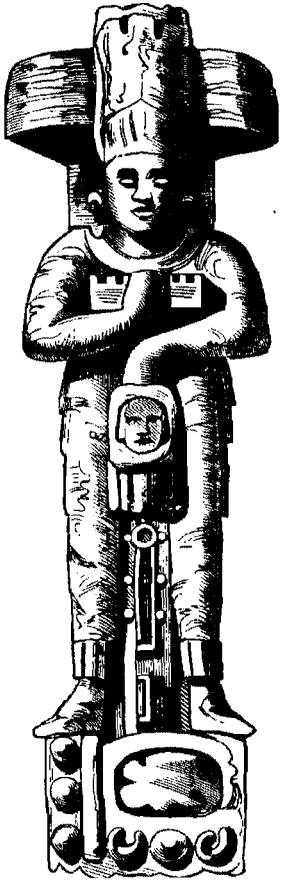
(2) [*These ruins are Egyptian in their obelisks or square columns.* P. 146.]—The obelisks, or square columns of the Egyptians might, with propriety, be called the Egyptian inscribed columns. They appear to have fulfilled a double office at Copan and Palenque.

"In front and rear are sculptured idols, before which stands or has stood an altar. Their sides are covered with hieroglyphical inscriptions. At Copan the sculpture and inscriptions are cut into the polished stone face of the column."— See STEPHENS'S *Central America*, vol. I., ch. VII.

At Palenque the columns are covered, and the inscriptions and sculpture are upon stucco. At Uxmal the more modern—the round column makes its appearance,—*Ibid.*, vol. II., page 428, —giving countenance to the idea that Copan was much the oldest city, and that Uxmal was the most modern of the three.

(3) [*In their painted statues, their hieroglyphical tablets and plinths.* P. 146.]—"It is the only statue that has ever been found at Palenque. We were at once struck with its expression of serene repose, and its strong resemblance to Egyptian statues. . . . Round the neck is a necklace, and pressed against the breast by the right

hand is an instrument, apparently with teeth [the mural crown?] The left hand rests on a hieroglyphic [cartouche], from which descends some symbolical ornament. . . . The figure stands on what we have always considered an hieroglyphic [plinth], analogous again to the custom in Egypt of recording the name and office of the hero or other person represented."—*Ibid.*, vol. II., page 349.



THE PALENQUE STATUE.

As the back of this statue is of rough stone, it was probably imbedded in a wall, but wrenched from its resting-place at the instigation of Spanish fanaticism, and tumbled, face downwards, among rubbish; probably one of those *hideous idols*, in their estimation, over whose destruction the Romish chroniclers so devoutly exult! If the instrument held in the right hand of this statue is in fact the mural crown, then we have here for the patron of the city of Palenque, the Phœnician Hercules, Malcruth [prince of the city].

(4) [P. 146.]—"Her head is richly adorned, and her neck also graced with a necklace of two rows. The figure is supported by two columns. It is well executed, and in good preservation, bearing some resemblance to the ancient statues of the Egyptians. The same symmetry is observable in Mexican [Ancient American] sculpture as in Mexican architecture, and to this figure its due and proper proportions must have been given by instruments corresponding to our rule, level, and compass."—*Dupaix* in vol. VI. LORD KINGSBOROUGH, page 426.

M. Von Humboldt, in his *Essai Politique*, vol. II., page 172, thus notices this statue:—" M. Dupe, a cap-

AMERICAN ISIS OR ASTARTE.

tain in the service of the King of Spain possesses the bust, in basalt, of a Mexican [an antique], which I employed M. Massard to engrave, and which bears great resemblance to the *calautica* of the heads of Isis."

(5) [*In their painted sculpture.* P. 146.]—Speaking of the idol obelisk, which forms the frontispiece to his first volume, Mr. Stephens remarks, page 137, "Originally it was painted, the marks of red color being still distinctly visible." Again, on p. 138, "The character of this image [the Palenque statue], as it stands at the foot of the pyramidal wall, with masses of fallen stone resting against the base, is grand, and it would be difficult to exceed the richness of the ornament, and sharpness of the sculpture. This, too, was painted, and the red is still distinctly visible." Again, page 139, "All these steps, and the pyramidal sides, were painted." Page 311, vol. II., "The stucco is of admirable consistency, and hard as stone. It was painted, and in different places about it we discovered the remains of red, blue, yellow, black, and white."

"The oldest Egyptian sculptures on all large monuments were in low relief, and, as usual, at every period, painted."—WILKINSON, III., p. 303.

"The introduction of color in architecture was not peculiar to the Egyptians. It was common to the Etrurians, and even to the Greeks."—WILKINSON, III., p. 298.

"In the temple of Theseus, at Athens, vestiges of colors are seen on the ornamental details."—*Ibid.*, p. 299.

(6) [*Their paintings*, p. 146.]—At page 311, vol. II., *Yucatan;* "For a long time we had been tantalized with fragments of painting; giving us the strong impression that in this more perishable art these aboriginal builders had made higher attainments than in that of sculpture, and we now had proof that our impression did them justice. The colors were green, yellow, red, blue, and a reddish brown; the last being invariably the color given to human flesh. . . . They exhibit a freedom of touch which could only be the result of discipline and training under a master." *Reddish-brown, the color invariably given to human flesh,* is Egyptian. Wherever human flesh is represented in Egyptian painting it is invariably by this reddish-brown."—*See the plates of Lepsius, passim.*

"Red is adopted, as a standard color, for all that meant human flesh.

There are indeed some exceptions, viz., they represent a fair lady, by way of distinction, with yellow. Where the red is supposed to be seen through a thin veil, the tints are nearly of the [our] natural color."—*Pharaoh Necho*, CALMET, page 206, vol. IX.

(7) [*Hieroglyphical inscriptions.* P. 146.]—The ancient Central Americans may have recorded secular affairs in phonetic letters, but all the inscriptions in and about their religious edifices—"which are the only ruins that remain," *C. A.*, vol. I., page 133—"are in hieroglyphics." We have already noticed the hieroglyphic plinth, and the cartouche in the left hand of the Palenque statue. One of the altars at Copan (*C. A.*, vol. I., page 140), "is six feet square and four feet high, and the top is divided into thirty-six tablets of hieroglyphics. On each of the four sides of this altar are represented four individuals. On the west side are the two principal personages, with their faces opposite to each other. The other fourteen are divided into two equal parties, and seem to be following their leaders. Each of the two principal figures is seated cross-legged, in the oriental fashion, on a hieroglyphic, of which the serpent forms a part. Between the two principal personages is a remarkable cartouche, containing two hieroglyphics, well preserved, which reminds us strongly of the Egyptian method of giving the names of the kings or heroes in whose honor monuments were erected." The two sides of the square columns at Copan were covered with hieroglyphics, cut into the stone face after the Egyptian fashion; and not only in the buildings at Palenque and Uxmal, but in nearly every other one of the ruined cities of Yucatan, there are remains of hieroglyphics after the Egyptian custom.

(8) [*Common emblems.* P. 146.]—The serpent was an Egyptian as well as a Phœnician emblem. It was the representative of plenty—*the Agatha Daimon.* It is found on plate LXIX. of Calmet, vol. V. of Coins of Egypt, Nos. 20 and 21, with ears of corn [wheat] and a poppy.

"In front of this hall [in the tomb of Pharaoh Necho], facing the entrance, is one of the finest compositions that ever was made by the Egyptians, for nothing like it can be seen in any part of Egypt. . . . The whole group is surrounded by hieroglyphics, and enclosed in a frame richly adorned with symbolical figures. The winged globe is above, with the wings spread over all; and a line of serpents crowns the whole." —*Belzoni's description as copied by* CALMET, IV., page 202.

"At the head of the court-yard [house of the Nuns, so called at Uxmal], two gigantic serpents, with their heads broken and fallen, were winding from opposite directions along the whole *façade.*"—*Central America*, vol. II., page 426.

As the serpent appears as an architectural ornament on nearly every one of the ruined edifices of Yucatan, it is not worth while to make further quotations.

On the copper coin, or medal, found, as is alleged, at Palenque, the serpent constitutes the prominent emblem, as will be hereafter noticed.

We have not given the opinions of Mr. Stephens, or of the Spanish king's engineer, Captain Dupaix.

Their statements of fact should

have greater weight with us, from the circumstance that both believed the Central American ruins were the product of *American Indian* civilization!

"In the first compartments [of the pavilion of Medinet Aboo], the king [Rameses IV.] appears seated under a canopy, the cornice of which is formed by a row of the royal serpents."—KENRICK'S *Ancient Egypt*, vol. II., p. 273.

(9) [*Their pyramids.* P. 146.]—The great pyramid of Copan is greater in its dimensions than the great pyramid of Egypt, though truncated. On page 142, vol. 1, *C. A.*, we have: "On the left side of the passage is a high, pyramidal structure, with steps six feet high, and nine feet broad, like the sides of one of the pyramids of Saccara, and 122 feet high on the slope. The top is fallen, and has two immense Ceba trees growing out of it." On page 138, "At a short distance is a detached pyramid, tolerably perfect, about 50 feet square and 30 feet high." On page 134, "Beyond are the remains of two small, pyramidal structures. . . . Between the two pyramids there seems to have been a gateway." On same page, "At the southeast corner is a massive pyramidal structure, 120 feet high on the slope. On the right are other remains of terraces and pyramidal buildings; and here also was probably a gateway, by a passage 20 feet wide, into a quadrangular area, two sides of which are massive pyramids, 120 feet high on the slope." It would be difficult to find a style of building more perfectly Egyptian than this.

"Were I writing descriptions of all that I have seen in Egypt, I would linger a long time in sketching this temple of Dakkeh, which is in excellent preservation, and is one of the finest specimens of the later temples of Egypt which now remain.

"Approaching the temple in front, the traveller sees rising before him two lofty towers, built of hewn stone, without windows, rising to a height of sixty or eighty feet. At their bases they may be each about eighty feet broad, and the walls recede as they rise, so that the summits are much smaller than the bases. The two are connected by the gateway of the temple, which is between them, and the outside of all is covered with sculpture in relief, of gods and kings innumerable. Each of these towers contained within it four chambers, one above the other, and the stones are smooth, and polished as they were two thousand years ago. Passing through the gateway the visitor finds himself in the court of the temple, once surrounded with lofty walls, perhaps with rows of columns, all now fallen. Crossing the court he enters the temple itself. In most of the large temples of Egypt this portion is reached through a portico on which all the treasures of ancient art were lavished. Gorgeous columns supporting elegant capitals, which in turn supported architraves that were carved in every form of hieroglyphic lore, stood in rows often four deep, and behind them a lofty doorway opened into the holy of holies.

"Not so the temple at Dakkeh, which is but small. The entrance from the court is into the first of a succession of chambers, on all which art has expended itself. Every inch of the walls is covered with sculpture, beautifully executed, and standing as

fresh and sharp as on the day it was finished. The first room opens into a sort of corridor, which opens into the ancient adytum, or holy of holies. But a later monarch has erected an addition to the temple, in the rear, and cut a doorway to it, so that this is the rear chamber, and is perhaps the most perfectly preserved of any room in Egypt. I might except a small sepulchral room, which opens on the eastern side of the old adytum. It was once a grave, doubtless, of some priest or prince, long since rifled of the treasure of dust it was holding for the resurrection. But the robbers left the walls of stone, and the lion sits calmly over the empty sarcophagus, and the gods stand where they stood a thousand years ago. Every part of this chamber is exquisitely sculptured, and the sculpture remains astonishingly perfect. I took impressions of many of them on paper, and the face of one of the heads of Isis was well worth preserving."

(10) [*Egyptian in dimension.* P. 146.]—It is a very difficult matter to get at the exact dimensions of an Egyptian or an American pyramid, from the mass of debris accumulated about their bases. The best measurements are but approximations. The world has been sadly imposed upon in this matter. Even Humboldt undertakes to give us the dimensions of that mass of loose earth, absurdly called the *pyramid* of Cholula!

"Lee Bruyn," we quote second hand, "gives the base side (of the great pyramid of Ghizeh) at 750 feet. Greaves states it to be 693; the difference between these computations is 57 feet, which, divided by the average, and added to the lesser sum, will show one side to be 721, which, multiplied by four, the sum total of the entire square base will be 2884 feet. That of Copan, 2866. Taking Greaves' numbers, each side 693 by 4, equals 2772. Mr. Stephens' measurement of Copan is 2866: ninety-four feet greater than the Egyptian." This pyramid of Copan, the reader will recollect, is not only truncated, but also cut off by a river wall, so as to have but one complete pyramidal side, while the two other pyramidal sides extend to and about the wall. This river wall Stephens estimates at from 130 to 150 feet in height!—*C. A.*, vol. I., p. 153.

(11) [*Casing of stone.* P. 146.]—"THE PALACE," as it is called, at Palenque, stands on an artificial elevation 40 feet high, 310 feet front and rear, and 260 feet on each side. This elevation was formerly cased with stones, which have been thrown down by the growth of trees.—See p. 310, *Corres.* vol. 2.

On page 440 Stephens says, what we all know to be true, that the pyramids of Egypt, in their original form, presented a face entirely smooth; and where they now present the appearance of steps, it is caused by the falling of the triangular casing-stone.

This is the condition of things about the pyramids and truncated pyramids of Central America.

(12) [*Sepulchres in the rock.* P. 146.] Here we have to appeal to Dupaix, who minutely describes the excavated tombs in the solid granite at Mitla, &c., LXXXVII, and XCI. p. 451, vol. V., Lord Kingsborough describes two of these. Stephens never having visited Mitla, denies the existence of American excavated tombs.

(13) [*Celebration of victory.* P. 146.] —No Connecticut manufacturer of Egyptian mummies is more expert in the fabrication of antiques than the Mexican Spaniards. Knowledge of this fact should not lead us to reject that which is actually genuine. After a very careful personal examination of the stone called the "calendar (!) stone," and the other stone called "a sacrificial (!) stone," I am inclined to believe both of them relics of antiquity. How they came into the possession of the Spaniards is another question.

"But one matter of peculiar interest among many others there [among the Phœnician ruins at Malta], is peculiarly interesting, and that is an apparent calendar stone in the outer floor of the largest room, worn, perhaps, by the feet of those people during many ages, and, perhaps, by the storms and rains of centuries. This stone appears to me evidently intended to mark the variations of the sun's rising between the tropics, that the idolatry of sun-worship might be more systematically accomplished."—Rev. Mr. OSBORN.

The "calendar" stone, so called, has the mask of Saturn upon it, and doubtless in some way was connected with his worship. The Spaniards have mutilated the "sacrificial" stone, by hollowing out a pretended blood bowl and gutter on the top, to constitute it a testimonial in favor of their allegation against the poor Aztecs; that they indulged in human sacrifice.

The carving of these stones appears to be of great antiquity, and to have been executed with tools not now in use. This kind of sculpture could be successfully imitated, but the Spaniards were too ignorant of antiquity to do it.

Dupaix, a very devout Romanist, describes it as a stone of victory. This it doubtless is. It is a circular shaft, of sufficient height and diameter for an altar. On its upright surface is repeated eighteen times a distinguished personage holding a captive by the hair. This, Dupaix supposes to indicate the number of conquered provinces—eighteen.

"In one [of the four temples of Mewe on the Upper Nile] a king appears, holding a number of captives by the hair, who stretch their hands towards him in an attitude of supplication, while he threatens to strike them with the hatchet."—KENRICK, vol. I., page 8.

The "sacrificial" stone is most likely intended to represent the same idea.

(14) [*Approximations of the arch.* P. 146.]—Throughout every part of Central America, Chiapa, and Yucatan, the same method is to be traced, with slight modifications. The stones forming the side walls are made to overlap each other, until the walls almost meet above, and then the narrow ceilings are covered with a layer of flat stones."—STEPHENS'S *Yucatan*, vol. I., page 429.

Wilkinson, in his "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," vol. 1. p. 132, also vol. I., pages 116 and 117, insists that the arch was in use among the Egyptians. But Stephens is more explicit in defining the kind of arch. He says, (*Yucatan*, I., page 433) "No. 4 is the most common form of arch used by the ancient American builders. A striking resemblance will doubtless be observed, indeed they may almost be considered identical, and it may be added, that at Medeenet Haboo, which forms a part of the Ancient Egyptian Thebes, a similar contrivance was observed by Mr. Catherwood. From this it will appear that the true principles

of the arch were not understood by the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, or Etruscans, or by the American builders. It might be supposed that a coincidence of this strongly marked character, would go far to establish an ancient connection between all these people, but, without denying that such may have been the case, the probabilities are greatly the other way." That is, Mr. Stephens having a pet theory to sustain,—that the Indians were the builders of those ancient cities of Yucatan, would like to deny the legitimate deduction from his own testimony.

(15) [*Platforms were constructed.* P. 147.]—Every one of the ruined structures yet discovered in Yucatan or Central America, is built on a truncated pyramidal structure. Were these the houses of the "high places" erected in the cities of Samaria, after they had adopted the idolatry of the Phœnicians? See 2 Kings xxiii. 15 and 19.

(16) [*Vaults of their pyramids.* P. 147.]—Col. Galinda first broke into this sepulchral vault, and found the niches and the ground [the floor] full of red earthenware dishes and pots, more than fifty of which, he says, were full of human bones, packed in lime; also several sharp-edged, and pointed knives of *chaya*, a small death's-head, carved in green stone, its eyes nearly closed, the lower features distorted, and the back symmetrically perforated by holes,—the whole of exquisite workmanship (viz., an engraved gem.)—*C. A.*, vol. I., p. 144.

Such are the reputed contents of one of the vaulted chambers of the great pyramid of Copan.

(17) [*Doubtful existence of sacred animals or insects.* P. 147.]—Among the articles alleged to have been dug up in the Grand Plaza of Mexico are a number of colossal baboons. The reader must understand the author does not vouch for their genuineness: he only suggests the probabilities of the case.

"Among the fragments on this side were the remains of a colossal ape or baboon, strongly resembling in outline and appearance the four monstrous animals, which once stood in front, attached to the base of the obelisk of Luxon, now in Paris, and which, under the name Cynocephali, were worshipped at Thebes."—*C. A.*, vol. I., page 134.

(18) [*Of Hindoo origin.* P. 147.]—"The faces of both figures were painted blue."—Belzoni's *Description of the Paintings in the Tomb of Pharaoh Necho.*

"It is probable that the reader has been somewhat startled at the blue visage of the deity [above referred to]. It affords one more proof of conformity with the deities of India. Such being the complexion of Chrishnu and Siva, also the poets sing his neck's celestial blue." Dr. E. D. Clark's *Travels*, vol. III., p. 58, refers to the conduct of the Sepoy regiments when brought from India to Egypt in 1801, recognising the divinities of their own country among the sculptured figures of an Egyptian temple. They regarded the temple of Dendara as sacred to their own god Vishnu. They also fell down before the gods in the temple of Tentyra, and claimed them as of their own belief.—Mrs. Graham's *Residence in India*, page 53.

Dagon was clearly the chief deity of the Philistines. She was identical with Astarte of the Phœnicians,

and appears to have been so considered by their neighbors—the Hebrews. Thus, in 1 Chron. x. 10, "And fastened his [Saul's] head in the temple of Dagon; 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, "And they put his armor in the house of Ashteroth" [Astarte].

The method of representing this deity by the Phœnicians and Philistines shows her to have been a sea goddess; by the Phœnicians she was represented as standing on a galley; by the Philistines as coming out of the mouth of a fish; full robed and crowned with a proper emblem in each of her four hands.—See Plate LV., vol. V., CALMET. This plate (LV.) is copied from Maurice's "History of India" (Plate VII., p. 507); it represents a young person crowned, having four arms, each holding its proper symbol; coming out of a great fish. "The centre piece (Plate LVI., vol. V., CALMET) proves sufficiently that the Greeks borrowed their compound forms from the East. To suppose that Egypt communicated its mythology to India is to reverse the order of events. The Hindoo [Hindu] idea certainly was the parent of all the Titans and Nereids of Grecian antiquity. This gem shows with what readiness they adopted it, and the heads below sufficiently show with what tenacity they retained it. * * * Consulting the oldest fragments of Chaldean mythology * * * the monsters represented on them are but counterparts of the Indian Vishnu. Besides the two figures of the humanized fish, viz., Dagon, it contains a bird, probably a dove, and the winged globe." Dagon signifies wheat. Another title would properly be Ceres. But Ceres was sister to Saturn! [Molech.] "Lastly, Ceres is sometimes described with the attributes of Isis, the goddess of fertility, among the Egyptians. Berosus [a priest in the temple of Belas at Babylon 400 years before Christ] says that Oaunos had the body and head of a fish, and above the head of the fish a human head, &c. An Egyptian medal represents half the body of a woman, the tail of a fish, &c.

"Astarte was probably the same as the Isis of Egypt, who was represented with the head of an ox, or with horns on her head. But the manner of representing Astarte on medals is not always the same.

"Cicero says (lib. iii., *de Nat. Deorum*) that Astarte was the Syrian Venus," &c.

Plate XL., CALMET, coin No. 1, Alexander Severus, on the reverse Astarte, holding a Latin cross, the emperor placing a wreath on her head!

We have had to shorten these quotations as much as we could without marring the effect of authorities. The sum of them all seems to be, that the Hindoos were the first to fall into idolatry, and with the progress of commerce westward spread the new religion. The Egyptians, having had the longest intercourse with India, adopted both the religion and customs of India. The other ancient commercial nations, less intimately connected with the Hindoos, adopted their religion, but not their customs or forms of worship. As this idolatry travels to a distance from the starting point, we find new titles and new attributes assigned to the most prominent divinities. The variations are not greater, however, than among Christians.

The Being whom we worship we do not call by his name *Jehovah*, but by some one of his attributes. So it appears to have been with the worshippers of false gods.

(19) [*Grandchildren of Mizraim.* P. 148.]—"Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistians from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir:" Amos ix. 7. Calmet, following a distinguished Orientalist, Major Wilford, *As. Research.* 3, p. 72, supposes that Caphtor was Cashmire, and that the shepherds that invaded Egypt were Oriental shepherds, viz., Palli; and that there were two irruptions of Palli, and that the Philistians were an off-shoot from the first eruption of Palli. And that Crete was also overrun by these Palli. (CALMET I., p. 35.) This may be very poetical. A more probable location of Caphtor would be one of the *islands* of the desert, beyond Egypt, or one in the Delta—Caphtor meaning an island. Issuing from their own country, wherever it may have been, they overran Egypt, Philistia, and the islands of Crete, and perhaps Cyprus, even before the time of Abraham, 484 years after the flood.

(20) [*Of high-caste.* P. 148.]—"The Egyptians are divided into seven classes [castes]. These are the priests, the military, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters. They take their names from their profession."—HERODOTUS 2, clxiv.

(21) [*Knew not Joseph.* P. 149.]—The idea which the Alexandria translators (the LXX.) attached to this expression of the sacred text has caused the confusion in ancient chronology, which perplexes the reader of Scripture as much as the Archæologist. The text says (Ex. xi. 12–40) that the children of Israel dwelt in Egypt 430 years. They (the LXX.) saw fit to count this 430 from the visit of Abraham, the grandfather of Israel! for the above cause, and for the additional reason that only three names between Levi and Moses are mentioned, the unimportant ones, as is not uncommon in Scripture, probably being omitted—that is, they shortened this 430 to 280 years.—See KENRICK'S *Ancient Egypt*, vol. II., page 265, wherein the increase of the people from 70 persons to 603,550 fighting men, it is shown, would require at least the longer period. Like the Philistians the Israelites fell into idolatry during their long sojourn in Egypt; adopting the gods of the Egyptians, without adopting their customs—for Moses charges them to put away the strange gods that were among them, &c.

(22) [*The shepherd kings.* P. 149.]—It has been customary to attribute the Egyptian abhorrence to shepherds, to their hatred of the Hyksos, who had so long ruled over them. A parity of reasoning would prove the Hyksos to have been a commercial people; for the Egyptians did not less abhor navigators.—KENRICK, vol. II., pages 25, 36, &c.

(23) [*Public works.* P. 149.]—The last correction of Egyptian chronology makes an interval of five dynasties between the early religious structures and those magnificent productions of the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty.

This long period—say six hundred and fifty years—is claimed to have been an era of barbarism, the reign of the shepherd kings. In confirma-

tion of this, an author refers to the painting in the Theban tomb of the reign of Thothmes III., where the persons engaged making brick are identified as the Israelites, working under task masters.—*Ibid.*, p. 196.

If we adopt this solution, it at once establishes a conclusion the very opposite of that author's.

These edifices, which have astonished the world, are of no utility whatever; and it may well be claimed that it is the dedication of the accumulations of 650 years of successful and prudent administration to the uses of a blind superstition. Would not the wealth of the English have been appropriated to a like superstitious use if the Sepoys had been successful in the late war in India?

The burthen of Israel in Egypt was not slavery in our sense, but a grievous tax in the form of personal service on the king's works—called among us statute labor. It seems to have continued for several successive reigns; with the departure of Israel from Egypt, these works seem almost entirely to have ceased; Egypt was exhausted. The subsequent achievements of her kings do not amount to much, though ostentatiously paraded on their tombs.

(24) [*Strongly fortified.* P. 150.]—It must be recollected that these spies that were so astonished at the magnitude of the cities of Canaan had just come from the great city of Rameses in Egypt. We must also recollect that, of the thirty-one cities captured by Joshua, Ai is called a little one, though he slew in its capture 12,000 men and women.

(25) [*Divine interposition.* P. 150.]—The immense army which Joshua led had been undergoing a continued discipline, during their long abode in the wilderness—necessary to transform a nation of slaves into soldiers—yet their conquest of Canaan was expressly declared to be miraculous. Phœnicia too, it must be recollected, was settled before Egypt. Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan [Sais] (WILKINSON, vol. I., p. 175) in Egypt.—Numbers xiii. 22.

At this time Phœnicia had a larger population and greater resources than Egypt itself. There were still the remnants of the giant race, as the shortening of human life, and the dwarfing of human stature, had not been entirely consummated.

(26) *Commerce, to and from India.* P. 150.]—From Rhinocolorum on the Mediterranean to the Red Sea.

(27) [*Gadir, now Cadiz.* P. 151.]—Isaiah opens his denunciation against Tyre (chap. xxiii.) by calling on the ships of Tarshish to howl, as though Tarshish and her commerce would be the chief sufferers by the destruction of Tyre. He also (verse 10) calls Tyre the daughter of Tarshish, a figurative expression, as Tyre was really the daughter of Sidon, as stated in verse 12. The most natural inference, both from this expression and from the whole scope of the chapter, is that at that early period Tarshish was a more important city than Tyre, and that the two held the most intimate relations. The country of Chittim may be the same as Kittim mentioned in connection with Tarshish in Genesis x. 4. If so, then we have a country associated with the Isle of Tarshish, supplying the markets of Tyre. The ships of Tarshish too have clearly the pre-eminence.

They are to suffer by the destruction of Tyre, and of its "entering in," viz., its harbor, and the destruction of its merchant princes.

"Tarshish was thy merchant [thy customer] by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs:" Ezekiel xxvii. 12.

Here again we have a plain intimation of the commercial importance of this European city of Tarshish. Other European nations brought slaves to Tyre, Tubal, Javan, and Mashech, but Tarshish brought the products of civilized industry.

(28) [*The Turdetanians.* P. 151.] —"The country to the eastward of the Anas, and the Celtic districts bordering on the river, was termed Bætica from the river Bætis, the Gaudalquivir, which flows through it. It had the name of Turdetania from its inhabitants. * * * Turdetania comprehends most of the south of Spain, reaching from the river Anas to the mountainous country of the Oretani or La Mancha. It was, according to Strabo, said to contain 200 cities, the principal of which were Gadir or Cadiz, Cordova, and Hispalis. This country was very productive. The exports of corn, wine, and oil were so considerable, that the ships in which they were brought to Ostia, the port of Rome, were nearly as numerous as those from Africa. Among the exports were great quantities of *gold* and silver. * * * The Turdetani were the most civilized people of Spain; and, according to the same geographer, the river Bætis was in earlier times named Tartessus. Tartessus is mentioned by Herodotus [Lib. 1 (Clio), sec. CLXIII.] as a place of great power and opulence at the period of the earliest voyages of the Phocæans into the Western Mediterranean.

"He also informs us that the Turdetani (people of Tartessus) were the most learned people in Spain. They were acquainted with the use of letters, and preserved among them records of antiquity and poems, and laws composed in metre, handed down from a period of 6000 years.—STRABO, vol. III., page 193.—PRICHARD'S *Physical History of Mankind*, London, 1841, vol. III., page 37.

"Tartessus stood between the two branches of the river Bætica, which it formed in its passage through the Lake Lybistinus, and most commodious it was in consequence for the purposes of navigation and trade. This people (the Turdetani) gave their name not only to the island and river on which their city was, but to the whole country which was called Tartessus. Burkhardt informs us that Cadiz and Cavia were anciently called Tartessus, and thinks that the former was built by the Tarshish of Scripture, immediately after the dispersion, and the two latter long after by the Phœnicians."—*Note to Lib.* 1 (*Clio*), sec. CLXIII., HERODOTUS: BELOE'S *edition.*

This idea places Andalusia in a new and important relation to antiquity, a flourishing and civilized people long before the historic period, or according to the poetical expression, before antiquity had a beginning. It is said that their allies, the Phœnicians, claim to have invented letters. May they not have received them, as they did the commodities of their commerce, from Tartessus? from whence

too they derived the adoration of Hercules. We have already seen, that in the times of its greatest prosperity Tyre was subordinate to this once famous focus of ocean commerce. Here was deposited in the temple of Hercules, as we shall presently see, that mysterious stone which the Phœnician mariners brought on board, with religious ceremony, to guide their navigation after they had passed out into the ocean.

(29) [*Tin from England.* P. 151.] —Strabo however holds that tin was found by the Turdetanians in the mountain country inhabited by barbarians above Lusitania.—STRABO, Lib. III., p. 192.

(30) [*The process of hardening brass had been lost.* P. 151.]—The reader will excuse the author from claiming any practical knowledge of the mysteries of literature. In every instance where translators of Homer use the word steel or cold steel, the original word is brass—if the author's recollections of his early lessons are correct.

(31) [*The times of the Pharaohs.* P. 151.]—Cæsar thus describes the ocean ships of the Veneti—a nation of the west of Gaul. It will be seen that they were the model of the Dutch ships of the present day. "The keels were somewhat flatter than those of our ships, whereby they could more easily encounter the shallows and the ebbing of the tide. The prows were raised very high, and, in like manner, the sterns were adapted to the force of the waves and storms. The ships were built wholly of oak, and designed to endure any force and violence whatever. The benches, which were made of planks a foot in breadth, were fastened by iron spikes of the thickness of a man's thumb. The anchors were secured fast by iron chains instead of cables, and for sails they used skins and thin dressed leather. * * * Although turrets were built [on the Roman decks], yet the height of the sterns of the barbarous [foreign] ships exceeded these, so that weapons could not be cast up from our lower position with sufficient effect."—CÆSAR, III., chap. xiii.

This is about the last ever heard of the ocean going ships of antiquity. The Veneti were sold into slavery at Rome, and Roman galleys took the place of the *barbarian* ships.

The reader cannot fail to have noticed how exactly these ships correspond in model to the Chinese junks—superior to them indeed in size and strength, but not in model.

(32) [*Without the aid of oars.* P. 151.]—"Their name is written *Shairetaan*, with an addition which shows them to have been a maritime people. * * * * It is the only representation of a naval battle remaining among the Egyptian monuments. The Egyptian vessels have both oars and sails; those of the enemy sails only, and they differ in their build, &c."—KENRICK, vol. II., page 278.

(33) [*Basques or people of Biscay.* P. 151.]—"These facts lead us to the inference, that Celtic tribes once occupied a great part, namely, the western half of the peninsula, before the Euskaldunes [Turdetani] gained possession of it, and while the latter were the inhabitants of Bætica, Turdetania, and the other eastern and southern provinces, where the Celts appear never to have had the least footing."—PRICHARD, vol. III., page 47.

"That the Euskarian is identical with the language of the ancient Iberi, or its genuine descendant [the Basque], and that the Euskaldunes are the offspring of the aborigines of the Spanish peninsula; are points which M. [W.] de Humboldt has undertaken in his work to establish."—*Ibid.*, page 26.

"In this we recognise," says Humboldt, "a confirmation of an opinion deduced from other grounds, viz., that the Iberians belong to the very earliest stock of European nations. Their history manifestly reaches back beyond the periods of languages which we regard as ancient, namely, those of the Greeks and Romans, and if we seek a point of comparison, can only be placed on a line with the prehellenic idiom of the old Pelasgi."—*Untersuchungen*, page 177.

"It had been supposed by English writers, since the time of Edward Shuyd, that the Biscayan dialects are a remote branch of the Celtic language. This opinion, which had no foundation but conjecture, has long ago been refuted and entirely abandoned. It is well known that in its whole formation the Euskarian differs entirely from the Celtic."—PRICHARD, vol. III., p. 22.

"The Euskaldunes, or ancient Iberians, are the aborigines of Western Europe; their language is the Euskarian. They are supposed to have inhabited Spain, Gaul, and Italy."—*Ibid.*, page 17.

"It is well known that several parts of Spain were inhabited by Celtic tribes, and that through a great portion of the interior of the peninsula, Celtic people had become blended with Iberians, forming the Celt-Iberian nations, who were the most considerable and powerful clans in Spain."—*Ibid.*, page 29.

The foregoing extracts will fully explain the apparent anomaly, viz., that of the ancient emigration from Spain to Ireland and Britain being Celts, and not Turdetani; that is, the emigration naturally took place from the northern part of Spain, then occupied by that mixed population called Celt-Iberians. In this migration the Celtic element predominated, and rooted out the Basque element, or at least language, in those ancient colonies.

If the Euskalde element has since rooted out the Celtic element in the Basque provinces, it may be accounted for by this emigration, and by the Euskaldunes being driven out of the south of Spain by the ingress of foreign races, as will be seen when we come to the next chapter.

(34) [*Enjoyment of the fueros of the provinces.* P. 152.]—"To this day the Irish and Scotch are entitled, on setting foot in Biscay, to every privilege and immunity of the natives—they have the rank of nobles, can be elected to any magistracy, and have the right of holding land. From these privileges Spaniards are excluded."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. II., page 201.

It will be recollected that Urquhart, the author of "Pillars of Hercules," was himself a Celt, of the Scottish branch of that race. As he speaks of his own personal knowledge, we must credit him, the commissioner in those parts of Her Majesty's government, though his conclusions are at variance with Prichard.

(35) [*The Indian system of caste.* P. 152.]—The king, the priests, and war-

riors were the proprietors of the soil. Those who had charge of cattle constituted a distinct class. The swineherds formed another—a Pariah caste—to whom alone of all the Egyptians access to the temples was denied, and who could only intermarry among themselves.—KENRICK, vol. II., page 36.

(36) [*Calpe and Abyla.* P. 152.]—"To call Calpe [Gibraltar] and Abyla the Pillars of Hercules, was a license, and might be a poetic one; but to assume these mountains to be so, geographically, was to withdraw the license by destroying the poetry. This solecism modern philosophy has adopted."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. II. (Harper's Ed.), page 22. Our old chronicler explains fully this apparent solecism—that there were both pillars in the temple and also upon those lofty hills.

"Here stood the Altars of Hercules. It was to visit this spot that I had started from Cadiz. * * * An antique bridge joins the *isla* (island) to the mainland; it stands about half way between the bay and the sea. It was rather a causeway, with arches, than a bridge, and was said to be Phœnician."—*Ibid.* vol. I., page 92.

"In this temple two Hercules are worshipped, without having statues erected to them. The Egyptian Hercules has two bronze altars, without inscriptions; the Theban (Greek) but one. Here we see engraved the Hydra and Diomede's mares, and the twelve labors of Hercules, together with the golden olive of Pygmalion, wrought with exquisite skill, and placed here no less on account of the beauty of its branches, than on that of its fruit, of emeralds, which appeared as if real. Besides, the golden belt of Telamonian Teucer was shown to us. * * * The pillars in the temple were composed of gold and silver; and so nicely blended were the metals, as to form but one color. They were more than a cubit high, of a quadrangular form, like anvils, whose capitals were inscribed with characters neither Egyptian nor Indian, nor such as could be deciphered. These pillars are the chains which bind together the earth and sea. The inscriptions on them were executed by Hercules, in the house of Parcæ, to prevent discord arising among the elements, and that friendship being interrupted which they have for each other."—PHILOSTRATUS *in Apollonius*, vol. 5.

"Among the various articles which enrich and adorn it, [the temple of Hercules, at Tyre] I saw two pillars; the one was of the purest gold, the other of emerald; [Phœnician stained glass?] which, in the night, diffused an extraordinary splendor. This temple, as they [the priests] affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of 2300 years."—HERODOTUS, Book II., XLIV.

Egypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods: that they are of barbaric [foreign] origin I am convinced by my different researches.—*Ibid.* L.

(37) [*Emblem of fruitfulness.* P. 152.]—It is hardly worth while to make more quotations of authority in relation to this common emblem of antiquity; we have not the space.

Plate CXXXV. vol. 5 of Calmet. Coin No. 8, is a serpent around a cornucopia. No. 10 is a very customary representation to Health and Esculapius. It results from the whole that the serpent denotes *Agatho-daimon*, or good

genius of the worshipper.—CALMET, vol. III., page 760.

(38) [*Saint Patrick caused to be effaced.* P. 152.]—The author is compelled to refer to an anonymous authority for this statement; as it is an unimportant point, he has not thought it worthy the labour of tracing it to a responsible source.

(39) [*Personifies the moon.* P. 153.]—"The Egyptians do not pay religious ceremonies to heroes," says Herodotus: *Ibid.* Book II, chap. L. But this statement is not strictly true. They did not worship,—they only adored, heroes. See the representations on the tombs of Medenet-Aboo.

(40) [*Hercules-Apollo.* P. 153.]—The attempt to establish Samson as the Phœnician Hercules, (see translator Beloe, note to Book VIII., chap. LXVII., Herodotus) is not without plausibility. But there is another satisfactory way of accounting for it: viz., that they engrafted into the character of Hercules the story of Samson, and in his worship followed the Hebrew, which was substantially the Egyptian ritual, without the idolatry, or, the adoration of Hercules may have been older than idolatry.

(41) [*A canonized king.* P. 153.]—"The Egyptians are commonly said to have nothing answering to the Greek hero-worship. [See previous note.] But they paid religious honors to eminent persons after their decease, not unlike Greek hero worship. Thothmos III., on the tablet of Karnak, presents offerings to his predecessor: so does Rameses."—KENRICK, vol. I., page 361.

In the present confused notions of Egpytian chronology there is a difficulty in identifying any one of the Egyptian kings, who appears upon the lists, as a patron of commerce, and one who had distinguished himself by exploits beyond sea. As Hercules most probably was one of the Hyksos, or shepherds, one that approaches nearest to the required character is Rameses IV., who celebrates a victory at sea on his tomb, and Hercules would then be Rameses V.

"On the sarcophagus of Rameses V. the 24 hours are represented, showing the antiquity of this division. Each has a star placed above it, and a figure 12, male, representing the day, have their faces turned towards the god Horus (from whence comes the word hour,) the representative of the sun, the 12 female towards a crocodile, the symbol of darkness. In a great astronomical picture, from the tombs of Bab-el-Melook, a variety of circumstances connected with the rising and setting of the stars are evidently indicated."—KENRICK, vol. II., page 383.

"The Tyrians of Phœnicia, who had now learned the way to Spain, came with their king, Eurythree, and good store of ships, who gave them to understand that he had been commanded by the Oracle to come and build a temple to Hercules *Libique*, in the island of Tartissa, that is Calis; [Cadiz?] they were not only received, but Eurythree was chosen king of that part of Spain: who built a stately temple in the island to Hercules; changing the name thereof, and causing it to be called Eurythree, or else renewed that name which it might have had from the sister of Orus [Rameses] above-mentioned, or of the Erythenes of the east, [Gauls or Celts, perhaps,] who followed Hercules Orus, which had dwelt there." The same author says, that a king of Egypt, whom he calls Orus Denis, came with

an army of Egyptians, Africans, Syrians, and Phœnicians, and in a battle by land and sea, routed the party of Gerion, and that this Orus was the father to Hercules the Great. In the land and sea fight, represented on his tomb, the same people are fighting on both sides.—*Translation by Ed. Grimshaw from the French of* LOUIS DE MAYENNE TURGUT, London, 1612, page 8. See next chapter.

The purport of all these authorities, approaching the subject from different positions, is to fix the connection of Hercules with the division of time, and the leadership of the Gauls, [Celts]—mercenaries in Egypt, of the East, with an army of Egyptians.

The excellent divisions of time, which we have borrowed of the ancient Egyptians, may have had this origin.

(42) [*Queen of Heaven.* P. 153.]—"One of the finest specimens of Assyrian sculpture brought to England, represents an early Nimrod king, in high relief, carved on a solid block of limestone. Round his neck are hung the four sacred signs: the crescent, the star or sun, the trident, and THE CROSS."—LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon*, page 306.

(43) [*Thirteenth century* (1242). P. 154.]—The date of this publication is important. It will be seen that it is just sixty years earlier than the pretended discovery of this important instrument by Flavio Gioja. Dr. Robertson, who is a good authority on the subject of all old wives, fables, that have crawled into our school books as histories, thus enlightens us:—

"Flavio Gioja, a citizen of Amalfi, a town of considerable trade in the kingdom of Naples, was the author of this great discovery about the year 1302."—*History of America*, Book I., p. 32. Whereupon this learned schoolmaster waxes indignant at the neglect with which this great *discoverer* was treated by the world! A discoverer who did not discover anything. That is to say, the people of Amalfi being engaged in commerce with the Saracens, borrowed from them the use of the compass, as we have borrowed from them our architecture and civilization, and, in our profound ignorance, credited them to an impositor, as a new discovery, lest good Catholics should be shocked by using an Arab invention.

(44) [*They take a cup of water.* P. 154.]—"I have shown in the method first practised by the Arabs the instrument to which the otherwise meaningless myths of Greece refer. I have identified the stone of Hercules, the cup of Apollo, the arrow of Abaris. That the stone of Hercules was the magnet, no one contests. The polarity of the needle, and the art of manufacturing gems, did not die with them [the Phœnicians]."—*Pillars*, vol. I., page 162. "The outer Ocean, that in which the compass was necessary, is called El Bahar El Bossul, the violent (Boussale is the present name for the compass), as distinguished for El Bahar El Muit."—EL EDRESSI'S *Geography of Spain*.

"Amalfi, the earliest of European commercial states, arose under the Greeks and Saracens. To the latter it owed the lead it took in instruction and navigation. Centuries and generations before Flavio Gioja the needle was known at Amalfi." * * The perusal of the catalogue of the Escurial suggested to M. Villemain the remark, that most of the modern dis-

coveries of which the date and the name of the inventor are set down as certain, were no more than inventions of the Arabs which he had appropriated."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. I., page 139.

Without extending our quotations it is sufficient to say that the Eastern Arabs, the agents and correspondents of the Phœnicians on the Red and Indian Seas, had no motive to conceal the use of the needle, or to throw around it religious rites. It was to conceal the extent of their commerce beyond the Straits of Gibraltar that made this mystery necessary about the cup, and stone, and arrow.

Vasco de Gama, on his arrival in the Indian seas, found the magnetic compass in common use.—*See as above.*

(45) [" *Queen of Heaven.*" P. 155.] —"But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that Gad [Baal-gad], and that furnish a drink-offering to Mini [Ashteroth.] Isaiah lxv. 11, in the margin. The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle a fire, and the women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven." Jeremiah vii. 18.

See also the passage before quoted from Jeremiah xliv. 17, wherein the people, after their flight into Egypt, say that they will burn incense to the Queen of Heaven, and pour out drink-offerings to her as they had done their kings, their princes, and the people, in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem."

(46) [*Phœnician Venus.* P. 155.]—Cicero says (Lib. iii., *Nat. Deorum*), that Astarte was the Syrian Venus.

(47) [*Time of Solomon.* P. 156.]—For setting up this Madonna of antiquity, either with a cross in her arm, or with a child, as she appears in some of the medals, is the offence that cost Solomon his kingdom.

While she is identified by Greek authors as their Venus, she is clearly the Queen of Heaven as at present adored, with the story and good character of the Virgin Mary borrowed, as the Phœnicians borrowed the story of Samson, to add it to the traditions of Hercules. So that, upon careful inquiry, we find that there is nothing new in the world.

"And Solomon went after Ashteroth, the goddess of the Sidonians," &c. 1 Kings xi. 5. The same as many of our good Protestants are now doing, and setting up her emblem on their places of worship. Do they expect to incur divine displeasure, as Solomon did? "Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you, but they [the Canaanites] shall be as thorns in your sides, and their gods shall be a snare unto you." Judges ii. 4.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

(48) [*All the scholiasts.* P. 156.]—The error of Tacitus, which has caused him to be so much laughed at by pedagogues of all degrees, was misjudging the Jewish nation by the specimens that congregated at the metropo-

lis—Tyre. For it will be seen, by the medals, that both Tyre and Sidon were —provincial metropoles.

SIDONIAN GODDESS AND CHILD.

(49) [*That sentimental animal, the jackass.* P. 156.]—Astarte, "the Phœnician Venus," or Madonna of antiquity, with an infant in her arms, pointing to an ass standing beneath her altar.

One of the fathers of the Romish church would doubtless explain this medal thus: "This medal is orthodox, because the inscription is in Latin. Though still the 'Queen of Heaven,' she is no longer 'The Goddess of the Sidonians,' but 'The *patroness* of the Sidonians.' The word metropolis indicating that this city had become the seat of a bishop, and the attributes of the Virgin Mary are by right applied to her in the same manner as those of Samson had been assigned to Hercules. And now she, like Hercules, is deserving the adoration of a saint. The jackass, standing beneath her altar, is the image of the one on which she rode into Egypt, or of the one on which her son rode into Jerusalem, and therefore worthy to be adored."

There are an abundance of Protestants who could see profound sentiment in this exposition, provided always it was popular in Paris.

To dwellers in a Protestant country, such an exposition may look like trifling. But to the author, who has seen the whole population of a city following in solemn procession a jackass, with an image upon it, and heard learned *divines* expounding the spiritual application of this festival of the jackass, it is by no means an unusual exhibition of Romish buffoonery.

(50) [*Christian era.* P. 156.]—This coin may explain a charge unjustly brought against the Christians—that they destroyed infants in their secret meetings.

In the last era of Phœnician—or rather now Syro-Phœnician—commerce, its merchants and mariners were doubtless to be found in all the important seaports of the Roman empire; practising in secret the abominations of their peculiar superstitions, having, in common with the Christians, the same religious emblems, crosses, madonnas, &c., while they spoke the same language with the Oriental Christians—Syro-Greek.

Those who form their opinions from outward appearances would naturally confound these two religions of Syriac origin.

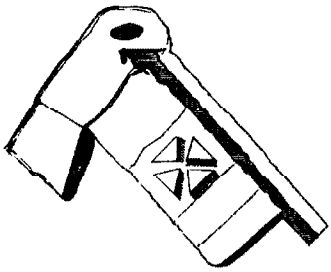
(51) [*Portrayed upon the walls.* P. 157.]—This sacrifice is not referred to in Captain Dupaix' reconnoissances, but in the work of Stephens it forms so prominent a feature as to be selected for the frontispiece of his second volume on Central America.

The probable reason for this omission by Dupaix may be found in the fact that the same parties who offer a child to Saturn, also offer a child to the cross. It would hardly have done to publish such a fact in Spain or Mexico in his day, though the greatest and most liberal of all Spanish

kings, Charles III., was then on the throne.

(52) [*For its central ornament.* P. 157.]—We may repeat here what we have said of the sacrificial stone. The appearances are in favor of its being the production of the ancient inhabitants, but its connection with the calendar of the ancients may or may not be true. Like all Spanish notions of American antiquities, it is more likely to be wrong than right.

(53) [*Venus and Ceres.* P. 158.]—"Astarte was the same as Venus." CAL. III., p. 531. We have already shown in certain of her attributes she was identical with Ceres and the Isis of Egypt. As the objects of divine honors are usually called from their various attributes, this confusion of names should not disturb us.



THE MALTESE CROSS. P. 159.

(54) LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., p. 379: "On the opposite side of the rock is a circular shield, which is divided vertically; the right is divided into two quarters. In the upper appears the plan of a city situated on the bank of a lake. The lower quarter contains various ovals in close rows, while underneath the shield are five ornamental arrows, horizontally placed. To the right appears an unfurled standard, which, it is extraordinary, should display on its surface a cross of the Order of Malta, and at the top a helmet, on which is figured the head of an eagle, with an hieroglyphic."—LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., p. 429.

(55) [*Adored or worshipped.* P. 160.]—Protestant readers are too apt to confound adoration and worship, or to consider the distinction like the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. But among the heathen and the Romanists it is a vital distinction. Adoration is due to all divinely inspired, and to the sacred emblems. But worship is due only to the gods, or to God. The system is the same, the difference is in names only.

(56) [*Bishop of Chiapa.* P. 162.]—*Don Francisco Nunez de la Vega, Bishop of Chiapa,* is the new MS. burner!

The imposture that hardly rises to the dignity of a humbug, occupies a conspicuous place in the volume of *Rivero*, entitled, on the cover, "*Peruvian Antiquities.* F. S. HAWKS. Putnam." That the reader may see for himself, we quote a passage entire from *Rivero.*

"*Don Francisco Nunez de la Vega,* Bishop of Chiapa, possessed, *as he himself states,* in his '*Diocesan Constitutions,*' published at Rome in 1702, a document in which a certain voyager or traveller named Votan minutely described the countries and nations which he had visited. This MS., it was found, was written in the Tzendal language, and was accompanied by certain hieroglyphics cut in stone; by order of the same Votan, the MS. was to be permanently deposited in a dark house or cavern in the province of Soconusco, and there con-

fided to the custody of a noble Indian lady, and of a number of Indians, the places of all of whom, as they became vacant, were to be resupplied. Thus it continued preserved for centuries, perhaps for 2000 years, until the bishop above named, *Nunez de la Vega*, in visiting the province, obtained possession of the MS., and in the year 1690 commanded it to be destroyed in the public square of Huegatan, so that the curious notices which it contained would have been completely lost if there had not existed in the hands of *Don Ramon de Ordonez y Agular*, in *Ciudad Real*, according to *his own statement*, a copy made immediately after the conquest, and which is in part published by Cabrera."—Page 12.

People unacquainted with the position and character of the Spanish priesthood, have inquired how it was possible for a statement to be put in circulation, if it was not true, that Zumarraga, in the public square of Tezcuco, burned the Mexican picture records? A perfect answer is contained in the above quotation. The boldness of the imposture is one of the grounds of its success, and might well apply to the whole priesthood, of Spain and her colonies, a remark of Cicero, that it was strange they could look each other in the face without laughing.

The bishop occupies the place of the augur or conjurer in the heathen system, or the medicine-man among the Indians.

After the place of the Holy Sepulchre had been lost for some three hundred years, it was revealed to a bishop in a dream, say the ancient chronicles. The bishop's dream and the Holy Scriptures are at issue about the location, but what is a declaration of Scripture to a bishop's dream?

It was a bishop's dream that discovered the body of St. James, the Apostle, in a marble coffin, in a wood at Iria [in Castile], in 797. See GRIMSHAW, 179 (F). To such an imposture is Spain indebted for a patron saint.

(57) [*Mural crown of the Phœnicians.* P. 163.]—Standing alone, notwithstanding its strikingly oriental cast, we should hesitate; but in the midst of so many other Phœnician types, we insist that we have made out a complete case of circumstantial evidence, which authorizes us to pronounce it an American Hercules, a counterpart of the Phœnician Hercules, or "Mal-carth" (as he was called); from Mal and Cardt, the "Prince of the City." Here again we must be pardoned for referring to a statement written out at our request by the author of "PALESTINE, PAST AND PRESENT," after this work had been steorotyped, who had come to the same conclusion, from comparing his own drawings with those in Lord Kingsborough. "The Maltese images," he adds, "are remarkable for their singular positions, and the mingled uncouthness of their sculpture, and evidence of excellence in the master who executed them."

(58) [*Brazen swords*, P. 164.]—"Yet we find their [the early Romans'] swords constantly made of bronze."—WILKINSON, vol. III., page 245.

(59) [*Daggers.* P. 164.]—"They [the Egyptians] had even the secret of giving to bronze or brass blades a certain degree of elasticity, as may be seen in the dagger of the Berlin Museum."—*Ibid.*, p. 253.

(60) [*Evidence of barbarism.* P. 161.] "It is a remarkable fact that the first glimpse we obtain of the history and manners of the Egyptians, shows us a nation already advanced in all the arts of civilized life, the same customs and inventions that prevailed in the Augustan era of that people."—*Ibid.*, p. 260.

"Men tilled the ground with bronze, iron not yet being known."—HESIOD'S *Works and Days*, V., p. 151.

"The Greeks, in the heroic ages, seem to have been ignorant of the use of iron."—ROBERTSON'S *Am.*, p. 22.

(61) [*Wilkinson.* P. 164.]—"The chisel which I found at Thebes, which, though it contained alloys, is far from being brittle, and is easily turned by striking it against the stone it was once used to cut."—*Ibid.*, page 252.

(62) [*Process known to us as engraving.* P. 164.]—"The hieroglyphics, or the obelisks, are rather engraved than sculptured, and judging from the minute manner in which they are executed, we may suppose they had adopted the same process as engravers, and even in some instances employed the wheel and drill."—*Ibid.*, page 251.

(63) [*Beside those of copper.* P. 165.]—"Availing myself of this favorable opportunity, I made a large collection of stone implements, with the intention of selecting out of the number the most perfect specimens. I was most desirous of obtaining metal instruments; and it was not long before I procured several of copper [bronze?] of various sizes and shapes. But what I chiefly wished to discover were iron tools; my inquiries after this metal were however fruitless."—*Dupaix in* LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., page 457.

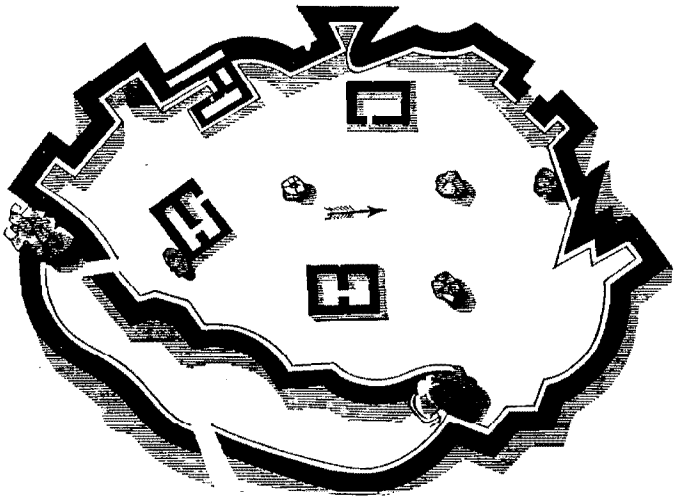
"Long experience proves that gold, silver, and copper, when wrought, whether exposed to the open air or buried beneath the surface of the earth, will remain for many ages in an uncorroded state; but this is not the case with iron, which from its nature is exposed to the attacks of rust and moisture, which in time effects its entire decomposition."—*Ibid.*

"The inference that the iron, or steel used in the construction of these ancient edifices, if any, had, in the progress of centuries, decomposed in the humid climate of Central America, is legitimate. But the probabilities are against the use of iron by the Central Americans. Hardened bronze, or brass, was the most probable metal employed in dressing stones, and in their sculpture.

"The only test of a genuine stone among the mass of Spanish counterfeits, is that some part of the surface should present the appearance of having been rubbed by another stone. This is substantially the idea of Dupaix.

"I should also observe that stones which have been fashioned by the simple friction of one against another, would acquire a plain surface from having been ground, and would likewise have a certain polish, which is in fact perceptible on the surface of the slabs, as well as of the lesser stones, which enter into the composition of the Mosaic ornaments, the most interesting feature in these monuments."—*Ibid.*

(64) [*As keen an edge as any we can produce.* P. 165.]—"But the great interest of this lintel was the carving. The beam, covered with hieroglyphics at Uxmal, was faded and worn. This was still in excellent preservation: the



THE FORTRESS OF MITLA.

lines were clear and distinct; and the cutting under any test, and without any reference to the people by whom it was executed, would be considered as indicating great skill and proficiency in the art of carving wood. The consciousness that the only way to give a true idea of the character of this carving was the production of the beams themselves, determined me to spare neither labor nor expense to have them transported to this city."—*Yucatan*, vol. II., page 406.

(65) [*Drawing of Castanada.* P. 165.]—Speaking of the immense blocks of stone still lying in the quarries near Mitlan, Dupaix remarks—LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., page 456—"Proceeding about a league in an eastern direction from Mitlan, I discovered the ancient and famous quarry of stone of the nature of granite, which was the bed from whence were procured the voluminous masses employed in the erection of these various monuments. . . . . They afterwards had occasion to raise from the quarry these enormous blocks of which they formed architraves and columns, some of which, in an unfinished state, are even still scattered on the surface of the ground. Nearly the same is reported by travellers in Egypt, who have found at the present time, in the ancient quarries of granite, which supplied the materials of the colossal figures and obelisks. But what, we may inquire, was the power employed in raising these stones from their primitive bed?"

We can now readily answer this question, by referring to the painting on the walls of Sennacherib's palace, where is portrayed the whole process of moving a colossal winged bull. It is precisely the same process Layard used in removing one of them, viz.: a platform, or boat on

movable rollers thrown under it. The lever moving it from behind, while ropes, fastened in front, were dragged by muscular power.—See the representation in LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon.*

(66) [*The great pyramid.* P. 166.]—There was probably never a military expedition, on a large scale, that yielded a net profit to the successful party; so that the attempts to account for the construction of pyramids from the wealth acquired by the plunder of neighboring nations, is as absurd as to explain it by saying it was the product of despotism and slavery. Every man of common sense must be aware that pyramids, like other great works, can only be built out of the revenues of the country, unless the system of borrowing money was known to the ancients.

(67) [*Egyptian manufacture.* P. 166.]—"The tin [in the bronzes at Nineveh] was probably obtained from Phœnicia; and consequently that used in the bronzes in the British Museum may actually have been exported nearly three thousand years ago, from the British isles. . . . . The Sidonians, and other inhabitants of the Phœnician coast, were the most renowned workers in metal of the ancient world, and their intermediate position between the two great nations, by which they were alternately invaded and subdued, may have been the cause of the existence of a mixed art amongst them. In the Homeric poems they are frequently mentioned as the artificers who fashioned embossed metallic cups and bowls; and Solomon sought cunning men from Tyre, &c."—LAYARD, page 162.

"In a trench on the south side of the ruin was found a small green and white bottle, inscribed with Chinese characters. A similar relic was brought to me by an Arab from a barrow in the neighborhood. Such bottles have been discovered in Egyptian tombs, and considerable doubt exists as to their antiquity, and as to the date and manner of their importation into Egypt. . . . Bottles precisely similar are still offered for sale in the bazaars of Cairo, and are used to hold the koll or powder for staining the eyes of ladies."—*Ibid.*, page 238.

"Wilkinson, in his 'Ancient Egyptians,' vol. II., page 107, gives a drawing of a bottle precisely similar to that described above, and mentions one which, according to Rosellini, had been discovered in a previously unopened tomb of the 18th dynasty, but there appears to be considerable doubt on the subject."—*Ibid.*

"It will be observed that most of the Egyptian relics discovered in the Assyrian ruins are of the time of the 18th dynasty [the era of Moses, and Joshua, and the Judges], or of the 15th century before Christ."—*Ibid.*, page 240.

(68) [*Form and pattern of their temples.* P. 167.]—We have established the identity of the rock temples of Egypt with those of India. But we have not insisted that there is a perfect identity in the *forms* of their idolatry, as is the custom among authors, but simply that there is a substantial identity. The forms of worship vary in all ancient nations. The divisions of castes are not identical among the ancient Egyptians and the Hindoos. There are sacred animals, too, in both countries, but sacred in different ways. In India various animals are apparent-

ly sacred in themselves, but holding an ill-defined relation to some divinity. In Egypt, they are emblems (Kenrick, vol. I., page 385) of divinities who also have their images. The white bull, even holding a subordinate position to the statue of Amon [Ammon, or the great god], as is manifest by his being led before the statue, according to the following extract:—

"The statue next appears, carried in procession by twenty-two priests, hidden, all but the feet and heads, by the drapery of the platform on which the statue is erected. The king walks before the god [statue], having a staff in one hand, a sceptre in the other, and the red crown of the Low County on his head. He is preceded by a white bull, before whom a priest burns incense."—KENRICK, vol. II., page 274.

We may notice here a common error in relation to the idolatry of the Israelites. In prescribing the mode in which he was to be worshipped, the God of Israel saw fit to allow the use of a ritual, portions of which are apparently of Egyptian origin; but when it came to the arrangement of the Holy of Holies, there is an entire variance. Upon the mercy-seat, where (according the Egyptian system, the presence of the Divinity would have been represented by an emblem) Infinite Wisdom saw fit to have itself represented by a void space, as the proper representative of an invisible being. Upon the outer edges of the mercy-seat, over the ark, were placed two cherubs facing each other, and looking down upon the space between them, which symbolized the presence of JEHOVAH. Herein was strikingly manifest the difference between JEHOVAH and "the gods of the nations." This absence of a visible image, or of a material emblem, constantly reminded His people that their God was an invisible Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth. Upon this mercy-seat the Phœnicians would perhaps have placed a cross, and behind it a Madonna and infant. The Philistines would have placed there the dove, the emblem of the Philistian Astarte. [See medals of Askelon.] The Egyptian would have placed there a cat, or a bull [golden calf], or a crocodile, with an image of the god a little behind and above the altar. "The next morning we reached Gerf Hossayn, one of the most interesting points on the upper part of the river Nile. It was somewhat like *Abou Simbel*, being cut out of the solid rock. In the large hall which is entered from the front, are six colossal statues, each of which is elegantly painted, and the colors remain fresh and brilliant. Behind each open space between the statues is a niche in which three figures are seated. Passing through this elegant hall, once magnificently beautiful, you enter the second room, of which the ceiling is supported by four square columns, and beyond this is the *Adytum* [Holy of Holies], with altar and four seated statues behind it, waiting vainly, as they have waited so many centuries, for worshippers."—*Corresp.*

The history of the nation of Israel is the history of a continued struggle between these two systems of representing divinity—a continual struggle between the spiritual worship of an invisible Jehovah and the sensuous

representation by images and emblems of the divine power.

The sin of the golden calf was apparently not the introduction of a new god, but rather an attempt to conform their worship of God to that of the surrounding nations by introducing emblems—by representing the presence of the Almighty by the emblem of a golden calf. So with the sin of Micah, who had a house of gods, or rather a house dedicated to God, in which idolatrous emblems were used in the worship of the INVISIBLE.

The introduction of these foreign and pagan elements into Christianity has led to a great deal of infidelity. A gentleman, who had been taught that the cross was an emblem of Christian origin, was led into infidelity by discovering it upon the Egyptian ruins, and in use there as an emblem.

(69) [*Equal to Thebes in extent.* P. 167.]—"For five days did I wander up and down among these crumbling monuments of a city which I hazard little in saying must have been one of the largest the world has ever seen."—NORMAN'S *Yucatan*, New York, 1843, page 108.

"Evidently the city of Chichen was an antiquity when the foundations of the Pantheon at Athens, and the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, were laid."—*Ibid.*, p. 177.

"Ruins of Palenque, as described by Del Rio, London, 1822, are 75 miles in circumference, length 32, and breadth 12 miles; about equal to Thebes in Egypt, full of monuments, statues, and inscriptions."—*Frazer's Magazine*, vol. I., p. 216.

(70) [*Most expensive of all labor.* P. 167.]—Slaves, when they labor, must be fed, and experience has demonstrated that the waste attending their employment, and that of hired taskmasters, is more than the savings in wages. Money would have been saved by the kings of Egypt had they constructed their pyramids by contract. With all its attendant evils, this kind of labor has been thought necessary in those climates where valuable crops are to be suddenly gathered and cured when free labor cannot be depended upon.

(71) [*Even gold is valueless without a market.* P. 167.]—In the year 1848, gold dust was at one time exchanged for Chili dollars, at the rate of eight silver dollars for an oz. of gold, while its real value was more than seventeen dollars.

(72) [*Row-boats.* P. 168.]—"Their vessels were of inconsiderable burthen, and mostly without decks. They had only one mast, which was erected or taken down at pleasure. They were strangers to the use of anchors. All their operations in sailing were clumsy and unskilful. They turned their observations towards the stars, which were improper for regulating their course, and their mode of observing them was inaccurate and fallacious. When they had finished a voyage, they drew their paltry barks ashore, as savages do their canoes, and these remained on dry land, until the season of returning to sea approached. It is not, then, in the heroic ages of Greece that we can expect to observe the science of navigation and the spirit of discovery making any considerable progress. During the period of disorder and ignorance, a thousand causes concurred in restraining curi-

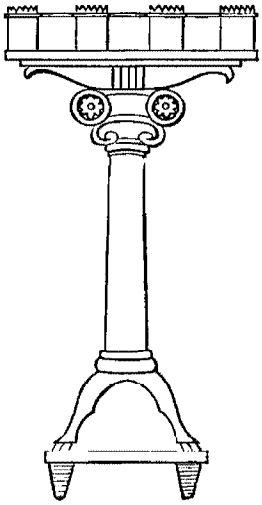
osity and enterprise within very narrow bounds."—ROBINSON'S *America*, page 22.

"Whatever acquaintance with the remote regions of the earth the Phœnicians or Carthaginians may have acquired, was concealed from the rest of mankind with a mercantile jealousy. Everything relative to the course of their navigation was not only a mystery of trade, but a secret of state. . . . As neither the progress of the Phœnician or Carthaginian discoveries, nor the extent of their navigation, were communicated to the rest of mankind, all memorials of their extraordinary skill in naval affairs seem in a great measure to have perished when the maritime power of the former was annihilated, &c. . . . Their [the Greeks'] early voyages, the subject of which was piracy rather than commerce, were so inconsiderable, that the expedition of the Argonauts from the coast of Thessaly to the Euxine Sea [to plunder Colchis, the western terminus of the northern caravan route, viz., *to obtain the golden fleece*], appeared such an amazing effort of skill and courage as entitled the conductors of it to be ranked among the demigods, and exalted the vessel in which they sailed to a place among the heavenly constellations."—*Ibid.*, page 21.

"Amazing instances occur of their ignorance, even of those countries which lay within the narrow limits to which their commerce was confined. When the Greeks had assembled their combined fleet against Xerxes at Egina, they thought it unadvisable to sail to Samos, because they believed the distance between that island and Egina to be as great as the distance between Egina and the Pillars of Hercules. They were either utterly unacquainted with all the parts of the globe beyond the Mediterranean Sea, or what knowledge they had of them was founded on conjecture, or derived from the information of a few persons whom curiosity and the love of science had prompted to travel by land into the Upper Asia, or by sea into Egypt, the ancient seats of wisdom and arts. After all the Greeks learned from them, they appear to have been ignorant of the most important facts on which the accurate and scientific knowledge of the globe is founded."—*Ibid.*, p. 22.

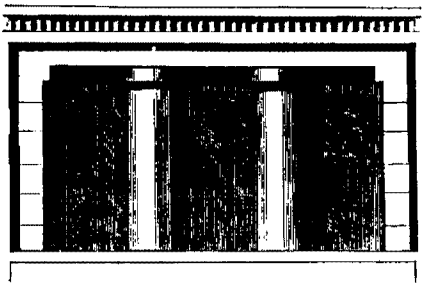
"Modern writers make a sad jumble whenever they touch ancient navigation. They transfer the ideas derived from our practice, which, in most things is changed, in some reversed. A Phœnician vessel was able to stow five hundred emigrants, with provisions, for a long voyage. To apply to their navigation the passages descriptive of the row-boats of the Greeks and Romans is a solecism and an anachronism. They neither made their way by the speed of oars, nor sheltered themselves by hauling out their vessels."—*Pillars of Hercules.*

(73) [*Were borrowed also.* P. 170.]—"The arts passed from Assyria to the sister nations, and to Ionia. There is much in the *bas-reliefs* I have just described, to remind us of the early works of the Greeks immediately after the Persian war, and to illustrate a remark of the illustrious Niebuhr, that 'a critical history of Greek art would show how late the Greeks commenced to practise the arts.' After the Persian war, a new world opens at once, and from that time they advanced with great strides. But everything that was produced



IONIC COLUMN FOUND AT NINEVEH.

before the Persian war—a few of those works are still extant—was, if we judge of it without prejudice, altogether barbarous."—LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon*, page 393.



(74) DORIC COLUMNS IN YUCATAN. P. 170.

(75) [*Ionic in the ruins of Nineveh.* P. 170.]—"Amongst the objects in metal was an elegant casket, or vessel, probably of gold or silver, the upper part of which, shaped like the wall of a castle, with battlements and towers, rested upon a column whose capital was formed by Ionic volutes—another instance of the use of this order of architecture on the banks of the Tigris."—*Ibid.*, p. 380.

(76) [*Their mythology even was foreign.* P. 170.]—"I can by no means impute to accident the resemblance that exists in the rites of Bacchus [Baal-Peor], in Egypt and in Greece; in this case they would not have differed so essentially from the Grecian manners, and they might have been traced to more remote antiquity: neither will I affirm that these or that any other religious ceremonies were borrowed of Greece by the Egyptians. I rather think that Melampas found all these particulars which relate to the worship of Bacchus, from Cadmus and his Tyrian companions, when they came from Phœnicia to what is now called Bœotia.

"L. Egypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods. That they are of barbarous [foreign] origin I am convinced, by my different researches. The names of Neptune and Discori I have mentioned before; with these, if we except Juno, Vesta, Themis, and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar to Egypt. In this instance I do but repeat the opinions of the Egyptians."—HERODOTUS, book II., sec. 49.

(77) [*Scholiast on Hesiod.* P. 170.]—"The zodiac, in which the sun performs his annual course, is the true career which Hercules traverses in the fable of the twelve labors; and his marriage with Hebe, the goddess of youth, whom he espouses after he has ended his labors, denotes the renewal of the year at the end of each solar revolution."—J. DIACOMUS' *Schol. ad Hesiod, Theogony*, page 165.

(78) [*Fabled court of Pluto.* P. 170.]—"The tomb which the inscriptions of the Roman times call that of Memnon is really that of Rameses V. Everything, according to this author [Champollion], relates to the soul of the defunct king, which, being mystically identified with the sun, is represented as passing successively through the twelve hours of the day and of the night. The same idea is astronomically exhibited on one of the ceilings. A female figure, bent so that the body, legs, and arms occupy three sides of a symbol of the heavens; twelve divisions in the upper, and as many in the lower part, represent the day and night. During the day, the sun is accompanied by various divinities, changing in each horary division; at night his bark is towed by them. Adjoining to them are tables of the influences of the stars on different parts of the body during each of the twenty-four hours. The hall which precedes that in which the sarcophagus is found, is consecrated to the four genii of *Amenthe*, the Egyptian Hades. In the most complete tomb it exhibits the appearance of the king before the forty-two judges, or assessors of Osiris. In that of Rameses V. are forty-two columns of hieroglyphics, containing the laudatory sentences which the judges pronounced."—KENRICK, vol. I., page 142.

(79) [*The Atlantis.* P. 171.]—"It was a priest of Sais who communicated to Solon the tradition of the existence of the island of Atlantis, as we learn from the Timeus and Criteas of Plato."—LORD KINGSBOROUGH'S note, vol. VI., page 492.

The following is the passage as translated from Plato, by Lord Kingsborough, page 493.

"This island [Cuba?] is larger than [the portion of] Africa and Asia [known to the Greeks] united, and from it there was a passage to other islands, which was practicable to voyagers of that age; and from the latter to an entire continent, which was situated opposite to them, being skirted by that which is the true sea, for the portion enclosed within the straits [of Gibraltar], of which we have been speaking, resembles a lake, to which admission is afforded by a narrow inlet; but the other is in reality a sea, and the land which encompasses it may, with the greatest truth and justice, be designated a continent."

The prophecy of Seneca, in relation to the country beyond the *ultima thule* in his Medea, is well explained by his intimacy with the writings of Plato.

(80) [*The central plateau.* P. 172.]—Between Fort Riley, in Kansas, and the Rocky Mountains, the soil is too light for cultivation, except in the valleys of the rivers, and is destitute of timber, except along the margins of the watercourses. The climate of this vast region is probably the most exhilarating upon this Continent, and the Indians found there and in its southern extension appear to be the most perfectly developed of the aboriginal races.

The author has found the summer climate here, substantially that of Mexico in winter, in a short season completely resuscitating his health, after he had been pronounced incurably diseased by his physician.

(81) [*Bushmen* (*Pigmies*). P. 173.]—Here we have another Greek

fable to turn into a reality, the pigmies of the interior of Africa, who, according to Homer, waged a relentless war with the cranes.

The mountain range that extends southward from Nubia to the extreme southern limit of that continent, with divers breaks and interruptions, is inhabited by a race of such insignificance as almost to deserve the name of pigmies, though better known as Bushmen.

(82) [*Original dispersion.* P. 173.]—The author's personal knowledge of African races extends no further than to those brought to the West Indies by the slave trade, viz., negroes for the most part. The rest of his knowledge is second-hand information. These appear to change their appearance materially, even in the hot and humid portions of our continent, while on the high table-lands their extinction is rapid.

"Of the Mexican Negro race I never knew but two, and one of them held the post of captain in the army, and the other was the naked alcalde, mentioned in a former chapter, who was discharging the functions of 'Judge of First Instance.' The reasons assigned for the disappearance of this race from Mexico, after so large an importation of slaves as that which took place in the last century, is the incongeniality of the climate of Mexico, particularly of the table-lands, to the negro constitution. At the breaking out of the Mexican revolution, almost the only negro slaves in the country were in the department of Vera Cruz. The sugar-planters of the hot country of the interior, finding it impossible to carry on their estates by the use of negro slaves, attempted to reduce the mortality among their working people by raising up a race of those disgusting-looking beings called Zambos, a cross of negroes and Indians; but it was attended with the usual ill success that has followed every attempt to cross or intermingle different and distinct races of men, animals, or even plants."—*Mexico and its Religion*, page 311.

(83) [*Thousands of years.* P. 173.]—The close resemblance between the apparently most ancient of these works and those of the Egyptians and other Eastern civilizations, does not involve the idea of a common origin or of intercourse, but only leads to the suggestion that the human race, in its progress, naturally follows the same path, whether upon the eastern or western continent, and that it is separated by a cycle of thousands of years from the civilization of our day. . . . "I rest the theory that what of this kind we have seen at the city of Mexico are but fragments from the wreck that befell the American civilization of antiquity, which had succumbed before the inroads of northern savages. This is sufficient inquiry into antiquities till we come to the Museum."—*Ibid.*, page 246.

The further we go from the centre of this ancient population, the more modern and varied the original type, until we reach Papantla, in the state of Vera Cruz, where we are presented with an entirely new style of pyramid.

"The pyramid of Papantla," says Humboldt, "is not constructed like the pyramids of Cholula and Mexico. The only materials employed are immense stones. Mortar is distinguished

in the seams. The edifice, however, is not so remarkable for its size as for its symmetry, the polish of the stones, and the great regularity of their cut. The base of the pyramid is an exact square, each side being eighty-two feet in length. The perpendicular height appears not to be more than from fifty-two to sixty-five feet. This monument, like all the Mexican *teocallis*, is composed of several stages. Six are still distinguishable, and a seventh appears to be concealed by the vegetation with which the sides of the pyramid are covered. A great stairway of fifty-seven steps conducts to the truncated top of the *teocalli*, where the human victims were sacrificed. On each side of the great stairs is a flight of small stairs. The facing of the stories is adorned with hieroglyphics, in which serpents and crocodiles, carved in relievo, are discernible. Each story contains a great number of square niches, symmetrically distributed. In the first story we reckon twenty-four on each side, in the second twenty, and in the third sixteen. The number of these niches in the body of the pyramid is three hundred and sixty-six, and there are twelve in the stairs toward the east." —*Essai Politique*, vol. II., p. 172.

(84) [*Mounds of our Indians.* P. 174.]—In STEPHENS'S *Yucatan*, vol. II., page 343, we have an account of a modern penknife found among a jarful of antiques, in an excavated funeral mound.

The articles the deceased valued most were undoubtedly those that were selected.

(85) [*Of Roman lineaments.* P. 174.]—No person can have run his eyes over the plates of Castanada without being struck with the great prominency given to the nose. If that peculiarity of the nose is Etruscan in its origin, as insisted upon by many, then we should claim the ancient Central Americans as Etruscans. For the author neither saw sculptured upon a stone, or in any drawing of ruins, an Indian physiognomy.

(86) [*Valley of Mexico.* P. 174.] —As soon as we rise to the plain of the Anahuac the items of sculpture become isolated, as remarked in the text, like the waifs from a foundered vessel. The finest of these having been dug out of funeral mounds, like the famous slab from the mound [pyramid?] of Cholula.

But as soon as we come again into the hot country, we find within the jurisdiction of Cordova, at the old town of Guatusca, we have a sacred structure not far inferior to that of Papantla. It is thus described by Dupaix in LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI.:

"XII. This represents a goddess," &c.

(87) [*Ten men to a ton.* P. 175.] —"How could commerce be carried on in vessels that required oars to pull them at the rate of ten men to a ton, the crews of which had to land for their meals?"—*Pillars of Hercules*, page 136.

CHAPTER VI.

SPAIN FROM THE TRADITIONAL ERA TO THE RISE OF CASTILE.

The beginning of the "historie of Spaine," 210—"Osiris Denis, King of Egypt," succors Tartesse (Cadiz), 213—"Hercules the Great, son of Osiris," slays the Gerions, and again relieves Cadiz, 214—"Osiris Denis" identified as Rameses IV., 216—Canonization of Hercules, 219—Spain under the successors of Hercules, 220—Why Neptune was first deified by the Libyans, 221—Tyrians migrate to Tartesse, 222—The Grecian Hercules at Tartesse, 223—An unpoetical picture of him, 224—The true character of Hercules, 224—An immense yield of the silver mines, 226—The traditional account of their discovery, 228—Rise of the Carthaginian commonwealth, 230—Carthaginians invited to Spain, 231—Spain under the Carthaginians and Romans, 231—Reasons for inviting the Moslems into Spain, 232—Our indebtedness to the Spanish Arabs, 234—Cause of the decline of Arianism, 236—Civilization of the Saracens peculiar, 237—The time and place of Mahomet's birth, 238—Cause of the success of the Saracens, 239—Tarik invades Spain, 240—Gothic preparations for defence, 241—Traditions associated with the field of Gaudalete, 241—The moral power of Tarik, 242—How the "faithful" regarded the battle, 244—The Christians imitate the Egyptians on the same field, 244—The first day of the battle, 246—The battle of Gaudalete continued, 247—The religious results of the victory, 248—The genius of the Arabs for the arts of peace, 248—The Caliphate of Cordova, 250—Its rapid growth and prosperity, 251—Progress of learning among the Arabs, 254—They disseminate it through Europe, 257—The effect of this civilization, 258—The fabulous histories of Mexico drawn from Cordova, 258—Our indebtedness to the Arabs, 261—Compelled to follow Spanish historians, 262.

FROM the study of *antique* ruins we must now turn to the history of the Spanish peninsula—a land noted from remote antiquity as the battle-field of conflicting races. Upon that soil representatives of the three grand divisions of the human family have met in hostile array, and near the straits, at divers times, by the chance of battle,

decided its possession. The contest between the Mauritanians [Libyans] and Celts, for the possession of the peninsula, began with our historic period. An old chronicle of the sixteenth century, translated by Edward Grimshaw, and printed at London, 1612, folio,* narrates the story of Gerion and his three sons, who were Libyans. This family cruelly oppressing the people of Spain, Osiris Denis† [Rameses IV.], king of Egypt, generously came

* "THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF SPAINE; *written in French, by* LEWIS MAYERNE TORQVET. 1583. *Translated into English, and continued unto these times, by* EDWARD GRIMSHAW. London. 1612." This ponderous folio is for the present purpose much more valuable than histories of a later date. The late historians having omitted a large mass of traditional matter, which seems to have had a much better foundation than a larger mass of Romish origin, which has found its way into standard histories, though possessing no other claim to truth than the license of an Inquisitor.

† The reader may smile at this combination of the name of the Egyptian god, supposed to preside over the destinies of the souls of the deceased —the god of purgatory, and of the final judgment—and the Celtic patronymic, Denis. Whether this prefix was intended simply to indicate that this king was allowed a royal burial, by a decision of the Court of Osiris—that is, put into the list of Egyptian saints, to whom sacred offerings were to be made—or a confounding of the popular god of the Egyptians with the name of this king, we have no means of determining.

"The Sethos of the lists [of Egyptian kings], and the monuments is Setei-Menephthah II. He is called Osirei-Menephthah by Rosellini and Wilkinson, as the figure of Osiris occurs instead of Set, in some variations of the shield."—KENRICK, vol. II., p. 253.

"Armais of the ancient authors, is the Osirei I. of the monuments, 1385 B. C."—WILKINSON, vol. I., page 48. London. 1837.

Captain Head speaks of Osiris as the father of Osirtasen; also, "The principal deities, Osiris and Isis, represented the sun and moon, and were thought to have unlimited power over terrestrial affairs."—CAPTAIN C. F. HEAD'S *Journey from India.* London. 1833. Page 32.

This last is probably the true reason of these divinities obtaining such popularity in Egypt as to eclipse all the other gods, and lastly, obtaining even popularity at Rome, in the decline of the empire.

"Osiris being king, instructed the Egyptians in the arts of civilization, teaching them agriculture, enacting laws for them, and establishing the worship of the gods, and afterwards traversed the world for the same purpose, subduing the nations, not by

to their relief with a mixed army of Egyptians, Syrians [Phœnicians], and Africans, and in *battell* slew Gerion, the father:—"This is the first battell that was given in Spaine that any mention was made of since the deluge. And for that he came neither to conquer nor to enrich himself, being moved by zeal of justice." Then the chronicler goes on to say that this king returned to his own country without securing any advantage to himself. He even

arms, but persuasion, and especially by the charms of music and poetry, which gave the Greeks occasion to identify him with Dionusos."—KENRICK, vol. I., page 344.

"All Egyptians do not worship the same gods in a similar manner, except Isis and Osiris, the latter of whom is said to be Dionusos; these all worship in a similar manner."—HERODOTUS, II., sec. 42.

"But that which made the Osirian worship so popular in Egypt in time of the Pharaohs, as it served afterwards to diffuse Isaic religion through the Roman empire, was its connection with the mysterious subject of the state of man after death."—KENRICK, vol. I., page 341.

The upshot of our present information is, that the Egyptians deified and worshipped their deceased kings and some of their benefactors, who were not royal, and queens even. So that, instead of saying that the gods ruled over Egypt for the first 17,000 years of the kingdom, we should read, their kings, for the first 17,000, or rather for the first 170 years of the kingdom, constituted their gods of the first class. And that the kings that ruled for the balance of the 34,201, or rather the $342\frac{01}{111}$ years before Menes, were held to be gods of the intermediate class—demigods. The Egyptian priests must be regarded as all other idolatrous priests are and always have been, liars by instinct, and cheats by profession; for idolatry and the negation of the moral principles are almost synonymous. Men begin to adopt idolatrous ideas as they approximate the point of total depravity, and when they have reached the depths of Hindoo degeneracy, they have reached at the same time the perfection of idolatry, as it was in Egypt in the time of Herodotus. When a Romish priest is considered poor authority for statements of fact, can it be supposed that a pagan Egyptian priest would hesitate at any falsehood that he supposed would add dignity to his god when conversing with Herodotus? For this reason we find the whole theory of Egyptian mythology incorrectly stated by that father of history.

I supposed that I had become pretty well versed in total depravity, until a Bengalee was brought before me to swear out a bench warrant, when I learned that there was still a lower depth than I had supposed, a want of conception of moral wrong in the commission even of perjury.

restored the seigniory of the Turdetanians to the three sons of Gerion, with an admonition "not to follow the wretched avarice of their father, lest their end should be like his."

The reader will at once recognise in this scrap of traditional history an explanation of the battle scene upon the walls of the palace of Rameses IV., at Medinet-Aboo, to which his attention was called in the last chapter. This, as yet, is the only instance discovered, of a battle, in whole or in part, fought by Egyptians upon the sea; nor is it surprising, as the sea was unclean according to their superstition. In this action the Egyptian vessels are represented as galleys, with sails and oars, while those of the enemy are pictured as ocean ships, viz., propelled wholly by the wind. People of the same race, at least wearing similar armor to the enemy, are seen fighting in the Egyptian ranks. It is in fact the portraiture of a civil contest in which the Egyptians participate.* The dates

* "A naval fight between the Egyptians and the nation whom they have just before defeated by land. It is the only representation of a naval battle remaining among the Egyptian monuments. The Egyptian vessels have both oars and sails, those of the enemy sails only. They differ in their build. The prow of the Egyptian vessel is the head of a lion, of the other that of a water-fowl. It is remarkable that among the crew of the hostile vessels are many of the same nation, distinguished by their helmet, with the horn and disk, who serve in the army of the enemy."—KENRICK, vol. II., page 279.

The above author supposes these foreigners in the Egyptian service to have been mercenaries permanently in Egyptian service. The Gerions would most probably have both Libyans and Celts in their army.

From remote antiquity the Libyans of Mauritania, as well as those dwelling further to the eastward, have been noted as mercenaries in the armies of different nations. This representation may be taken either way—that Libyans only are intended to be represented as fighting on both sides, or it may be intended to represent Celts and Libyans.

too upon the walls well correspond with those of our author, if we make allowance for the error of 218 years in the chronology of the Alexandrian translators [the LXX.], as already explained in the last chapter. The events immediately succeeding being fixed on or about the time when Jacob and his sons went down into Egypt. Thus, 300 years after this history was written, it is substantially verified by discoveries upon the walls of an Egyptian ruin.

Our author says further this "Osiris had many sons,* among the which was Hercules the Great, whom they surname the Egyptian Apollo, Mars, and Oran." He then goes on to recount the exploits of Hercules, beginning with the "notable punishment" he inflicted on the three sons of Gerion for their ingratitude. For this Hercules having collected a great army of divers nations, he passed into Spain, where he found the Gerions ready to receive him and give him battle. But, he being grieved at the thought that so much innocent blood should be shed for the offence of these three men, he offered to fight them all in single combat, which offer being accepted by the Gerions, they were all "slaign." For this victory he was honored by the Turdetanians and other Spaniards. "Hercules," continues our author, "after he had settled their affairs, and planted two pillars, the one in Europe and the other in Affrick, and two others in the island still

* According to Lepsius, the 20th dynasty begins with Rameses IV., and his four successors bear the title of Rameses V., VI., VII., VIII. These four are supposed to be brothers and sons of Rameses IV., thus confirming our chronicler. Though Wilkinson, vol. I., page 76, places Rameses III., IV., V., and VI. in the 19th dynasty.

called Gadir [Cadiz or Tartesse], for a mark and testimony of conquest and toyle, he took his course towards Italie," having intrusted the government to Hispal, one of his captains. This man dying soon after was succeeded by Hispan, "a wise and an active man, and a lover of virtue, as they write of him." From this Hispan we have the present name of that country—Hispaniola. Hercules returned to Spain after the death of Hispan, and for many years governed the country in person, and then, our author adds, what is more than doubtful, "he died there, and was buried in the island of Tartesse in a sumptuous and stately tomb."* This Hercules reigned afterwards in Egypt under the title of Rameses V.,† succeeding his father, Rameses the Fourth, as we shall presently show.

* It is not unnatural that Cadiz, or Tartesse, should be claimed as the burial-place of Hercules, considering the great honors that city bestowed on his memory.

† Herodotus not only tells us "the Egyptians do not worship heroes," but he also says, "Hercules is certainly one of the most ancient deities of Egypt, and as they [the Egyptian priests, most probably] themselves affirm, is one of the twelve who were produced from the eight gods 17,000 years before the reign of Amasis."—B. 2, p. 83, sec. xliii.

The Egyptian priests evidently designed to mislead Herodotus in relation to the mysteries of their religion, and also conceal from him the relation which the kings approved of Osiris held to their gods.

He is not even consistent with himself, for he states, "The successor of Pheron, as the same priests informed me, was a citizen of Memphis. His *shrine* [?] is still to be seen at Memphis; it is situated at the south of the temple of Vulcan, and is very magnificently decorated."—Book 2, sec. cxii.

"The priests afterwards recited to me from a book the names of 330 sovereigns [successors of Menes]; in this continued series 18 were Ethiopians."—B. 2, sec. c.

Though so much learning and industry have been expended in correcting from the monuments the historical lists of Egyptian kings, no allowance seems to have been made for the effect the decisions of the court of the god Osiris had upon these lists. Those who had conferred great benefits on the country, though they were not even of the royal family, would be buried in the sepulchres of the kings, as in the case of the Jewish high-priest, Jehoida (2 Chron. xxiv. 16)—

We cannot suppose these two celebrated heroes, father and son,* usually placed at the beginning of the twentieth dynasty, to have been of the unmixed Egyptian faith, as it would involve an absurdity. They certainly could not record upon the walls of their palace exploits that made them impure in the eyes of their co-religionists. If they were of that heretic family usually called shepherd kings as a reproach; viz., kings of "low caste"—hyksos, then we must believe the forty-two judges, the assessors of the court of the god Osiris, were of the same faith also. And from the laudatory sentences recorded on the walls of

the same custom, to the extent of a kingly burial prevailing among the Jews. In this way we may account for the enormous number of 330 kings in the period above mentioned. The lists, too, before whom incense was to be burned would not contain the names of kings who had been denied royal sepulture.

Wilkinson makes the arrival of Joseph contemporaneous with Osirtasen I., of the 16th dynasty [1706 B. C.], and his death during the reign of Osirtasen II. [1635 B. C.], of the 17th dynasty.—Vol. I., p. 42.

There are many and serious objections to fixing upon Rameses V. as Hercules, but not so many or so great as there would be in fixing on Rameses the Great [the 2d], or indeed on any other king of Egypt. The truth is, this discovery of the deification or canonization of the Egyptian kings is a new idea to the learned, and its effects on Egyptian history were not duly weighed before our present work was written.

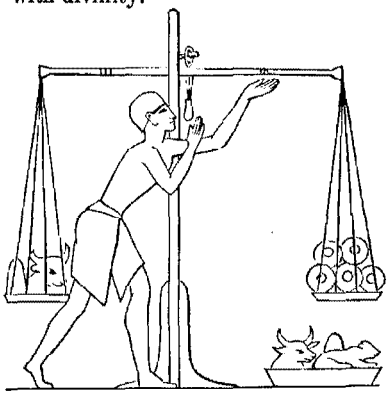
* "The principal memorials of Rameses V. are the lateral inscriptions of the obelisk, which Thothmes I. [of the 18th dynasty] erected at Karnak. His tomb at Bab-el-Melook is small; the sarcophagus remains in it, but has been broken. Rameses VI. has in several places effaced the name of his brother, as if some hostility had preceded his elevation to the throne; but we have no memorials of his reign, and can only conjecture that it was long, from the unusual amount of labor bestowed on his tomb. It is 342 feet in length, descending by a gradual slope to the depth of 25 feet below the ground, and divided into a number of chambers. The whole surface of the walls and ceilings is covered with a profusion of colored sculptures of minute size, chiefly astronomical and mythical. One of them is the judgment scene before Osiris, already described."—KENRICK, vol. II., page 283.

It is more likely that religious fanaticism was the moving cause of the mutilation of his public memorials, than the unnatural envy of a brother.

their tombs we adopt this hypothesis, at the risk of incurring a good deal of ridicule.* These sentences entitled them to receive certain divine honors as benefactors of mankind—honors analogous to those the Roman Catholic church bestows on the dead it canonizes.† The Roman Catholic institution called the Council of Rites, whose office it is to adjudge and admit the spirits of deceased persons to the adoration of saints, is analogous to this court of Osiris,‡ if not actually borrowed from it, at the

* "The tomb which the inscription of the Roman times calls that of Memnon, is really that of Rameses V., the Meiamun, or his successor, according as Champollion asserts. Everything, according to this author, refers to the soul of the deceased king, which, being mystically identified with the sun, is represented as passing successively through the twelve hours of the day and of the night. The same idea is astronomically represented on the ceilings. . . . In the most complete tombs it exhibits the appearance of the king before the forty-two judges, or assessors of Osiris. In that of Rameses V. there are forty-two columns of hieroglyphics, containing the laudatory sentences which [each of] the judges pronounced."—*Ibid.*, vol. I., p. 142.

† It is quite difficult for Protestants to comprehend the distinction between adoration and worship, as in their system the words are synonymous. But in the mind of a Catholic there is a clear distinction. He worships God, but only adores the saints, and certain religious emblems. Dupaix speaks of "the holy Latin cross, which we adore."—LORD KINGSBOROUGH, vol. VI., p. 481. That is, they concede to such objects divine honors, inferior to those they pay to the Deity. So it appears to have been the case with the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. They adored the cross, the sacred bull, crocodile, cat, jackal, &c. They burnt incense before them, as the Catholics do before the cross, and the saints, and acknowledge their admission into supernatural relations, and also invoked their intercession with divinity.



A PUBLIC WEIGHER.

‡ "The centre is occupied by a large scale beam, which Anubis has erected; in the one scale is a vase, shaped like a heart, and supposed to

time when the Egyptian gods became popular at Rome.* This reconciles the remark of Herodotus, "the Egyptians do not worship heroes,"† with the representation on the

represent the moral qualities of the deceased; in the other is the figure of the goddess of truth, with the ostrich feather on her head, and the emblem of life in her hands. Thoth, standing by, notes the result of the weighing in a tablet or roll of papyrus. Horus, then holding Thoth's record in his hand, advances towards Osiris, who is supposed to pronounce sentence of reward or punishment, according to his report. In some of the judgment scenes other figures are introduced, representing the assessors who aided in the judgment. Their full number was forty-two, after the analogy of the earthly judges, by whose sentence was to be determined whether the deceased," &c.—KENRICK, vol. I., page 342.

The same author attributes the superior popularity of Osiris over the other gods of Egypt, to the relation which he held to the souls of deceased persons. This doubtless was the cause of his popularity among the Greeks and Romans. The processions of the images of Christian Rome are but slight modifications of those on the Nile, from the city of Thebes. So, too, the Roman Council of Rites is the slightest possible variation from its Egyptian original.

The Papal assessors are not presided over by the image of Osiris, but there is a substantial agreement in all else except names.

* "Osiris is the only Egyptian god who has a detailed mythic history similar to legends of the Greek mythology, and doubtless this analogy of their own recommended the Osirian and Isiac rites to the Greek and Roman devotees."—*Ibid.*, I., p. 357.

† Herodotus, L., Book 2, "The Egyptians are commonly said to have nothing answering to the hero-worship of the Greeks. They did not believe in those unions of gods with mortals which, according to the Greeks, gave birth to a race half human, half-divine. [Her. II., p. 143.] But they paid religious honors to eminent persons after their decease, not unlike the Greek hero-worship in those ages in which the notion of a divine descent had long ceased, and when Miltiades, Brasidas, and Aratas had each his heroum. Thothmes III., on the tablet of Karnak, presents offerings to sixty of his predecessors, so does Rameses, on the tablet of Abydos."—*Ibid.*, I., p. 361; same on p. 146.

Even in the matter of assigning days to each saint is not original with the Catholics, for Herodotus says that the Egyptians were the first people who assigned each day in the year to the god to whom it was appropriated, viz.: patron saint.

"I shall be excused for giving the substance of this miraculous apparition, since it is now an article of belief of all good Catholics, having been proved before the Congregation of Rites at Rome to have been a miraculous appearance of the Mother of God upon earth, in the year and at the place aforesaid. And the proclama-

tablet of Karnak, where a king appears making offerings to sixty of his predecessors.* It is adoration, not worship, there represented.

The solution of this tradition, concerning Osiris Denis and his son Hercules, probably is, that the elder of the two returning to his Egyptian kingdom, left the affairs of the Turdetanians to the jurisdiction of the three sons of Gerion, who following the evil course of their parent, Hercules was sent into Spain with an army, composed as the former one, to restore affairs. Having slain the Gerions, either in battle or in personal encounter, this Hercules sailed to Italy. After the death of his two captains, Hispal and Hispan, he returned again to Spain, and personally

tion farther informs us that his holiness, Benedict XIV., was so fully persuaded of the truth of the tradition, that he made 'cordial *devotion* [adoration] to our Lady of Guadalupe, and conceded the proper mass and ritual of devotion. He also made mention of it in the lesson of the second *nocturnal* . . . ., declaring from the high throne of the Vatican, that Mary, most holy, *non fecit taliter omni nationi.*'"—*Mexico and its Religion*, p. 232.

The saint holds a double relation to the Romanist. He is not only deemed worthy of the adoration of the latter, in common with the emblems, but he also acts as intercessor for the faithful, with the Deity. This office of a saint is borrowed by the Romanist from the offices of Christ, and added to the Egyptian idea of hero adoration. But there is even a resemblance to this "in the Egyptian ritual of the dead, as noticed by Lepsius, in which the name of Menkera occurs as a deceased king, and that it is frequently found on scarabæi, which had been used as amulets, and which, from the style of their workmanship, must have been executed long after his death. This clearly points to a deification of Menkera, or to some cause for which his name was held in special reverence."—*Ibid.*

* "Another remarkable monument of the age of Thothmes III. is the chamber, on the walls of which he is represented making offerings to sixty of his predecessors. . . . His name [that of Thothmes], appears to have been held in high veneration by posterity, and is found on a great number of *scarabæi* and amulets."—*Ibid.*, II., p. 193.

"The most important additions in this portion of the enclosure were made by Thothmes III. In one of the chambers built by him, he is represented sacrificing to his ancestors the kings of Thebes."—*Ibid.*, I., page 146.

managed, at least, the military affairs of that country; making Tartesse or Tarshish the seat of his government. On his final departure the people of Tartesse manifested their gratitude by the erection of a statue and the bestowal of a mural crown, and by according to him the title of Malcruth—prince of the city. It may have been after his canonization in Egypt that the temple was built for his adoration at Cadiz, where was deposited that mysterious stone of Hercules—the magnet. The commercial city of Tarentum, in Italy, in like manner honored his memory with a statue, which significantly held in one hand the cup of Apollo, and in the other a key to unlock the mystery.* Tyre and Sidon, the associates of Egypt in this memorable relief of Tartesse, also awarded similar honors. Returning to Egypt, he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, under the title of Rameses V.,† and had a prosperous and successful reign, as we must believe from the laudatory sentence of the judges of the court of Osiris. As the orthodox Egyptians did not admire foreign exploits, they adored him not as a successful adventurer, but as a benefactor of his people. "This was about the time," says our chronicler, "Jacob and his sons went down into Egypt,‡ or a little before."

The successor of Hercules, in Italy and in Spain, was Hesperus, brother to Atlas, from whom Italy and Spain

* We have, in the last chapter, fully explained the myth in relation to this cup.

† In the preceding notes we have fully explained the grounds of our opinion that Rameses V. was Hercules.

‡ This would make Hercules contemporaneous with Joseph. But as we do not know the evidence on which this date rests, we cannot indulge in any speculations on the probable consequences of two such noble characters coming in contact.

received the name of Hesperides. "But Atlas, envious of his brother's greatness, came with an army and dispossessed him of the kingdom, forcing him to flee to Italie." Atlas,* parting from Spain, left that kingdom to Orus,† who, in his turn, was succeeded by his son Siceleus. "This man's raign concurrs with the time that God sent plagues upon the Egyptians by the hand of Moses and Aaron." Siceleus being dead, his son Lusus held the sceptre of Spain. "After him Vius, or Siculus his son, reigned, whome they call Neptune,‡ for that he entertained many ships and galleys at sea. He passed also into Italie and Sicilie as his predecessors had done, to succor the Spaniards, who were seated in those regions, against whome the Cyclops and others of the country renewed the warr. After him many strangers thrust into Spain upon divers occasions, but for one only cause, which was for spoile, being easie to take by reason of the simplicitie of the Spanish people."

It is probable that none of those above named were in reality kings of Spain, but simply leaders of Libyan mercenaries, hired by the opulent merchant cities of that country. At one time fighting the battles of Spaniards, at another mutinying and sacking, or attempting to sack, the cities that had given them employment. Their relation to these "free towns" being substantially the same that it was to Carthage in after centuries. These hired

* Here is another of the leaders of the Libyans of Mauritania, that afterwards was worshipped as a divinity.

† This would seem to imply that Horus, the Egyptian god of the hours, was of Libyan origin.

‡ "They [the Greeks] are indebted to Africa for this god [Neptune], where he has been long known and honored."—HERODOTUS, II., sec. 1.

"sons of Sem,"* as our chronicler calls them, having in all ages of antiquity been noted as much for their turbulence as for their courage. Neptune, whom they afterwards deified, appears to have been one of their distinguished captains. In command of the Tartessian armies and war galleys, he doubtless overran Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily; performing such acts of heroism both on sea and land as to merit a place among the gods in the estimation of his contemporaries. From Libya his fame and his worship travelled to Greece, as we have seen, while in the imaginative tales of mariners he still holds the undisputed dominion of the ocean.

In the mean time an African named Tefta seized upon Gadir [Cadiz], and of all the main land thereabouts, calling himself king of Spain. After him came his son Remus. "To Remus they make his son Palatius to suc-

* The most popular moonshine of the day is the common notion that the population of the Eastern Continent was divided thus:—Europe was peopled by the descendants of Japhet, Asia by the children of Shem, and Africa by the children of Ham. Among all ancient geographers Egypt is reckoned as part of Asia, at least as far as the Nile. Assyria, Palestine, and Egypt we know were at first all peopled by descendants of Ham. Beyond this we know of no country that was certainly peopled by descendants of this putative father of the black races of Africa.

All the races of men that we can positively trace to Ham have certainly perished, and the reasonable inference is, that the family of Ham has become extinct. So with the family of Japhet, it has likewise perished, so far as we can trace it, excepting the two fragments we have often alluded to—the Basques and some add their associate Celts—Celt-Iberians. The modern notion of the ethnologists however is, that the Celts even are of the new migration—Indo-Europeans. See PRITCHARD.

All the families and races of men that are now existing upon the earth, so far as we can trace them, are derivable from Shem. The Libyans are clearly so, notwithstanding the attempts that have been made to prove that they were Gauls, or that they were the descendants of Phut, viz., Ham. Thus Josephus pretends: "Phut was the conductor of Libya. It is beyond the river in the region of Mauritania."

ceed." Palatius being dead, "the Tyrians of Phœnicia, who had now learned the way to Spain, came with their king [Erythree], and a good store of ships, who, giving them [the Spaniards] to understand that he had been commanded by an oracle to come and build a temple to Hercules, *Libique*, in the island of Tartesse, that is Calis [Cadiz], were not only received, but Erythree was also chosen king of that part of Spain, and built a stately temple in the island to Hercules."* Then follows the story of the Grecian Hercules, of whom it is well to remark what the reader has, perhaps, already anticipated —that the pure and magnanimous character here given to him would hardly be popular with the imaginative and unscrupulous Greeks. Neither would his peculiar adoration be suitable to their taste. Hence the necessity for a Grecian Hercules with traditions modified so as to reflect their peculiarities, and bring him in conformity with their ideas of a demigod.

"This Hercules [the Grecian] was but an insolent fellow, yet well beloved of the Grecian princes, by reason of his boldness and his strength of bodie, fit to rob and steal, whereunto the nobilitie of that age was commonly addicted. The wealth of Spaine, which was so much spoken of in Greece and Asia, made him effect [undertake] this voyage after the first Trogan war against Leomedon. Having then gathered together all the pyrates and thieves he could, as well in Europe as in Asia,"† he visits Italy and Sardinia, and finally arrives at Cadiz, and there in his temple offers sacrifices to Hercules the Great.

* GRIMSHAW, p. 8 (M.)

† ED. GRIMSHAW, p. 9 (F.)

Then follows an account of his contest with the Titans, whom our chronicler supposes to have been no other than the Curetes. He enlarged the town of Erythree, and left many Tyrians and Sidonians there who had followed him. "These people changed the name to Gadir, which, in the Phœnician tongue, signifies terme or limit [ultima thule]."*

Those who have feasted on the sublime tragedy of Euripides, or of Seneca—the Medea—will hardly enjoy the prosaic reflections of our quaint author when he turns the heroic verses of Apollonius Rhodius into the following unmitigated prose:—"Of this Hercules the poets have fained all that is written of the conquests, prowess, and travels of many other Hercules more ancient and better men than he. He was a Grecian, but not of Greece itself, but of that part of Italie which they call the Great Greece and of Tarentum, bred up at Beoce,† nurished in theft, fornication, and execrable murthers, a companion and counsellor to Jason in the voyage to Colchis,‡ at the spoile of the treasure of Ærete, and the rape [carrying off] of his daughter Medea, the author and executioner of the ruin of Leomedon, king of Troy."

As Hercules is the prominent character of profane antiquity, both in history, fable, and song, we must be

* There has been so much learned nonsense expended in conjectures about the location of this *ultima thule*, that it is a pity to spoil it all, by suggesting that Seneca, when he uttered the memorable prophecy contained in his Medea, was familiar with the Timeus and Crition of Plato, and with his description of the Island of Atlantis, and of the continent beyond the ocean.

† Bœotia, the reader will recollect, contains the Phœnician colony of Thebes.

‡ In a former chapter we took occasion to suggest that the Argonautica was a piratical expedition, to plunder the city of Colchis.

pardoned for devoting so much space to him, and to the benefactions he is believed to have conferred on divers conflicting races and families of mankind. Flourishing at a time when Paganism was weaving itself into a degenerate civilization, he permitted no emblem or image to be introduced into his temple at Tartesse, and, instead of a Pagan ritual, established there one strikingly similar to that of the Mosaic. And this, even after Paganism had become predominant, was retained in that peculiar form at Tyre and Cadiz. In Tartesse and Tyre, as already noticed, he was honored with a statue and a mural crown, and title of Malcrath—prince of the city. The commercial city of Tarentum in Italy likewise gave him a statue, that significantly held in one hand a key, and in the other the cup of Apollo.* In Greece he was honored as the author of the monthly divisions of the year.† In his own kingdom, Egypt, the twenty-four hours are represented on the walls and ceiling of his tomb, while, from

* "The statue of Hercules at Tarentum, enumerated by Pliny in his list of Colossi, had a key in one hand and a cup in the other. On the coins of Crotona Hercules bore a cup in his hand."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. I., page 152.

The reader will recollect that in a former chapter we quoted from an Arab author of the thirteenth century, a description of the antique compass, which fully explains the purport of those mystical expressions of antiquity—"The stone of Hercules"—the magnet stone. "The cup of Apollo"—the cup in which the needle floated. "The arrow of Abaris"—the needle magnetized. "Hercules-Apollo"—the statue of Hercules holding the cup of Apollo—the *key* to this mystery.

It may here be added that the batylis was probably not brought from the *cubose*, or shrine, until the ship was about passing the line of the entrance of the ocean, where, with the mysterious rites now transferred to the equatorial line, the compass was brought forth.

† The reader will recollect the quotation in the last chapter from Scholiast on Hesiod, stating that the twelve labors of Hercules were the twelve months of the year.

an inscription of the Roman era, we learn that he was the Memnon.* In the fanciful creations of Homer, the Memnon appears also as the handsome son of Aurora.† Well worthy was such a hero of a statue so contrived, that at the rising of every sun it gave forth each day harmonious sounds. His history, like most of his statues, is in part broken and defaced, but so exceedingly attractive is the portion remaining, that the more we look upon that the more cause have we to regret the missing parts. Broken and defaced as it is, it still gives forth a sweet melody at the rising of every inspiration for noble achievements. Well might Abdasor and Asseramor‡ invoke, on a marble candelabrum, his blessing on their uncertain voyage, and the brothers, Dionysius and Serapion, add to it the title of Archegetes—the great pilot.

Here follows our author's version of the famous discovery of silver by the Pyrenean shepherds, B. C. 880 years. This is one of the remarkable events of antiquity, and fully accounts for the importance of Spain in early times. It was the California of the ancients, from whence they derived their supply of precious metals, while Tartesse or Cadiz was its San Francisco,§ where congregated the adventurers of all nations to reap the profits of mining

* "The tomb which the inscription of the Roman times calls that of Memnon, is really that of Rameses V., Meiamun, or his successor, as Champollion asserts."—KENRICK, I., p. 142.

† *Odessea*, δ 188, λ 521.

‡ "Abdassar and Asseremor, sons of Asseremor, son of Abdassar, perform this vow to our Lord Melcrat, the tutelary divinity of Tyre. May his blessing attend them on their uncertain voyage," is inscribed on the shaft of a marble candelabrum, preserved at Malta. Under which is inscribed in Greek, Dionysius and Serapion, sons of Serapion, Tyrians, to Hercules Archegetes.

§ "Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Ophir." Jer. x. 9.

speculations,* or in other ways possess themselves of some portion of its abounding wealth.† The fact, that the whole narrative of this discovery has been regarded as fabulous, for thousands of years, only demonstrates that such discoveries are exceedingly rare, and not within the experience of the mass of men, yet it probably did not

* That the reader may see that these representations of the abundance of silver produced anciently in Spain are not beyond credibility, we subjoin some notices of the abundance of silver on our own frontier, and in the region of Arazonia.

"We have the following record in evidence of the masses of silver extracted at Arazuma. Don Domingo Asmendi paid duties on a piece of virgin silver which weighed 275 lbs. The king's attorney [*fiscal*] brought suit for the duties on several other pieces, which together weighed 4033 lbs. Also for the recovery, as a curiosity, and therefore the property of the king, of a certain piece of silver of the weight of 2700 lbs. This is probably the largest piece of pure silver ever found in the world."—WARD'S *Mexico*, vol. II., p. 278.

† "The mining laborers have their *romances*, which are as wild as the *yarns* of the sailor, and have for their almost universal theme the miraculous acquisition and loss of a fortune. The hero possesses princely wealth to-day, though yesterday he was suffering for food, and to-morrow he will be again bereft of all by the fickle turns that Fortune makes in the wheel of destiny. The wildest of our romances never come up to many incidents that have occurred in their own mine; and when they attempt fiction, it is on the pattern of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. I do verily believe that all that class of Arabian tales are but the reproduction of the *romances* from the Oriental gold-washings.

"The most important mines in the state of San Luis Potosi are those near Cuatorce, in which more wonderful things have occurred than in the wildest of the 'romances.' The story of Padre Flores is a familiar one, but will bear repeating.

"The padre, being tired of the idle life of a pauper priest, bought, for a small sum, the claim of some still more needy adventurer. After following his small vein a little way, he came to a small cavern containing the ore in a state of decomposition. This, in California, would be called a 'rotten vein.' With all the difficulties to be encountered in obtaining a fair value for mineral in a crude state, the poor priest realized from his adventure over $3,000,000, which was considered a very fair fortune for an unmitred ecclesiastic."—*Mexico and its Religion*, page 375.

"The ores of the *Pastiano* mine, near the *Carmen*, were so rich that the *lode* was worked by bars, with a point at one end and a chisel at the other, for cutting out the silver. The

surpass the Spanish silver discoveries in Potosi and in Sonora* since his folios were written.

Those of our readers who are familiar with a silver-producing region can, without difficulty, detect the evidences of truth in the accounts that have reached us, and can easily calculate the amount of exaggeration in the traditions. They know that, when the "*lodes* crop out,"

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owner of the Pastiano used to bring the ores from the mine with flags flying, and the mules adorned with cloths of all colors. The same man received a reproof from the Bishop of Durango when he visited Batopilos, for placing bars of silver from the door of his house to the great hall [*sala*] for the bishop to walk upon." —WARD, vol. II., page 578.

"In the case of the famous mine of the priest Flores at Cuatorce, which he blasphemously named 'the Purse of God the Father,' where there are marks of divers attempts being made to undermine them, though without success. But the case is a different one when the *bonanza* is upon a high ridge, and it can be undermined by drifting in from a lower level. Then commences a lively contest to determine who can dig the fastest, and make the most rapid progress in this contest of mining and undermining.

"The Marquis de los Rayas owes his title and his princely fortune of $11,000,000 to a successful contest of this character. The Santa Amita was in *bonanza*, yielding an ore so pregnant with gold that the crude mass often sold for its weight in silver."—*Mexico*, page 384.

* "In Sonora, silver is most commonly extracted from the ore by the simple process of fusion. But in the district of Batopilos, it is, or rather was, found pure. If we should adopt the theory that veins of ore extend through the entire length of Mexico, then I should say that they 'crop out' in Sonora.

"The 'Good Success Mine' [*Bueno Suceso*] was discovered by an Indian, who swam across the river after a great flood. On arriving at the other side, he found the crest of an immense *lode* laid bare by the force of the water. The greater part of this was pure massive silver, sparkling in the rays of the sun. The whole town of Batopilos went to gaze at the extraordinary sight as soon as the river was fordable. This Indian extracted great wealth from his mine, but, on coming to the depth of three Spanish yards [*varas*], the abundance of water obliged him to abandon it, and no attempts have since been made to resume the working. When the silver is not found in solid masses, which requires to be cut with the chisel, it is generally finely sprinkled through the *lode*, and often serves to nail together the particles of stone through which it is disseminated."—WARD, vol. II., p. 578.

they often assume an appearance as of molten silver, suddenly cooled, and it is not wonderful that people ignorant of the nature of mineralogical deposits should suppose these to have been produced by the burning of the mountain forests. "About 880 years B.C.," says the chronicler, "was the memorable fire in the Pyrenee Mountains, and it continued many days, the veins of the earth were so moved with this violent heat,* as the silver melting ran down by streams: whereof pyrates and strangers, which did traffique there, being advertised, they came running to this booty. The Phœnicians, among others, under a kind of traffique, and with the exchange of certain trifles of small value, loaded their ships above once, being conducted as some write by Sicbee [Acerbas] husband to

* We have to repeat here a former note:—

"The mines upon the mountains of Cuatorce are said to have been discovered in 1778 by a negro fiddler, who, being compelled to camp out on his way home from a dance, built a fire upon what proved to be an outcrop of a vein, and, in consequence, found in the morning, among the embers, a piece of virgin silver. It is a doubtful question among those who are anxious about trifles whether the name *Potosi* given to this mine, owes its origin to the similarity between the mode of its discovery to that of the celebrated mines of that name in South America, or to the vast amount of silver at one time taken from it."—WARD, vol. II., page 578.

"The next mine of interest in our progress northward is the *Morelos*, 'which was discovered in 1826 by two brothers named Aranco. These two Indian *peons* were so poor that, the night before their great discovery, the keeper of the store had refused to credit one of them for a little corn for his *tortillas*. They extracted from their claim $270,000; yet, in December, 1826, they were still living in a wretched hovel, close to the source of their wealth, bareheaded and barelegged, with upwards of $200,000 in silver locked up in their hut. But never was the utter worthlessness of the metal, as such, so clearly demonstrated as in the case of the Arancos, whose only pleasure consisted in contemplating their hoards, and occasionally throwing away a portion of the richest ore to be scrambled for by their former companions, the workmen.' "—*Ibid.*

Eliza Dido;* yea in so great abundance as they made the anchors of their ships of silver."†

The rise of the Carthaginian commonwealth, it seems, grew out of these successful mining adventures, or rather from quarrels about the disposition of the profits. Acerbas became too rich for a subject,‡ and in consequence his brother-in-law King Pigmaleon of Tyre, slew him "through envie and covetousness," and also undertook himself to lead an expedition to Spain. His enterprise was disastrous. He having died at sea the expedition was abandoned, and his companions found their way to Cadiz, which was a material addition to the population of that town, "so as in the end it became a mighty commonwealth." But Dido fled in the mean time, with her husband's wealth, to Carthage, a town which had previously been founded by one Carchedon, a Tyrian. Dido greatly enlarged the city, "which did increase daily both in people and in wealth," which was about one

* "The sister of the king [Pygmalion] was the renowned princess known in poetry and general history as Dido, but whose name while yet in Tyre was Eliza, or Elizabeth—which name, translated from the original language, means an oath. It is therefore probable that the attachment and devotion of the princess for Acerbas must have commenced in her earliest days. There was no princess of antiquity endowed with more enlarged attributes of the mind than the Tyrian Elizabeth. Her resolution, active courage, intellect, and womanly devotion were alike conspicuous, and consequently she was worthy of being allied to a prince possessing the exalted virtue and character of Acerbas."—JONES's *Ancient Am.*, page 258.

† This exaggeration should, by no means, destroy the credibility of the general outlines of the narrative.

‡ The same difficulty occurred in Peru, where the younger Pizarro, found in the rich mine of Potosi, the means to support his insurrection. He was too rich to be a subject.

hundred and thirty-five years before the founding of Rome.*

It was not until about 562 B. C. that Carthage began to take a leading part in the internal affairs of Spain, being invited there by the people of Cadiz, who had become involved with all the surrounding states. These Gaditanians "being rich merchants and seeking to make their profit of all things, they took away men from the neighbor towns and villages, and carried them to sell as slaves in strange countries. These inhuman practices did in the end stir up the other people of Spain against the Gaditanes, who, finding themselves not strong enough to oppose so many enemies, resolved to call in the Carthaginians, who in the end became masters of Spain, until the Romans stayed them," as says the old chronicler; from whom for the present we must now part company.

The reader is doubtless sufficiently familiar with the progress of the Carthaginian arms in Spain to justify us in passing over the detail of battles, massacres, and plunder, which preceded the subjugation of that country. It is one of cities ruined, and provinces devastated, and the infliction of untold misery upon an unoffending population. But scarcely was the object of all this slaughter and pillage accomplished, when that peninsula passed under the dominion of new masters—the Romans. In the course of centuries of provincial existence, it became completely Romanized in language, civilization, and

* GRIMSHAW, page 12 (II.)—The reader must of course understand that Virgil probably indulges in a poetic license when he makes Æneas a contemporary of Dido.

religion. But when its imperial mistress, in the lowest stage of her degeneracy, gave paganism a Christian baptism, then Spain became a pasture-ground, where priest and prelate watched their flocks, not for the fleece alone, but often for the carcass likewise—a country in which priests were councillors and prelates dictated in secular affairs. In her spiritual courts they plundered the estates of the faithful, while they placed their seven sacraments as so many toll gates upon the road to Paradise, to extort still more. The worms that feasted on the live flesh of a dying king,* not inaptly personify the relation of its priests to the Spaniards of the imperial era.

A nation so disordered could offer no adequate resistance to the Vandals or the Suevi, and as the only remedy, they invited the Goths, though Arians, from their transpyrenean kingdom to Spain. These barbarians seem to have dealt faithfully with their Roman allies, as they continued to live under a separate government two hundred and four years; for it was not until within ninety-four years of the advent of the Saracens, that all Spain sank under the Gothic dominion. One hundred and twenty-four years before that event King Ricardo, the Goth, declared himself a Catholic, and compelled his people to adopt the dogmas of that church. At a council held by him at Toledo it was decreed, that "whoso cometh unto the communion shall say after the priest the words

* "An infinite number of insects (*piojos*), breeding of that corrupt matter, and dispersing themselves over his [Philip II.'s] whole bodie, gave him to understand that nature could make a wretched anatomie of his body as well as of the meanest of his subjects."—Ed. Grimshaw, page 1284 (sec. I.)

of the [so-called] Apostles' creed."* So that, by a shallow artifice, the Arians were deprived of their political rights. By the same council, Jews, then forming a large proportion of the population, were excluded also from all "political employment." The secularized estates of the clergy in the hands of *bona fide* proprietors were reassumed by this unconscionable priesthood. Thus the Gothic kingdom of Spain, though conducting successfully an aggressive war in Africa,† was filled with discontent at home. The intolerable burdens imposed upon it by its own religious guides, compelled a Christian nation to seek relief under the dominion of the Moslem. A mere handful of Saracens, thus aided, not only vanquished an army tenfold their number in the field, but, in a single month, subjugated the entire peninsula. Its re-conquest required seven hundred years of continuous war, and the assistance of all Christendom, to effect it.‡

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* GRIMSHAW, page 143 (sec. F.)

† "How could there be a struggle in an open country by 12,000 against 100,000, where arms and courage were equal—where both were warlike? The Goths were engaged in continual warfare between themselves; they were making incursions into France; they were at the very time masters, by recent triumphs, of the sea, and possessors until that very year, of strong places in Africa, whence they were carrying on aggressive war against the Moors! We have therefore to look for some other cause than the effeminacy of the one, and the valor of the other. Count Julian could put the Moors in possession of Ceuta, and in joining them draw all his adherents with him—the Archbishop of Seville could quit the camp with all his followers—a fact which has no parallel—and join the invading Mussulmen. There existed these links between the two people not to be found in the romances of the Spanish writers, or in the phrases of Gibbon. Thus the enterprise ceases to be a fable, and regains its just station as one of the most hardy and successful of human achievements."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. I., page 94.

‡ "Read the annals of Spain; you will find that Don Alphonso I., of Castile (which took Toledo from the Moors, and united it to Castile), was virtuously assisted by great troops

We have now reached the dawn of modern civilization —the advent of the Saracens. As a nation they have passed away;* but, though their existence be terminated, their literature remains, the common property of all Europe. It is easy to understand, that, a horde of Arabian shepherds, filled with courage and fanaticism, might accomplish the military exploits history accredits to their arms. But, to believe them the authors of a new civilization, so perfect, so elegant, so enduring, as to survive its originators, is even harder, than to receive as unvarnished truth, one of their sweet and captivating poems.† There is evidence that large portions of our modern literature, and our architecture, whether Gothic,‡ Lom-

of French. The same Spanish histories make mention that, at the siege of Saragossa, in the year 1118, Don Alphonso VII. had in his armie William of Poitiers, Ratron of Perche, with them of Cominges, and Bigorre, the Viscount of Lanedan, the Bishop of Lescar, and many other French noblemen and knights . . . their own writers doe witness that in the army of King Don Alphonso IV., of Castile, there were 100,000 strangers, and most French [in the battle of Muradal], and in like manner at the battle of Salado, at the siege of Algezires, and such like actions."—*Argument of the French Ambassadors at the Council of Trent, copied in* GRIMSHAW, page 1103 (F.)

* We are fully aware that the tillers or cultivators of the soil, in Syria and Egypt, are for the most part of pure Arabic blood. But that elegant, industrious, and polished people we understand by the word Saracen, have disappeared, the victims of that inexorable natural law that dooms to extermination the intermixtures of repugnant races, though they may have embraced the same religion.

† We should have said romances, if the expression would not be a contradiction: for while the name is clearly of *Provençal* origin, the thing itself is as clearly Moorish.

‡ The most surprising feature of Europe of the middle ages, is the architectural elegance of the churches, and other public edifices. The chaste and severe architectural style of these buildings is in striking contrast with the tawdry, toy-shop idolatry of the worship and childish ornaments that betray their almost savage mental condition.

The bitter hate systematically inculcated by the priesthood of Europe,

bard,* Norman,† or Saxon‡ so called,—and most of our

is the cause of covering up, under flimsy disguises, the important fact that these edifices were built by Arab architects, while the imagery was the product of their own childish efforts.

Painting and statuary were abhorrent to the Islaim faith, and of course would not be cultivated by Arabs, and hence the necessity of looking to other sources for a supply of images and pictures for Christian adoration!

"THE GOTHIC.—That the grandest styles [of architecture] should be known by the name of the rudest people—that architecture should be called after dwellers in tents and tenants of huts—that the Goths should have ceased to exist before the Gothic was invented, is, indeed, a phenomenon. . . . Had it been known that ecclesiastical architecture came from a Mussulman source, surely we should not have heard of 'the Gothic springing from the Bible,' and like foolish speeches."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. II., pp. 265, 266.

"It is no novel idea that northern architecture was derived from the Saracens, but our supposed intercourse with that people is confined to the crusade, which coinciding indeed with, or shortly preceding the Gothic style, &c. . . . But the intercourse of Northern Europe with the Saracens preceded the crusades by four or five centuries, and the intercourse of England with Africa preceded Islamism. The first architectural movement in England, in the age of St. Winifred, by half a century the erection of the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, one of the noblest monuments in the world."—*Ibid.*, vol. II., page 269.

* THE LOMBARD style arose in the south of Italy, after these people had come in contact with the Saracens, and learned their arts, and employed their artists."—*Ibid.*

† THE NORMAN.—The second architectural age in England was that of the Normans; it was preceded by the conquest of Calabria and Sicily, inhabited by the Saracens, who excelled, as the ruins left behind them attest, in the very highest branches of this art.

"The oldest of the specimens [of Norman] we have in Sicily, is the Capella Palatin, built soon after the conquest of that island by Roger. . . . There is a wide band running round the apse in Arabic characters. The inscription is a long string of honorary epithets applied to Roger. In the cathedral of Cefula there is a perfect Norman arch, levelled or chamfered, and exactly the same as we see them in the north of Europe. This edifice bears a Latin inscription, attributing to a Saracen the honor of the construction."—*Ibid.*, vol. II., page 273.

"These Normans were in continued intercourse with their native country on the British Channel. Passing constantly through France, they soon afterwards conquered England. It was this people who gave the great impulse to architecture in the eleventh century, in England and France, and thus arose the style known by their name; not merely raising those buildings by the wealth they possessed in Normandy, or acquired in England, but even from the contributions made from the booty of Calabria and the spoils of Sicily."—*Ibid.*, vol. II., page 272.

‡ "SAXON.—The most common

modern *improvements* and inventions,* even the first hints of our Protestantism, are of Saracenic origin. Though political causes there operating, preserved the Roman superstition unchanged until a late period, and natural causes have worn away the vestiges of Saracenic descent, yet the imprint of the Arabian is everywhere still visible, in Spain.

As Christians we cannot sympathize with the Arian heresy, but we do most sincerely with the inhabitants of the Eastern and Western, the Greek and Latin empires, who, to escape the intolerable burden of priestly despotism, were led to seek refuge in it, and deny the divinity of the Son of God. The relief however was only temporary. Arianism having a negative, rather than a positive existence, died with the suppression of those priestly abuses upon which it fed.† It rather declined than was

and primitive style of Moorish arching is the flat wall cut into the semicircle, supported without entablature on wall or column. That is exactly the Saxon; it was only known to them after they had crossed the seas. . . . The Saxon race came in contact with the Saracens in the earliest times of Islaim by pilgrimages to the Holy Land—they served in the armies of the Greek emperors.

"From the time of Constantine an uninterrupted connection of the Arabs and the Northmen, during four centuries, is attested by 20,000 Saracenic coins in the cabinet of Stockholm, found in Gothland, and along the eastern coast of Sweden."—*Ibid.*, page 270.

* "The perusal of the catalogue of the Escurial, suggested to M. Villemain, the remark that most of the modern discoveries of which the date and the name of the inventor are set down as certain, were no more than inventions of the Arabs, which he had appropriated. Such in this case was the fact. Amalphi, the earliest of European commercial states, arose under the Greeks and Saracens. To the latter people it owed the lead it took in instruction and navigation. Centuries and generations before Flavio de Gioja was born, the needle was known at Amalphi."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. I., page 139.

† The excessive hatred always exhibited towards the Arians, is mainly owing to their exposure of orthodox abuses; being a sort of philosophical Unitarians, they exhibited an exact contrast to the sensuous worship of the orthodox.

crushed by the secular power. So long, however, as it prevailed the people enjoyed a respite; but, when its power was gone, priests and prelates resumed their former practices, with appetite whetted by long abstinence. The cry of the suffering nations once more rose to heaven, until Providence sent them a deliverer in the person of the Arabian impostor; to that country we must now turn to examine this new element in Spanish history.

Persecution had driven multitudes of Jews and Arians to take refuge in Arabia. Among its wild and inhospitable fastnesses they gathered strength, while nursing an inexorable hate against the orthodox superstition, baptized with the name of Christianity, and this, not for forty years only, but for centuries. Thus a peculiar civilization grew up on the borders of the Eastern Empire, the antipode of Greek and Latin Catholicism, and found a ready sympathy in the crude theism of the wanderers of the desert. Who has not wondered at the sudden transformation of Arabian nomades to the extraordinary civilization of the Caliphat? Yet it was not so instantaneous as superficial observers represent. It required, on the contrary, centuries for its formation out of a wreck of disjointed religions, whose zealots were its material.* As it reached maturity side by side of a nominally Christian

* "Their [the Arabs'] country had been peopled at the expense of the Grecian Empire, whence the violent proceedings of the different religious sectaries forced many to take refuge in Arabia. The Arabs were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxuries and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians. They were inured to hardships of all kinds, and consequently much better fitted than their effeminate neighbors to endure the fatigues of war, as the event very fully verified."—*Encloپædia Brit.* II., page 152.

empire, between them there necessarily arose a state of chronic border war; for the new order could not fail to assume a character of antagonism to its neighbor's idolatrous worship, while, at the same time, that worship offered a pretext to justify continued forays within its borders.

Among such a people was Mahomet born about the year 565, of our era,* at the little town of Itarip near Mecca. He was duly instructed in the Arian heresy by the monk Sergius,† according to received authorities. To this negative doctrine, when he had reached the age of forty years, he added a positive character, in his own pretended revelations. To the mine already prepared for an explosion, this last addition proved the kindling match. His success was so rapid, as to surpass the most extravagant anticipations. For his armies, when they broke into the empire, had but to contend with its taskmasters. The people gladly submitted to the rule of an enemy, who placed the chance of attaining to the seventh Heaven in the inviolability with which he kept his engagements, the exactness with which he administered justice, and the mercy he showed to the defenceless.‡

* My old chronicler, so good on the traditional era, differs so widely from the popular date fixed on for the birth of Mahomet, that I have preferred to follow the *Encyclop. Britannica.* The new *American Encyclop.* fixes this event at 550, while Grimshaw assigned so late a date as 591.

† GRIMSHAW, page 161.

‡ "Take care, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofian, to treat your men with tenderness and lenity. Consult with your officers on all pressing occasions, and encourage them to face the enemy with bravery and resolution. If you shall happen to be victorious, destroy neither old people, women, nor children. Cut down no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Spare all fruit-trees, and slay no cattle but such as you shall take for your own use. Adhere always inviolably to

Such was the condition of the Eastern Empire, and the barbaric kingdoms that had established themselves upon the ruins of its western rival, when the Saracens swept over Asia Minor, Egypt, and northern Africa, as a fire driven by a fierce wind through the dry and withered grass of autumn. Its track has the appearance of devastation over a broad expanse, but it is in appearance only; for the blackened earth gives forth a richer verdure in consequence on the succeeding spring. Such a path was that of the "commanders of the faithful." The load of *effete* superstitions and idolatries that had hitherto crushed Christian nations to the earth, were swept away in their fiery purification, while the people sprang into renewed life under the influence of the doctrines they diffused. Among the inhabitants of the Christian states a sense of mutual confidence arose; for the first time in many generations it was taught publicly, and without the fear of punishment, that truth, honesty, and fair dealing in this life, were a more necessary qualification for that to come, than the absolution of a priest, or the holy oil of the last sacrament. To those Christians and Jews, who did not embrace this novel doctrine, toleration was so fully conceded, as to cause others to desire the dominion of the Saracen also, and to sigh for that prosperity, which their co-religionists enjoyed under Moslem rule.

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your engagements, and put none of the religious persons you shall meet with in monasteries to the sword. Offer no violence to the places they serve God in.

"As for those members of the synagogue of Satan, *who shave their crown* [viz., persons in priests' orders], cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter, except they embrace Islaem, or pay tribute."—*Instructions of Abu Beer, the first caliph, to Sofian, on his setting out to invade Syria.—Encyclop. Brit.*, page 161.

"The straw that breaks the camel's back," had already fallen upon the shoulders of the suffering people of Spain. If Count Julian was not formally delegated by them, he did not the less represent the national feeling when he invited Mousa, "the leader of the faithful," to rescue them from their spiritual oppressors. The devout Moslem listened to the tale of sufferings brought him by the unbelievers, and his spirit moved within him. "God is great!" is all that is reported to have escaped his lips; a small army of veterans was his real answer. Tarif or Tarik, for this was the name of "the captain of the Lord's host," stealthily crossed the straits in boats, unobserved by the Gothic cruisers, and landed upon the inhospitable rock of Calpe, which from that time has born the name of "the hill of Tarik"—Geber-al-Tarik, Gibraltar.* There he established his depot, and commenced those military structures, which to this day command the admiration of military engineers, and demonstrate the skill of the Arab soldier in the art of fortification.†

* "Mount Abyla [the Pillar of Hercules on the African side] is called by the Moors after Mouza, who planned the expedition; and Calpe is now named after Tarif, the leader who conducted it."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. I., page 32.

† "Half of this bristling tongue [the Rock of Gibraltar] was formed unapproachable [by nature]; man has fenced in the other. This sea-wall, from end to end, is the work of the Moors. On the north, too, all our defences are restorations of the Moorish works; even in the galleries they have been our forerunners. In fact, save in what is requisite for the application of gunpowder, or what is superfluous for defence, the Moors had rendered Gibraltar what it is to-day.

"They have even left us structures of the greatest service—as resisting the effects of gunpowder, and such as we are able neither to rival nor imitate."—*Ibid.*, page 33.

"The Moorish fort is, as a whole, a building of great interest. An architect of the last century, speaks of it as one of the most remarkable on the soil of Europe. It stands a match for man and time, defying at

And now the marshalling of armies for a contest that was to decide the possession of the Peninsula, for the coming seven hundred years, began. The Gothic king, his bishops and his barons, exerted themselves to enrol a force sufficient to crush the audacious invader of so powerful a kingdom. Theirs was declared a holy war, and salvation freely offered to all who bore their part in it, how vile soever their lives had hitherto been. Every effort was used to incite an unwilling people to arms. The approaching enemy was represented in the blackest colors in which demons could be painted. But as it was not the people, but princes, prelates, and barons, who were to suffer in the approaching conflict, notwithstanding every deception practised to prejudice the minds of Spaniards against their coming deliverers, they stood aloof, and refused the proffered indulgences.

Cadiz and Tartesse adjoin the district of Medina-Sidonia, where, in the traditional era, Rameses IV., of Madinet-Aboo,* with the Sidonians, defeated the Gerions. It is a spot sacred in the mythology of the ancients. Here, as we have seen, Osiris Denis slew the elder of the Gerions. Here his son, Hercules the Great, won his brightest laurels in contest with the younger Gerions. Here Atlas despoiled his brother of the seigniory of the

once the inventions of the one, and the ravages of the other.

"Here is an original design and substance; a work surpassing those of the Romans in strength, and equalling those of the Egyptians in durability."—*Ibid.*, page 35.

* The common notion is, that this name is a combination of the name of the Arabian town Madina, and Sidon. I cannot make a point out of this resemblance of names; for it is not tenable as a point, but remarkable as a coincidence.

Turdetanians. Here Oris [Houis], who, after his deification, presided over the horary divisions of time, ruled as king.* Here Tefta, from Africa, proclaimed himself King of Spain.* With this spot is associated the name of Neptune, deified by the Libyans,* and received into the category of Grecian divinities. Here, too, the Grecian Hercules vanquished the Titans.* Such were the associations surrounding the battle-field of Gaudalete, on which Tarik and his little army performed such prodigies of valor as to demonstrate that religious zeal, founded on moral principle, was a more potent element in war than pagan heroism. Philosophers have labored to account for so complete a victory, with such inadequate means, as Tarik there achieved. If the reasons they have assigned are unsatisfactory, it is because they have not fully appreciated the mighty power, the almost supernatural force faith lends, even to the feeble battalions, in times of their greatest extremity.†

The Goths were still a warlike people. They were not wanting in courage,—courage equal to that of their African enemies, as was demonstrated by the progress of their arms in Africa itself. Yet, in the midst of Gothic tri-

* All these subjects of traditional history have been fully treated in the former part of this Chapter.

† Urquhart, whom we have pretty fully followed as an author presenting common sense views of familiar subjects, is here entirely at fault. He philosophizes rather than moralizes, upon this extraordinary event in human history. He tries, unsuccessfully, to make out, to a certain extent, a common nationality; whereas there was a total dissimilarity.

Other historians, in their anxiety to be poetical, lose sight of the power that moves the world—moral principle.

Urquhart, though entirely unsatisfactory in his philosophy, yet gives the true reason in a paragraph.

umphs, both by land and sea,* a mere handful of invaders assail the citadel of their strength. Tarik was no blind fanatic, but a careful calculator and judge of men. He expected success, not only as the reward of valor, but as the certain result of his established character for justice and good faith, in dealing with nations worn out, and perishing, under a government of craft.† These people, who never dreamed for a moment of trusting to the pledges of their own rulers, confided implicitly in the word of an enemy. This was to him a tower of strength. It was a power that disarmed opposition, and assured the most timid of security. His word, it was well known, he valued beyond life, and when he offered protection to all who submitted to his authority, he conquered more by character than by the sword. He fully understood the political condition of Spain, and that the discontented wanted only a nucleus of brave and faithful men around whom to rally, in order to change the national religion and government. To all such he gave the highest pledge of his sincerity, by burning, in the harbor of Gibraltar, the boats that brought him into the country. He was a man of but few words, yet the speech he made to his soldiers, when the last hope of retreat was gone, partakes

* "They [the Goths] were at the very time masters, by recent triumphs, of the sea; and possessors until that very year of strong places in Africa, whence they were carrying on aggressive war against the Moors."—*Ibid.*, vol. I., page 95.

† "Here was exposed the imbecility of the supposition that Islamism was propagated by the sword. It was Islamism that aided the conquest of the Saracens. Its force lay in applying the dictates of religion directly as a restraint upon the conduct of government, rendering the king, as well as his humblest vassal, equally subjects of the law."—*Pillars*, vol. I., page 96.

of moral sublimity: "The enemy is before you, the sea is behind—follow me." An idea and a speech afterwards plagiarized by Cortez, as we shall see presently.

To understand the battle of Gaudalete we must assume the position, and if possible catch the inspiration that animated the Arabian hero while contemplating the rival parties in the fight. His little army of bronzed veterans he regarded as the chosen avengers of God's justice. Life to them was a matter of indifference, when engaged in vindicating God's glory, and the re-establishment of his purely spiritual worship, as they understood the controversy. With them the war-cry ALLA-ACBAR, "God is great," or rather "God's is the victory," had a meaning and a significance incomprehensible to other men. It was not they, but Alla, that had a controversy with this faithless people, who had forsaken his true worship, and given themselves over to the abominations of the heathen, and who had set up images in the house where he alone should be adored. We are told that religious fanaticism makes men brave. It is not fanaticism only, for then the greatest fanatics in the world, the cowardly Bramins, would be brave. It is rather that religious zeal, which overpowers, so as to elevate the moral principles above all personal considerations. This it is, not fanaticism, that converts men into heroes. And such was the moral power that sustained the little army of Tarik in the hour of trial, and made them incapable of fear.

With his diminutive band the hero surveyed the overwhelming legions of the enemy with the eye of a "true believer." Theirs was, indeed, a brilliant array in all the

pomp and panoply of war. But he also fully understood the weakness that pervaded its ranks. Neither courage nor discipline were wanting, but confidence in each other. This made them powerless as the Sepoys, without their European officers. They could rely upon the word of their enemy, but distrusted their own leaders. As a counterpoise to this unseen weakness, there was an abundant display of religious ceremonial, such as the priests of Osiris might have celebrated on the same spot three thousand years before. Absolution and a prosperous journey through the realms of Osiris, or Purgatory, were again freely offered to the "*Christians*" who should die in the battle. Where the Egyptian priests would have burned incense, and made offerings to the emblems and representatives of their canonized kings,* offerings were now given to the images and reliques† of the Roman saints. As Rameses invoked the intercession of his predecessors,‡ most likely on this same spot, so also the Roman saints were called upon for miracles in behalf of their votaries, while incense was burning throughout the Spanish host with more than Egyptian or Sidonian profusion. Amu-

* "The Tablet of Karnak is a representation of Thothmes III., offering gifts to a series of sixty-one kings, disposed in four lines around the walls."—KENRICK, vol. II., page 90.

† This use of old bones, is not borrowed from Phœnicians, or Egyptians. It is a purely *Christian* invention. The Egyptian animal adoration was as much superior to this, as "a live dog is superior to a dead lion:" *Proverbs.*

‡ The fact that the above-mentioned list does not agree with that of Abydos for the forty-four first names, is a strong argument that they were not placed there for the same purpose; but that the sixty-one, is the number of the kings, or benefactors of Egypt that had been adjudged a royal burial, viz., canonized.

lets, too, were distributed as among the Egyptians,* while the emblem of "the Sidonian goddess,"† the Latin cross, was carried through the camp. Tarik feared them not, though they were "even as the sand that is upon the seashore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many."‡ His soul was fired within him, when he saw such idolatry practised in the name of the "Holy God." And he contemplated as a certain prey provided by Jehovah for his faithful servants—this imposing multitude arrayed against him, whose hearts He had hardened,‡ that they should come against him in battle, to the end that he might be avenged of his enemies.

The faithful repeated their simple prayers to Alla, and the Ulemas exhorted them to faithfulness; then, with the war-cry *Alla-acbar*, the bronzed children of the desert rushed upon the unbelievers. They respected not mitres, they heeded not crosses. Incense, and the images of the saints, were an exceeding abomination, and amulets an uncertain protection against a Damascus blade. Priests, in their hands, were weak as women, and they delighted in the slaughter of bishops. Driven and swayed this way and that, by the preponderance of numbers, and by Gothic discipline, the little army still remained unbroken. Like iron men, they bore the brunt of the first encounter,

* "Thothmes III. His name seems to have been held in high veneration by posterity; and is so found on a great number of *scarabæi* and amulets."—KENRICK, vol. II., page 193.

See also previous note on Amulets.

† See Plate CXLI., vol. V. of CALMET. No. 7.

The reader must excuse the use of the modern name for this old emblem of the idolaters of Palestine. This emblem has been fully discussed in the last chapter.

‡ Joshua xi. 4, 20.

and without material loss, and in return they dealt such blows as proved the spirit that animated them. Enveloped with foes, they still fought on with undiminished hope, and with a heroism more than human. A whole day of constant trial had not enervated them, and with renewed confidence in the next day's success they rested, while darkness interrupted the conflict. Not to have been beaten on the first day was itself a victory, or at least an assurance that victory was attainable.

With the dawn the struggle was renewed, and it continued from day to day with like results, until the power of endurance in the Gothic ranks began to waver; at least there were symptoms of yielding among the unbelievers. Then it was that that memorable treason occurred to that lineal successor of Judas Iscariot—the Archbishop of Seville, which decided the fate of the contest, the fate of Spain. This Opas was doubtless no worse than the rest of his brethren, though the betrayer of his master. But as his estates lay nearer the scene of action, when the hour of trial came, he was unequal to the sacrifice required. The treasures of the saints were distant, and his chance of obtaining a portion extremely remote, while the dangers of worldly ruin were close at hand. He had, doubtless, been as prolific as other prelates in the offers of indulgence and dispensation, to all who should prove faithful in the trying hour, but when that hour came he was unwilling to trust to his own prescriptions. He offered Paradise to others on terms he himself was disinclined to accept. Thus, under the pressure of strong temptation, he apostatized, and in consequence has been made the

scapegoat of all the calamities that befell Catholicism in Spain. Had he really been a Christian, we should have looked upon his fall as upon that of Peter, an offence to be treated with charity. But considering him as a man of the world only, who made religion a trade, there is nothing in the change but the substitution of one false system for another. But this act of the archbishop was not the cause of the defeat of the Spaniards, it was one of its results. While the chances of battle were doubtful, he was faithful, but when the balance declined he passed over to the Saracens.

Now began the rout of the armies of Roderick, the last of the Goths. Submission or flight were the alternatives, and submission held out the greatest inducements. There was no more resistance, that deserved the name. The little band of Saracens then spread themselves like a fan over the country, not to conquer but to take possession, and to receive the submission of a willing people. It had been a religious contest, so they regarded it. Creed had been pitted against creed. One party had invoked a whole calendar of Saints, longer than that of the Egyptian Pharaohs; the other the assistance of the Almighty alone. The people had looked on, watching the result as the apostate Israelites did in the times of Elijah. And it was Jehovah alone who answered. . The result had so much the appearance of the miraculous, to those, who had been taught to look for a continuous dispensation of miracles, that they accepted this as the verdict of the Almighty.

As there is no parallel to the victory on record, so

neither is there any parallel to its results. As the defeat was total, and the rout complete, in the contest with carnal weapons, so was it also in the spiritual controversy. The defeated thought they had faithfully tested the value of their saintly intercessors, and found them wanting. There were none able to deliver in the time of trial, and they hasted to embrace the new faith, which, after all, was only a slight modification of their own Arian belief. In no other way can this sudden change be accounted for, since perfect toleration was accorded to every creed. But of those who still adhered to the Romish faith, the submission was so perfect, that the army was not long required in Spain. In a few months after this memorable battle, it was concentrated on the north side of the Pyrenees; there its triumphant march was checked, by orders from Damascus,* and the contemplated march by Italy on Constantinople abandoned. Under such circumstances the Moslem army turned back from its French expedition, and the genius of the Arabs was devoted to the cultivation of the arts of peace, in what, just before, was a turbulent and barbarous kingdom. Let us now contemplate Spain in its new aspect; an independent Caliphate, and a seat of learning and refinement, while the

* "Within a few months from the battle of Gaudulete, the Moorish troops had passed beyond the Pyrenees, and were encamped at Carcassone. There the tide of victory was arrested, not by the hammer of Charles Martel, but by orders from Damascus. It was the project of the Saracen chief to conquer France, and thence to march to the attack of the Greek Empire in the rear. When the Saracens did invade, it was after the generation of conquerors had passed way—when France was recovering from the lethargy of her Merovingian race, and when a schism had been established between Spain and the Caliphate."—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. I., page 97.

rest of Europe was wrapped in the darkness and barbarism of the feudal ages.

We can hardly be convinced of the reality of this sudden transformation of the Gothic kingdom. It has so much the air of romance. It is so entirely at war with the Romish ideas it superseded, and to which it afterwards succumbed. It is so exceptional in its character to everything that had gone before, since the time of Egyptian and Phœnician paganism. To believe it to have sprung at once into life, to have risen to the zenith of refinement and elegance, and then to have passed away, leaving Spain as it found it, taxes our credulity severely. Before the Arab invasion the peninsula was a prey to priests, the hotbed of superstition, notorious for royal debaucheries, mingled with ostentatious display of religious zeal. So was it again to become as soon as the Moslem kingdom disappeared.* So is it now.† Yet, singularly enough,

* Roderick the Goth was not singular in his debaucheries. Indeed a virtuous king, or even queen, of Spain would be almost an anomaly, if we are to believe the recorded characters of these monarchs. In no other country than Spain could such a monstrous excuse be tolerated, as that given by Isabella for usurping the crown of Castile—that Joanna, the daughter of her brother's wife, Henry IV., was not legitimate, though acknowledged to be such by the king himself.

† Of the present queen, her mother, and a host of others that preceeded them, the least said of their reputation for virtue the better. The same paper that announces the temporary dismission of her paramour, informs us of her devout piety in following on foot through the streets of Madrid, a *consecrated* wafer! We know that the object of Louis Philip, and Queen-Dowager Christina, in selecting for her as a husband the present king, was that she should not have children! The fathers of this queenly devotee's children are unblushingly named in public—Serano, the father of the eldest; and her present paramour claims the paternity of the second. Yet is she regarded as much of a saint at Rome, as was Isabella; or Jezebel the wife of Ahab, regarded as a saint at Tyre.

the period of Arab rule is the only era in the Spanish annals whose written history is above suspicion. Before, all was barbarism, after it came the Inquisition. Abderrhaman, the heir of the Ommyades, escaping the slaughter of his kindred at Damascus, was received, as the true successor of the prophet, and acknowledged as Caliph at Cordova. Thus was the Peninsula severed from the great trunk of Moslem dominion, and an oriental kingdom constituted in the West.

The ideas underlying this new order of things were oriental, while the masses who embraced them were Celts.* Though Arabia and Mauritania could have furnished but a small population to migrate, they offered sufficient to impress their peculiar character upon the mingled people of the country. Even Christians lost their Latin vernacular, and celebrated their worship in Mosarabic. But those who embraced the cause of Islam renounced, not simply their former faith; they became Arabians in social organization, as well as in religion. The wise and liberal administration of the first Caliph consolidated the jarring elements of that empire, which the sword of Tarik had won. Agriculture flourished; and new systems of cultivation were introduced under the complete protection of person and property afforded by his rule. In place of the rude labor of the Goth, the

Nor is she a whit behind her mother, or behind the average of the queens of Spain.

The nominal father of the greatest of Spanish kings, Charles III., was almost an idiot: his probable father, the greatest of Spanish ministers.

* It is hardly worth repeating the former arguments on the subject of the ante-Gothic population of the Peninsula.

most perfect oriental models were followed. Valleys, before abandoned, were now so artistically cultivated,* as to present the appearance of a fairy landscape. Thriving villages immediately arose on every side. For the arbitrary rules of feudalism † the oriental system of village proprietary † was substituted. Each member of the various communities felt a lively interest in his neighbor's ability to bear his proper proportion of the common burdens. This practical enfranchisement of the serf was the foundation of Arabian prosperity, and that on which arose the voluptuous civilization, which succeeded, and

* "The Arabs made immense progress in agriculture. The art of manuring and watering the soil had been carried to its highest perfection. A narrow runnel, by means of trenches skilfully arranged, conveyed fertility over a vast extent of ground. Aqueducts were constructed, artificial ponds (*albuheras*) were dug to serve as reservoirs of water. All the exotic trees, which a climate so varied as that of the Peninsula permitted them to cultivate; and the balmy flowers of the East, which the Arabs prize so highly as perfumes, were introduced by them. Thus Spain owes to the Arabs her rice, cotton, sugar-cane, saffron, and the date-tree—which ripens on all the coast, and especially at Eiche, near Alicant, where an entire forest of them is to be seen. Besides, the number of Arab works on agriculture would alone prove to what a high degree the art had been brought in Spain.

"Nothing equals the beauty of the spectacle, which must have been presented in that golden age of Spanish agriculture, by the rich *huerta* of Valentia—one of the most productive and best-watered spots on the earth; the picturesque *vega* of Granada—a garden of olive and orange trees thirty leagues in length, watered by five rivers and sheltered by the *Sierra Nevada*, the highest of all Spain; the fertile basin of the Guadalquivir stretching far out of sight along the verdant swells of the *Sierra Morena*, with the thousands of villages grouped around Cordova, the queen of the valley."—*History of Spain, by* M. *Rosseau* St. Hilaire, *Prof. of the Sorbonne.* Paris. Vol. VI., pages 138 to 141.

† The Oriental system of holding lands by villages (*Pueblos*) in common, was retained by the Castilian conquerors; but the beneficial character of the system was destroyed by another; that of granting to feudal lords the right of collecting the revenues of these *Pueblos*, as well as of large cities—which amounted to filling Spain with petty tyrants.

which could only be permanently sustained by an enlightened peasantry. The traveller, who now wanders over the dry and arid plains, and through the neglected valleys of Castile, can hardly realize, that these were once the fruitful sources and material wealth of a mighty kingdom. These very wastes were then covered by the practical application of science. The alternation of crop, of forest, and of cultivated field, varied, with rich harvests, the vast region over which the flocks of the *Mesta** now wander. These plains still yield a scanty herbage, and a slender crop, the natural product, unaided by the thrifty hand of science. The merchant was also prosperous; for the riches, which the soil produced, flowed in a thousand channels of successful industry, and then

* "English sheep were first brought into Spain in the Spanish caracks [called "marinas," not "merinas."] It was then that the office of Judge of the Mesta had its rise. A few years after this event relating to the English sheep, our kingdom was desolated by an universal pestilence which, in 1348, ruined Spain and part of Asia; and in 1350, carried off King Alphonso. The dominions of Spain suffered infinitely on this dismal occasion, insomuch that since the universal Deluge, there is no instance of an equal calamity; for it wasted the country, and swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants.

"Spain became depopulated, and husbandry seemed to be lost; the many rural churches, in the centre of the kingdom, are proofs of this terrible havoc that ruined whole villages, of which *Eriam periere ruina.* Thus four or five villages, of two hundred families, were destroyed; and the country changed into a swamp, or a heath, open to any invader, and free to the first comer who was willing to take possession. It is to this calamitous time we must attribute the origin of the Mesta. The English sheep were first brought into the mountains of Segovia, (without the least idea of the Mesta,) or Estramadura. . . . When the industrious Moors possessed Estramadura, they turned the whole province into a garden. . . . The Mesta not only depopulates Estramadura, but also the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, where the sheep destroy the country in their passage, preventing the farmers from enclosing their lands according to their natural rights."—DILLON'S *Nat. History of Spain.* London, 1782. Page 57, &c.

reacting supplied that capital, which the many improvements necessary to double its productiveness, required. Thus, while surrounding nations were exhausting their resources in perpetual wars, Spain, by cultivating the arts of peace, under the Saracens, became almost entire a garden, sustaining an immense population,* and a beneficial commerce with the whole Arab world.†

Learning thrived, for there was industry and wealth with which to reward its professors. There the wild tales and songs ‡ of the desert received the polish of the academy. Philosophy of the Aristotelian school gained the

* "The pious indifference of governments, founded on Islamism, never having permitted anything in the shape of a census, it is impossible to estimate, with any degree of certainty, the number of their subjects. We merely know from Conde, that besides the capital, and the six provincial chief towns, Toledo, Merida, Saragossa, Valentia, Seville, and Tadmir, they reckoned eighty second-rate, and three hundred third-rate towns, without mentioning villages, and towers, and strongholds, that were innumerable. Far from being diminished by the fall of the Ommiade empire, this mass of inhabitants was further increased by the invasion of the Berbers; and we shall find the Almoraride Yussouf boasting that in his vast states of the Magreb and Spain, the *chotbah* was received for him from nineteen thousand pulpits." —St. Hilaire, vol. VI., pages 148–149.

† I can find no statistics of this commerce, except in general terms; that it was immense. The reader has already been made acquainted with the success of the Arabs in navigation and commerce. The Phœnicians were called sea-faring Arabs (*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. 1., page 146); or a more correct statement would be, that from an early period the Arabs of the Red Sea acted in concert with the Phœnicians of the Mediterranean. The compass, and the skill in this art which they exhibited when *Vasco De Gama* reached the Indian Ocean, was the continuation of the commerce of a remote antiquity, as is evidenced by the very large Arab population of Ceylon. This ancient commerce was extended as far to the westward as their conquests reached.

‡ "A branch of literature in which the Arabs have preserved an indisputable superiority, is the tale, or novel."—St. Hilaire, page 185.

"The art of music acquired among the Arabs a regularity which it never attained among the Greeks."—*Ibid.*

"We shall not attempt to pass in review the poets—a volume would not suffice."—*Ibid.*, page 181.

pre-eminence in Mahometan universities.* Grecian authors, translated into Arabic,† were familiar studies. Rhyme was first introduced by them into the highest order of poetry,‡ and the models on which the first romances were built, were clearly Arabian. While statistics, geography, and history § were carefully studied, treatises upon agriculture ‖ and the arts show, too, that the practical, as well as the speculative, also attracted attention. The encyclopædist Avicenes ¶ indicates likewise

* Under the memorable caliphate of Al-Mamon, Aristotle's philosophy was introduced and established among them; and from them propagated, with their conquests, through Egypt, Africa, Spain, and other parts. As they chose Aristotle for their master, they chiefly applied themselves to that part of philosophy, called *logic.* —*Britannica*, vol. II., page 186.

† "He [Al-Mamon] sent for all the best books out of Chaldea, Greece, Egypt, and Persia, relating to physic, astronomy, cosmography, music, chronology, &c., and pensioned a number of learned men, skilled in the several languages and sciences, to translate them into Arabic. By this means, divers of the Greek authors lost in their own country and language, have been preserved in Arabic. From that time Arabia became the chief seat of learning; and we find mentioned by Abulpharagius, Pococke, D'Herbelot, and Hottinger, of learned men and books without number."—*Ibid.*, vol. II., page 185.

‡ "The modern Arabian poetry takes its date from the caliphate of Al-Rachid, who lived toward the close of the eighth century. Under him poetry became an art, and laws of prosody were laid down. Their comparisons, in which they abounded, are taken, with little choice, from tents, camels, hunting, and the ancient manners of the Arabs."—*Ibid.*, page 186.

§ "Statistics—a science so recent in Europe—and geography, were also successfully studied by them."—*Ibid.* page 186.

"Among the different branches of human knowledge, one of those that were most zealously cultivated by the Arabs in Andalusia, was history. Their great superiority over the contemporary Spanish chroniclers, consists in their giving us a deeper insight into the familiar life of people and kings."—*Ibid.*

‖ "The number of Arabic works on agriculture, would alone prove to what a high degree of perfection the art had been brought in Spain."—*Ibid.*, vol. VI., pages 138–144.

¶ "Avicenes, after his death, enjoyed so great a reputation that till the twelfth century he was preferred, for the study of philosophy and medicine, to all his predecessors."

how largely we are indebted to the East for the rudiments of our knowledge. Under these propitious influences, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, and navigation obtained a high degree of development, as is evinced by the use of Arabian authors in the schools of other countries.* From their over-crowded universities and workshops scholars and artisans wandered throughout barbarous Europe,† under various flimsy disguises, in search of employment and wealth, while Christians, like Roger Bacon and Calvert, equally thirsting for the knowledge the Peninsula possessed, repaired to the halls of Cordova, as to the highest existing school in which it could be acquired.

* "His [Avicenes'] works were the only writings in vogue in schools, even in Europe. The following are the titles:—

"1. Of the Utility and Advantages of Science—20 books.

"2. Of Innocence and Criminality—2 books.

"3. Of Health and Remedies—18 books.

"4. Means of Preserving Health—3 books.

"5. Canon of Physic—14 books.

"6. Astronomical Observations—1 book.

"7. Mathematical Sciences.

"8. On Theorems; on Mathematical and Theological Demonstrations.

"9. Arabic Language and its Proprieties.

"10. On the Last Judgment.

"11. Origin of the Soul and the Restoration of Bodies.

"12. The Ends we should propose to ourselves in Harangues and Philosophical Argumentations.

"13. Demonstration of the Collateral of Spheres.

"14. Abridgments of Euclid.

"15. Finity and Infinity.

"16. Physics and Metaphysics.

"17. Animals and Vegetables.

"18. Encyclopædia—20 volumes." *Ibid.*, vol. II., page 688.

† It is hard to comprehend the depths of barbarism to which the people of Europe were reduced by the feudal system—when the serfs were contented with a filthy sheepskin, and a sty for a dwelling; while the castles of nobles exhibited such scenes of filth that it was charged, as extravance, against the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he actually changed the straw upon his floors daily!

For the use of such barbarians, cathedrals, minsters, and churches were built according to the most perfect systems of Arab architecture. The idea that the Goths had any knowledge of architecture, is absurd.

Their mathematicians first taught arithmetic, algebra, *Al Gebra*, and trigonometry.* Their attainments in medicine caused their doctors also to be eagerly sought for by the princes and nobles of Christendom. Their chemists were highly esteemed, too, as *al chemists*, particularly in the application of that science to metals. An acquaintance with the stars, in which they surpassed all others, was then considered of the first importance †—the study of nativities and the future of children being considered an unquestioned science. Their architects, artisans, and engineers found ready employment, too, wherever a minster, a cathedral, or even a fortress,‡ was to be built. Yet was their religion held in such abhorrence by all the neighboring states, that, whenever their improvements or inventions came into general use, they were severally accredited to some Christian impostor, for it was not safe to admit the true origin of these inventions.

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* "Physical and mathematical sciences may be reckoned among the true claims to glory of the Arabs. Our system of numeration practised by them was communicated to the West by the learned Gerbert, who had studied at Cordova. Algebra owes its name to one of their mathematicians. Trigonometry, cultivated by the Arabs, is indebted to them for its present form."—ST. HILAIRE, page 195.

† "Astronomy was especially their study: the obliquity of the ecliptic, the annual motion of the equinoxes, and the duration of the tropical year, were all ascertained by them."—*Idem.*, pp. 196, 197.

‡ "Gibraltar, which is utterly valueless in the present political organization of Europe—its harbor being commanded by the Spanish lines of St. Rock, and its own batteries commanding nothing"—*Pillars of Hercules*, I., p. ,—"was of the utmost importance, as one of the two links that bound Africa to Spain. We have already seen that, in its present form and shape, it is entirely Moorish, or Arab; the English works being merely restoration; that is, this wonder of the world, the fortress of Gibraltar, is the work of the Arabs."

The next fortress in importance is the Alhambra, not as celebrated, but a not less wonderful work.

This condition of affairs was at best unnatural, and became continually more so as the number of fugitive *new Christians*,* disguised Saracens, increased; a result that followed every success of the Castilians, as it contracted the territory occupied by the Arabs or Moors. Thus the moral and intellectual stagnation, which idolatrous and sensuous worship superinduces, was constantly disturbed from without by the introduction of new ideas. If their natural influence was unfelt in Castile, or rather unheeded there, in the midst of Moorish wars, it none the less smouldered for centuries in the more distant parts of Europe, until it burst forth at last, as a new civilization, restoring the spiritual worship of the Almighty.†

* This name, given to converted Moslems and Jews of Spain, was also an epithet. It was well known that there was usually no sincerity in these conversions. They were most often compulsory, or resorted to, to avoid violence. The richest harvest, in blood and treasure, reaped by the Inquisition, was among the *new Christians*. It was not difficult to establish against any *new Christian* of wealth a charge of secret practice of his former faith, which was a sufficient ground for a confiscation of goods, if not of death by torture.

† The connection between an idolatrous conception of the Deity and mental stagnation—such as characterized heathen nations and the Romanists, before the Reformation, is not sufficiently weighed. We find almost all the arts, dignified with the title of discoveries and inventions of the fifteenth century, to have been in common use among the Egyptians as early as the building of their rock temples. Some, like the manufacture of glass, and even the chemical combination of colors, seem to have reached a more perfect state then than they have since attained. Others again were but half developed; while still others were only in their crude state, when the lethargy and idolatry superinduced seized upon the intellects of men, and all progress ceased.

This law of unchangeableness is equally true of China and of India, from the very establishment of their paganism. The same is true of Greece, even, excepting the arts that spring from idolatry and voluptuousness—painting and sculpture. So was it with modern Europe, until the alleged discoveries of the fifteenth century unsettled men's intellects, and burst the bands of "*sublime repose*" in which Rome delights, and can only

We have thus fully dwelt on the character of the Spanish Arabs, that the reader might see at a glance the mine from whence the fabulous histories of Mexico were drawn. There Fernando de Alva, the quadroon, obtained the material for transforming his mud-built village of Tezcuco into the fabulous empire of his pretended ancestor, Nezhualcoyotl. The pictures Cortez drew of the Court of Montezuma were but clever parodies on that of Cordova or Granada. Moorish tales, interwoven with extravagant Indian legends, form our Spanish histories of the Aztec empire, as we have already noticed; and yet these works Anglo-Saxons have heretofore received as authentic. Even the standard historian of America, Robertson, waxes eloquent in reflections on the alleged burning of Cortez' ships, and the pretended self-denial of Charles V. in the convent of St. Just.* Without scanning at all the character or position of his monkish authorities, without ascertaining whether they wrote under constraint or not, he seizes upon the colors already mixed by their unscru-

flourish. The first inquiry, in relation to modern civilization, should be, not what Christian invented such and such arts already in common use among the Moors of Spain, but to what race belonged, at that date, the *chemists*, the schoolmasters, and architects of Europe? Were they not, in fact, *new Christians?*

* This prince must be considered solely as a statesman; whether he really had any religion except such as policy suggested, is one of the things that will probably remain for ever undetermined. From the Samanca papers, which the Inquisition has so carefully preserved, he exhibits himself more brutish than human, while *nominally* withdrawn from state affairs for the restoration of his health! The fiendish method of punishing the detected Lutherans he suggested, seems so to have endeared him to the *authorized historians*, that they represent him in the midst of his debaucheries as a paragon of Christian virtue, and this Presbyterian minister eagerly seizes upon the fiction to turn an elegant period."

pulous hands. Brilliant tints are laid on, without measure, whenever the word Christian or Spaniard occurs, until they shine like the decaying carcass of a dolphin. Moor or Islam never fails to excite denunciations of polygamy, and the false prophet, as if these were worse than the license that pervaded the Greek and Romish nations of that era, or than the habitual practice of imposture which constitutes the staple of Romanism. Seven hundred years of hostility between Moor and Spaniard originated a depth of hatred that totally disqualified the latter for bearing testimony against his former enemy. "The historian of America" should have been aware of this; and that this continent owes nothing to the Spaniard. Its gains have resulted from his blunders or his crimes. But from the Spanish Arab it acquired the cultivation of rice, cotton, sugar, indigo, cochineal, saffron, and dates; besides a whole pharmacy of medicinal plants,* and the manufacture, too, of silk, cotton, woollen, morocco-leather,†

* "It is certain we owe to them most of our spices and aromatics, as nutmegs, cloves, mace, and other matters, the product of India. We may add that none of the gentle purgatives were known to the Greeks, and first introduced by the Arabs as manna, senna, rhubarb, tamarind, cassia. They likewise brought sugar into use in physic, where before only honey was used. They also found the art of preparing waters and oils of divers simples, and by distillation and sublimation."—*Britannica*, vol. II., page 186.

"Many terms, still in use, are purely Arabic, such as syrup, julep, &c."—St. Hilaire, vol. VI., page 194.

† Silk, cotton, and cloth manufactories had been established in all parts of the kingdom, and the Arabs were especially renowned for their skill in dyeing leather and stuffs.

"The most industrious nations of modern Europe have not yet succeeded in imparting to their embroideries and their silk, gold, and silver stuffs the solidity, elegance, and perfection which we admire, after the lapse of two centuries, in the product of the ancient manufactures of Spain. Lyons, Nimes, and Paris have never possessed manufactures comparable to those which formerly existed at Toledo, at Granada, at Seville, and at Segovia."—St. Hilaire.

paper,* with numberless other gifts, the common property of Christendom.†

In recounting the many benefits we have derived from the European Arab, we have to add one of vital importance in the art of war—gunpowder.‡ Doubtless it was of that imperfect quality which now is and has been in use among oriental nations for many centuries; and we may, perhaps, claim the credit of improving its quality to such a degree, as to enable us to dispense with the matchlock and other awkward contrivances. But in military engineering we must ever confess our obligation to the Saracen, so long as the fortifications of Gibraltar and the ruins of those of Algeciras remain; while the monster balls there found,§ are of the size, modern experience has

* "Lastly, the paper manufactured at Mecca, from the year 88 of the Hegira, was introduced into Spain in the twelfth century, and the Spaniards substituted linen for cotton, which the Arabs had used."—St. Hilaire, vol. VI., p. 144.

† We must not forget to notice the famous Damascus and Toledo blades, which are a standing evidence of the success of the Arabs, in that difficult process in metallurgy—refining steel.

In their civilization we miss but one branch of the *fine arts*—the delineations of the human form by either painting or sculpture; because to this Moslems are conscientiously opposed. It is to Italy, the centre of European idolatry, that we must look for this art.

‡ The battle of Cressy furnishes the earliest instance on record of the use of artillery by European Christians. The history of the Spanish Arabs carries it to a much earlier period. It was employed by the Moorish king of Granada at the siege of Beza, 1312. It is distinctly noticed by an Arabian treatise, as ancient as 1249, and Casiri quotes a passage from a Spanish author at the close of the eleventh century, which describes the use of artillery in a naval engagement of that period between the Moors of Tunis and Seville.—Prescott.

§ Though I had been at Algeciras on several occasions, I now for the first time visited the walls. * * * To the north they are more remarkable. The material of these walls, not the building, is the marvel. One mass twelve feet thick and twenty-five feet high, and thirty long, has fallen fifty feet without breaking. While

proved to be best adapted to the defence of fortified positions. Thus all that we can boast of over the Spanish Arab is, that we have perfected some of his inventions. This is our claim to superiority, in spite of the Romish traditions incorporated with our primary text-books as facts of history. But light breaks in upon us daily since Spanish despotism has ceased to withhold the records of the past. So much has already been unveiled as requires the preliminary chapter of every history of modern civilization to begin with that of the Arabs of Spain, and to claim its adoption as the starting point of the narrative, despite the prejudices that attach to the much abused name of Moslem.

But in our case this voyage to Europe and the east has been unavoidable. We have but followed the hardly concealed footsteps of those monks, who were licensed to turn the expedition of Cortez into a holy war, long after the event. They have compelled us to run through the whole cycle of Spanish civilization during the sixteenth century: that the true origin of their fables might be made transparent. The story of the Cid, as we have seen, is fitted to a new character, in the person of Cortez, without any regard to the inaptness of the *dramatica personæ*, or the unfitness of the drapery. The burning of his boats in the harbor of Gibraltar was half

examining these masses I observed in the water large globes, and thought at first they were urns, but on closer inspection they proved to be shot, and I found one twenty inches in diameter, and weighing about seven hundred pounds. The governor was kind enough to permit me to have it carried away—indeed he offered me one still larger from the store of the artillery ground.—*Pillars of Hercules*, vol. I., page 49.

the victory of Tarik. It assured the wavering among the Spanish malcontents, of his determination never to desert them, while it deprived the triumphant Gothic cruisers of a certain prey. In transferring this unparalleled act of heroism to the new world, it becomes one of foolhardiness, without even a plausible motive. Thus we might run over the whole series of events that have been borrowed from Spanish Arabian history, fable, and song to adorn that of Mexico, where they are as much out of place as they would be in a war with some grand Indian confederacy on our north-western frontier. And still we must linger in Europe. We must trace the rise and progress of the Castilian race until it plants its footsteps in the new world, and then we again cross the ocean, with our materials arranged for the actual history of the war of the conquest.

Before closing this chapter, the *status* of our literature suggests an apology is necessary, for having opened it in conformity with the, now neglected, rules of history—that we should try and snatch something from the wreck of antiquity. In other countries, the standard of history has been steadily rising for centuries; but with us, it has been so lowered, as to sink every other qualification in the single one of turning faultless periods; and a gentleman possessing this, has been adjudged fully capable of purging the annals of Spain and her quondam colonies, from the mass of modern fable and forgery which now disfigure them. Incapable of submitting Cortez' statement to the test, he assumes it to be true, even in those parts where it is impossible. Unable to detect the counterfeit

in Diaz—he pronounces him "the child of nature," but does not on the testimony of this *natural child* reject the still more monstrous falsifier, Gomora; but adopts them both, according to the custom of novelists; and not the slightest objection is raised. Then descending lower and still lower; disregarding alike the warning of Lord Bacon "a credulous man is a deceiver,"* and of Tacitus *fingunt simul creduntque*"†—he rakes up even a devotee, Boturnini, and makes him also an historic authority, without overtaxing public credulity; though this wretch, as we have seen, out-Munchausens Pietro himself, and as he may have surpassed every other man in Spain in drawing the long bow, was justly selected for historiographer, at a time when death was the penalty for possessing a book not licensed by the Inquisition. Thus are discarded and disgusting impostures brought up from the literary cesspools of Spain to form for us the history of events that transpired on this continent hardly more than three hundred years ago!

* De Augmentis, Book I. Cap. I. page 47. † History, book 1, 51.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CASTILIAN RACE; THEIR PROGRESS TO THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA; AND THE EVENTS THAT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED.

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WE have now to deal with a third race that, within the historic period in Spain, has risen to eminence, occupied a commanding position, and sunk into decay. The modern Spaniard—the Castilian, a scion from the decayed trunk of the Spanish Goth—is to be our theme. Pelagius, to avenge upon a fellow-Christian the wrongs of his sister,* excited the Basques to insurrection, and with their

* Numatius, otherwise called Magnuza, a Christian by profession, but serving the Moors, and by them made governor of Gigion.

"For Pelagius, having a fair and lovely sister in his house, this Magnuza grew in love with her, and fearing he should not obtain her, she

assistance established the kingdom of Leon. Zimines,* of a noble Gothic house, about the same time founded that of Navarre. The emancipation of these two states from Moorish dominion was followed by those of Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia—kingdoms whose condition was one of perpetual hostility to the Moors. The tolerant and liberal administration of Andaluz, the son of Musa, drew all, whether Christian or Moslem, desirous of peace and good government to him;† while those who were discontented, in debt, or dazzled with the prospect of rich spoil, fell away to the Christian princes. Such were the elements of the feudal population of Spain.

The incessant forays of these Christian borderers into Moslem territory, and the dread they inspired, did more to consolidate the heterogeneous elements of the new caliphate, than all that the combined influences of a mild government and religious toleration could effect. For these reasons the Arab dominion in Spain continued long after it had succumbed to Christian rule in Italy, Sardinia, and Sicily; and long after the Tartar Moslem had subverted the Saracen empire in Syria, Egypt, and

being wise and well bred, her brother being in the country, he resolved to give him a commission to go to the great Admiral *Musa*, in embassade to Cordova, during which voyage he [Magnuza] forced this gentlewoman." —GRIMSHAW, page 169 (C.).

* "At that time such as had retired, and preserved themselves in the Pyrenees, Navarre, and the high county of Arragon, began to stirr; who chose Garcia Zimines for their head."—*Ibid.*, page 170.

† "The city of Toledo, among others, had seven churches granted them for the exercise of their religion. Moreover, it was granted that they should have judges of their own religion and nation, and be governed by the laws of the kings of the Goths, with other privileges. By this means the Moors retained an infinite number of Christian families, which lived and multiplied under them, else Spain had been left desert."—*Ibid.*, page 168 (I.)

Libya.* The progress of the Castilians and their confederates, in population and in arms, little more than kept pace with the declining number of the Moslems. In fact their hostility was, to a certain extent, a real advantage to the Arabs, by gradually contracting their force within a narrower and narrower space, as their numbers diminished from natural causes. Thus they were kept constantly in a compact body, and compelled to employ every art of civilization to obtain a livelihood within so limited a territory.

There could scarcely be found two races more instinctively repugnant to each other than the Arab and the Celt-Iberian, who unitedly formed the Moslem and also the Christian† population of Spain. The Moorish element afterwards introduced,‡ added a third discordant stock. Religious enthusiasm was their sole bond of union. It overrode their mutual aversion; and likewise a natural

* "About the year 756, at which time there were great troops of Turks beginne to disperse themselves over all Armenia, the which did overrunne and spoil the Sarrazin's country."—*Ibid.*, page 244 (F.)

The reader will recollect that Saladin, who conquered Jerusalem from the Crusaders, was not a Saracen, but a Turk.

In fact, it was the cruelties of these barbarous Turks that gave rise to the Crusades. As long as the Caliphate had the power, it protected the Christians from them.

† "They hold it for certain that all the Moors, and other Africans which past into Spaine, were not of Mahomet's sect, but a good number of them were Christians. For it is not credible that the Africans, who were made subject unto the Arabians a little before their passage into Spaine, borne and bread in the Christian religion, and under Christian princes, should so soon have changed their religion."—*Ibid.*, page 168.

‡ "Besides the formal invasion of the Miralmumin of Morocco, there was a continuous migration from Africa into Spain, both of those who wished to aid their brethren in their contests with the Christians, and those also who were attracted by the superior advantages the Peninsula held out."—GRIMSHAW, *passim.*

law, the foundation of that repugnance. The Arab, whose heated blood had run in one uncontaminated stream from the days of the patriarchs, intermarried with the fair-complexioned Iberians, who from those of Japhet had dwelt beneath a colder sky, and inhaled the humid atmosphere of Europe. The offspring of these unions, like that of the Castilian and North American Indian, was unnatural—more liable to disease, shorter lived, and less prolific than the unmixed blood of either race. Like the product of some engrafted trees, which exhausts the germ of both races in producing one brilliant specimen.* The Spanish account of the disappearance of the Peninsula population, both Christian and Moslem, by the pestilence of 1348, is an absurd idea. That plague could not have destroyed forty millions of people, however disastrous† it may have been. In reality, the disappearance of the Saracens from Europe, Asia, and Africa, is to be explained by their organization; they were simply a religious sect united under a political organization, and not a nation. With them the state was a composite of fragments of nationalities; and it of necessity became extinct as soon as the natural laws, violated in its formation, came to enforce their penalty in sterility and premature decay. At the siege of Granada, in their last agonies they are invested with a dreamy grandeur; but thereafter disappear in

* In the present volume, as well as in another often referred to, I have so frequently pointed out the pernicious effects of the intermixture of repugnant races, that it will not be necessary further to discuss it here. It is a key to the disappearance of divers families of mankind, as well as of races of animals and plants.

† This subject has been fully discussed in a note to the last chapter.

forced conversion, exile, and slavery. Theirs was a thousand years of life, and an utter extinction.

As the Saracen passed away, the Castilian rose in the zenith; shone brilliantly there, and then declined also. Now he, too, is sinking beneath the horizon, on this continent at least. His most luminous hours, were but the reflection of that shining but eccentric race, whose place his rule apparently supplied. There was from the beginning much of the whited sepulchre in the Castilian. Besides the petty despotism of his barons,* and pseudo-miracle-working priests, security of life and property was also wanting†—with no unbelievers to devour, society would have fallen to pieces, had not the conclusion of the Moorish war been followed by the Inquisition. This institution bound all together in its serpent folds, and filled every pore with its poisonous slime, while thrusting its fangs into the national vitals. It thus became the common bond of unity, and the focus of Spanish power; and when it ceased to exist, the nation on either side of the Atlantic fell into a political chaos. The present race has nearly completed the cycle of a thousand years—who next shall enter into the Peninsula, and take possession? Who shall succeed the worn-out children of Castile?

Systematically bad in everything, they still performed

* We cannot, in the compass of a brief note, enumerate the various immunities of the Spanish nobility, or the difference in their privileges in the different states of the Peninsula. It is sufficient to say of those of Aragon, they were nearly absolute masters of their peasants; a rebellion nearly resulting from the king claiming the right to hear an appeal from a decision of a baron in relation to his own serf.

† There was, of course, the usual insecurity to life and property, which characterized all countries subject to feudalism.

important functions in the wise designs of Omnipotence. Their cruelty and bad faith drove multitudes of the *new Christians** to seek a shelter among the hitherto barbarous nations of Northern Europe, and to spread everywhere their civilization. The ambition of a usurping princess, Isabella, led her to patronize the great and good Columbus. Her lust for dominion was not to be quenched by gratification. She was Queen of Catalonia, Aragon, and Sicily, by her marriage with Ferdinand; Queen of Castile by a successful usurpation of the rights of her niece *Joanna*, the daughter of Henry IV.; and she obtained the crown of Navarre by fomenting insurrection against her husband's sister. It is true, she offered each of the unfortunate queens a compensation for their lost kingdoms, in the person of a husband—her own son, then in his swaddling clothes!† Her designs on Portugal

* Neither party in Spain placed any confidence in Jews and Moslems, who became Romanists from necessity. They were everywhere fleeced and ill-treated, as persons beyond the protection of Spanish law.

When learned men and artificers of this hated race scattered themselves over Europe, they took good care, as we have seen, to conceal their origin. Hence the futile attempts to conceal the truth about the revival of learning in Europe, after the conquest of Granada, by alleging it was the result of the conquest of Constantinople. The barbarians who constituted that empire spoke only a bastard Greek, while the learned men of Spain were far better Greeks than any then in the country of the Pelasgi.

It is the opinion of Mr. Marsh, our late ambassador at Constantinople, the most learned archæologist of our day, that none of the old Greek race now remain, and that those who speak modern Greek are descendants of the barbarians who broke into the Eastern Empire.

† The treatie with Portugal runs thus: "2dly. That hee [the King of Portugal] should sweare not to marrie Donna Joana, his niece, who called herself Queen of Castile and Leon.

"3dly. That she being at that time eighteen years of age, should choose one of three things within six months, that is to say, to forsake the relem of Portugall without having ayd, means, or any assistance from Don Alphonso, or if she would tarrie there still, then to marrie John of Castile, *who was newly born*, when he should come to

were unsuccessful, and the child she was so willing to barter for a kingdom died. In her sorrow, she turned to the realms of the unbelievers. Granada was conquered, and its inhabitants enslaved. Then, as the Peninsula afforded no longer scope for her ambition, after she had set up an Inquisition* and a censorship, she readily entered into the schemes of the noble-hearted Genoese—Columbus.

It is an agreeable duty to turn from the contemplation of a woman without natural affection, to dwell, even for a little time, upon the noble character of that truly good and great man, Columbus. He was nature's nobleman. His childlike simplicity and sincerity strangely contrast with the duplicity of the courtiers who surrounded him. The few kind words of the Queen made her appear to him

age, or else to enter into one of the five orders of *Religious* of Santa Clara in Portugall. [The system of self-tortures, practised by this order, I have set out in a former volume—*Mexico*, &c.], and if she should consent to marry Prince John, she should live and remain in the mean time in the company of the Duchess of Viseo."—GRIMSHAW, p. 875 (F.)

Like a sensible woman, the unfortunate queen preferred to endure the life of a nun of Santa Clara to marrying a suckling. So also with Catherine of Navarre.

* A great deal of special pleading has been practised to ascribe the institution of the Inquisition to the mistaken piety of Isabella; the true motive being a criminal desire to possess unlawfully the goods of subjects more righteous than herself; like her namesake, the wife of Ahab, King of Israel—doubtless as much a saint at Tyre as Isabella was at Rome.

"And because the Inquisition brought great profit to the king's coffers in Castile, of the goods of the Jews and Moors, which were revolted to their foolish superstitions, it was decreed that like proceedings should be used against them in Aragon, and judges appointed to make definitive sentence. One of the sayd commissioners had like to have been slayne by those manner of people on a morning in the church of Saragossa, which gave them occasion to enquire more diligently of those who were faulty, wherein choler, greediness of gain, and desire to fill the king's coffers made them greatly to excell."—GRIMSHAW, p. 927 (C.)

an angel of light. If we look at the character of Isabella, from any other point of view, we are half inclined to adopt the epithet of the Jews and Moresecos, "Isabella the accursed," but this one bright trait almost tempts us to assume the language of her licensed panegyrists, and receive her as the "sainted Isabella." We care not what her motive was for doing a good act, we recognise only her timely aid; it preserved a noble character, and a still more noble enterprise, from sinking into obscurity. Columbus pleaded long and earnestly, it is true; but he always had one willing listener, and fortunately that one was a Queen of Castile.

Of the many eloquent discourses written of this world's benefactor, few have been more aptly said than the simple remark of our quaint chronicler: "Hee [Columbus] was a man firm and constant in what he undertook, strong and able of travaile, severe and chollerick, bigge of limbs and stature, redde-faced and full of pimples."* The casualties of a seafaring life had left him upon an island distant from his native country of Genoa, where he gained a livelihood by making charts of the ocean. This very employment, calculating parallels and meridians for his charts, must have suggested to a thoughtful mathematician the true idea of the earth's form, an idea almost evolved by his necessary equations; so that the story of the ship of Biscay first bringing information of the New World, was probably one of the pious frauds invented for those who could not comprehend the force of a scientific argument.

* GRIMSHAW, page 918 (F).

Nor must we forget a just tribute of praise to *Alphonso Quintanello*,* who first brought Columbus to the notice of the courtiers, and not either until he had taken him home to his own house, and carefully examined his proposed plan of adventure. Thus it is always: a scheme resting on scientific deductions—as we must regard that of Columbus—requires a cultivated mind to comprehend as well as to invent it. It was the good fortune of our hero to find the right patron in the right position, one who understood and to whom he could communicate scientific discoveries, who was, at the same time, relied on by those who could not comprehend them. The Cardinal of Spain, and divers others of the king's council, on the strength of *Quintanello's* introduction, brought the humble adventurer into the royal presence, "where he was sundry times heard discourse, in so much as his speech began to please, and the king promised him ayd and employment for the discoverie of a new world, so soon as the warres of Grenado were ended. In this manner Columbus, full of hope and courage, did constantly persue, for the space of six whole years, the effects of the kings promise, till at last it was performed."†

It is the custom to portray Isabella as a warm-hearted saint, and her husband the complete contrast to that character. These sketches are all copies from one picture, drawn at a time when she had established in Castile both an inquisition and a censorship, with absolute jurisdiction over literature. We must judge princes and statesmen by their acts, and not by floating gossip, without reliable

* Grimshaw, page 918 (E).

† Grimshaw, page 918.

authority. Adopting this standard, we find Ferdinand possessed some vague notions of morality, and discover that he was influenced by motives unknown to his more unscrupulous and ambitious wife. Their conduct in relation to the affairs of Navarre is strikingly in point. The events of his early life seem to have impressed him with the importance of royal integrity. A civil war of ten years had resulted from his mother's poisoning his elder half-brother, the heir to the crown of Aragon. This crime had opened to him the succession to that kingdom, almost desolated by the war it induced. The protracted struggle of the confederate malcontents, which resulted in bringing Isabella to the throne, had placed Castile in a similar condition,* and Navarre was even in a worse state of demoralization. The Portuguese hostilities were scarcely ended,† when the war of the conquest of Granada began. All had been engendered by a criminal ambition in which he played a secondary part. That he put off Columbus from time to time, though listening to his arguments with pleasure, was perhaps from his belief that the scheme would but open new and distant theatres of trouble, and in the end impose fresh burdens

* It cannot be supposed that I can give the history of the war of the malcontents in the compass of a single note. The turbulent nobles, who abused the confidence of the good-natured Henry IV., broke out into open rebellion when he had no more towns and jurisdictions to bestow upon them; and took the king's brother, Alphonso, and crowned him king in Henry's lifetime. Alphonso dying, they proposed to crown Isabella; but she, more artful, compromised for the succession—the nation being on the side of the king. The treaty with her brother she violated in marrying Ferdinand.

† The Portuguese war was the result of an alliance between the dethroned Joanna and the King of Portugal.

upon an exhausted treasury. The Inquisition might relieve the embarrassments of Isabella, for the *new Christians* and *infidels* of Andalusia were rich; but this newly invented instrument for enhancing the revenue could avail him little among the poor Moors * and almost independent nobility of Aragon.† In continual straits for money to sustain his position, he appears cold and heartless compared with his ambitious, but less calculating wife. It was Isabella, therefore, to whom Columbus had ultimately to turn for patronage.

We must pass over the detail of the many rebuffs experienced by Columbus during six long and weary years; trials, perhaps, necessary to discipline him for that great success with which Providence designed to crown his efforts. The Portuguese had failed to effect any discovery, even after possessing themselves of all the facts that he had collected. This result did not by any means discourage him; it simply demonstrated that he had

* "The emperor commanded the Inquisitors to subject the Moors of Aragon to the same laws as those of Valencia, and they were baptized *without resistance*, in 1526!

"In 1530, the Pope gave the Inquisitor-General the necessary power to absolve all the Moors of Aragon as often as they should relapse into heresy and repent, without inflicting any public penance or infamous punishment. The motives expressed in the bull for this conduct were, that they were much sooner converted by gentle means than severity. It is natural to inquire, why a different policy was adopted with respect to the Jews. They were all rich merchants, while scarcely one [rich merchant] in five thousand was found among the Moors. Occupied in the cultivation of the ground and the care of their flocks, they were always poor. Sometimes workmen of singular intelligence, talent, and address were found among them." — LLORENTE (abridged), page 41. Philadelphia, 1847.

† I have already referred to the quasi-independent character of the nobility of Aragon. These turbulent people submitted with a bad grace to the Inquisition, consequently it was comparatively mild there.

given to India too broad a space upon the globe, and assigned too little width to the Atlantic. Thus the dastardly attempt to cheat him of his deserved honors, proved really beneficial. Even that experimental voyage failed to convince him of the greatness of the Atlantic. So when at last he proceeded upon his long-contemplated course, the difference of the observed and calculated distance was such as required all his native constancy of character to meet. But the recollection of his six years' buffeting, and the promises he had made to the king and queen, enabled him to strengthen the minds of his companions, and to prosecute it to the end. In his circumstances, to return was total ruin. To continue, was by no means so surely disastrous. With all the Christian virtues Columbus displayed, death itself must have appeared less dreadful to him than an unsuccessful issue.

Let us fancy this noble Genoese, night after night, pacing his little deck, agitated with all those emotions that would have overwhelmed an ordinary man. Success would bring renown above the praises of kings, and he, perhaps, might be the instrument of conferring the blessings of his religion on distant tribes of the human race. Should he turn back, not himself alone, but the "cause of the church" might suffer from his neglect. These were the motives that sustained him, week after week, against the advice of his officers and the mutinous spirit of his men, when they urged him to abandon his enterprise. He had ventured his all upon this single cast; success alone could justify him, and demonstrate to the world

that he was not the mad enthusiast his opponents had so often represented, but "a good Christian."

The voyage was protracted, as is often, even now, the case in those zones of the ocean, known to seamen as the "horse latitudes." Two months and eight days passed before signs of land appeared. How joyfully welcome these were to the mariners, the author, who has been three long months without such signs, can well appreciate, if he cannot adequately describe them. But what must they have been to Columbus! Well may he have thrown himself upon the earth, and embraced it. We almost wonder that reason had not altogether lost its dominion, at the accomplishment of this object—the greatest success that had ever attended human enterprise. The sailors even forgot the trials and sufferings they had endured for such an unheard-of length in that era; and these were by no means trifling. The vessels were inadequate, their supplies insufficient and unsuited to so long a run. Besides whatever other evils they suffered, scurvy annoyed the healthy, and aggravated every ordinary disease. Some were even courting death as a relief from suffering, and few expected any other termination to their enterprise. To those in the company unfamiliar with a seafaring life, this was one of peculiar trial. In addition to their other sufferings they had to endure the same *ennui*, that afflicts the traveller of our day in the same latitude. There are, it is true, occasional diversions furnished by the ocean's inhabitants, and the *mirage*, which a cloudless atmosphere, aided perhaps by a heated imagination, locates in the distant

horizon. Eyes, wearied with the daily routine of vision, fancy sometimes the appearance of rivulets and waterfalls amid green fields and forests, with a background of snow-capped mountains. It is a scene more refreshing to the imagination, than the reality ever can be to the senses. But the relief it furnishes is short-lived indeed: while the wanderer gazes the whole is suddenly rolled together, as the sun disappears. Then his tantalized lips sharply remind him of his allowance of water. If it is thus in our days, and under favorable circumstances, what were the sufferings of the first voyagers across the Atlantic? We can hardly conceive them. When these privations had reached their utmost limit of endurance, when discontent amounted almost to mutiny, and the days of forbearance were nearly expired, *Rodrigo de Triane* from the lookout shouted—*Tierra!* A new world was in sight. The Atlantic had been crossed. All their sufferings were turned to joy.

The India for which Columbus had crossed an unknown ocean, he never reached. The discovery of America was a miscalculation. A mistake fortunate for the world, and exceedingly fortunate for himself. Of this error he remained in ignorance to the last. He died in the belief that he had reached the Orient by his western voyage. Hence the name applied to all Spanish America, main land as well as islands—West India. The inhabitants of the islands of this new India were more degraded even than the northern savages; they resembled the almost naked islanders of the South Seas, and failed not to excite the disgust of the Spanish adventurers. As the South

Sea inhabitants, they lived on the almost spontaneous productions of the tropics. They were but a feeble folk, at best, and sparsely scattered over a large territory. As among other savages, of their offspring barely enough survived parental neglect to supply the original stock, and the constant drain of intestine war. Such a population may increase in numbers, as we have seen, but only after they have ceased to be savages. Were we to rate the whole population of the West India islands at one hundred thousand souls, at the time of their discovery, those familiar with Indian characteristics would call the estimate extravagant; and so it would be, fifty thousand being nearer the reality—perhaps more than the actual number.

Europeans, it will be recollected, came in contact with these islanders nearly one hundred years before either Canada or New England was settled. They found them, too, a feebler race than the aborigines of the adjacent continent. Spanish cruelty is assigned as the cause of their extinction. But that cannot be; for the Hurons no less rapidly melted away under the excessive kindness of the French. The intense excitement created in Spain, in consequence of the cruelties charged to have been inflicted on a few Indians in these distant islands, is strange to notice; for at the same time the most shocking enormities were daily perpetrated unchallenged upon the wealthy Morescos at home. The extermination of a million or two of educated and refined Moors in Spain was as nothing in comparison to the enslavement of a

thousand or two savages in the West Indies!* And at this very time besides, kidnapped Africans were suffering equally on the same island, and without exciting either any commiseration! The real cause of this apparent shock to the moral sense must be sought in the rivalries of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and in the angry passions of those who ranged themselves under their respective banners. The Dominicans,† whose duty it was to preach the extermination of all heretics, by fire and sword, then upheld the cause of humanity, but to Indians only. While the Franciscans—holding the popular doc-

* "An amnesty was granted to the Moors, on condition that they came to solicit it; and many took advantage of the permission. To prevent emigration, the king remitted the penalty of confiscation; but the Inquisitors, by means of the impenetrable secrecy which it always preserved, rendered the benevolent intentions of the sovereign of no avail. They did not publish the briefs of indulgence granted by the Court of Rome, knowing that a great number of the *relapsed* would take advantage of them. These people, not being aware of their privileges, were condemned and burnt. These examples of cruelty increased the hatred of the Moors for this sanguinary tribunal, and were the cause of many seditions, which, in 1609, led to the entire expulsion of the Moors to the number of one million of souls; so that, in the space of one hundred and thirty-nine years, the Inquisition deprived Spain of three millions of inhabitants—Jews, Mores, and Moors."—LLORENTE'S *History of the Inquisition*, translated and abridged, page 42. Philadelphia, 1847.

† "Dominick, a canon of Osma, relying not much upon disputations and reasons, persuaded all princes and their subjects to arms, as being the most expeditious means [for extirpating the Albigenses]; for the which he was put into the catalogue of saints. It was he which brought in the order of Preaching Friars."—GRIMSHAW, page 345.

"St. Dominic also established an order for laymen. This order has been designated as the Third Order of Penitents; but most commonly as the *Militia of Christ*, because those who were members of it fought against heretics and assisted the Inquisitors in the exercise of their functions, they were considered as part of the Inquisitorial family, and on that account bore the name of Familiars."—LLORENTE (abridged), page 13.

trine of the immaculate conception, which the Dominicans denied—assumed the defence of the colonists. So that "what the long pipes proposed the short pipes opposed," is the probable solution of the terrible tempest which this controversy excited. And so the Hieronomite gentlemen,* who were appointed to investigate the affair, seemed to consider it. The Dominicans got decidedly the advantage, however, by enlisting on their side the good but blindly-zealous Las Casas.

But whatever the motive of this heated controversy, the Indians of the main land, who escaped the first stage of servitude, were the real gainers by it. By the *new laws*, to which this discussion gave rise, their burdens were materially lightened, yet, fortunately for them, they were still compelled to labor. In their new, they were more prolific than in their savage state; and their children were better cared for. From that time we are to date an increase of the aboriginal population of Spanish America, an increase that has been steadily progressing to the present time. It is even supplanting the white and mongrel races, and now doubtless outnumbering the aboriginals of the era of Columbus. To be a great reformer, a man must be possessed of but one idea—such a man was Las Casas. As an abolitionist, there are none in our

* This is an order of monks, consisting almost entirely of gentlemen. Their number is, of course, limited; and have the credit, which the unwashed monks never had, of being really what they profess to be—gentlemen and Christians.

Godliness is a Saxon word, and conveys a Saxon idea; and so is cleanliness. But a *devotee* is almost always filthy in his person, as he is in his conceptions. To believe half their own people say of them, would degrade humanity. "Satan's militia" would seem to express the idea of those they oppressed.

day equal to him in fiery denunciations, or the reckless use of the superlative and hyperbolical. From his forty millions of Indians destroyed by the cruelty of the Spaniards, we must deduct the trifling sum of thirty-nine, at least! There never probably existed forty millions of savage races at one time on our globe. The acts he himself professes to have witnessed we cannot doubt. But those which he repeats on the authority of others, we may well hesitate to believe, considering how sadly the whole Spanish world is given to the magniloquent So much for this good man.

We cannot resist an inclination to return and follow Columbus on his homeward voyage—to the scene of his triumphal entry into the presence of the majesty of Spain. He had left it an adventurer. At his return he was more than the equal of royalty. He brought assured tidings of a new world, whose nations were yet to rise and bless him; and of a continent abounding in precious metals. The cold and calculating Ferdinand received him graciously, the queen in ecstasies, while popular ovations placed him in the rank of heroes. But in the midst of all this demonstration of joy by a proverbially treacherous nation, the noble Genoese bore his laurels with the same dignified gentleness, that had characterized him in times of bitterest disappointment. His was a mind, that not only rose above discomfitures, it could not be conquered by success. Again he sets forth for the new world, loaded with royal favors, the adulation of courtiers, and the shouts of the multitude; but to return a prisoner, and in irons. Such are the uncertainties of royal favor, when

seconded by the applause of the crowd. Again and again he repeats his voyage, but circumstances were changed. There were no new worlds to discover. From necessity, he sank into the humble surveyor of an unknown coast. If his son Diego was more fortunate, he had married into the royal family, and obtained as dowry, rather than as an inheritance, the government of the island of San Domingo, to which Cuba was made subordinate.

Other adventurers followed in the path of the Admiral. Cuba was conquered and settled by Velasques, then a lieutenant of Diego. The Spanish main was ravished by parties in quest of Indian slaves. Upon the Isthmus an establishment had been formed at *Nombre-de-Dios* or Darien. Bilboa had already discovered the South Sea, or Pacific. At this point in the drama of American civilization—1517—a second act opens. A new party of adventurers, in three small vessels, sailed out of the Havana, under the command of Cordova. They commit themselves to the guidance of Providence on an unknown sea, and by chance discover land at Cape Catouche, where a Phœnician station had, doubtless, been maintained three thousand years before, as was evident from the adjacent chapels now in ruins. The sight of these products of a civilized race caused great astonishment to our voyagers, as it was the first time since the discovery of America, that any such traces had been found on this continent. Though totally unqualified to determine the origin of the structures before them, the first impression of these adventurers has passed for a demonstration among the learned. It has been universally received

from that day as a correct solution of the great problem of American archæology; as proof that structures exhibiting the highest grade of art were the work of a race hardly superior to South Sea islanders! Subsequent discovery, and whatever other evidence has been reached, has been warped to conform to this foregone conclusion. As these adventurers beheld upon the walls of deserted temples the *bloody hand*,* and the further representation of priests in the act of offering infants to the cross and to the mask of Saturn,† they at once concluded them to be the emblems of human sacrifices actually offered by the existing race, whose cabins were located near the ruins. Once possessed of this idea, the Spaniards found no difficulty in alleging facts to suit their theory. Such is the origin of those blunders into which American antiquarians have fallen; they have adopted as entire and undisputed facts the hasty conclusions of ignorant men!

* "Over the cavity left in the mortar by the removal of the stone, were two conspicuous marks, which afterwards stared us in the face in all the ruined buildings of the country. They were the prints of a red hand, with the thumb and fingers extended —not drawn or painted, but stamped by the living hand, the pressure of the palm upon the stone. He who made it had stood before it alive, as we did, and pressed his hand, moistened by red paint, hard against the stone. The seams and creases of the palm were clear and distinct in the impression. There was something lifelike about it that waked up exciting thoughts, and almost presented the image of the departed inhabitants hovering about the building."—STEPHENS'S *Yucatan*, vol. I., page 177.

The reader can see at once, that this "bloody hand" is more likely to have been stamped upon these ancient ruins by savages than by the original builders. The same red paint which they use upon their own faces, in time of war, would be amply sufficient for the purpose.

† The allegorical ornaments attached to the heads and to the nose of one of these infants are, of course, meaningless to us. It would require a familiarity with the mythology of this lost race to explain them.

That the Yucateco Indians were savages is clearly evident from the description of Diaz himself, who says—"These Indians wore a kind of cloak made of cotton and a small sort of apron, which hung from their hips half-way down to the knee, which they termed *mattates*.* We found them more intelligent than the Indians of Cuba, where only the women wore a similar species of apron made of cotton, which hangs down over their thighs." A strange reason for calling them more intelligent! These are the people to whom is attributed the building of such magnificent structures as the temples of Copan, Palenque, Uxmal, &c.! Besides idols "made of clay," Diaz professes to have found "wooden boxes, containing other of their gods with hellish faces, several small shells, some ornaments, three crowns, and other trinkets, some in the shape of fish, others in the shape of ducks, all worked out of an inferior sort of gold! Seeing all this, the gold, and the good architectural style of the temples, we felt overjoyed at the discovery of the country."† This inferior sort of gold may have been iron pyrites wrought into imaginary resemblances to the forms mentioned above. As for gold in Yucatan, that is entirely out of the question, as it is exclusively a limestone formation. For the idols "made of clay" there is more difficulty in accounting, than even the carved statues. The author has personally examined a very large number. They appear all of one type, to have had an allegorical character,‡ and to be very ancient. With much hesitation we

* BERNAL DIAZ, vol. I., page 4.

† *Ibid.*, vol. I., page 5.

‡ The author first came in contact with this peculiar species of idola-

have ventured a theory that they are the production of a race, intervening between the civilized builders of the temples, and the savages who now crouch in their shadow. There are among them females with allegorical ornaments, tortoises, crocodiles, and serpents with human heads, and images formed of strange combinations with parts of different animals, seeming to indicate the work of a people in a transition state. Fourteen days' sail further to the westward brought our voyagers to other "edifices which were strongly built of stone and lime, and had otherwise a good appearance. [Phœnician chapels or small temples on truncated pyramids.] These were temples, the walls of which were covered with figures representing snakes, and all manner of gods.

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try, at the city of Mexico. His first impression, on seeing them, was to conclude that they were the work of the Aztecs; and that the religion of those Indians was allegorical. But subsequent investigation leads to the conclusion, that it is the relic of an older race. The specimens to be found at the city of Mexico, were doubtless brought from these ruined chapels of the Phœnicians. The reason why the Inquisitors would order them to be thrown into the gutter, is manifest —the fear that they might recall *pagan ideas* to theIndians.

"My landlord had two boxes of such images, collected when they were cleaning out one of the old city canals. By way of parlor ornaments, we had an Aztec god of baked earth. He was sitting in a chair; around his navel was coiled a serpent; his right hand rested upon the head of another serpent. This, according to the laws of interpreting allegories, we should understand to signify that the god had been renowned for his wisdom; that with the wisdom of the serpent he had executed judgment; and that his meditations were the profundity of wisdom. And yet this allegorical worship, defective as it may have been, was superseded by the adoration of a child's doll—one that had very possibly been worn out and thrown from a nursery, and perhaps picked up by some passing monk—was made the goddess of New Spain, and clothed with three petticoats—one adorned with pearls, one with rubies, and one with diamonds, at an estimated cost of $3,000,000. Which was the least objectionable superstition?" —*Mexico and its Religion*, page 118.

Round a species of altar we perceived fresh spots of blood.* On some of the [representations of] idols were figures like *crosses* [*vide Ashteroth and her emblem,*] with other paintings representing groups of Indians."† Making a little allowance for the want of intelligence in these discoverers, there is little difficulty in identifying the above description with the cross-scene portrayed on the walls of Palenque. "All this astonished us greatly, as we had neither seen nor heard of such things before."†

The mistake or misrepresentation of these people was the foundation of that impression which now went abroad, bearing that this peninsula was not only inhabited by civilized Indians, accustomed to human sacrifice, but abounded also in mines of gold—the idea that gold might be produced from ores was not then altogether exploded. With due allowance for Spanish exaggeration, and the inducements to misrepresent, it may still be safely assumed that at the time of the discovery of Yucatan, ruins of temples abounded in what are now its more settled portions. The supply of water always to be found near these ruins was an attraction, not only for savages to build their cabins near them, but also for those Castilians, who thought it a merit with heaven that they converted heathen temples into materials for perpetuating their own superstition. This is most probably the foundation too of the fabled Mexican civilization, idolatry,

* The reader will find no difficulty in identifying the scenes of Palenque in these deserted chapels, scattered along the coast. "Spots of blood," most probably meant nothing more than the blood-red paint of the Indians.

† LOCKHART'S *Diaz*, vol. I., page 7.

and human sacrifice. Even falsehood must have somewhat out of which to manufacture details.

The party continued coasting westwardly as far as Potonchan, or *Bahia de mala Pelea*,* where it was resolved to abandon the further prosecution of the voyage, and return to Cuba. The apology for this step is the allegation of a terrible discomfiture they received at the hands of the savages, which is thus described: "As soon as daylight had fully broken forth we perceived more troops of armed natives moving towards the coast with flying colors. They divided themselves into different bodies, surrounded us on all sides, and commenced pouring forth such showers of arrows, lances, and stones, that more than eighty men were wounded at the first onset! We dealt many a good thrust and blow amongst them, keeping up

* "BAHIA DE LA MALA PELEA.—The mouth of this river forms part of the bay, which Hernandez de Cordova and his companions called, with much propriety, *de la Mala Pelea*, where they suffered so severe a defeat from the natives in March, 1517, when only one escaped unwounded, the captain himself being a victim of the wounds he there received. . . . It gained European celebrity at another time, as well the bay as the adjacent coast, from the forests of tinted wood which formerly abounded on its banks, and the neighboring shore. To-day, owing to the prodigal waste with which we have abused this gift of nature, it is found only in the interior of the country. This wood is solid, more firm, and especially more abundant in tints, than that which we find to the leeward of Campeachy, much more than that of Honduras. It began to be cut at an early period, when the service it was destined to yield to the arts was unknown. [It was thus brought into notice.] An English corsair, from Jamaica, in cruising upon this coast, captured a vessel laden with a cargo of this unappreciated wood. It being unfit for combustion, he took it to London, because he was bound there to arm the vessel for privateering. When discharged, the cargo, to his surprise, sold for a great price. Stimulated with this success, a multitude of other corsairs acquired the custom of visiting this river," &c.—*Boletin de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografia y Estadistica*, page 248.

at the same time an incessant fire with our muskets and cross-bows; for while some loaded, others fired." Perceiving how closely they were hemmed in by the enemy, that the whole of them were wounded, many shot through the neck, "and more than fifty of our men killed!" the Spaniards determined to cut their way through the enemies' ranks and make for the boats, which fortunately lay on the coast near at hand. This was successfully accomplished. "At that moment you should have heard the whizzing of their arrows, the horrible yell they set up, and how the Indians provoked each other to combat, at the same time making desperate thrusts with their lances. After we had gained our vessel we found that fifty-seven of our men were missing, and five died of their wounds. The battle lasted little more than half an hour!"* The reader will perceive that we have not in the slightest degree overstated the recklessness of Spanish authors in the use of numerals, when they have a purpose to accomplish. Here it was necessary to fabricate an apology which should justify the abandoning of a voyage of discovery, in the full tide of success. Accordingly Bernal Diaz in his "history" kills fifty-seven men and wounds all the rest of the Spaniards in a fair stand-up fight with savages, who had never before heard the sound of a musket! Cortez' famous battle at Tobasco with "twelve thousand Indians," according to this same author had none killed, and but fourteen wounded,† though it was a threefold battle, including a landing in the face of the enemy on a muddy shore, and

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 11.

† *Ibid.*, page 71.

the successful carrying of two barricades of felled trees. The Indians themselves had but eighteen killed!

Wounded, disheartened, and without water, yet the party had no difficulty in "fetching" the Gulf-stream, and in four days reaching Florida, where they found both an enemy and a supply of water. Afterwards they sailed to Matanzas, and ultimately reached the Havana. Those of the expedition, who got safely back, found some consolation for their sufferings in the privilege awarded them of telling marvellous tales of the riches and civilization of the new land they had discovered; the importance of each, in his respective circle, depending perhaps on the magnitude of his narrative. "Our account of the houses in the newly discovered country, built of stone and lime, had spread a vast idea of its riches, added to which the Indian Melchorego had given us to understand by signs that it abounded in gold mines."* All this created a great desire among the inhabitants and soldiers throughout the island, who possessed no commendaries of Indians, to go in quest of such a rich country; consequently, in a very short time, another body of two hundred and twenty volunteers furnished themselves with an outfit, and soon were ready for the second expedition under Grijalva. It need not be added, the shaping of the report of the discoveries in Yucatan was in the hands of those, who were anxious to entice others to embark in a new adventure. Like the volatile riches of a gold-quartz vein, whose value expands exactly in proportion to the difficulty experienced in persuading capitalists to interest them-

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 19.

selves in the adventure, in the most exaggerated form the news was carried to Europe. Thus the minds of men were prepared for the romance growing out of the expedition of Grijalva, without making any deductions from them, and also for the report of the miraculous adventures of Cortez, which succeeded. We have already stated why there could not possibly be any gold in Yucatan—from its geological formation. But how much there was, if any, among the people, that had passed from tribe to tribe until it reached this coast, it is hard to determine. There may have been enough in the form of rude trinkets to give some color to the statement of its mineral riches.

It was, according to the chaplain of Grijalva,* the 1st day of March, 1518, but according to Bernal Diaz, the 5th day of April, that, all things being ready in the harbor of Matanzas for the sailing of the expedition, and the hour of departure fixed, the whole party attended mass with fervent devotion, and immediately afterwards weighed anchor. On the 4th of March, according to the priest, the expedition came in sight of a tower upon a promontory, opposite Cozumel. According to Diaz, they were ten days in making Cape San Antonio, and eight more in reaching Cozumel Island; having been carried a little to the south by the currents, but more probably by some error in the ship's reckoning. According to the

* The discrepancy here may be owing to the circumstance of the writer of Bernal Diaz not having had access to the journal of this chaplain, as it was published first at Paris, in 1848. But after all, it is not greater than others we constantly meet with among standard Spanish authors.

chaplain, they now sailed into the channel between Cozumel* and the main land of Yucatan, and coasted Cozumel Island; where, besides the tower which they first saw on approaching the coast, they discovered fourteen more. A canoe from the shore came to them, in which was a chief, who said he would consider it a great honor to receive a visit from the party at his village. According to Diaz, the people fled at the approach of the Spaniards, nor could any inducement they held out prevail on them to return to their homes, or the chief to visit the Spaniards; and thus, unsuccessful in their efforts to come to an understanding with the natives, they sailed away, taking with them an Indian woman of Jamaica, who, with ten others, had been wrecked on that island.

The chaplain further says, the commandant mounted a tower on this island with the standard-bearer, unfurled the flag, and took possession in the name of the king, planting the standard upon one of the façades of the tower. The ascent to this tower was by eighteen steps; the base was very massive, one hundred and eighty feet in circumference. "Within were figures, bones, and idols that they adored [?]. From these marks we supposed that they were idolaters" [a poor reason]. Then an old Indian came with a pot or vase of odoriferous perfumes, which the chaplain supposed him burning before the idols—the incense was, more probably, designed as an honor to the visitors; for Diaz† tell us, the Indians at the river Tobasco, "brought pans filled with red-hot

* Stephens's *Yucatan*, vol. II., page 367.

† *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 22.

embers, on which they strewed incense [copal?] and perfumed us all." Our chaplain, continuing his narrative, says, the old Indian, as he burned the incense, sang in a loud voice a song which was always in the same tone: "*We supposed* that he was invoking his idols." Had he known the language, he would probably have understood what it really was—a complimentary welcome to the pale-faces. On so shallow a foundation as this, rests the allegation of Indian idolatry!

Diaz informs us that the island contained three poor villages,* of which the one whose inhabitants fled at the approach of Grijalva was the largest, the two smaller were situated on a promontory, at a distance of nearly six miles. The chaplain states that, the Indians having left them alone at the temple mentioned, they entered the village, where all the houses were built of stone. "Among others, they saw five very well-made houses commanded by small towers. *The base of these edifices is very large and massive; the building is very small at the top.* They appeared to have been built a long time, but there are also modern ones."† That village, as he calls it, was paved with concave stones. The streets, elevated at the sides, descend, declining towards the middle, which was paved entirely with large stones. To judge by the edifices and houses, he says, these Indians appear to be very ingenious; and if we had a number of recent edifices we should have thought that these buildings were the works of the Spaniards!‡ He states, further, that "we pene-

* LOCKHART'S *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 32.

† STEPHENS'S *Yucatan*, vol. II., p. 369.

‡ Were not these the Phœnician "houses of the high-places?"

trated, to the number of ten men, three or four miles into the interior. There we saw edifices and habitations, separated one from another, and very well constructed." So far as these contradictory witnesses agree, and are substantially confirmed by modern research, we are bound to believe them. Let us see, then, how much we may adopt of their statements.

Human sacrifice is not now in discussion, for that idea appears not yet to have occurred to either party. With Diaz it was not good policy to suggest it, lest the question should naturally arise, why did Cortez pass over these wicked pagans to make war only on the Aztecs? It is simply inferred that the Indians are idolaters, because they followed their custom of burning copal in honor of their guests, in a chamber of a ruined temple, where there were idols still remaining! The contradiction between them, in relation to villages on the island, we can easily reconcile, by supposing those referred to by Bernal Diaz to be villages of huts constructed by Indians, while that of the chaplain may refer to a collection of antique edifices similar to those at Uxmal. As to the modern buildings among them, a thatch placed over a chamber in these ruins, convenient for a dwelling, would give to it that appearance. Stephens informs us,* that at the time of his visit the whole island was deserted, and overgrown with trees; except along the shore, or within the clearing around a solitary hut, it was impossible to move in any direction without cutting a path. He identifies the tower visited by the chaplain. It stands

* *Yucatan*, vol. II., page 372.

on a terrace, and has steps on all four of its sides. The building measures sixteen feet square. The exterior is of plain stone, but was once formerly stuccoed and painted, traces of which are still visible. South-south-east of this, near an opposite angle, in the clearing, and five or six hundred feet from the sea, stands another building, raised upon a terrace, consisting of a single apartment, twenty feet by six feet ten inches deep, having two doorways, and a back wall seven feet thick. The height is ten feet, the arch is triangular, and on the walls are the remains of painting. The above structures, and all similar ones along this coast, the reader will have no difficulty in recognising as ruined Phœnician chapels, used also for look-out stations. Near these ruins are the remains of a large Romish church, two hundred feet in length by sixty in breadth, built probably from materials taken from more ancient ruins, but now itself a ruin, deserted from the time the bucaneers drove the Spaniards from this coast. In conclusion, it may be added, the island is thirty-six miles long by six miles wide. The Indian insurrection has led to its re-occupation. It now contains a population of three hundred and fifty* inhabit-

* "The island of Cozumel, distant from this [Ascension] Bay thirty leagues, is the first point to the north-east that fixes the attention on this silent and unexplored coast, distant five leagues from the main land, of easy navigation, notwithstanding the strong currents. It is fifteen leagues in length by five in breadth, and good anchorage, free from reefs on the south, possessing water sufficiently potable, abounding in honey and mountain wax, not wanting in precious woods, such as ebony, mahogany, and above all the holy wood, or *guayacan*. It was famous, in heathen times, for its places of adoration (*adolorios*) whose ruins even now exist. . . . The abandonment of this island ought to be attributed to the dispersion which the Maya race has suffered on the continent, leaving

ants. This is all that probably ever will be known of the famous island of Cozumel, until its ancient history shall be revealed. Let us now follow Grijalva in his survey of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

The next stopping-place of the expedition was Compoton, where they suffered severely from an assault from the natives. They found the Indians drawn up in order to attack them, with their faces painted black and white, and well armed, according to their custom. When the Spaniards got near enough, the Indians let fly such a shower of arrows and lances that the half of the men were speedily wounded. As soon, however, as they got on shore, they "gave them an evil return" with matchlocks and sabres. Nothing daunted by this, the Indians selected each a man, whom they particularly aimed at with their arrows, but the Spaniards had taken the precaution to put on cotton cuirasses, which partially shielded them. "We stayed four days at this place," says Diaz, "and I shall never forget it, on account of the immense-sized locusts which we saw there. It was a stony spot on which the battle took place, and these creatures, while it lasted, kept continually flying in our faces, and as, at the same moment, we were greeted by a shower of arrows

solitary that colony in the sea, that it might have been the work of a conqueror, which has been forgotten, and only visited by some antiquary, or by some humble laborer. Not until our unfortunate days has it recovered any part of its celebrity. By offering, if not a commodious at least a secure asylum to many of our fugitive race, from the sanguinary furor of the dominant aborigines, a new village of San Martin Cozmell [has sprung up, which] numbers to-day a population of three hundred and fifty inhabitants, established with dwellings and gardens [*sembradios.*]—*Boletin de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geog. y Estadistica*, tom. III., No. 5, page 243.

from the enemy, we also mistook these locusts for arrows. But as soon as we discovered our mistake, we deceived ourselves in another more direful way, for we mistook arrows for locusts, and discontinued to shield ourselves against them"!* Clearly, then, if Bernal Diaz is worthy of credit, we have an exact measure of the force of an Indian arrow when striking an enemy, viz., equal to the force of a locust flying in their faces! They next land upon the shore of Terminus Bay, where they find no inhabitants, but temples built of stone and lime, "full of idols, made of wood and clay, with other figures [statues and paintings on the walls?] sometimes representing women, sometimes serpents, also horns of various kinds of wild animals."† In the same author's next paragraph we have the important admission that in the time of Grijalva the district was uninhabited, completely establishing our position that the connection of the Indians with these Phœnician ruins was merely accidental. "We had, however, deceived ourselves in one thing, the district being quite uninhabited. The temples, most probably, belonged to merchants and hunters who, on their journeys, ran into this harbor, and there made their sacrifices."*

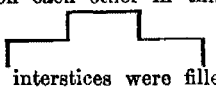
Before bidding adieu to this remarkable peninsula a second time, we cannot forbear dwelling for a moment on the mystery that now envelops that extinct race of civilized men, who made it the seat of their empire ages before the beginning of our profane history. These ruins

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 23; † *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 24. Ibid., p. 25.

have not been preserved so well as those of Egypt, as they have had to contend with a more humid climate, and a ranker vegetation. Their pyramidal structures were not so large as those of Central America, nor so high as those of Egypt; but ruins of magnificent works are more numerous here than in either of the others. Their reservoirs and artificial lakes, with other skilful arrangements to insure a supply a water in times of drought, are worthy of comparison with the best enterprises of modern times, in that direction. The size and number of these economic works,* the vastness and magnitude of the temples, convey to us an approximate idea of the density and wealth of that ancient people, who, in ages long since for-

* It was in 1836, that Señor Trego, conceiving the idea that the *aguadas*, or ponds, of Yucatan were filled up with artificial lakes or reservoirs of the ancients, he obtained the permission of government and the assistance of the *Haciendors* for leagues around, and commenced his experiments at the rancho of Voyaxche; for a portion of the time he had fifteen hundred Indians employed.

"On cleaning out the mud," says Stephens (*Yucatan*, vol. II., page 211), "he found an artificial bottom of large, flat stones. These were laid upon each other in this form,



and the interstices were filled with clay, of red and brown color, of a different character from any in the neighborhood. The stones were many layers deep, and he did not go down to the bottom lest by some accident the foundation should be injured, and the fault be imputed to him. Near the centre, in places which he indicated, he discovered four ancient wells. These were five feet in diameter, faced with smooth stone, not covered with cement, eight yards deep, and at the time of the discovery were also filled with mud. And besides these, he found along the margin four hundred pits, into which the water filtered, and which, with the wells, were intended to furnish a supply when the *aguada* should be dry." The next year being one of scarcity, more than a thousand horses and mules came to this *aguada*, with barrels on their backs, and carried away water, some from a distance of eighteen miles. Such were the *aguadas* of the ancient population of this peninsula, now covered with mud and ruins.

gotten, occupied this peninsula. Their antiquity was not so great as that of Central America, but they must have enjoyed a greater prosperity. They had a more salubrious climate, and a better position in relation to the Eastern Continent—as they had on one side the trade-wind, and on the other the Gulf-stream, to assist them in their ocean voyages. Providence preserved a goodly memorial of their fallen grandeur, until the ruthless Castilian came and overturned every one of their remaining statues, defaced their paintings and carved work; and wrought even the very stones of the ruins into new temples to a new madonna, and queen of their own superstition. Providence seems to have led the Spaniard to this peninsula, to show him the prototype of his own *religion*, and that he might witness the devastation it had wrought thousands of years before. But the lesson was unheeded; he obstinately followed his own way to the same bitter end. Again the Indian element is in the ascendant. The Great Spirit is once more adored, and copal is burned at their festivals; whilst strangely enough, the cross and the image of the Virgin still retain their position, as amulets and talismans. As they formerly built their rude cabins beside deserted Phœnician temples, so now they are erected beside the holy places of the Spaniards. The decree of extermination has gone forth, though it has not yet been fully executed.

Our voyagers had now passed beyond the limits of Yucatan, and entered the river Tobasco. There they made preparations for a new engagement with the Indians; but so disastrous a contingency was avoided by

timely negotiation. Soon after they resumed their voyage; and coasting the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, passed the mouth of the river Tonola or San Antonio, and the Guatsicualco, where they came in sight of the snow-capped Orizaba. Finally they landed at the mouth of the Bandera, or Banner River, where they bartered glass beads and other trinkets, for fifteen hundred dollars'* worth of gold dust. This trade might have proved exceedingly lucrative, had the Spaniards been satisfied with the profits of such unequal exchanges. But in the very next expedition, having killed the bird that laid the golden egg, we hear no more of Mexican gold washings. Here we have the first notice of information being sent, by means of "painted figures," such as savages would doubtless make on felt or cloth of *agave*, or *maguey*. Out of this Indian method of communicating intelligence, has grown the monstrous fabric of Aztec picture writings—a species of records that never had existence, except in the fruitful imaginations of literary gentlemen, and the famous impostor, the Monk Pietro. Here Grijalva was again fumigated with copal. Having remained at this

* Here we have another instance of the utter recklessness with which Spanish authors use numerals. In the edition of Diaz, which I am using, the value of the gold dust, obtained at this point, is set down at $1500, which, from my personal knowledge, I should say was a large sum to obtain from savages in only six days' time, when they had no previous notice or reason to expect that this opportunity for a trade would occur, there not being any city or large town in the vicinity. Yet this amount is afterwards referred to, a few pages further on in the same edition, as $16,000 (page 83), and finally we are told that the total yield of the voyage was $20,000, though it does not appear that afterwards they had any opportunity for further exchange.

spot six days, they again pursued their voyage, and soon arrived at the island of Sacrificios.

It is at this island we have the first intimation that the Indians were addicted to human sacrifice. This charge is made during the voyage of Grijalva. Neither in the former voyage nor in the present one, along the whole coast of Yucatan and Tobasco, had any such charge been brought. It is idle to say the author of Bernal Diaz is not very scrupulous, and that such a fabrication as this would aid his ulterior purpose. The very name of the island is a sufficient refutation of such an idea. The true explanation is to be found in the native cruelty of all savages, and in the tortures they often inflict on their prisoners of war. The fact that five mutilated bodies were found near the ruins of two ancient temples, or chapels, was sufficient to suggest the idea of a religious sacrifice, and, when aided by the representation upon the walls of the deserted temples, with which they had now become familiar, to confirm it. Once possessed of this, so many sinister ends would be served by its promulgation, that what at first was simply a mistake, became at last a monstrous libel on all the Indian races of New Spain. Diaz thus describes the circumstance:—"We found two houses, which were strongly built of stone and lime; both were ascended by a flight of steps, and surrounded by a species of altar, on which stood several abominable idols [statues], to whom the preceding evening five Indians had been sacrificed. Their dead bodies still lay there, ripped open, with the arms and legs chopped off, while everything near was besmeared with blood. We

contemplated this sight with utter astonishment, and gave this island the name of Sacrificios."*

From this island they removed to the main land, where they were much annoyed by mosquitoes. Ultimately the voyagers passed over to the island of *San Juan de Ulloa*, now occupied by the famous fortress that defends the city of Vera Cruz. Here, too, it is alleged human sacrifice had just been offered—the victims were two boys. But as the statement is without any confirmation, and the character of this little coral island forbids the idea of its ever having been the seat of a Phœnician temple, or a resort of Indians, for their festivals, we must be allowed to doubt the statement altogether. We regard it as the beginning of that series of invented cruelties, cunningly devised, to justify all the enormities committed by Cortez. Here Alvarado was selected to carry back to Cuba a portion of the gold they had acquired, and intelligence of the success of the voyage. The voyage was further extended to the mouth of the Panuca, and from thence to the Rio Grande, in which vicinity it was terminated by the failure of its pilots to double a boisterous cape. On their return they careened one of the vessels beside the Tonola river, where they had further success in barter, so as to make the total amount of gold acquired in this adventure amount to twenty thousand dollars.† The rest of the homeward run being without any important incident, we shall now bid adieu to Grijalva, who also

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 31.

† This amount, the reader will notice, has grown rather rapidly from $1500, without any satisfactory reason.

disappears at this time from the scene, and is succeeded by the renowned conqueror of Mexico—Cortez.

SOCIEDAD MEJICANA DE GEOGRAFIA Y ESTADISTICA.

This is an institution hardly to be expected in so distracted a capital as Mexico. It is, however, a very useful one It publishes monthly bulletins, containing reconnoissances of different portions of the Republic. By direction of Santa Anna, Don Manuel Leodo de Tegido collected me a nearly complete set of its numbers, which I have found very useful in correcting my own reconnoissances, and where I have not been personally, it has served as a guide in determining the value of the observations of others. Its statistics are usually only approximations, and are not altogether reliable, as a Spaniard is not very accurate in guessing.

DON JUAN ANTONIO LLORENTE,

Late Secretary of Inquisition, Chancellor of the University of Toledo, Knight of the Order of Charles III., &c., &c.

This distinguished personage was ordered, by the government of Spain, to complete a history of the Inquisition, from the official records, after that institution had been suppressed. His treatise, being in the nature of an official work, is necessarily dry and voluminous. His object is, of course, designed to vindicate the action of the Spanish Cortes or Parliament, before the church and the nation. It is therefore thoroughly Romish in its character, and undertakes to establish that its suppression was consistent with *piety*. A Protestant, with the same material, would have produced a very different book. I have, as usual, copied from the most common edition, that my readers may judge whether the quotations are accurate.

CHAPTER VIII.

CORTEZ INVADES MEXICO.

Hernando Cortez, 304—A miracle, 305—Cortez' life in the West Indies, 306—Cortez appointed to command an expedition, 309—Cortez sails from the Havana, 309—Robertson resuscitates Spanish myths, 310—Bernal Diaz, 313—Cortez reforming the Indian religion, 314—Antique statues overturned by Cortez, 317—A muster of forces, 317—Adieu to ancient ruins, 318—The battles at Tobasco, 319—Second and third battle, 320—A battle in which San Jago appears on a white horse, 322—How Cortez converts twenty Indian females, 323—Landing at Vera Cruz, 324—Dona Marina, 326.

NINE years before the discovery of America, at the town of Medellin, in Estramadura, the wife of Captain Martin Cortez was made glad by the birth of a son, to whom his parents gave the honorable name of Hernando, Ferdinand. As he grew in years, he proved to be a lad of quick parts and reckless disposition. At fourteen he was sent to the University, where he gave more attention to light literature than to Latin, and made such poor progress, that, at the end of two years, he left,* an unsuccessful student—a mortification to his friends, and a burden to himself. He had, however, acquired there that taste for romance, which, in after time, gave color and tone to his famous letters to the emperor. He remained with his parents a

* "He showed little fondness for books, and after loitering away two years at college, returned home, to the great chagrin of his parents."—PRESCOTT, vol. I., p. 231.

year, exhibiting those habits of profligacy which, at the close of the civil wars, were so common at the Spanish universities, that morality was an almost obsolete idea. The army is the usual alternative for such spirits, and to the army his friends had gladly sent him, but he chose another field; one subject to less restraint than the camp—the New World. He had sailed with Ovando, but climbing to a woman's chamber, the wall gave way and fell upon him, unfitting him for the sea at that time.* This escapade was considered an unusual affair for a youth of seventeen, even in Spain!† Two years later—1504—his bruises, but not his morals, healed; he took, however, his departure, to the great relief of his friends.

With this voyage began a series of apocryphal miracles, that checker his whole future career. A reformation was not the first. At the early age of nineteen he seems to have outstripped the healing power of the sacred images. The mishap in his native city in nowise damped his ardor for disreputable adventures, or, in fashionable

* Gomora,—for the worst of men have chaplains,—says, "*to speak with a lady.*"

"He was scaling a high wall, one night, which gave him access to a lady with whom he had an intrigue, the stones gave way, and he was thrown down with much violence, and buried under the ruins."—PRESCOTT, vol. I., p. 232.

† The standard of morality in Romish as well as in Protestant countries has been gradually rising from the "lowest depths" it had reached in the fifteenth century. Protestants, who do not understand the social organization of Romish society, are shocked at the official announcements of the illegitimate births in the best-conditioned Romish countries of Europe. Such statistics simply indicate the poverty of the mass of the people, and their inability to employ a priest to solemnize their marriages. Many evils, doubtless, grow out of it, but it is unavoidable; people will be married "behind the church," so long as the priest insists upon extortionate fees.

phrase, for gallantry.* His notoriety in this respect, even in the West Indies, was far from enviable; and yet upon this scapegrace the Virgin is reputed to have lavished her favors. In Protestant countries, the name of the third person of the Trinity is never pronounced but with profound reverence; among Romanists, however, *Santo Espiritu* is used with the same levity as that of any of the saints of their calendar. In this vein we are told, that the master of the vessel, in which Cortez had taken passage, losing his reckoning, a dove, claimed to personify the Holy Ghost, flew from the island of San Domingo, and lit upon the rigging, thus indicating the direction to be taken.

Our hero was highly favored by the governor, who readily assigned him a plantation and stock of Indian slaves—*repartimientos*,† conferring upon him also the honorable office of *escribano*, or civil law notary. But this responsible judicial position did not in anywise prevent his indulging those vices he had brought from Spain, and many an encounter and wound were the result. This was, however, before Protestant morality had an existence, and long before it made itself felt in Romish countries. Europe had just been devastated by a pestilence, propa-

* "The story of his early life now becomes very confused, as is naturally the case with that of any man who rises to great eminence, and who was connected with some ambiguous transactions."—PRESCOTT. That is modest! equal to Gomora—"climbing a wall *to speak* to a lady."

† What the system of task-labor imposed on the Indians was, prior to the new laws, we do not know. There was such irregularity in this respect, that the safest way is to consider them simply as slaves, which doubtless was their true condition.

gated by popular vices, as our chronicler informs us;* and Spain, the most demoralized of all its states, was at that time a very lazar-house of corruption.† The Inquisition, all powerful against the liberties of the country, was unequal to a contest with licentiousness. It undertook to correct the morals of the clergy of Seville, and called upon the ladies there to denounce the crimes of their confessors. But this decree excited such commotion it had to be suppressed.‡ Vice was more powerful than that

* " . . . Over common, then, in Spain, and elsewhere, which nevertheless chastise the world in such sort, but that this sinne is at this day more in use than ever it was, to the dishonor of our God, contempt of his laws, and confusion of all good order. The Spaniards, in recompense for this evil brought from the Indies, carried thither the king's evil, and madness by the biting of dogges."—GRIMSHAW, page 948 (D.)

"These troopes of Spaniards, among other memorable matters, brought the great plague into Italy, wherewith they of the country were soon possessed, and did communicate it to the Frenchmen, who were scattered here and there in the kingdom of Naples, and they afterwards brought it on to this side of the mounts [the Alps], and did distribute it to their neighboring nations, so as this disease, being indeed of [the West] Indies," &c.—*Ibid.*, page 952 (C.)

† "Great was the king and queen's toyle, in ordering the peace and quiet of the countrey of Andalusia, for the people thereof were so given over to all manner of villanies, as if they had not used their meekenesse and clemencie, the citties and towns would have been voyd, and empty of people, for it is most certain that this year and the former there went of Sevile and Cordova above 8000 men, tainted of notorious crimes, who left the country for fear of punishment.

"It happened, about the same time, that Don Rodrigo de Vergera, Bishop of Leon, caused Pedro Vaca, treasurer of his church, to be slain in the same cittie, whose death his friends and kindfolkes did revenge by the death of the bishop, who assayled him in his own house.

"In the town of Tontourjuna, the inhabitants did kill with stones D. Hernand Gomes de Guzman, great commander of Calatrava, for outrages and tyrannies he had done to them." —GRIMSHAW, page 872.

‡ "Several scandalous discoveries having been made by private investigation, and the public clamor increasing, the Inquisition of Seville came to a resolution of which they had reason to repent, that an edict of denunciation should be published in all the churches of the province, requiring, under severe penalty, those who had been solicited by priests in the

terrible tribunal, though backed by the whole power of the state. Thus much should be said of Cortez in mitigation. He was no worse than the average of his day; and neither his vices nor his employments were allowed to consume his entire time. From continued conflicts with his savage neighbors, he became an expert hunter of Indians, and a finished ranger. Thus, in San Domingo, he acquired that knowledge and those methods by which war is successfully prosecuted against the aborigines of this hemisphere. This he afterwards perfected in Cuba, while acting as a subaltern under Velasquez. He then became a leader of the Cuban malcontents, and was in consequence imprisoned and placed in irons. Notwithstanding two unsuccessful escapes, at last, in desperation, he forced his way into the very presence of Velasquez, with whom he had the good fortune to effect a reconciliation. When the guards came to their master, to announce this third outbreak of their prisoner, they found Cortez actually in bed with Velasquez. At least it is so stated by his biographer and chaplain, Gomora.* Our hero now married a lady whom he had formerly jilted—an act gratifying to Velasquez—and again devoted himself to a plantation life. After receiving the grant of an estate near Santiago, he became a magistrate, or alcalde, of that

confessional to criminal intercourse, or who knew of it having been done, to give information to the Holy Office within thirty days. In consequence of this intimation, such numbers flocked to the Triana that the Inquisitors were forced to prolong the period of denunciation until it extended to one hundred and twenty days. The priests were thrown into the greatest confusion, the peace of families was broken, and the whole city rang with scandal."—MONTANUS, 184–188.

* GOMORA, *Chron.*, chap. 4.

city. There we must leave him for a season, having run over the prominent points of his biography, to return to Grijalva and the survey of the Gulf coast.

The result of the expeditions of Cordova and Grijalva had not damped the spirit of speculation in Velasquez. Before the return of the second, the note of preparation for a third was sounded. Dissatisfied with Grijalva's apparent want of energy, he turned, but not without hesitation, to Cortez, whose daring and restless spirit had so much disturbed his government in Cuba. The present enterprise, though fitted out like others, as a joint commercial speculation, it was designed to turn into a military one, if the royal permission could be had.

The man Velasquez selected for his captain was a bolder spirit than even he anticipated. One who fully understood, that royal favor waits upon success; and that kings never reject the sovereignty of rich provinces, however irregularly acquired. The value of present gold to an embarrassed emperor, and promises of further aid, he argued, would blind him to any trespass upon his rights. This well known weakness of princes led him, even without a license, to put to sea. He even sailed from the Havana in contempt of an official prohibition. It was the part of a desperate gambler, and he won; but he probably would not, if the alternative of punishment had not goaded his resolution. Steering his little fleet in the track of Grijalva, it was carried by the accident of currents, or a misreckoning, to the south of Cape Catoche, so that the land was made inside the island of Cozumel, and there begin the adventures of Cortez.

We called the discovery of Yucatan and its ruins the second act in this drama. The third now opens before us, more unreal in its facts, than the Arabian tales themselves, yet was it once received as history; subsequently discarded as a myth, and sinking into contempt,* near the close of the last century it was resuscitated by Robertson, *a Presbyterian minister!* Not content with the injury done to the cause of godliness, by aiding that of patronage, he travelled to Spain in search of *religious* heroes to exhibit still further his proclivities. In his hands, the gluttonous Charles V. dies almost a saint, and a pattern of abstinence.† Next the musty records of a discarded imposture are hunted up and adopted as historical verities, though those "who have resided long in New Spain, and had visited every part of it," assured him, there was not in all its extent, any monu-

* Robertson, and other persons, equally ignorant of the operation of Spanish institutions, have inquired how such statements could possibly pass uncontradicted.

There are two kinds of contradiction: one in private circles and in general terms, which is soon forgotten; the other in detail, which must be in writing, to have any effect. To have done the latter, in regard to a book that had received the ghostly license, would have cost the contradictor a roasting at a slow fire, an *auto de fe.*

The intelligent people of Spain and Mexico fully understood the character of their published books.

The only evidence we can have on this point is and must necessarily be purely negative. The argument running through Dupaix' notes, combatting a disbelief in ancient Aztec civilization, clearly indicates that such unbelief generally existed.

† "His appetite was excessive, rivalling that of Louis XIV., or Frederick the Great, or any other royal *gourmand,* whose feats are recorded in history. The pertinacity with which he gratified it, under all circumstances, amounts to a trait of character."—PRESCOTT'S *Charles V.,* vol. III., p. 367.

ment, or vestige of any building, more ancient than the conquest.* The honorable position of Robertson and the example of so prominent a divine became contagious. It was followed, among historians, by eulogies on the Romish missions, while the more successful efforts of Protestants in the same direction, were entirely ignored. The author, in his wanderings, has seen much of the missions of both professions, and in every instance he has found the same marked distinction between the two creeds, as between Protestant and Romish Europe,† or the prosperous villages of New England, and the squalid abodes of Lower Canada.‡ Having sacrificed the best interests of

* Note 154 to ROBERTSON'S *America*. —Robertson wrote before the surveys of Phœnician ruins, by Dupaix, were known in Europe. He was contemporary with the Jesuit Clavigero, but had the start of that impostor.

† After hearing an account of the wretched condition of our own tribe, the Massasaugus, before their conversion, I had occasion to visit their village. A simple-hearted Methodist preacher had been there before me, laboring for many years. He was a pattern of godliness and industry; and his labors had not, by any means, been in vain. Instead of vermin and rags, and every other filthy abomination, which I had been led to expect, I found the people clothed, and in their right minds. I have never, before or since, seen so neat and orderly an Indian village. I felt proud of my adopted kindred.

Shortly after this I chanced to be amongst those Iroquois, who were converted to Romanism in the time of James II., and led away by the Jesuits to Lower Canada, and planted at St. Regis and *Cochanawagah*. I remonstrated with the agent at his allowing them to remain in such barbarism and degradation. His reply was, It was not his fault; he had often established schools among them, but the priest had uniformly broken them up. The contrast between the Stockbridge Indians of Wisconsin and the Pottawatomies of Kansas, I found equally striking. I speak of the Indians of the full-blood. And I call every experienced traveller to witness if I have over-stated the case the scruple of a hair.

‡ The whitewash on the huts of the French peasants give them a fine appearance at a distance, but within all is a blank, except in a few villages of Protestant converts, where all is cleanliness and thrift.

his own church, Dr. Robertson devoted—is it possible!—seven years of his life* in weaving an apocryphal history

* What could the man have been about all that time? An agent would procure all those books and MSS. in three months! The point we make against Robertson is, that he discarded the testimony of living witnesses, whose character he himself endorses, and adopts in their stead, as historic authorities, the cast-off literary fabrications, concocted under the supervision of Inquisitors! Mr. Prescott having obtained copies of the most important Simanca papers, of Ximenes' collection, supposes them a new discovery, of great value. Doubtless they are; his agents did not fail to represent them to him in the most exalted terms, to enhance the value of their services according to the Spanish custom.

The misfortune of Mr. Prescott, first and last, is his inability to make a personal research, so that we can derive no benefit from his integrity and excellent personal character. Here is the difficulty we encounter in all his literary labors. He has to take things on trust.

Cardinal Ximenes [Jimines] was not only Regent of Spain before the arrival of Charles V., but was also Inquisitor-general of the kingdom, and one of the most blood-thirsty of that whole race of monsters.

"During the eleven years of his ministry (which ended with his death, 1517), Cisneros (Ximenes) permitted the condemnation of 52,855 individuals, 3564 were burnt in person, 1232 in effigy, and 4832 suffered different punishments. Although the number of executions is immense, yet it must be acknowledged that Cisneros had taken measures to relax the activity of the Inquisition." The motive of this is explained on the same page, and by the same author. "Ximenes de Cisneros began to exercise his new employment [Inquisitor-general], on the 1st October, 1506, when the conspiracy against the Holy Office had become almost general, on account of the events at Cordova, of which the Council of Castile took cognisance. All its members who had been of the party of Philip I., signalized themselves by their hatred against the Inquisition. This aversion made Ximenes de Cisneros feel the necessity of conducting himself with extreme caution, that he might not give occasion for a general convocation of the Cortez, which would have deprived him of the high office of governor of the kingdom, which he then possessed."—LLORENTE (abridged), page 35.

This is the monster who had himself written down a great statesman, and a patron of literature! And so he appears in the pages of Prescott. This wretch became so immensely rich, by his Inquisitorial plundering, that to reinstate his popularity he fitted out a powerful *armada* against the Moors of Africa at his own expense.

This is the founder of the Samanca collection of papers. Any one who will carefully examine them will see that hardly a single paper has been put into this collection that does not, in some way, reflect glory on the

from a collection of monkish tales, whose alleged facts a careful examination would have shown to be physical contradictions. The manuscripts and printed books necessary to the task, required an expenditure rather of money than of time. But he seems wholly to have neglected to investigate the influence of Spanish despotism upon its literature; otherwise, we should have to charge the reverend compiler, with concealing the circumstances under which those narratives upon which he relies were written—whose authors were little more than the amanuenses of *Superiors, Qualificators,* Inquisitors,* and Royal Councillors.

We pointed out these difficulties when treating of the annals which purport to be written by Bernal Diaz, in which there are striking marks of the counterfeit instead of the common soldier. Though exceedingly minute in

church, or show the royal approval of the Inquisition.

The monk, Strada, must have consulted them in the composition of his history of the Low Country Wars. See pages 3 and 6 (STAPLETON'S *Translation,* London, 1650), though he does not call the papers by that name. The Glanville papers are not alone his authorities.

Robertson's convent life of Charles V. is almost literally taken from Strada. He hoped it was true, as it exactly answered his purpose, enabling him to wind up his history with a *pious* flourish!

* "The abuse of the prohibitions of books, commanded by the Inquisition, is one cause of the ignorance which prevails over the greatest part of this nation. . . . . According to the bulls which created the holy office, the bishops are joint judges in the affairs which depend on that tribunal. Why then have these natural judges of all discussions which may arise on matters of faith and the morals of the faithful, no part or influence in the prohibition of books and the choice of qualifiers?"—*Report of King's* (Charles III.) *Procurators to the Council of Castile.*

"In the year 1558, the terrible law of Philip II. was published, which decreed the punishment of death and confiscation for all those who should sell, buy, keep, or read, the books prohibited by the holy office."—LLORENTE (abridgment), *Secretary to the Inquisition,* page 44.

detail, its statements are often irreconcilable with each other, with those of the chaplain of Grijalva, as lately published, and the unsuppressed portion of Cortez' letters.* The work would fain seem to have been written designedly, to snatch from the last some of the glory he had assumed, which justly belonged to his companions.† But the real effect is, in truth, to sustain in its more credible parts the narrative it assails, which was then manifestly falling into contempt.‡ Thus he says "for everything in which he [Cortez] concerned himself went well, particularly in regard to making peace with the tribes, or inhabitants of these countries. This the reader will find fully confirmed in the course of my history."§ But we may safely follow Diaz in unimportant particulars, as the work appears to be a digest of former publications and manuscripts to which that author seems to have had access, and presents a fair picture of the Romish superstition, as personified in its champion.

Let us now consider Cortez as a *religious* reformer! But

* The reader must bear in mind that the published letters—or despatches of Cortez, as they are called—begin with the second of the series; the first being wholly suppressed. So, too, Las Cases' account ends with the landing of Cortez at Vera Cruz.

† "With him [Gomara] every circumstance is made to turn to the glory and honor of Cortez, while no mention is made of the other brave officers and soldiers: but, the partiality of this author is sufficiently seen from the circumstance of his having dedicated his work to the present Marquis del Valle, the son of Cortez, and not to His Majesty the king."—*Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 42.

‡ He is equally bad whenever he writes about the magnitude of the towns, and number of the inhabitants; in which, whenever it suits him, he does not, for instance, hesitate a moment to put eight thousand, for eight. In the same way he mentions the extensive buildings we were stated to have commenced.—*Ibid.*, page 39.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. I., page 57.

such only among Indians. He begins his career of apostleship to the Virgin, according to Diaz, at Cozumel, among the ruined Phœnician chapels—on truncated pyramids.* By means of a Jamaica Indian woman, who had wandered thither, and one Malchorego from Cape Catouche, he induced the Indians to return to their homes, and soon a loving intimacy sprang up between the two races. One

* Mount Sinai is a naturally truncated pyramid in the chain of Horeb. Whether the worship on "high places" existed before the advent of Israel, or whether it arose from an idolatrous desire to imitate the scenes of Sinai by Israelites themselves, as the *Mass* does that of the New Dispensation, must be left to conjecture. Certain it is, that the worship of Canaanites, Phœnicians, and of idolatrous Israelites, had this common characteristic—that it was offered on high places.

In the time of David and Solomon, JEHOVAH was irregularly worshipped upon these "high places;" and the fair construction of 1 Kings iii. 4, and 1 Chron. i. 3, is that the tabernacle of Moses was pitched upon "the great high place" at Gibeon, as it could have been pitched upon that of Cholula, or Copan.

To draw the people from this worship on high places, seems to have been one of the motives for building the temple at Jerusalem. But it seems to have resulted in their being turned to the idolatrous uses to which the Canaanites applied them.

These high places may have been of three kinds. 1. Natural hills, shaved off and truncated, like Cholula; 2. Artificial truncated mounds of earth; and lastly, artificial mounds of stone.

On the top of each there may have been a chapel; and within the wall that enclosed this *sacred* structure, were doubtless the houses of the priests and the *religious*—"the houses of the high places." The sacred groves, too, may have been planted within this enclosure; and the name sacred grove may have been applied to the whole establishment, including pyramidal buildings, as well as trees; for nothing but stone can be reduced to powder by burning and stamping, as in 2 Kings xxiii. 6, 15.

All this can be clearly made out from the present appearance, and the early Spanish accounts of the sacred pyramids, chapels, and buildings about them in Yucatan. There was nothing of this sort at the city of Mexico, when the Spaniards arrived; and the fact of their locating one there, clearly proves that they must have had an original out of which to fabricate so exact a copy.

It is these pyramidal chapels, and their surroundings, which more than all else we identify as strictly Phœnician.

morning the Spaniards discovered the place where the abominable idols—the antique statues?—stood was covered with Indians and their wives. They were burning a species of resin—copal?—"which very much resembled our incense, after which an old Indian mounted to the top of the temple and preached a sermon to the Indians"—this was probably some annual festival. Cortez, through his interpreters, learned the substance of the discourse, "and *that all he had been saying tended to ungodliness;*" whereupon he ordered the chiefs and principal men into his presence. After informing them they must give up sacrificing to these idols! "which were no gods but evil beings by which they were led into error, and their souls sent to Hell, he presented them with an image of the Virgin and the cross, which he desired them to put up instead. These, he said, would prove a blessing to them at all times, make their seeds grow, and preserve their souls from eternal perdition. This and many other things respecting our holy religion, Cortez explained to them in a very neat and excellent manner."* This is the first recorded instance of a pirate teaching the faith—teaching idolatry to worshippers of the Great Spirit! Then Cortez "commanded the idols"—the antique statues?—"to be pulled down, and to be broken to pieces, which was accordingly done without any further ceremony;" then "a very pretty altar was constructed, on which we placed the image of the holy Virgin," at the same time two of the carpenters make a cross of wood. Then Juan Diaz said mass. Thus was a new superstition inaugu-

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 61.

rated. How much superior was it to that of the Phœnicians?

We are at no loss to ascertain what those "idols" were, thus thrown down by Cortez, in his newly-awakened zeal. Stephens, in describing a ruined pyramidal chapel visited by him on this island, says: "In the doorway are two columns, making three entrances, with square recesses above them, all of which once contained ornaments; and in the centre one, fragments of a *statue* still remaining, viz., built into the wall, like the overturned Palenque statue." That is, Cortez destroyed the memorial of the ancient Madonna and her cross; and set up the statue of the Spanish Madonna and her emblem! Stephens says further: "These buildings"—ruins—"were identically the same with those on the mainland; if we had seen hundreds, we could not have been more firmly convinced that they were all erected and occupied by the same people."* The reader will see that against the Indians there is no allegation, as yet, of human sacrifice. It is simply charged that they held a meeting in one of the chambers of a deserted temple, and there burned copal; and that afterwards, an old man—according to custom—addressed them from an elevated position! All in keeping with their practice. There may have been another object in this suppression—Cortez may have reserved this fearful charge, to justify his cruelties to the Aztecs.

After this exhibition, a muster of the forces took place. There were present five hundred and eight men, not

* STEPHENS'S *Yucatan*, vol. II., page 375.

including pilots and mariners; one hundred and nine sailors; sixteen horses, trained equally for war or the tournament. A squadron of eleven vessels also, including a small brigantine. Of the land forces, thirty-three were cross-bowmen, and thirteen musketeers; besides the above, the array possessed four small cannon, called falconets,* with a good supply of gunpowder and ball. To give a color of *religion* to their expedition, the party carried with them a banner bearing an effigy of the cross.† Diaz says it bore an image of the Virgin;‡ and accordingly a bright damask satin one has been fabricated and placed in the Museum at Mexico, duly certified to have been this original standard of Cortez! One vessel leaking, the whole fleet returned. The disabled craft, however, was soon discharged, refitted, and ready for sea. While so engaged, Aguilar, a Spaniard who had been long detained a prisoner on the neighboring coast, came over to them, and proved most useful as an interpreter. The first service he rendered, was to advise the Indians of the island "*to honor the image of the holy Virgin and cross* we had set up, *as they would prove a blessing to them.*"§ So, after an interval of some thousand years, the adoration of the Queen of Heaven and her emblem was reintroduced at Cozumel.

Things being in readiness, they weighed anchor, and sailed a second time. At first, with a favorable wind; but in the night they experienced a heavy blow by which the *Velasquez de Leon* was separated from the rest of the fleet, and ran under the shelter of the Women's Promontory—

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 51.
† FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 54.
‡ *Diaz*, vol. I., page 51.
§ *Ibid.*, page 65.

*La Punta de las Mugeres**—so called from the numerous statues found there, in four large temples, mostly of women, viz., the Queen of Heaven? Resuming their voyage, they soon reached Terminus Bay, where a *dog* was recovered that had been left by Grijalva's expedition. The little squadron then continued its course to the mouth of the Tobasco river without delay; where we must linger, to bid adieu to those vestiges of an extinct empire, of which we shall hear no more, save as we touch, it may be, an occasional outpost in our subsequent adventures. The course followed by those ancient navigators across the Atlantic, to the Bay of Honduras, appears to have been that of the trade-winds. Near to that bay, lie the ruins of Copan. From thence they would naturally hug the coast, and double Cape Catouche, making sufficient westing to "fetch" the Gulf-stream. With that current, they swept past the points of Florida; and having reached the latitude of the variable winds, recrossed the ocean somewhere in the neighborhood of thirty degrees. Such a navigation, coasts the region which contains the greater portion of those remains we have so often referred to, and so often described.

The Indians of Tobasco, it is said, being reproached for their want of courage by the Yucatecos, in allowing Grijalva to land upon their shores, and for holding friendly intercourse with the pale-faces, to wipe away the stigma, made that hostile demonstration which Cortez met. All efforts to obtain their consent to a peaceful landing having failed, dispositions were made to assault the village.

* *Bulletin de Sociedad Mejicana de Geografia, &c.*

Some difficulty was experienced at first in obtaining a foothold on the shore, during which many were wounded by arrows and darts. Cortez himself, Diaz gravely informs us,* *lost one of his shoes!* At length the cannon and other fire-arms drove the enemy behind their barricades. When the first of these was carried they retreated behind a second, and there still made a brave resistance, but were at length entirely driven out. In this bloody affair the natives had eighteen killed, and the Spaniards fourteen wounded.† We have taken the liberty of deducting a cipher from the twelve thousand who Bernal Diaz says were engaged.‡ Such a body of undisciplined Indians could hardly be three times routed, in a stoutly contested action, by an enemy employing cannon and musketry, with the loss of only eighteen!

Two parties, of one hundred each, were immediately despatched to the interior, one commanded by *Alvarado*, who afterwards played a distinguished part in the war, the other by *Francisco de Lugo*. The first had fifteen, and the other twelve crossbowmen and musketeers in their respective commands. After advancing four miles, *De Lugo* was met by an overwhelming force, and compelled to retreat until *Alvarado* came to his relief. Their united forces then drove the assailants back, and in the end, when the whole strength led by Cortez himself arrived, put them to the route. In this second skirmish the Indians had fifteen killed, while but two fell, and eight only were wounded, on the side of the Spaniards.§ These figures

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 70.
† *Ibid.*, vol. I., page 71.
‡ *Ibid.*, page 68.
§ *Ibid.*, page 76.

indicate a small number of combatants on either side, and that the contests were rather trivial encounters than battles. It was manifestly but bush-fighting, and in this Cortez and his companions, from the wars of Cuba and San Domingo, had become adepts. If the reader should, in fact, reduce the number of Indians from twelve thousand to five hundred, he would probably be near the true amount; and this is a very large force, too, for savages suddenly to collect. We have here no other authority than that of Diaz, and he does not describe these engagements as one would who was personally familiar with their scenes.

We now approach the first of that long series of apocryphal miracles which adorn this expedition. The sixteen horses landed, caparisoned and ornamented with trappings and bells, the little army was again led forth. The Indians this time received them in certain open fields planted with beans. In these bean plantations the enemy was so numerous, says Diaz, that each one of us would have three hundred to contend with,* a large number to stand within the limits of "certain bean fields:" viz., three hundred times five hundred, or one hundred and fifty thousand in one body! This battle, it is said, was long and sharply contested, until the arrival of the ten horses. Then the enemy, who had never before beheld such animals, gave way,† leaving over eight hundred of their number dead upon the field! As it is claimed that the chief execution was done by the sword, and that the battle lasted about an hour, the number slain is not extra-

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 75.

† *Ibid.*, page 76.

ordinarily large. But passing over the improbability of Indians standing up to a hand-to-hand fight with expert swordsmen, we find, on close inspection of the different accounts, it was only a skirmish in an open wood "planted with beans." The event of the day was the interposition of supernatural agency; in this, however, the narrators are at variance, as usual. The letter of Cortez covering this portion of the war, having been suppressed, we have to decide between the claims of *San Jago*, as advocated by *Gomora*, and those of the Virgin, by Bernal Diaz. We have thus far been enabled to adjust the discrepancies of the Spanish chroniclers in mere sublunary matters; but contests over the merits of patron saints, in determining the events of a battle, we may as well acknowledge at once, transcend our ability. Whether the volatile *San Diego**

* As the reader may be a little anxious to know something of this St. James, who has so long presided over the destinies of Spaniards, I here give him the whole story.

"To this is added the finding out of the sepulchre of the Apostle St. James, neere unto Iria, by the bishop of that place, called Theodemir, at the relation of two men—which the Historie of Compostella, in Latin, calls *Personatos*, that is to say, masked—who said they had seene angels and torches about the place where his bodie was found, in a coffin of marvle, in a wood, in the year 797, whereat the Spaniards themselves do much wonder, seeing they find no mention in their Histories of St. James' Sepulchre in Spaine, in all the time which passed since his death unto the reign of this Alphonso. . . . . It was revealed at that time by such apparitions to Theodemir, who believed it to be the verie bodie of St. James [doubtful]; and so persuaded the King Don Alphonso, who was wonderfull joyfull thereof, and built a temple, endowing it with great revenues, taking this manifestation for a singular favor of God. The Spaniards have since made him their Patron and Protector of their country—calling on him in all their necessities, especially in the war. Neighboring princes were amazed at this relic; for we read that *Charlemagne* (in whose time Don Alphonso began to reign), being advertised of this invention [finding], posted thither, and afterwards obtained from Pope Leo IV., sitting at Rome, that the Episcopal Sea of Iria should be removed to Compostella."—GRIMSHAW, page 179 (E).

did actually appear riding on a gray horse, or whether it was "the ever present Virgin" who routed the Tobasco warriors, must go down to posterity an open question. Having rested themselves under some trees which stood upon the field, our warriors then praised God *and the Virgin*, and thanked them with uplifted hands for the complete victory they had granted us.* After this exhibition of polytheism among the Spaniards, we are little surprised that they discovered the pre-existence of their own religion in Yucatan. It was to them a constant source of wonder, and to it they continually recurred. Presuming their own superstition to be Christianity, they fancied they saw in its unmistakable prototype the evidence that an apostle had been here. An hypothesis so absurd has not failed to tickle the fancy of at least one Protestant author, who boasts of the patronage of the king of Prussia, and dedicates to the archbishop of Canterbury.

Here Cortez again exhibited his *religious* zeal, but in entire accordance with his previous life. Twenty women were delivered to these invaders, as part of a peace offering from the people of Tobasco. Before allowing them, however, to be appropriated by his soldiery, he had them duly baptized. The new-made *Christians* were then distributed among his officers, as trophies of the *Virgin's* victory! Among these women was *Malinche*, afterwards known as *Marina*, who fell to the lot of *Puerto Carrero*. This man abandoning her on his return to Europe, she was taken by Cortez to himself. By him she bore a son,

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 76.

Don Martin Cortez. Afterwards Cortez married her to *Juan Javamillo* of *Orozaba.* This unfortunate woman enjoyed the distinguished *honor* of being the first convert from the Aztec race. She proved faithful to the Spaniards in the war against her own people, and extremely useful as an interpreter. A great amount of romance, and some poetry, has been associated with this child of misfortune—such we must ever regard Malinche—which we shall refer to hereafter. Woman's life in a savage state, is a hard one, even in time of prosperity; but, when war comes, in the hands of a merciless enemy, her fate is too often more deplorable than death itself. Marina was not exempt from the common lot, whether we regard her as a person of low birth or of noble rank.

We have still another exhibition of devotion to the Virgin, in impressing the importance of her adoration upon the Indians of Tobasco; related, of course, by Diaz. "We prayed before the cross, and kissed it," says he, "the caciques and Indians all the while looking on. We now took our leave, and Cortez repeatedly recommended them to take care of the image of the Holy Virgin and the cross; and to hold the chapel in reverence, in order that salvation and blessings might come to them."* So might a Phœnician rover have addressed their ancestors three thousand years before, after setting up the Phœnician Madonna and cross in one of the ancient chapels there; and with about the same amount of Christianity. But we must here add, in vindication of Cortez, our conviction that he never uttered one word of all this *piety*

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 38.

and *religion* ascribed to him by monks and zealots, who wrote history but to illustrate the doctrines of their faith, and to show the Indias were the peculiar dominion of the Virgin. As Cortez coasted along, in the track of Grijalva, he passed the mouths of the San Antonio and Coatzacoalco, coming, as before, in sight of the snow-capped Orizaba, and the smaller San Martin. Afterwards the split rock, called the Chair from its peculiar form, excited attention. Then came the river Alvarado, and further on the Bandera—where the fifteen hundred dollars' worth of gold dust had been obtained, afterwards stated at sixteen thousand dollars; then passing the islands Blanca, Verde, and Sacrificios, the voyage terminated at *San Juan de Uloa.* It was while passing the mouth of the Alvarado, *Puerto Carrero* exclaimed:

> "*Cata Francia, Montesinos!*
> *Cata Paris, la ciudad*
> *Cata las aguas de Duero,*
> *Do van a dar en la mar!*"*

To which Cortez, as familiar with the tales of chivalry as the author of Don Quixote, responded: "If God will grant us that good fortune in arms which he gave Rolan, the Paladin, then with your assistance, and that of the other gentlemen cavaliers, we shall succeed in everything else."† The disembarkation on the main was effected on a Friday, a day which the Romish church has set apart for the adoration of the cross; the landing-place thence

* A liberal translator thus renders these lines:

> "Montesinos cast a glance
> On your lands, the soil of France;
> See how the Duro's sportive motion,
> Carries its waters to the ocean!"

† *Diaz*, vol. I., page 83.

took the name of *Vera Cruz*, which it bears to this day. And now we have arrived at the beginning of that war, which ended in the conquest of Mexico.

We shall conclude with the apocryphal history of Dona Marina. As a Scripture turn makes a fable appear plausible, Marina is represented as a female Joseph, sold by her own kindred into slavery. She made the campaign of Mexico, however, in company with Cortez, in the twofold capacity of interpreter and mistress; also as a spy, her thorough knowledge of Indian character especially adapting her to the last office. As her services rose in importance, so did her pedigree. It was finally discovered to be noble; and though once disposed of as a slave at *Jicalango*, and resold at Tobasco, she became, providentially, the property of the Spaniards, who discovered her exalted rank. The war over, Cortez took her with him in his long land journey through the south-eastern provinces of New Spain. Arriving at *Coatzacualco*, he summoned the surrounding chiefs to council. On this occasion, the stepmother and half-brother of Marina appeared, to demand confirmation in the inheritance which had been the means of her enslavement. Greatly, however, were they troubled when they beheld their victim in the person of the conqueror's mistress. But she played her part so well as to merit almost the title of saint.* "Dona Ma-

* MALINCHE.—Since I was last here [Puebla], a bronze equestrian statue has been set up in the Grand Plaza. It is a bronze woman, sitting quietly and easily upon a furious bronze horse. The horse is in a terrible state of excitement, but the woman is not alarmed in the least; for she seems to be well aware that it is only make-believe passion, badly executed in bronze. Who could this woman be but Malinche, or Marina,

rina," says Diaz, "however, desired them to dry away their tears;* and comforted them by saying, they were unconscious of what they were doing when they sent her away to the inhabitants of *Jicolango*, and that she freely forgave the past."

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the Indian mistress of Cortez—a fit patroness of the women of Puebla? She was the first convert that Cortez ever made to Christianity; and her sort of Christianity is not unusual in Mexico. That beautiful cone that rises so majestically out of the plain between Puebla and Tlascala, bears the name of Malinche; but as this name was applied to her paramour as well as to herself, an additional testimonial, in the form of a bronze statue, was deemed requisite; for she is considered here as almost a saint, and would be altogether such if she had not been the mother of children, and ended her career by getting married. That act of getting married—not her former life—rendered her unfit for a saint; for how could an honest housewife be a saint? She might have been the best of mothers and the best of wives, and have performed scrupulously the duties that God had assigned to her upon earth; but she was lacking in romance, in those aerial materials from which saints are made. Saints are made in damp, cold prison-cells, where, in the midst of self-inflicted misery, they see visions, dream dreams, and perform cures upon crowds as deluded as themselves.

* Indians do not weep in anticipation of suffering. This idea of begging them to dry their tears, is a Spanish imported idea—not belonging to the aborigines.

CHAPTER IX.

CORTEZ SETTLES AFFAIRS AT VERA CRUZ, AND MARCHES TO TLASCALA.

The character of Montezuma, 328—His administration and policy, 329—Tradition of the coming pale-faces, 330—The Indian presents and their quality, 331—The religion propagated by the Spaniards, 333—Indian idolatry and cannibalism explained, 334—The real and apocryphal Indian presents, 336—The picture writings and the soldier's casque, 337—How Cortez was appointed Captain-General, 338—Cortez moves to Sempoalla, and his missionary zeal, 339—The fleet moved to *oldest* Vera Cruz, 341—Expedition to Tzinpantzinco, 342—Cortez acts the diplomatist, 342—Cortez and others obtain each a squaw, 342—Cortez exhibits his zeal for religion, 344—Cortez sends agents and presents to Charles V., 346—The council of the Indias on Cortez, 347—The emperor favors Cortez, 348—An attempted piracy, 349—Did Cortez or a tornado strand his vessels, 349—The march to the interior, 351—The scenery peculiarly American, 352—Its extraordinary beauty, 353—The rapidity of Cortez' marches, 354—The real merit of Cortez, 355—Cortez crossing the high mountain, 355—March across the barren land, 358—The country through which Cortez marches, 359.

THE material for buccaneering or piracy has never been wanting in the West Indies. It came with Columbus, and continued to flow thither as long as gold or plunder were in prospect. The expedition of Cortez, we have seen, was in nowise in a moral view superior to those which preceded, nor to the thousands that have followed it. Its importance was the result of accident. The Indian confederacy of the Mexican valley was then in the zenith of its power. At its head was one endowed with those great qualities which ever confer on their possessor despotic

sway. In him they were well expressed by the combined office of prophet, sachem, and chief.* No people venerate hereditary honor more than the lords of the forest. But when to rank are added the highest achievements of war and eloquence, he who unites them in his person may well be styled an emperor. No other word adequately expresses the power he then exercises over his people; and such was at once the eloquent prophet and successful war chief of the Tezcucans and Tacubans, the sachem of the Aztecs—Montezuma.

All the Spanish narratives bear unwitting testimony to his adeptness in the unintelligible mysteries of the magic art; and in war he had been the leader of the confederated braves. He had conducted his soldiers to the sack of surprised villages, and to the slaughter of unwatchful enemies. And he had not only driven back the Tlascalans from the salt *Laguna*,† and from the rich southern valleys, but enclosed them within a line of posts extending to the Gulf. These varied operations had called for constant appeals to the Council House, and there, with burning words, like those of Brandt‡ and Red Jacket, he had imparted that foreign and domestic policy which looked

* The sachem is an hereditary ruler, in the female line, as already noticed in the first chapter. Civil chief, as well as the war chief, is an office conferred for merit.

† The *tequisquita* of this laguna, we have already said, is used is a substitute for salt in the food of the inhabitants of that region now, as formerly.

‡ The author is too young to have any personal knowledge of this distinguished native orator. The author's father, however, was in the habit of attending councils in which Brandt was orator.

When discussing the policy the confederacy ought to adopt, he is represented as remarkably eloquent, and sometimes very lengthy; his speeches oftentimes extending to a period of two hours.

to the universal dominion of the confederacy. The preponderance conceded to Mexico was, by acclamation, bestowed upon him, her hereditary sachem and chosen war chief.* Superior to all his enemies on land, still the progress of the pale-faces towards his peculiar home was anxiously watched, and daily communications, by swift-footed runners, were established with the coast.

Tradition had handed down to the Aztecs, through untold generations, at least from a remote antiquity, a memorable story. It told that pale faces had once before occupied the hot country;† coming from beyond the "great water." Perhaps with this were coupled also tales of suffering and wrongs; perhaps how cruelly they, the natives, had been forced, by these hard task-masters, to labor upon the truncated pyramids and their crowning chapels. With unrequited Indian toil, these men had builded cities and public works which still preserved their memory, though they themselves had long since perished, having fulfilled their allotted centuries. But with their decaying monuments they left a fearful prophecy, and thus it ran: that "floating houses" would again return to the eastern coast, wafted by like winds, and filled with the same race, to teach the same religion,‡ and

* The most distinguished brave is ordinarily chosen the war chief.

As a prophet professes inspiration from the Great Spirit, it is an irregular office, dependent on pretended supernatural influences. It is sometimes exercised by the medicine-man, and sometimes by a chief.

† Such, translated into Indian phraseology, would be the popular accounts, which we do not care to disturb without evidence.

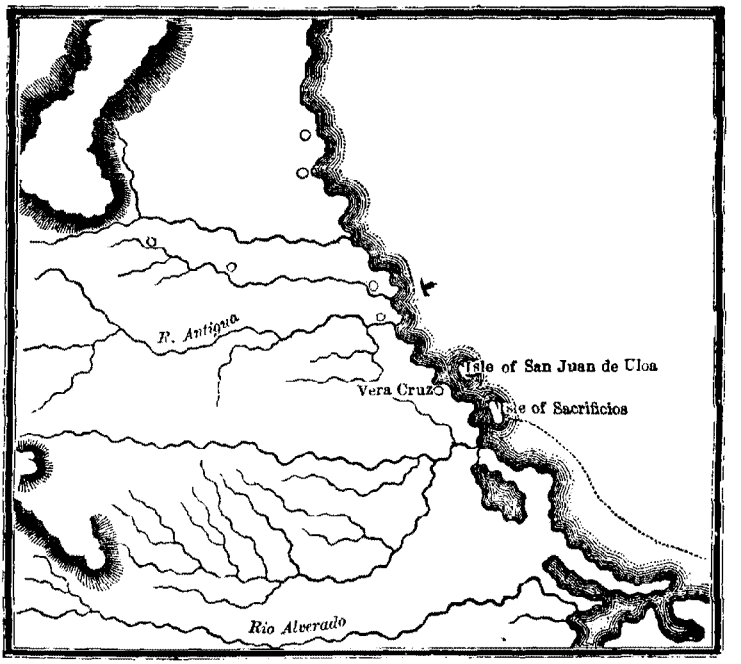
‡ I have here given a little different shading to the famous tradition of the expected arrival of the pale-faces. There has been too much stress, altogether, laid on this historic prophecy by the curious—as traditions are not very reliable.

to practise the same cruelties, until they again finished their cycle, and gave place to others, such as the laws of climate and population might determine. Warned by these ominous forebodings, the first appearance of the expected oppressors found Montezuma on the alert to crush at once, if possible, the strangers whom ancient prophecy had designated as the fated destroyers of his race. If the Mayas of Yucatan* had escaped this foreordained calamity, by an apparently successful resistance to their landing, he, too, might do the same. If even unsuccessful, rather than allow a foothold to them, he was prepared to sacrifice all that might yet remain. Such were the designs of the prophet-emperor, even before the battle of Tobasco;† the result of which left him but the last alternative—the sacrifice of his capital. This is the key of our future narrative, which will embody those traditions in which all concur,—omit but the fabled visit of the Apostle Thomas; and we shall endeavor also to account for the striking resemblance of the emblems and religious ceremonies portrayed upon the Central American ruins, and those used and practised by the Spaniards.

We designated the discovery of an antique civilization in Yucatan as the second great event in the history of America. We now reach the third, the beginning of the war, which ended in the conquest of Mexico. There was, of course, no sincerity on either side, in the negotiations

* The successful resistance of the Indians of Yucatan to the landing of Cordova and Grijalva, seemed to be well known to Montezuma.

† The battle of Tobasco had an unexpectedly favorable result for the Spanish arms. It was this success that made Montezuma unwilling to encounter them in open battle.



CORTEZ'S VOYAGE TO VERA CRUZ.

that preceded the march to Mexico. The exchange of presents, usual on such occasions, fatally displayed the abundance of grain-gold in the country. The strange, even fantastic forms of some of the larger specimens of metal, appeared to the imaginative Spaniards to bear, as sometimes do the clouds, a remote resemblance to living things. On this slight foundation rests the reputed skill of the Indian workmen; allowing something for savage ingenuity in changing forms without fusion. The round gold plate having the size of a wagon-wheel, and the value

of twenty thousand dollars,* never existed but in the fertile fancy of Cortez, while the beautiful feather-work, so glowingly described by Spanish authors, was that skilful arrangement of natural colors, in which savage surpasses civilized man—the very wildness of his combinations being in fact the ground of his superiority.

The Indian, though always an adept in dissimulation, was overmatched when pitted against the Spaniard. After the exhibition that had been made of the mineral wealth of the country, no means but force could induce the adventurers to leave the coast. Still they had no objection to spend awhile whole days in skilful efforts to mislead their savage hosts; afterwards even boasting of their skill in falsehood. These labors were usually followed by an attempt to swerve the Indian from his simple worship. Gold was really the only god the Spaniards knew, though the adoration of the Virgin and cross was his *religion*.† Whether the day's chief performance was tragedy or comedy, the Indian wondered at the sameness of the afterpiece. If we credit Diaz,‡ Montezuma's ambassadors inquired why they humbled themselves before that pole,

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 90.

† It has become very common among Protestants to use the word *religion*, as synonymous with Godliness. Nothing could be more inappropriate. We are compelled to use it, as well as the word *piety*, in their proper sense, viz., as relating exclusively to externals, having nothing to do with "heart-faith."

We are considering a system into which faith does not enter; one in which outward ceremonials alone constitute *religion*. But that the conscience of no good person may be wounded by the apparent levity with which we use these words, we shall *italicize* them in all cases. We use them with no greater levity than the people of the countries where these words properly belong. Among Protestants there are no *things* sacred, only sacred ideas; yet the author has been inconsiderately charged with levity, in speaking of *things* sacred.

‡ *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 88.

meaning the cross, whereupon Father Olmedo was directed to describe the substance of the Spanish creed. "He then proved *their* idols were useless things, evil spirits, which fled away from the presence of the cross."* The priest having concluded, Cortez, according to the same authority, made also an exhibition of his skill in this work of proselytism.

We have already referred to the numerous histories of the conquest, and shown them all, as simply changes rung upon one narrative. Our duty, however, is to sift them for what truth they may contain, and not to reject only because it is doubtful, but for the most substantial reasons. The fabulous *picture writings*, and alledged idolatrous sacrifices, are early introduced by the *Conquistador* into his narrative; but cannibalism is not charged until after the night retreat, and when at Tepeaca† or *Securidad-de-Frontere* he first introduced his system of extermination or slavery. The new ordinances, for the protection of the Indians, were already in force, and the Hieronomite brothers at San Domingo, to see they were not violated, while Las Casas was recognised as the public prosecutor, under the title of "Protector of the Indians."‡ To justify an open violation of the law, Cortez accused the Indians of rebellion and cannibalism. Diaz,

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 94.

† FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, p. 172.

"Besides having murdered the Spaniards, and rebelled against your Majesty, these people eat human flesh —a fact so notorious that I have not taken the trouble to send your Majesty any proof of it. I was also led to make slaves of these people, in order to strike terror into the Chululans."—*Ibid.*

‡ This proved in the end to be but a naked title. He was allowed the utmost latitude of denunciation; and that was about all. Little practical good at the time appeared; but it ended in a settled Indian policy, which has proved superior to our own.

who invented the *piety** and morality of the expedition in the most approved style for the Spanish market, exhibits him, as we have seen, as much the missionary as the adventurer, and introduces the three charges, idolatry,† human sacrifice, and cannibalism, in their most revolting forms, at an earlier date than his alleged master. The reason is transparent; Cortez had sent his first despatches before resolving upon his future course, while Diaz and the historians, with the whole case before them, introduced their libels in the proper place. Thus Diaz accounts for the resolution of Montezuma, in treating with Cortez, while at the sea-shore, by alleging the commands of his two favorite idols, the god of hell and the god of war, "to whom he [Montezuma] daily sacrificed some *young children*, that they might disclose what he should do with us. His intention was to take us prisoners, if we would not re-embark, and employ some to educate children, while the others were to be sacrificed. For his idol gods, as we afterwards discovered, advised him not to listen to Cortez, and to take no notice of what we had sent him word concerning the cross and the figure of the blessed Virgin."‡

* We here repeat, that we use the word *piety* as relating solely to external duties; nor can it be used as synonymous with godliness, without an abuse of language and confusion of ideas.

† We have hesitated to take this broad ground, of denying altogether the idolatry of the Aztecs. But there are so many difficulties in the way, if we make them an exception to the whole body of the aborigines, that we are driven to this position, after re-examining all the evidence. The only real difficulties are the small allegorical clay idols, lately found at Mexico. These may have been brought from the places of sepulture in Yucatan as curiosities, and thrown into the ditch by order of an Inquisitor; or they may have been Spanish manufactured antiquities, thrown away for want of a market. At all events, they do not form a sufficient basis for a charge of Indian idolatry.

‡ *Diaz*, vol. I., page 95.

So childish was the fiction invented to account for the rupture with Montezuma's agents at the place of debarkation. Yet this gross fabrication acquired credence under the Spanish system of literary despotism, and was disseminated among other European nations, ignorant of Indian character.

But we must go back to the stately embassy of Montezuma's great *Lord* Teuchille;—and who more stately than the inhabitants of the forest? The reported magnitude of his apocryphal present was in perfect keeping with his fictitious rank and retinue. Besides the golden plate, resembling a wagon-wheel, valued at twenty thousand dollars, another larger in size, and of massive silver, is described, representing the moon, with rays and other figures. That a soldier's casque or helmet, lent to the Indians, should be returned, filled with grain-gold, of the value of three thousand dollars, is not an improbable event, and one at that time of the greatest importance, as it demonstrated the existence of rich washings in the country. "Among other things," says Diaz, "there were also thirty golden ducks, exactly resembling the living bird, and of splendid workmanship; further, figures resembling lions, dogs, and apes; likewise ten chains with lockets, all of gold, and of the most costly workmanship; a bow with the string and twelve arrows; and two staffs, five palms in length, like those used by the justices, all *cast* of the purest gold [!] furthermore they brought small cases containing the most beautiful green feathers, blended with gold and silver, and fans similarly worked; every species of game cast in

gold. There were alone about thirty packages of cotton [maguey] stuffs, variously manufactured and interworked with variegated feathers. When the great caciques Quintalbor and Teuchille [the last an Indian runner,*] handed over these presents to Cortez, they begged him to accept them, in the same friendly disposition with which their monarch sent them." This is a description of that famous present of Montezuma, which for centuries was represented as little short of a wonder of the world. The American reader, stripping it of all exaggeration, will find it represents a very rich gift of crude gold, and thirty packages of native stuffs† wrought with quills and feathers. Want of familiarity with Indian characteristics, and a general proneness to the wonderful, has misled us hitherto.

This present was preceded by those pictorial scenes, which elicited equal astonishment in Europe, and with still less reason. When Cortez landed Montezuma sent runners‡—called *great lords* by the same author—to

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 87.

† INDIANS MANUFACTURING CLOTH. —"The end of the piece of bark was laid over the end of a smoothly barked log; and they commenced beating it with mallets, beginning at the corner and striking diagonally the piece to the middle, where the mallet was turned to the same angle at the other corner. They beat the bark regularly along. The fibres spread out, and the piece two feet wide was beaten out one foot more, to the thickness of stout pilot-cloth. After all is beaten out, it is rolled up. The cloth is afterwards spread out in the sun to dry; the sap which has been so thoroughly pressed out from among the fibres by the beating, soon becomes dissipated by the sun, and the cloth is left with quite a woolly feel, and is painted in figures to suit the fancy of the wearer. By his own peculiar process it is cut out to form a very simple garment, and the Indian is dressed in a fancy-colored shirt, which reaches below his knees." —*Valley of the Amazon*, vol. II., page 211, Report of Lieut. Gibbon to Navy Department.

‡ "After this personage had taken his departure, we learnt that he was

ascertain the object of his visit; these it would seem undertook to aid the memory, in reporting such unusual appearances, by rude sketches on bits of maguey. This little incident, aided by the magnifying powers of Cortez, grew into *picture writing*, which, as already shown, in an after generation led to the famous forgeries of the monk *Pietro*, and they to much speculation among the learned. The most important incident is the simple one of the soldier's casque. It is thus stated in the narrative of Diaz.* "One of our men had a casque, which was partly gilt. Teuchille, who was much more enlightened than many of his companions [being chief runner,] remarked, when his eyes fell upon it, that it bore a great resemblance to a helmet which belonged to their most ancient forefathers, &c., and now adorned the head of their war-god." Was it to some Phœnician casque, portrayed on a ruined temple wall, that he alluded? If so the runner, who often bore messages to the hot country, would naturally notice the likeness, and associate in his mind the strangers just arrived with the traditions relating to the past. It is but a trifle in itself; but, as one of a long series, well worthy of preserving.

And now a great political farce was enacted amid the drifting sand-hills, where stands the present city of Vera Cruz. It was done to give a color of legality to an expedition, otherwise purely piratical, and which could

not only a distinguished statesman, but also the most nimble pedestrian at Montezuma's court. He did indeed use the utmost expedition to bring his monarch information, and hand over to him the paintings and presents."—*Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 89.

Think of a great ambassador, running at full speed, to report the result of his mission!

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 89.

have no hope of royal pardon, but in complete success. *Velasquez* himself, a subordinate to the government of San Domingo, had no authority to fit out expeditions, except for purposes of traffic. To form a colony on the Spanish main required a royal charter, to which the present party made no pretensions. But, to blind themselves to the criminal steps they were taking, these armed brigands resolved them into a municipality according to the forms of the Spanish law, and immediately after, nominated their leader, Cortez, to an office not municipal, but of exclusively royal appointment—Captain-General; by them understood to include also the powers of an *Adelantado*, as ample as those possessed by Columbus himself. Thus furnished with the shadow of authority, Cortez, after the customary affectation of reluctance,* assumed command, and immediately began his preparations for a war of conquest. Charles V., though he pardoned the irregularity of the enterprise, and accepted the sovereignty it had added to his dominions, took good care to suppress the letter which contained a recital of the farce with which it commenced, and the means by which Cortez acquired his title and his office.

The Aztecs were now to suffer the bitter consequences of their own ambition, an evil to which all conquering powers are liable,—an alliance of the enemy without to the other enemy within. One subjugated tribe, the Quiahuitzlan,† no sooner discovered the existence of a breach between the Spaniards and their masters, than they invited the former to their village, and entered into

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 99.

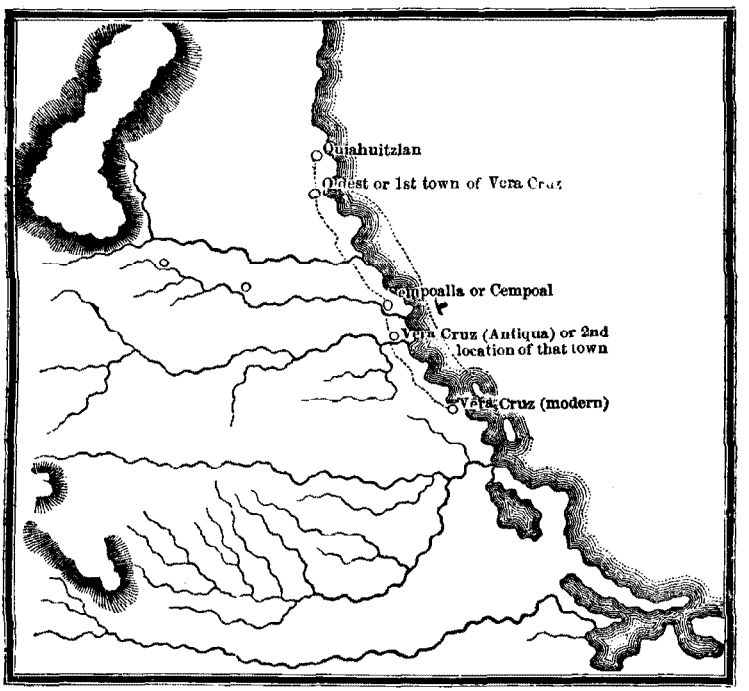
† *Ibid.*, page 95.

alliance with them. An important foothold thus acquired, the encampment in the nominal town of *Vera Cruz* was at once abandoned, and the whole municipality moved northward in military array. It halted at the intervening village of Sempoalla, Cempoal of Cortez, who ultimately made it the expeditionary head-quarters, while the permanent encampment was on the little river, through whose gorge, *Cerro Gordo*, lies the ascent to the table-land. The perambulating town of Vera Cruz, however, was located on the downs, two miles from Quiahuitzlan.* From this new location, which we must designate as the *oldest Vera Cruz*, it was shortly after moved to the mouth of the Antigua river, and remained there for ninety years, the Gulf seaport of Mexico. The marquis of Monterey then restored it to the original place of debarkation, the present city of Vera Cruz.† The first fortress there, must not be confounded with that on the island of *Uloa*. The inhabitants of Sempoalla regarded the new comers as their deliverers from a cruel despotism. And here we learn a little more of those tales of human sacrifice, which so much excited the peculiar elements of Spanish *piety*. The Spaniards were as rampant too, according to Diaz, in denouncing oppression, as the valorous Don Quixote, declaring "we were the vassals of the great emperor Charles, who had dominion over many kingdoms and countries, and who had sent us out to redress wrongs wherever we came, punish the bad, and make known his commands, that human sacrifice

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 111.

† *Apuentes Historicos de la Heroica Ciudad de Vera Cruz.* M. M. Lerdo de Tejado. Mexico, 1851.

should no longer be continued. To all this was added a good deal about our holy religion."*



CORTEZ'S MARCH TO OLDEST VERA CRUZ.

In the mean time, the shipping, having abandoned its anchorage under *San Juan de Uloa*, coasted northward to the little harbor, which after all was only a bight in a lee-shore, four miles below Quiahuitzlan, where the stranding of the vessels took place. The little island of *Uloa*, however, always remained a shipping station, on account of the protection it afforded against the north wind. The

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 105.

fortress upon the island is of modern date, and was not built until after the sack of Vera Cruz by the bucaneers.*

After a rude fortress had been constructed for the colony, Cortez made pretence to send away the partisans of Velasquez, but when they were about to sail he suffered himself to be constrained by his most devoted adherents to forbid their departure. A march to Tzinpantzinco, probably *Cerro Gordo*, with the Sempoallans, as auxiliaries, was made at the suggestion of their Indian allies. Their pretence was the presence of an Aztec garrison at that place. On his arrival at the town, situated in a most rugged defile, Cortez found he had been deceived by the Sempoallans, and that their real object in soliciting him to make this expedition was a local quarrel then existing between them. Before returning, however, he was fortunate enough to effect a reconciliation between the belligerents, and add Tzinpantzinco to his alliance. On this occasion was exhibited a touch of rigid discipline. A soldier named Mora took some fowls from an Indian hut, which coming to the knowledge of Cortez, a rope was put around the fellow's neck, who would have been hung, when *Alvarado* interceded, and he escaped.† The effect of this act is thus described by Diaz: "Although Indians, they readily perceived what a good and holy thing is justice, and that the declaration of our having come into these countries to put an end to all oppression, perfectly agreed with his conduct on our entry into Tzinpantzinco; they therefore became more united to us."†

By this politic course the whole hot country, between the table land and the sea, was brought into subjugation

* *Apuentes Historicos de Vera Cruz.*

† *Diaz*, vol. I., page 118.

without the use of force; and an enduring friendship established among the Indian villages and the Spaniards. The real cause of success with the new confederacy was the common hatred the tribes of this region bore to the Aztecs, and their dread of Montezuma. By his adroitness Cortez succeeded in widening the breach already existing. He first persuaded his allies to arrest Montezuma's tax-gatherers, and deliver them to him. In this he had a further object; for, no sooner had his suggestion been carried out by the Sempoallans, than he represented to the prisoners, that their rescue from certain death was due to him; after which he sent them secretly to Montezuma, with many fine speeches.

The new confederacy being wholly dependent on Cortez for protection against the offended Aztecs, proposed to cement their new friendship by a matrimonial alliance. For this purpose they presented the Spaniards with eight young girls. *Puerto Carrero*, who, it appears, had formerly eloped from Medellin with another man's wife,* and who had received *Dona Marina* as his share of the women distributed at Tobasco, obtained the most attractive in the new apportionment. Indeed, there seems to have been a community of wives between this favored soldier and his commander; for the latter was avowedly the father of *Dona Marina's* children. Cortez, as his nominal share, received the daughter of the village cacique; only remarkable for her ugliness. He accepted her, however, with every appearance of delight.† The six remaining were distributed among the other soldiers. Before any were

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 130. † *Ibid.*, page 123.

delivered, however, to their new masters, they were converted, nominally, to the Romish faith, by a perversion of the ordinance of baptism, and the addition of much ceremony. The strangest feature in this is, that, although the revolt from Montezuma was predicated on the inhumanity of his agents, in appropriating to themselves the wives and daughters of these people, if they were handsome, without ceremony, here appears to be the very counterpart of that wrong they were in arms to repel. Cortez consoled them, as well as he could, by means of the interpreters. He promised and assured them he would put an end to such oppression and ill-usage.*

These affairs concluded, Cortez assumed the character of a missionary, and undertook to reform the *religion* of the Sempoallans, that is, according to Diaz. The horrid pictures of human sacrifice are here further intensified by him, and the charge of cannibalism added. The selling of human flesh in the market† by a people who had no shambles or circulating medium as a common article of food, is here introduced to magnify, it would seem, the services of Cortez, in that he set up the image of the Virgin and cross, in places heretofore occupied with, not only an apocryphal idol-worship, but with such barbarous practices. As to what this dissemination of Spanish *piety* amounted, we learn, in the following paragraphs translated by Lockhart. It needed but a Cervantes to place in its proper light, this expedition, undertaken, according to Diaz, for the *spread of religion and the redress of grievances.* Cortez is represented as saying to the Indians, the

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 107. † *Ibid.*, page 120.

reason that induced his emperor to send them there was, that they should abandon their accursed idols, abolish human sacrifice, and abstain from *kidnapping!* "He therefore must beg of them to erect crosses, like this, in their towns, and in their temples, and also the figure of the holy Virgin, with her most excellent son, then God would bestow blessings on them."* Cortez now lost all patience and answered "He had already told them several times they should not sacrifice to these monsters, who were nothing but deceivers and liars."† "They had scarcely done speaking, when more than fifty of us began to mount the steps of the temple. We tore down the idols from their pediment, broke them to pieces, and flung them piecemeal down the steps."‡ "When the idols were burnt, Cortez said everything that was edifying to the Indians, by means of our interpreters. Instead of their idols he would give them our own blessed Virgin and saints, the mother of Jesus Christ, in whom we believed, and to whom we prayed."§ "A regulation was also made, that the copal of the country should be used instead of our usual incense. The principal caciques of the district and village attended mass."‖ Then followed the baptism of the eight women, before alluded to, after an edifying discourse had preceded the ceremony. The missionary department of Cortez' labors, beyond the erection of a few rude chapels for his soldiers, having doubtless been invented in the generation succeeding the conquest, serves

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 94.
† *Ibid.*, page 120.
‡ *Ibid.*, page 121.
§ *Ibid.*, page 122.
‖ *Ibid.*, page 123.

to show what were the duties of a champion of the cross, in the estimation of the church dignitaries who supervised the writing of history; and how little they differed from (Phœnician) pagan rites, the reader can judge.

Before advancing to the table-land, we must look at the affairs of the little municipality of Vera Cruz. At a meeting of our adventurers, it was resolved to send a present and a letter to Charles V., and set forth a history of the operations thus far; concluding with a prayer that his majesty would be pleased to recognise the enterprise, and confer the command on Cortez. "This prayer was accompanied by such highflown praise of Cortez—how faithfully he had served his majesty—that we elevated him to the very skies."* "After the letter was quite finished Cortez desired to read it, and when he found how faithfully the account was drawn up, and himself so highly praised, he was vastly pleased."* It was on the 26th July, 1519, that the vessel sailed from *San Juan de Uloa*, having on board *Puerto Currero* and *Montejo* as messengers, with some specimens of the kind of sacrifices the Indians offered to *their gods*, in the persons of several captives alleged to have been taken from a cage, in which they were fattening for this use! The vessel having a favorable wind, escaped that sent by Velasquez to intercept her, and arrived in Spain, whither we must follow.

We must, however, bespeak attention to a statement in the commencement of this history, wherein it is shown that one reason why these despatches passed uncontradicted was, that, the whole expedition being involved in

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 126.

the crime of its leader, the misrepresentations contained in their overwrought missives enured equally to the benefit of all. Cortez had so artfully played his part as to appear from the beginning to have acted almost under constraint. The letters had also this other advantage: the events they described occurred before the art of printing had become common in Spain. Indeed it is claimed by one annotator—a no less personage than the cardinal-archbishop *Lorenzano*, that the despatches of Cortez were the first works printed in Seville, and perchance in all Spain.

Bishop Fonseca, who then presided in the Council of the Indias, was seemingly a strict constructionist, and, with little love to the wild adventurers who were swarming to the West Indies, was as little loved by them. His relations to Las Casas were equally ungracious. A rigid disciplinarian in such a post was perilously situated; and the wonder is not that he fell at last, but that he maintained his post so long. His treatment of Columbus remains a blot upon his character, but how much of guilt there was in the other charges brought against him we have now no means of judging. Merit has, generally, little to do with the eminence of a man in Spain, and demerit as little with his fall. There is no lack there, as elsewhere, of complaints, whenever it is whispered that a functionary is growing in disfavor with his master. If he is dismissed, that of itself, by the world, is considered a sufficient proof of every allegation. In the present case the action of *Fonseca* was clearly correct. When he charged Cortez and his party with high treason, he sim-

ply asserted a principle of Spanish law.* But there was another difficulty: the *slight irregularity*, of which *Puerto Carrero* had been guilty in eloping with another man's wife, when he left Spain, was known to the bishop; and for that offence he was now to answer. Dangers environ even *ambassadors* when too much addicted to *gallantries*. The proprietor of *Dona Marina*, "the most distinguished female in all the Indias," the equally lucky possessor of the dusky belle of Sempoalla, and the representative of New Spain at the court of Charles V., was thus thrown into prison for an escapade he had perhaps forgotten.

The party of Cortez had, however, better success with the young emperor, in Flanders, to whom copies of their swaggering letters were sent, with a list also of the curious presents seized by the bishop. Up to the time the letters—for there were others besides the joint one—were written, it will be recollected nothing beyond the three skirmishes at Tobasco had occurred, except the alliance with one Indian village of the coast, and the conversion of some twenty-six native females—*squaws*. Whatever grain-gold had been obtained was sent on to give emphasis to the letters. Yet Diaz tells us, "His majesty was so highly pleased with what we had done, that the dukes, marquises, earls, and other cavaliers, for days together, spoke but of Cortez, our courageous behavior, and our

* The King of Spain claimed as a royal domain all of America, not by virtue of discovery, but in virtue of a grant from Alexander VII., the Borgia. In construction of law, Cortez and his company were trespassers on royal demesne. It is true, that Queen Elizabeth resisted this claim; but within the jurisdiction of Spain this title could not be contested.

The levying war, under such circumstances, without royal license, was clearly treasonable.

conquests! and of the riches we had sent over."* The emperor at length informed the agents that he would himself shortly visit Spain, to investigate the matter more closely, and would then reward them fitly. This was the beginning of the end of *Fonseca.*

We return to New Spain, where, at this time, we find Cortez and his associates attempting a most unquestionable act of piracy, in the seizure of a vessel belonging to *Francisco de Garay,* which, pursuing a lawful voyage, had unsuspectingly anchored near their retreat. Luckily they were not successful in their intent, but the very undertaking throws light upon the motives of the adventurers. Clearly they would not have incurred the risk attending such a crime, but from a desperate necessity to renew their communications with the civilized world. No other incentive could have been sufficient.

A little before this essay the destruction of the vessels which brought the expedition to New Spain, occurred. Both Cortez † and Diaz agree they were stranded on a lee-shore. But both claim it was voluntary. Cortez avers it was his own act; Diaz, that it was suggested by his companions. The event has been the subject of eloquent eulogies for centuries. Among these Robertson ‡ is, of course, pre-eminent. The motives assigned for the act were, firstly, the suppression of a mutinous spirit among the men, and, secondly, the severe necessity which called for the use of the naval armament on land. Are these

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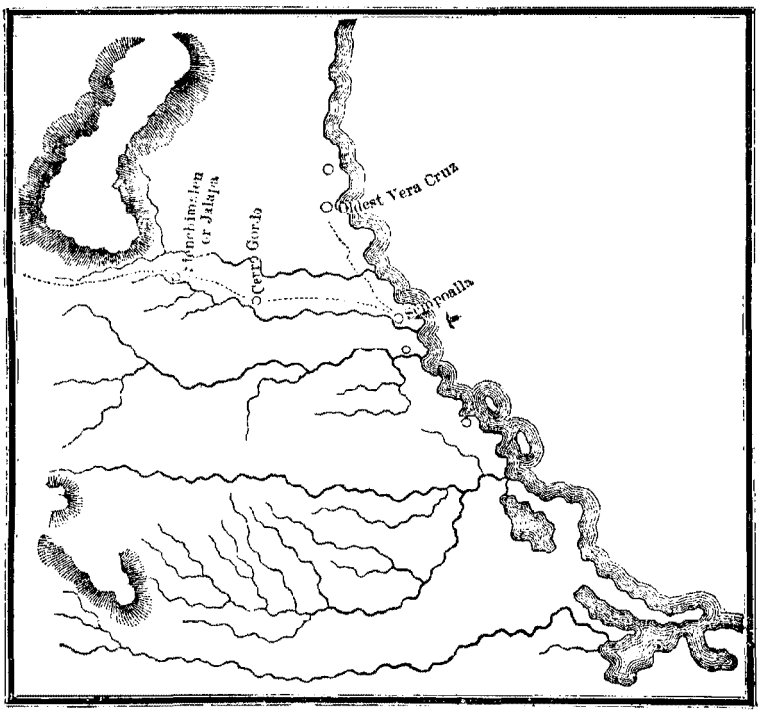
* *Diaz,* vol. I., page 131.

† FOLSOM'S *Cortez,* page 41. *Diaz,* vol. I., page 134.

‡ *Pillars of Hercules,* page 95. See also ROBERTSON'S *Am.*

objects such as would justify so rash an act, one that cut the invaders off not only from retreat, but from the possibility of succor? After its capture, Cortez did not destroy the fleet of Narvaez, though the danger of mutiny was then doubly imminent! Even the loss of all his *materiel*, in the disastrous night retreat, when he had not only to refit his land expedition, but to create a flotilla on the *laguna*, did not tempt him to such a step. We have witnessed not only hereabout, but elsewhere, upon this tideless shore, wrecks by the grounding of vessels at anchor, as stated in a former chapter. A coral bottom is such poor holding-ground, that any empty craft, as were those of Cortez, are liable to this disaster, even during the light gales of summer. A far larger fleet than his has many times been thus ruined in the very roadstead of Vera Cruz. The story of Tarik burning his boats at Gibraltar was familiar to all Spaniards, and, admitting an "act of God" had destroyed their shipping, it would be natural in them to turn that very misfortune into a cause of self-laudation. This is so perfectly Spanish, that without proof either way, the probabilities are against its having been voluntary. It must not either be forgotten that the vessels were not only exposed to the prevailing winds, and the dangers of a lee-shore, but also navigated by inexperienced seamen. If, then, they once grounded, they became fixtures, until the sea-worms and the winds accomplished their destruction. As the Spaniards had no barometer, to indicate an approaching change, before they dreamed of danger, it might have been upon them, and the hulls of their vessels upon the beach.



Up to this time the companions of Cortez had been quartered at Sempoalla, and at the rude fortification still further at the north, which we have designated as "The oldest Vera Cruz." The sea-board secure, and the fortress at their new location fast approaching completion, a march to the table-land was resolved on, and the whole force, saving a small garrison, was soon climbing the rugged defile of *Cerro Gordo*, to the plateau of Jalapa. The march is now both difficult and toilsome, though art has created a carriage-road along the face of the precipitous cliff.* But

* The National Road of Mexico was conceived and executed by a company of merchants known as the *Consulado de Vera Cruz.* It is about

what must it have been in the time of Cortez? As an Indian trail constituted the only path for a distance of more than forty miles up the pass, the fatigue may be easily conceived. Besides, they were in the midst of the rainy season, the month of August, when the mountain rivulets were swollen, and the sides of the precipices wet and slippery. To have penetrated these defiles under such circumstances, embarrassed with horses, cannon, arms, and *materiel*, was really a great achievement. The author of "Bernal Diaz" says the march to Jalapa was accomplished in one day.* A proof that he never saw the country, and that his work is only a compilation, most likely from *Gomora*, corrected in part by *Las Casas*. His railing at both seems a cunning device, to cover the imposture. Cortez makes the ascent the work of three days, and says he did not reach *Sienchimaten*† until the fourth day, the shortest time in which such a march could possibly be made.

In Cortez there are many mole-hills magnified into mountains; but on the other hand, there are mountains that have been passed over as mere mole-hills, because the original narrative was written by a true soldier, but for a European market. Those who afterwards obtained permission to write were either ignorant of the country, or restricted to the original. But whatever the reason,

ninety miles in length, and cost $3,000,000. From Vera Cruz it runs northward, often within sight of the Gulf, until it nearly reaches the Cerro Gordo, where it turns inland, and then passes upward through that celebrated gorge to Jalapa, and there it attains, at a distance of sixty miles from Vera Cruz, an elevation of 4264 feet above the sea.—WILSON'S *Mexico*.

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 139.

† CORTEZ' *Despatches*, page 45.

no efforts were made to present the simple facts of the case. The first object was to make an impression in Spain, and that none of the subsequent historians seems to have understood. We have never ceased to admire the fortitude displayed by the Spaniards in surmounting the mountain ridges they crossed, in their toilsome march to the capital. What we have said of the route to Jalapa is equally true of all the subsequent ascents; for Jalapa is but half-way up the barrier of the table-land. In the summer season these mountains are clothed with their most beautiful attire. But as this is a kind of beauty hardly to be appreciated in Europe, it is passed in silence. It is so in all Spanish books on America. They are the reflections of European ideas. That which is American, is either distorted to conform to foreign patterns, or passed without a word. Neither Cortez nor Diaz notices the unrivalled beauty of the country through which the road lay, though it was, as we have said, the very time when Nature wore her richest costume.

We will not imitate their want of taste, but here delay amid the gorgeous beauties, which the route from the sea-shore to the first plateau presents. The shore is a hill of shifting sand, driven in by the winds. A tropical marsh succeeds, presenting a striking contrast to the arid waste just traversed. The sands give place to the richest of vegetation. There is that strange combination, so often witnessed in these latitudes, in which natural branches, creepers, vines, and parasites mingle into one wild conglomerate—a mass of foliage of many distinct kinds matted and mixed together. It is all untamed—yet the

graceful festoons of the creepers, swinging from branch to branch, and the shady arbors they form, have the regularity of a garden.* Almost as it was when Cortez wrote, it still exists. Through this realm of beauty the Spaniards held their toilsome march, day after day, yet is it all unnoticed and unsung by their authors, while they have exhausted their vocabulary of superlatives in describing the fabulous court and harem of Montezuma, a pattern for which existed in the tales of the Arabians. The romances of chivalry, perhaps, afforded another reason—neither *Rolando*, the *Paladin*, nor *Amadis de Gaul*, the favorites of Diaz, as of Don Quixote, had ever penetrated into the region of the tropics, therefore their beauty remained unsung.

Through these scenes they ascended to the first plateau, a spot more beautiful, even, than the road to it. But Cortez did not linger. Though kindly received by the natives, it was not advisable to tarry. Behind was the pestilential atmosphere of the hot country. Before, the mountain, the desert, and an enemy, who intervened between him and that island capital, to which he was directing his steps. Hesitation or dilatory movement has disastrous effects in Indian war, while a bold front and promptness tend materially to success. An Indian military expedition is rather a run than a march; so was it ever with Cortez, excepting in retreat. Celerity of movement was his most striking characteristic. The distance from Sempoalla to the table-land he traversed in but little more time than that required by an Indian war-party. His

* WILSON'S *Mexico*.

great superiority was in this; his intimate knowledge of Indian character and modes of attack.

His Spanish eulogists, in ignorance, overlooked this merit, the one that made him invulnerable among his wild assailants, and almost always insured him victory. The writer of Bernal Diaz, as usual, shows such total ignorance of the character and tactics of the enemy as compels us to follow Cortez in every movement of the campaign. Cortez writes as an actor, the other as a compiler. Cortez never appears surprised, never off his guard for a moment. Always prepared for action, he is always victorious. To a watchful leader, the superiority of his weapons insured this result, though in no instance did Cortez exhibit remarkable personal courage, according to the European standard. Equal to his antagonists in strategy, he continually boasts of overreaching them in duplicity. Yet he is the authority we must follow in marches and countermarches. There he has no inducement to exaggerate, and speaking from personal knowledge of the ground, he does not appear to have done so. It is when he comes to descant on the number of his enemies, and the magnitude of his victories, that he assumes the Munchausen.*

Burthened, as we have seen, he crossed the first plateau, and commenced the arduous task of climbing the barrier-mountain of *Perote*, through a pass which, Spaniard-like, he blasphemously named "The Pass of God,"† not by

* It was the popular belief in Spain, at this time, that the West Indies, viz., Spanish America, was as densely populated as the East Indies. Hence there was no difficulty in finding credence for extravagant numbers of the enemy.

† "This will sound to Protestant readers something like horrible blasphemy; but it must be borne in mind that the God of the Romanist is an entirely different idea from the spiritual God whom we worship. The

the stone road, which the skill of modern engineers has constructed, but by intricate Indian pathways, over its rugged heights, through a country destitute of inhabitants, and indeed scarcely habitable, from the sterility of

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devout Protestant who recognises but one Being worthy of adoration, veneration, and worship, never ventures to mention any of the names by which He is known but with the profoundest reverence. The Romanist, on the other hand, has a host of objects which he deems worthy of adoration, and seems to have cheapened the article by multiplying it. His senses are all exercised in his *religion*, and, as a natural consequence, he concludes the Almighty enjoys those exhibitions that give him the greatest pleasure.

"Romanists worship him by performing a pantomime of the life and suffering of Christ, which is called the mass, and seek to propitiate him by offering the body of his Son in sacrifice. They bestow upon God gifts of jewels of gold and of the fruits of the earth; and as He passes through their streets in the form of a wafer, as they believe, the soldiers present arms, beat the drum, and discharge cannon, as to an earthly prince. Though our Saviour (Santo Christo) heads the calendar of intercessors between God and man, He is seldom invoked, though they often honor him by giving their children his name. As they have conferred upon a multitude of their saints the supernatural powers of God, they have necessarily brought God himself down to earth. If I might be pardoned the expression, I should say, they treat him and his well-beloved Son with a loving intimacy. Their worship is substantially materialism, more or less gross, according to its distance from or its proximity to a Protestant population. There is no blasphemy, according to their system, in naming their shops after the Holy Ghost, a horse-stable after "the Precious Blood," &c., though I could never hear them mentioned or see them without having my Protestant notions shocked, while I equally shocked their feelings by refusing to kneel to the Host, and slipping out of the way to avoid it. Nor could I exhibit the least reverence to their religious emblems without committing what in me would be an act of idolatry, the two systems being so diametrically opposite that one cannot go a step toward the other without breaking over a fundamental doctrine of his own belief. God is an invisible Spirit, says the Protestant. God is a Spirit, answers the Romanist, but he daily assumes the form of a wafer, and traverses our streets, and in that form we most commonly worship him. Such is the antagonism that will ever be found in the world while man remains what he now is, ever divided between mentalism and materialism. Forms and names often differ, but these are the two ideas into which all the systems of devotion in the world resolve themselves, although abortive attempts are often made to combine them."—*Mexico and its Religion.*

its soil, its want of water, and the coldness of its climate. "God knows," says Cortez, "how much our people suffered there from hunger and thirst, especially during a violent storm of hail and rain we encountered, when I thought many would have perished with cold."* This picture of hardships and sufferings, endured in that lofty range, cannot have been a whit exaggerated. Upon the same heights we have encountered similar storms, during which the very animals seemed likely to perish. It is a polar region within the tropics. Through all these obstacles, however, the Spaniards toiled on until a defile, more difficult, indeed, but less formidable in appearance than the previous passage, was reached. Then they crossed an intervening valley, inhabited by tribes subjected to Montezuma, to enter upon a second more difficult than any in Spain. To this day those gorges might be closed by a handful of resolute men against an army. A Spaniard, who was with us while surveying one of them, could not repress his indignation at the Mexicans, for leaving them unguarded at the time of the American invasion. Here he remarked, with a sneer, the American soldiers passed with their hands in their pockets. The summit reached, the Spaniards descended to the interior valleys fertilized by melting snows.

Diaz minutely describes this fearful mountain transit, from Sochina on the plateau, to Texutla on the tableland, thus: "As they advanced the population ceased, and at the very first night they had excessive cold, with hail; they were at the same time without food, and as

* *Cortez*, page 45. *Ibid.*, page 46.

the wind blew across the snow mountains, they shook again with the frost."* Indeed, he justly remarks, no one can wonder at this; they had come so suddenly from the hot climate of Vera Cruz, and the neighboring coasts, into a cold country. At last they entered the territories of Iocotlan, and were as much pleased with this interior vale as with many a Spanish town, "on account of the many beautiful whitewashed houses, and other structures." And so they appear to-day. The brush is now, as then, industriously applied to the outside, and though the buildings are still chiefly of that frail material, dried mud, they present a very neat and tidy appearance, and give a pretty correct idea of what an Indian town may have been in the time of Cortez. Here, too, Diaz introduces matter for the Spanish market, and Cortez is once more represented as preaching against human sacrifice, and the eating of human flesh;† concluding his harangue with the solemn announcement, "We can do nothing further I think, than erect a cross."‡ A curious conclusion to an exhortation, that contains the first suggestion of a God yet delivered to the Indians. Not a word this time, however, about the blessed Virgin, or the efficacy of her intercession.

They were now nigh the desert of the table-land;

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 139.

† *Ibid.*, page 141.

‡ We omit the word "gentlemen," at the commencement of this speech of Cortez, as it is a Spanish idiomaticism, and not usual in an English commander's address to his soldiers. It is, however, retained by Lockhart, in his translation, though as inappropriate as it would be to anglicize the following from a French edition of Shakspeare:—

"Monsieur Macbeth, Monsieur Macbeth, *prenez garde*, Monsieur Macduff."

and four days of rest were allowed the wearied soldiers to refresh them in the fertile valleys around, before the march was resumed, across that dry and saline waste where water, to slake their thirst even, could not be found; only tufts of stunted grass are scattered over this dreary expanse, which to this day is known by the expressive name of the bad land, *mal pais*. Here wolves and vultures thrive, and robbers levy contributions on passing travellers. It is a land of drought, and storms of sand, for the clouds that cross it discharge their moisture upon the adjacent mountains. Parties, however, who have passed through the hardships of the defiles, easily submit to the inconvenience of this change, as it is hardly a day's march to the *Eye-of-Water*, *Ojo de Agua*, a bubbling fountain, on its western border. And now, as we tread upon the frontiers of Tlascala, we must begin again our discourse of war.

CHAPTER X.

OPERATIONS IN TLASCALA.

The Tlascala of Cortez, 360—Tlascala according to Diaz, 361—Tlascala according to the historians, 362—The impossibilities in Cortez' statements, 362—An unfortunate remark of Diaz, 364—The facts in relation to Tlascala, 365—The real advantage of the Tlascalan alliance, 366—Religious toleration at Tlascala, 367—The Tlascalans and their government, 368—The campaign of Tlascala, 368—First battle with the Tlascalans, 369—Another great battle, 370—The success of the Tlascalan war, 370—The consummation of the Tlascalan alliance, 371—Cortez reforming the Indian religion, 372—Cholula, 376—Was Quetzalcoatl the Apostle Thomas? 378—The city of Cholula, 379—Its political state and government, 380—The simple truth about Cholula, 380—The Cholula massacre, 382—An ascent of the volcano, 384—Preparations for a march to Mexico, 386—Cortez enters the valley of Mexico, 386—Cholula, 388.

So far we have formed an indifferently correct narration of the achievements of the invaders, the ascent to the tableland, and march to Tlascala. In this we have followed Bernal Diaz, while he kept within the line of physical possibilities; when he overleaped them, we turned to Cortez. Aided by our own frequent journeys through that region, we have filled the gaps that remained with tolerable certainty. This natural method will be of no avail, however, in treating of Tlascala; there our two witnesses are at irreconcilable variance. The turning point in the history of the conquest is in this state, as it was the basis in all operations of the war. Cortez tells us*

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 61.

that Tlascala was a great and powerful republic, with a capital larger and more prosperous than Granada, at the time of its conquest, and much stronger, and much better supplied with the products of the earth, such as corn, and various kinds of vegetables, with fowls, game, fish, and other excellent articles of food; and where, too, there was "a market in which more than thirty thousand people were engaged in buying and selling, besides many other merchants scattered about the city; containing also a great variety of articles, both of food and clothing, and all kinds of shoes for the feet, jewels of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and ornaments of feathers; all as well arranged as they possibly can be found in any public square in the world." If this statement is correct, then he has not overrated the magnificence of Montezuma, as that was confessedly the superior of Tlascala. It is by this vast scale Cortez measures the resources of the great states of the table-land—while Gomora, his chaplain, more extravagant, as usual, in his numerals, out-Herods even his master.*

According to Diaz, the Tlascalans were so poor that the present they offered as a testimony of friendship to

* BARON MUNCHAUSEN.—Miss Brewster (daughter of Sir David), in her "Letters from Cannes and Nice," says:—"Baron Munchausen is at Nice. My father met him at a picnic the other day, and heard from him the history of his celebrated namesake. One of his ancestors had a chaplain who was famous for 'drawing the long bow'—told, in fact, the most false and extravagant stories. His patron, the baron of those days, wrote a book out-Heroding Herod, being a collection of still more marvellous adventures, for the purpose of shaming the priest; for which laudable design he was punished, by having his own name held up to posterity as *the* story-teller *par excellence!*" This shows that it is dangerous to lie, even in jest. The Munchausens are a Hanoverian family.

Cortez, had not the value of twenty dollars, and they accompanied the gift with a speech, wherein they declared that Montezuma had stripped them of everything, and reduced them to the utmost poverty. Now, if we believe this, as Montezuma did not possess sufficient power wholly to subjugate Tlascala, notwithstanding its poverty-stricken condition, the real strength of that distinguished monarch was not very extraordinary.

But the rule with our annalists has been to take the most extravagant statement, when there was a variance, and, suggesting some slight abatement, parade that one as evidence. To take the opposite course would be equally objectionable. The only correct rule is to submit every narrative to the ordeal of proof; then, that which can be verified is to be adopted without hesitation, and that which cannot must be rejected, without regarding the number or rank of those it has misled. For this task not one of our predecessors had, before writing, qualified himself by an actual survey of the country. The lack of a qualification so indispensable is but poorly supplied by the polish of elegant periods. We have sought among all the previous chroniclers for some light upon this difficult question of Tlascala, but found only silvery sentences, or elegant selections from writers, ignorant as themselves, on the subject-matter of their essays. For our purpose, then, the standard histories of the conquest might as well be blank paper.

The statements by Cortez of the population, wealth, civilization, and military power of Tlascala, are as utterly

fabulous as would be the history of some New England village fabricated from Moorish romances. He reports "a dry stone wall, nine feet high and twenty feet thick, enclosed Tlascala from mountain to mountain, a distance of six miles, through which he entered, between overlapping stone walls;"* and he then inserts a representation of the alleged wall in a page of his despatches, of which the following is a *fac simile:*—

Of this wall we were unable to find a vestige, for this simple reason—it never existed. We go further, we deny that Cortez was attacked by four or five thousand Indians on passing it,* as Tlascala, by the laws of population, could never have maintained as many hundreds, shut in, as he states it, by impassable metes and bounds of known limits. Of course the hundred thousand† that subsequently assailed him are "but men in buckram," and the grand Tlascalan army of one hundred and forty-nine thousand‡ has equally an imaginary existence. As for the city of twenty thousand houses,§ which he captured before reaching the capital, that, like the armies he encountered, was manufactured from a very small amount of material. The capital itself, he asserts, was larger than Granada, and much stronger, and contained as many fine

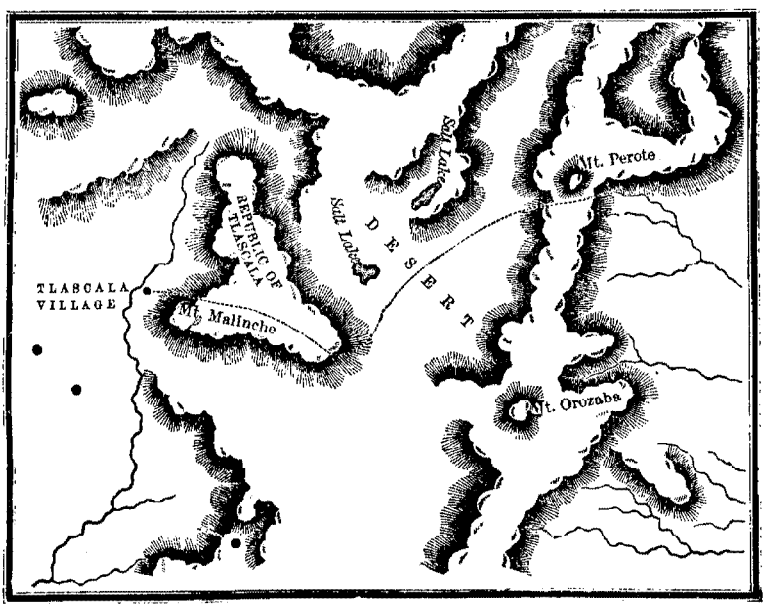
* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 51.
† *Ibid.*, page 51.
‡ *Ibid.*, page 53.
§ *Ibid.*, page 57.

houses, and a much larger population than that city did, at the time of its capture.* A statement that overdoes both Munchausen and the chaplain altogether. The Arabian tales have nothing more untrue. The Conquistador himself furnishes the material for his own conviction. He sets down the population from which these armies were drawn at five hundred thousand,† a number ten times larger than the contracted limits he assigns to the whole state could support, and too small still for its apocryphal force. The author of Bernal Diaz deducts immensely from this picture, the effects doubtless of Las Casas' criticisms, yet even his story is incredible. According to him, the Spaniards were assailed in the first battle, not by four or five, but by three thousand,‡ in the second great battle, not by one hundred thousand, but by *six*; finally the main body is stated at fifty thousand only.§ The hundred and forty-nine thousand Tlascalans of Cortez|| are but forty thousand in the pages of Diaz.¶ In Gomora the discrepancies are still more extraordinary.

Another curious difference of fact may be found in comparing Diaz and Cortez. It lies but in a word, but that word goes far to establish our suspicion that the writer of Bernal Diaz never saw New Spain, or at least not until long after its conquest. Cortez says, the Tlascalans complained to him of being so completely shut in, that they were deprived of the use of salt.** To salt, Diaz adds *cotton*.†† "We cannot get beyond to get salt for our

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 61.
† *Ibid.*, page 63.
‡ *Diaz*, vol. I., page 145.
§ *Ibid.*, page 165.
|| *Cortez*, page 53.
¶ *Diaz*, vol. I., page 147.
** *Cortez*, page 49.
†† *Diaz*, vol. I., page 157.

victuals, nor cotton for our clothing." If this writer had really been acquainted with the tribes of the table-land, he must have known that the fibres of the *maguey* were, among them, substitutes for that article; and are even now used at the city of Mexico in the manufacture of some fine fabrics. In trifles like this we detect the counterfeit and impostor, not in important items. In these last the party guards against discovery by a resort to vague generalities.



TLASCALA OF THE GEOGRAPHERS.

Modern Tlascala is an Indian reservation of nearly oval shape, sixty-nine miles long by forty-two wide. The climate is comparatively cold, and its soil far from excellent. From the time of Cortez it has been independently governed, by its own chiefs, subject to a royal commis-

sioner. Its means of subsistence have increased, and extensive manufactures have been established, also, since that time. The only enumeration ever made of its inhabitants was in 1793, when it was found to contain fifty-one thousand one hundred and seventeen souls.* Even in the extravagant official estimate for the conscription of 1853, its population is only set down at eighty thousand one hundred and seventy-one.† Cortez says Tlascala contained half a million, according to a report made by his order. The three narratives exactly fix its bounds between certain mountains and stone walls. Besides its narrow compass, a perfect non-intercourse existed with the rest of the world; all means of supply were cut off; their subsistence depended upon their own rude cultivation. It would, therefore, seem extravagant to claim for the whole state of Tlascala, a population then, of over ten thousand, for which five hundred warriors would be a large allowance.

The real importance of Tlascala, in the war of the conquest, was its position. The military discernment of Cortez discovered its strategic value, as a great natural fortress, affording centre and base to his future operations against the other tribes. The Tlascalan hatred of Mexico assured him an adequate and reliable garrison in every emergency, and also any number he might desire of Indian auxiliaries; hence the Tlascalans were especially favored. They shared in the perils and in the plunder of his enterprise; for with them rested the ques-

Essai Politique of HUMBOLDT, vol. I., page 144.

† *Coleccion de Leges*, page 184.

tion of success—whether he was to be hailed hereafter as the hero of a holy war, or to be branded as a buccaneer. The good faith with which both parties adhered to the conditions of their alliance, when once it was consummated, is almost without a parallel. Through good and through evil they mutually shared the benefits, even down to the time of the revolution. When, amid the convulsions that have lately agitated that country, the *pariah* caste* again arose, curses both loud and deep were muttered not only against the memory of Cortez, but the Tlascalans, the hereditary enemies of the Aztecs.

The Moorish history of Spain had shown the importance of observing exact faith with those who sided with the invaders, and it is also apparent, from the exhortations to Cortez—put for effect into the mouth of "Father Olmedo" by Diaz—to moderate his pious zeal, to be more tolerant to the Indians, that he imitated the Moors, so far as to allow his allies perfect freedom in their traditional worship of the "Great Spirit;" contenting himself with the erection of a cross, and sometimes a chapel, in their villages;—a line of policy from which the Spanish government appear never to have swerved: for the subsequent adoption, by the allies, of the Romish superstition, was entirely voluntary. Such an acknowledgment of the advantages of political integrity by those "who feared not God, neither regarded man," cannot be too highly appreciated. Though policy alone dictated this course, that policy was the result of profound study.

* *Pariah*, the reader will recollect, is a general term for low-caste people in India.

The remainder of the story is soon told. The food of the people was the maize they cultivated upon the plain, and the game they killed upon the mountains. Their clothing was wrought from the fibres of the maguey, or made from the skins of animals, most likely, in part, of both. Their government was one of *sachems* and councils, the ordinary one in existence among Indians. Glorying in their wild independence, they submitted to the merest shadow of authority. They had not yet attained that point of the social organization when the loose government of the nomad gives way to despotism, the next stage in man's advancement. The difference between the Tlascalans and the Aztecs was, perhaps, that which a North American tribe bears to those of Central Africa, who dwell in mud-built cities, and slavishly obey a half-naked emperor. From his ox-hide within a hovel, the latter exercises the powers of life and death over thousands of trembling slaves. But wandering tribes can only act in councils, and these are, therefore, their governing power, and the orator has as much influence as the successful warrior; when power passes into a single hand, the orator is silent, the war-chief is the government.

During the months that succeeded the battle of Tobasco up to the first of September, 1520, no warlike encounter with the Indians occurred. Then, unexpectedly, Cortez was compelled to risk several sharply-contested affairs. All attempts at negotiation being fruitless, everything was brought to the arbitration of the sword. Without, therefore, wasting useful time, an advance was at once ordered. Here Diaz slips into the mouth of Cortez a phrase usually

attributed to Constantine: "Let us follow our standard. It bears the figure of the holy cross, and in that sign we shall conquer"—*ecce signum*.* Without this moonshine we confess to the genius of Cortez. No leader, educated in frontier warfare, could have conducted a campaign better than this of Tlascala.

Having sent forward his cavalry, who were drawn into an ambuscade, a general engagement was determined upon, rather than encourage the enemy by retreat. For a short time the battle was well sustained; at last the Tlascalans wavered, then gave way. They left seventeen dead upon the field. On the Spanish side four were wounded, one of whom died.† Crossing a mountain ridge, the Spaniards fell in with another body, with which a new but unsuccessful attempt was again made to negotiate; failing in this, Cortez gave the war-cry of Spain, "Forward, San Diego is with us!" This party was greatly more numerous than their own. Diaz reckons the enemy's numbers, absurdly enough, at six thousand, and at forty thousand! One, familiar with Indian affairs, readily translates this fabulous nonsense into an important achievement by Cortez—the extrication of his cavalry from an ambuscade without loss, and the complete dislodgment of the enemy from his cover. These occurrences took place on the two first days of September, 1520.

* *In hoc signo*, &c.

There is suspended in the Museum, at the city of Mexico, a damask silk banner, in a gilt frame, with a picture of the Virgin portrayed upon it. This comparatively fresh and bright ensign apparently never saw a campaign, yet is it represented as the banner borne by Cortez in the war of the conquest! an evidence to the faithful of the superintending work of the blessed Virgin!

† *Diaz*, vol. I., page 146.

The next was a night battle; so natural, so Indian-like are its details that we must credit them, though we have to reduce the hundred and forty-nine thousand of Cortez* to less than one thousand. This is a more liberal estimate than that Diaz suggests, when Gomora uses the same. He tells us to write down one thousand, when Gomora speaks of eighty thousand.† But, alas! we are compelled to apply the pruning-knife to the numerals of Diaz; even the ten thousand select men of that veracious individual must be counted but as so many hundreds, at most. Up to this time the Spaniards had lost fifty-five men only, by disease and battle. The night adventure was a triumphant success; and, the engagement over, the invaders made a mountain march of six miles, during which they suffered severely from cold in that elevated region. "Our horses," says Diaz, "felt the frost quite severely. Two of them, indeed, got the gripes, and trembled like aspen-leaves, at which we were greatly concerned, for we thought they would have died of the cold."‡

The war of Tlascala was now substantially terminated; what subsequently took place was the mere surprise of a few villages. One of these Cortez pretends to have ascertained to number twenty thousand houses!!§ This would give two hundred and fifty, according to the liberal rule of Diaz—more, perhaps, than the real number. But through this mass of exaggeration we still discover the elements of a real Indian war. There is first, the ambus-

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 53.
† *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 365.
‡ *Ibid.*, page 159.
§ *Cortez*, page 57.

cade, the usual opening of a defensive campaign, by the natives. Next, the battle scene, "in a place of deep cavities, [ravines,]* where the cavalry was completely useless." It was evidently a surprise. The success of Cortez consisted in pushing back the Indians to the level ground. In the final struggle, in accordance with Indian tactics, we have a night attack, with all their forces. Thus, the three engagements brought into exercise the whole routine of aboriginal strategy. On each occasion the natives fought desperately, as is their wont when they have their enemy at an advantage. That Cortez at any time escaped a total rout, was owing not to his superior numbers, nor to his experience in the European system of war, nor to the superiority of his weapons, but to his thorough knowledge of his enemy. For an ambuscade, a surprise, or a night attack, he was at all times fully prepared; calculating upon them, he came off victorious from each encounter. The total defeat of De Nouville by a small body of Iroquois, [Senecas,] arose from neglecting such precautions. In that army of twenty-six hundred, nine hundred were veterans from the wars of the Rhine; yet three hundred of them, in full armor, were lost in an ambuscade.† But De Nouville, though a brave and experienced soldier, was, like Braddock, ignorant of Indian tactics.

Spaniard and Tlascalan, victor and vanquished, were now thoroughly exhausted by their efforts.‡ The blows

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* *Barrancas.*

† This is the foundation of a very pretty poem, by Mr. W. H. C. Hosmer, of Avon, New York, entitled *Yonondia.*

‡ *Bernal Diaz,* vol. I., page 169.

given on either side were about equal, and the inducements to a cessation of hostilities mutual. Under these circumstances, there was not much difficulty in settling the terms of a peace, hereafter to be turned into an offensive and defensive alliance against Mexico. This was not effected, however, without an exhibition on the part of Cortez of about as much double-dealing as was ever displayed by an Indian diplomatist. As both the ambassadors of the Mexicans and the Tlascalans were at the same time in his camp, he pretended to hesitate with which he should form an alliance. The result of this duplicity was as he anticipated. Day by day, while he affected to vacillate, each party continued to raise their bids for his friendship; at last there arrived from Mexico presents to the value of three thousand dollars, in gold, and cotton stuffs, interwoven with feather-work. Having, then, all he could expect from that quarter, his decision was at once taken; he set out for the chief village of the Tlascalans, under the escort of a solemn embassy from that tribe; not forgetting, however, to take with him, and to keep near his person, the Mexican envoys. A better certificate of his own importance he could not have had. Thus circumstanced, he marched to the council-village, or capital of the Tlascalan Confederation, and was there received with every demonstration of joy and mutual friendship; and an alliance was at last consummated, which remained undisturbed during the three hundred years of Spanish domination.

The military and diplomatic features of this war terminated, we approach with doubtful reverence the *piety*

thrown in, as a make-weight. It is, as before suggested, *piety* without faith—the offspring of a religion without godliness. After treating us to the usual fables of human sacrifice, Diaz makes Cortez so zealous for the sacraments as to write to Escalante, at Vera Cruz, to send two bottles of wine and some holy wafers, as *he* had none left.* The same author adds, "During these days we erected a majestic cross in our quarters, and Cortez had one of the temples in our neighborhood cleansed and fresh plastered."* In another place, referring to the same transaction, he adds, "and the image of the blessed Virgin [he caused] to be placed [portrayed] on it."† On being presented with five young girls, the Conquistador is represented as delivering one of those peculiar sermons which characterize the narrative of Diaz. "He told them many other things concerning our holy faith which Dona Marina and Aguilar explained *right well* to them! Cortez, at the same time, showed them the image of the holy Virgin, holding her inestimable Son in her arms. . . . She was our mediator with her Heavenly Son, our God."‡ Can it be wondered, after such an exhibition of oriental veneration for the cross, and the Madonna and Infant,§ that the

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 173.

† *Ibid.*, page 182.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 181.

§ The general notion among us is, that the Oriental divisions of the Catholic church (using the Catholic in a party sense) are less corrupt in doctrine than the Romish. Nothing could be more opposite the truth. Not only are all these *churches* utterly depraved in morals, but this depravity of morals was preceded by a total depravity in doctrine; and the incorporation into the Christian system of the peculiar Phœnician form of idolatry that pervaded all Western Asia—the adoration of the Madonna and the cross.

All the change these emblems received was in adding the tradition of Mary and her Son. As in olden time, Malcarth, the Phœnican Hercules,

simple natives should connect them with that race which in ages past had portrayed the same scenes on the ruined

took on the story of Samson, so the Madonna and Child of the Syro-Phœnician coins was no longer Ashteroth, and the child of sacrifice, but Mary and Christ, the Infant.

The Romanists, in constant contact with Protestants for centuries, do not exhibit the paganism of their system so prominently as the Orientals.

"I think it may be useful for me to state here some of the grosser errors of the Armenian church system, as they are contained in the church books still in daily and constant use.

"In the first place, these books teach that the 'holy pictures,' as they are called, after the ceremony of anointing by the priest, are endued with power 'quickly to help and save all those that trust in the Lord;' to 'defend travellers;' to 'aid those who are in the midst of tempests at sea;' to 'heal the sick;' to be 'an atonement for sinners;' to 'cast out devils;' to 'intercede for men;' to 'impart health to body and soul,' &c., &c. And after the consecration takes place, the ecclesiastics are directed to 'burn incense before the pictures;' to kiss them; and to see that 'suitable hymns and prayers' are used before them.

"In the second place, the anointed wooden and metallic crosses have like powers. After the form of prayer, accompanying the anointing of a cross, is given, comes the following direction to the priests: 'Afterwards let them offer adoration, and, all of them in order, kiss, and unitedly worship, saying three times, "We worship thy cross, O Christ, and we magnify thy burial, and we glorify thy resurrection."' After this, in the same service, we find a prayer from which I make the following remarkable extracts: 'Bestow the grace of thy Holy Spirit upon this signal (the cross) which we have erected in thy name. Make this the keeper of our souls and bodies. Hear, pardon, and save all who believe in thy crucified Son, and worship this cross.' . . . 'And when thou sendest death upon men, and they come and entreat thee before this signal (the cross), do thou hear, and pardon, and save them.' . . . 'Remember also the maker of this (cross), and have mercy upon him.' In parts of this prayer, which I have omitted, particular mention is made of almost every evil that can befall man, and for every one the petition is offered, that God would remove the evil from all who worship before the cross.

"In addition to this, we find everywhere, in the church books, prayers to the Virgin Mary, and other saints, and their intercession implored. These books are full of expressions like the following: 'We beseech thee, O holy mother of God, intercede with Christ to save his people whom he hath purchased with his blood.' 'We have thee, O unwedded Virgin, as our intercessor; . . . thee, who art the gate of heaven, the way to paradise, the remover of curses,' &c., 'do not cease to intercede for us.'

"'Rejoice, O mother of God, who art the boast of virginity, the mother of human stability,' &c. . . . .

temples of Yucatan and the hot country? Our historian further adds: "Upon this, it was explained to the caciques [chiefs] why we always erected two crosses whenever we formed a camp, and passed the night, assuring them, among other things, that their gods feared them!"* Under such teaching the children of the forest became baptized heathen! Yet it is about a fair average of the teaching of Romish missionaries,† to the adorers of the Great Spirit.

'O holy Virgin, the dissolver of curses, and the atoner of sins.' And while such expressions, addressed to the Virgin Mary and many other saints, and also to the angels, everywhere abound, I have searched in vain for a single mention of the mediation of Christ, the *only* mediator between God and man!

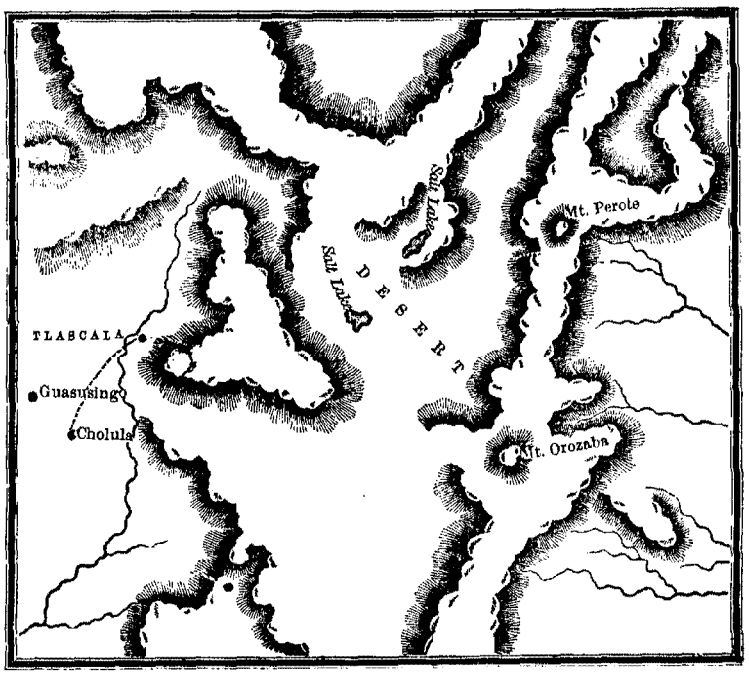
"Furthermore, we find that in the Armenian system, there is no recognition of the individual and personal relation of the sinner to God. His relations are with the priests and the sacraments, and through them he hopes for the pardon of sin, and an entrance into paradise. The books of the church teach that original sin is entirely cleansed away by baptism, and that actual sins are atoned for by the 'sacrifice of the mass;' and the sinner fully released by the pardoning power of the priest!

"All these things I have stated at large in my papers, with full extracts from their own books; and all the reply I have yet heard is that of many individuals, who say, 'Who believes in these things now?' And it is partly true, and a most encouraging truth it is, that great numbers of the Armenians, who still remain connected with the old church, have, through the preaching of the missionaries and our native brethren, and the perusal of our books, become entirely satisfied of the errors of their church. Still the church, as such, has not essentially changed, and, as I have already intimated, all these things are still read in their daily and weekly services. It is evident that things cannot long remain as they are at present. Either the church books and services must be reformed, or there will be a greater exodus than ever before, going forth from the corrupted mass. May the Lord hasten it in his time!"—*Letters from* MR. DWIGHT, *Constantinople.*

Thus we see the church that Christ established in the world, falling into the apostasy with the church planted by Moses, and corrupting itself in the adoration of the "QUEEN of HEAVEN," and of her emblem.

* *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 182.

† Thomas Gage, who spent eighteen years as Dominican friar, in New Spain, thus speaks of the character of the missionary monks of his day, two hundred years ago. . . . "That of



MARCH TO CHOLULA.

The scene now shifts to an adjoining tribe, one bearing the familiar name of Cholula, in common with a mud-

the thirty or forty, which on such occasions are [annually] transported to India, three parts of them are friars of bad lives." London, 1677. Page 17.

Then follows an amusing account of the manner he was led to embrace the life of a friar-missionary.

"This Malendoz greatly rejoiced when he had found me; and being well stocked with Indian *patacones* [money] the first night of his coming, invited me to his chamber to a stately supper. The good Xeres sack, which was not spared, set my friend in such a heart of zeal of converting Japovians, that all his talk was of those parts never yet seen, and at least six thousand leagues distant. Bacchus metamorphosed him from a divine into an orator, and made him a Cicero in parts of rhetorical eloquence. Nothing was omitted that might exhort me to join with him in the function [enterprise] which he thought was apostolical—*nemo propheta in patria* [no one is a prophet in his own country], was a great argument with him;

built village, and an immense earthen mound, which distinguished it, then, as now, among all the villages of the

sometimes he propounded martyrdom for the gospel's sake, and the glory after it to have his life and death printed, and of poor Friar Antony, a cloister son of Segovia, to be styled St. Antony by the Pope, and made collateral with the Apostles in heaven; thus did Bacchus make him ambitious of honor upon the earth and preferment in heaven. But when he thought his rhetoric had not prevailed, then would he act at Midas and Crœsus, fancying the Indies paved with tiles of gold and silver; the stones to be pearls, rubies, and diamonds; the trees to be hung with clusters of nutmegs bigger than the clusters of grapes of Canaan; the fields to be planted with sugar-cane, which should so sweeten the chocolate that it should exceed the milk and honey of the Land of Promise; the silks of China he conceited so common, that the sails of the ships were nothing else: finally he dreamed of Midas's happiness, that whatsoever he touched should be turned to gold. Thus did Xeres nectar make my friend and mortified [self-denying] friar, a covetous worldling. And yet, from a rich covetous merchant, did it shape him to a courtier in pleasure; fancying the Philippines to be Eden, where was all joy without tears, mirth without sadness, laughing without sorrow, comfort without grief, plenty without want—no, not of Eves for Adams, excepted only that in it should be no forbidden fruit, but all lawful for the taste-sweetening of the palate; and as Adam would have been as God, so conceited Melendoz himself a god in that Eden, whom travelling Indian waits and trumpets should accompany; and to whom, entering into any town, nosegays should be presented. Flowers and boughs should be strewed in the way; arches should be erected to ride under. Bells for joy should be rung; and Indian knees for duty and homage, as to a god, should be bowed to the very ground. From this inducing argument, and representation of a paradise, he fell into a strong rhetorical point of curiosity, finding out a tree of knowledge . . . there should the pepper be known in its season, the nutmeg and clove, the cinnamon as a rine or bark on a tree, the fashioning of the sugar from a green growing cane into a loaf; the strange shaping of the cochineal from a worm to so rich a scarlet die; the changing of tints which is but grass with stalk and leaves into an indigo black die, should be taught and learned. . . . Finally, though Xeres's liquor had put his bewitching eloquence into my Antony's brain, yet he doubted not to prefer before it his wine of Philippines, growing on tall and high trees of cocoa, wherein he longed to drink a Spanish Brindis [toast] in my company, to all his friends remaining behind in Spain. Who would not be persuaded by these his arguments to follow him and his Calvo, or bald-pated superior? Thus supper being ended, my Melendoz desired to know how my heart [!] stood affected to his journey; and breaking out into a *voto a Dios*, with his converting zeal he swore he should have no quiet night's rest

table-land. For once we shall follow the standard historians, and afterwards add our own observations. That famous cut-stone pyramid of Cholula, a print of which used to adorn every school geography of our country, had never other than an imaginary existence. The reality is an earthen mound, differing from the common sort only in its enormous size. We are indebted to fiction for all else that it possesses.

The Spanish inventors of Indian traditions made Cholula the Mecca of the Anahuac, where of old an annual fair was held, the resort of merchants and pilgrims from all parts of the table-land; there, say they, sacrifices were offered and vows performed, while exchange and barter engrossed a busy multitude in its bazaars, and at the foot of the great *pyramid*. Cholula, by these apocryphal traditions, was in the time of Indian *paganism!* sacred to Quetzalcoatl, "the god of the air,"* who, during his abode on earth, had taught mankind the use of metals, the practice of agriculture, and the arts of government. Other

until he were fully satisfied of my resolution to accompany him."—THOMAS GAGE, page 25.

The above is a more perfect picture of the character of a jolly friar, than I have anywhere else seen—true to the life.

* At Cholula, I was so fortunate as to procure one of the images of Quetzalcoatl, cut in stone, with curled hair and Caucasian features. This I afterwards compared with the great image found at Mexico, not without strong suspicions that both were counterfeits; for in this country, even the most sacred records are open to such suspicion. Popular tradition and the most approved authors will have it, that some stray white found his way among the Mexicans, taught them empirically the calculations and divisions of time, with a very few of those arts of civilized life unknown to our Indians, for which they venerated him as a god. But the probabilities are that the whole story is a myth; and for once the Inquisition was right in suppressing speculation.

Spanish authors, presuming these traditions true, saw in them the mission of the Apostle Thomas to the Anahuac, and hence styled him the reformer of that people; and thus accounted for the cross, the Madonna, and the incense-burning pictured on the temple-ruins of the hot country. Thus have hypotheses been piled upon each other, to account for the striking similarity that seems to have existed between antique paganism and Romish idolatry.

The account which Cortez gives of Cholula is even more extravagant than his description of Tlascala. According to him, the village of Cholula was a rich and opulent city of forty thousand houses.* He says he counted "from a mosque,† or temple, four hundred mosques,† and four hundred towers of other mosques." He says, too, "the exterior of this city is more beautiful than any in Spain." Diaz, more moderate in the use of numerals, reduces the eight hundred to one hundred very high towers, the whole of which were *cues*, or temples, on which the human sacrifices were offered, and their idols stood. The principal *cu*, here, was even higher than that of Mexico, though the latter, he says, was magnificent, and very high. "I well remember when we first entered this town, and looking up to the elevated white temples, how the whole place put us completely in mind of Valladolid."‡ Other historians go yet further, and represent Cholula not only as the Mecca and commercial centre, but also

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 71.

† This word mosques Cortez constantly makes use of, apparently to keep before the people of Spain the idea that he was conducting a holy war.

‡ *Diaz*, vol. I., page 206.

the seat of learning for the whole *Anahuac*. Here, say they, the Indian philosophers met upon a common footing with Indian merchants.

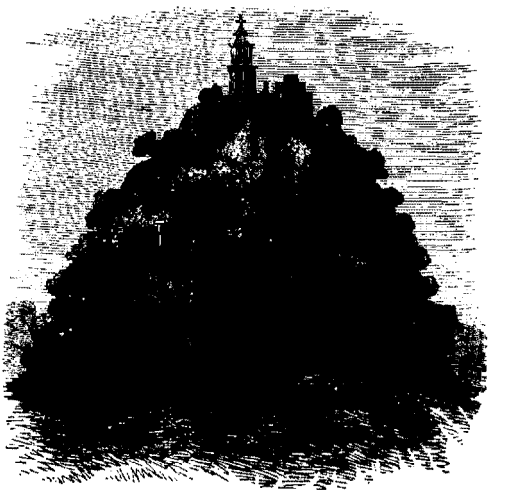
Its government,* like that of Tlascala, was republican; so that upon these plains, according to Spanish authors, more than three hundred years ago there flourished two powerful republics, Tlascala and Cholula, the first the Lacedæmon, the second the Athens of the Indian world. When united, they had successfully resisted the arms of Montezuma; but Aztec intrigue was too powerful for the American Athens, and the polished city of Cholula was subdued by those arts with which Philip of Macedon won the sovereignty of Greece—a combination of intrigue and arms. Tlascala was left alone to resist the whole force of the Aztec empire, now aided by the faithless Cholulans. Yet Tlascala, undismayed by the new combination, did not readily listen even to the proposals of Cortez; and only after the terrible experience she received of his strength, did she admit the value of his alliance. Let us contemplate the simple truth.

The ordinary representations of the city and republic of Cholula are all in a style of magnificence commensurate with the foregoing outline. Such statements only had the author seen, when he undertook its survey. He had not then heard or read of the suggestion of Torquamada,† though copied into one of the notes‡ of Robertson. "The large mount of earth at Cholula, which the Spaniards dignified with the name of temple, still remains,

* *Mexico and its Religion.*

† TORQUAMADA, Liber III., c. 19.

‡ *Note to* ROBERTSON, No. 154.



THE GREAT MOUND, OR PYRAMID OF CHOLULA—SOUTH VIEW.*

without any steps by which to ascend, or any facing of stone. It appears now like a mound, covered with grass and shrubs, and possibly it was never anything more." The striking resemblance of this to the mounds scattered through the country of our northern tribes, satisfied us of their common origin, and that this, like the others, was but an Indian burying-place, formed by the deposition of earth upon the top of a sharp conical hill, as often as fresh bodies were interred, and this is probably the fact. Its greater size is doubtless attributable to its situation in the midst of a most fertile plain, [*vega*] where from generation to generation a dense population must have dwelt, who used this as the common receptacle of

* The difference between this sketch and the copy in *Mexico and its Religion*, is owing to a misconception of it on the part of the wood-engraver. Like too many ideas contained in that volume, it went to press without opportunity for correction.

their dead. The appearance of that structure, which Humboldt and other Europeans have considered a monument of antique *art*, is readily explained by opposing facts familiar only to Americans, to the scientific speculations of foreigners! But to this one there is now no question: an excavation having been made into the side of the mound, it revealed that truth which we only surmised.* The only ruins at Cholula are those of several Spanish convents, abandoned by the *religious*† for others in the more congenial, because more polluted atmosphere of *Puebla*,‡ six miles distant. The village is a collection of *adobe*§ huts, such as it doubtless was in the time of Cortez, and all the appearance of art about "the pyramid" is the modern church upon its crest.

An important event transpired at Cholula, and gave it a sad celebrity. It was a massacre that called forth the furious denunciation of *Las Casas*. Diaz, after railing at "the protector of the Indians,"|| gives us his own version of the bloody work, which is hardly less revolting than that he denounces. Two thousand Indians,¶ says that narrator, were collected by the orders of Cortez in the

* The living witnesses of the result of this excavation are still at Cholula, and the fact is mentioned in several American works; my inference from the fact is the only novelty in the matter.

† This is a term, in Romish countries, applied to all persons belonging to monastic orders, viz: persons under vows.

‡ We have already called attention to the evidence collected by *Madame Calderon de la Barca*, of the Sodom-like character of this city of monks and naughty women. *Puebla of the Angels*, is its full name. But they are such angels as the bottomless pit may be supposed to produce.

§ Adobe is a large brick, formed from common mud dried in the sun.

|| The title of Las Casas.

¶ *Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 207.

great square; the pretence was, their employment as auxiliaries in the contemplated Mexican campaign. At a given signal the Spaniards fell upon them, and slaughtered the whole, while the Tlascalans sacked the village. The numbers are doubtless exaggerated, but the narrowest reality must have still been terrible. The apology for the act was the anticipation of an Indian outbreak, and the alleged proof of it—that the Indian women and children had disappeared—a certain premonition of hostilities. But this apology may have been only an afterthought. A probable solution is, that Cortez felt but doubtful of their fidelity, and feared to leave his rear to a people who might ruin his enterprise, and he little scrupled to adopt whatever policy might dictate to rid himself of a difficulty. Diaz places his vindication on the judgment of certain Franciscan* fathers, charged with the investigation of the affair. But Franciscans were not proper judges where *Las Casas*, a hated Dominican, was the accuser, and their patron, Cortez, the accused. After this sacrifice had been consummated, Diaz gives the stereotyped exhibition of his chief's *piety*, and his great zeal for the abolition of those human sacrifices that never existed, and concludes with the intolerable nonsense of charging the Cholulans with fattening men and women for food, in pens, as animals are fatted. Strange enough, this is repeated even by our own historians. Indeed, though all the books on the conquest are but mere paraphrases, or changes rung upon the despatches, their authors give these slanders a greater prominence

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 157.

than Cortez dared to, before the battery of Las Casas was spiked, and the emperor had yielded to sinister motives against his own convictions. But the imperial will once signified, the libel became history, and truth was suppressed. *Fernando de Alva* satisfactorily vindicates the Tezcucans from the charge of human sacrifice, but from motives of policy he leaves it in full force against the Mexicans.

At this time Ordaz made the ascent of Popocatapetl. That now extinct volcano was then in activity. The narrative of this memorable exploit is slightly mingled with the fabulous, yet there are so many marks of truth about the relation as to enforce belief in most of its details. It is an instance in which little abatement from the received account is necessary. Ordas set out with two companions on his perilous expedition, and was accompanied by a party of Indians, about half-way up. Deserted by them, he still pressed on, while the mountain trembled to its very foundation; at length he was met by a shower of ashes and half-burned stones, accompanied with huge columns of fire. After waiting an hour for the fiery tempest to abate, he resumed his journey, undismayed by this terrific, and to him novel scene, and ultimately reached the edge of the crater, over ten thousand feet above the plain, and seventeen from the sea level. A scene was then presented that richly rewarded his fatigue and danger—one that European eyes had never before beheld. A lake of fire, three miles in diameter, lay before him, boiling and simmering, dim with sulphurous vapors, and darkly flecked with ashes, scoria, and

pumice; without, the panorama presented to his vision was not less strange and unusual. The plain of the Anahuac lay spread at his feet, with all the inferior mountains of the table-land, while a faint halo in the distance appeared like the reflection of the two oceans. The valley of Mexico, its *lagunas*, and its islands teeming with hamlets, and a busy throng of life, was one section of the prospect before him, and the most important, as that to which all the hopes and designs of the Spaniards tended. The purity of the medium through which he gazed presented distant objects unwontedly near, but strangely diminished. It was a microcosm in which men, women, and villages appeared distinctly, but dwarfed to the appearance of puppets. Ordaz was the first European who had looked upon the valley of Mexico, and this gratification he enjoyed in return for his courage and perseverance. Cortez mentions, in his despatches, sending and obtaining sulphur for the manufacture of powder* from the interior

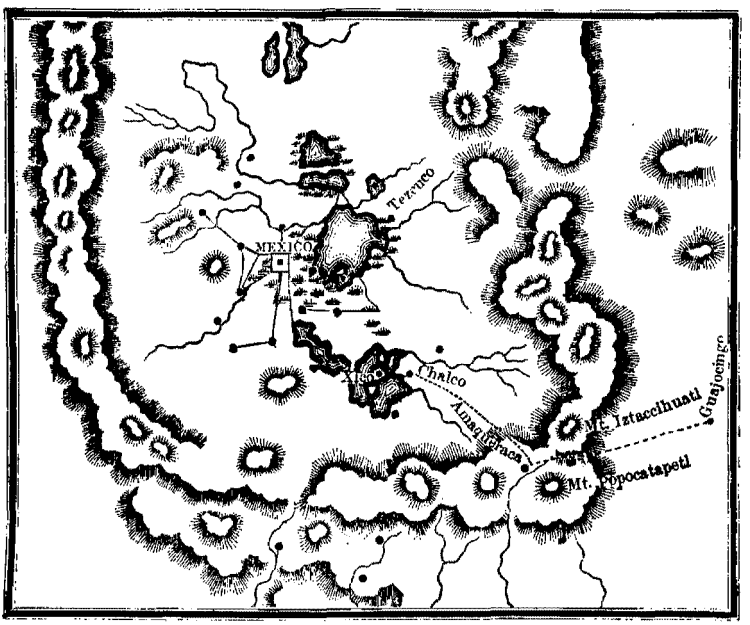
* In Cortez' letters to the emperor, we read as follows:—"As for sulphur, I have already made mention to your Majesty of a mountain in this province from which smoke issues; out of it sulphur has been taken by a Spaniard, who descended seventy or eighty fathoms by means of a rope attached to his body below his arms; from which source we have been enabled to obtain sufficient supplies, although it is attended with danger. It is hoped that it will not be necessary for us to resort [again] to this means of procuring it." . . . . "As the Indians told us that it was dangerous to ascend, and fatal to those who made the attempt, I caused several Spaniards to undertake it, and examine the character of the summit. At the time they went up, so much smoke proceeded from it, accompanied by noises, that they were either unable or afraid to reach its mouth. Afterwards I sent up some other Spaniards, who made two attempts, and finally reached the aperture of the mountain whence the smoke issued, which was two bow-shots wide, and about three-fourths of a league in circumference, where they discovered some sulphur which the smoke deposited."

of the crater by men let down by ropes. Was that a fact? Would they not have been suffocated?

The note of preparation for the invasion of Mexico was now heard on every side. "Peace had been concluded between them [the Cholulans] and their neighbors, the Tlascalans, a cross erected, and much of our *holy faith* explained to the inhabitants," says Diaz.* Attempts were made also to conceal from Montezuma the real object of the march upon his capital. Whether the deceit succeeded with so wily a diplomatist is extremely doubtful. Most likely Cortez shared the common fate; presuming he had overreached his adversary, he deceived himself. Montezuma, failing to induce the invader to forego his march, after the slaughter of the Cholulans, changed his tactics, and urged him to visit Mexico, deliberately devoting it to destruction, that he might for ever be rid of a race whose repeated cruelties to the natives of the islands were about to be re-enacted in his own provinces. The Sempoallans declining to accompany Cortez further, he dismissed them with presents to their homes. The Tlascalans furnished, according to Cortez,† four thousand auxiliaries, according to Diaz, one thousand,‡ to complete the expedition. All things being then in order, the little army commenced its march.

Four leagues brought the Spaniards to the village of the Guajotzincos, allies of the Tlascalans. It was there learned that the Mexicans had prepared ambuscades in the different mountain-roads leading into their valley, by

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 207.
† *Cortez*, page 78.
‡ *Diaz*, vol. I., page 211.



MARCH TO THE MEXICAN VALLEY.

which the army might easily be surprised. But from such casualties it was sufficiently guarded by their leader's vigilance, and that of their allies, who, constantly watching from their eminences, noted every movement that occurred on the opposite side of the barrier. Carefully avoiding the snares laid for him, Cortez again moved forward, surmounting in one day, and in the midst of a driving storm, the pass *antigua* between the two volcanoes, and arrived at Chalco city, where he was immediately surrounded by the disaffected people of the valley, those of Chalco, Amaqueraca, &c. These then received their first lessons in *religion** from the invaders, in their demand for

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 214.

a new supply of women. The aborigines complained bitterly of the manner in which Montezuma's tax-gatherers seized the best-looking of their females. Did they gain anything by accepting the new domination?

CHOLULA.

"It was a delightful afternoon when I mounted my horse for a ride to Cholula. The wind of the day before had driven away every vapor from this exceedingly transparent atmosphere, excepting only the cloud that was resting upon Popocatapetl, a little below its snow-covered summit. It was such weather as we have at "harvest home," and it was truly a "harvest home" throughout the whole Vega. Men were working in gangs in the different fields, gathering stalks, or husking corn, or cutting grain, or ploughing with a dozen ploughs in company, or harrowing, or putting in seed. It was harvest-time and seed-time together. The full green blade and the ripened grain stood in adjoining fields, in this region of perpetual sunshine. As I rode along between carefully cultivated estates, I did not fail to catch the enthusiasm, which groups of cheerful field-laborers always inspire, in one whose happiest recollections run back to the labors of the farm. Such are the varieties this country affords: three days ago I was enjoying the most delicate tropical fruits, which I plucked fresh from the trees; yesterday I was traversing a salt desert covered with clouds of drifting sand; and I was now among grain-farms of a cold climate.

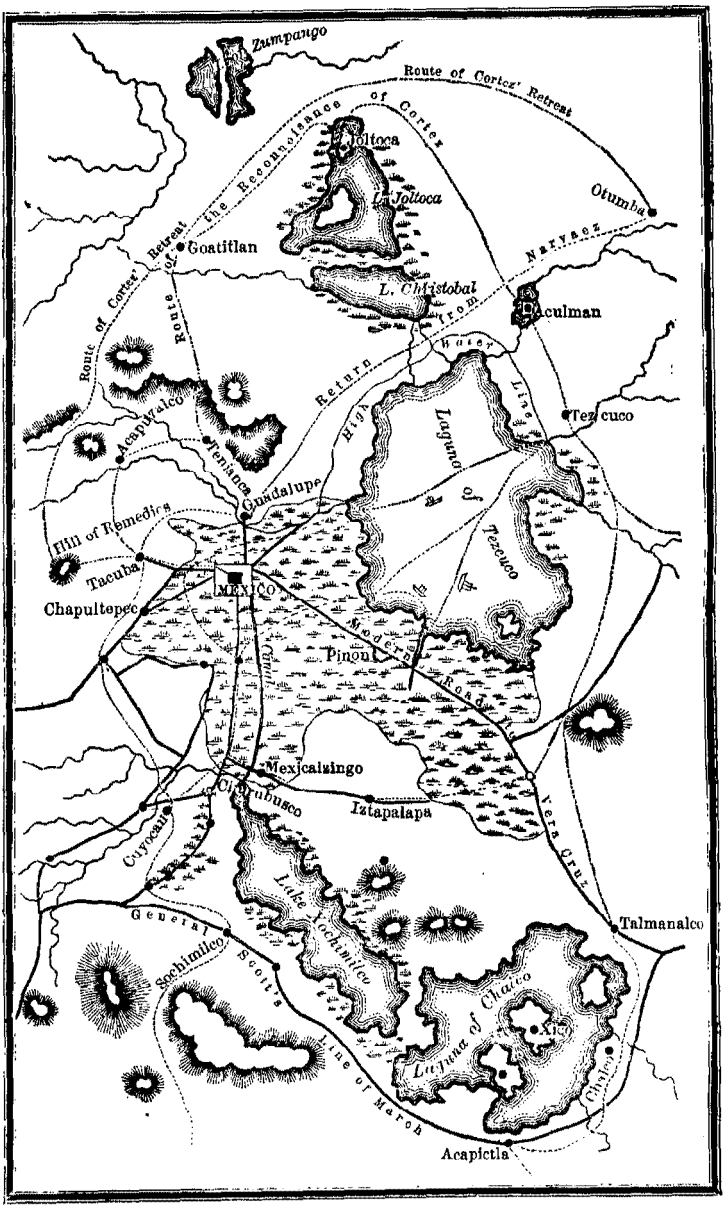
"Right before me, as I rode along, was a mass of trees, of ever-green foliage, presenting indistinctly the outline of a pyramid, which ran up to the height of about two hundred feet, and was crowned by an old stone church, and surmounted by a tall steeple. It was the most attractive object in the plain; it had such a look of uncultivated nature, in the midst of grain-fields. It would have lost half its attractiveness had it been the stiff and clumsy thing which the pictures represent it to be. I had admired it in pictures from my childhood, for what it was not; but I now admired it for what it really was—the finest Indian mound on this continent; where the Indians buried the bravest of their braves, with bows and arrows, and a drinking cup, that they might not be unprovided for when they should arrive at the hunting-grounds of the Great Spirit. A little digging, a few years ago, has furnished the evidence on which I base this assertion. This digging has destroyed the

monkish fiction to reinstate the truly Indian idea of the dead, and of the necessity of mounds for their burial.

"By going round to the north side, I obtained a fine view of the modern improvements constructed upon this Indian pile. I rode up a paved carriage-way into the church-yard, that now occupies the top, and giving my horse to a squalid Indian imp, who came out of the vestry, I went in and took a survey of the tawdry images, through which God is now worshipped by the baptized descendants of the builders of this pyramid. My curiosity was soon gratified, and I returned to my place in the saddle.

"I followed the wall around the church-yard, stopping from point to point, to look upon the vast map spread around on every side. *Orizaba*, which I first saw when one hundred and fifty miles out at sea as a mammoth sugar-loaf, resting upon a cloud, had at Jalapa, and at the 'Eye-of-Waters,' different forms, while here it appeared to be joined with the *Perote*, forming the limit of the horizon toward the east. On the west were Popocatapetl, Iztaccihuatl, and Malinche; while smaller mountains and hills seemed to complete the line of circumvallation, which gave to the elevated plain of Puebla the aspect of the bed of an exhausted lake, and to the isolated hills, rising here and there upon its surface, the appearance of having been islands when the waters covered the face of the land.

"The cloud was still resting upon Popocatapetl; but its crest far above it, was in that region, where, in the tropics, ice and snow lie undisturbed forever. The marks which it bore of having once been the smoke-pipe of one of Nature's furnaces, furnished us with the translation of its name—'*The mountain with a smoking mouth.*' But that lake of fire has long ceased to burn; and when the mountain last emitted smoke was unknown to the oldest inhabitant. And that other mountain, Iztaccihuatl, or the 'White Woman,' lying so quietly and snug, in her covering of perpetual snow, at the side of the volcano, called up in the minds of the Indians the strange conceit of man and wife. There were forests on the mountain sides, and trees along the rivers covered with green; but all else looked dry and parched. Seldom, indeed, has the eye of man ever rested on a finer farming country than the great plain of *Puebla*, and seldom are lands seen better cultivated.



MAP OF THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER XI.

CORTEZ ENTERS MEXICO, SEIZES MONTEZUMA, AND OCCUPIES THAT CITY TILL DRIVEN OUT BY AN INSURRECTION.

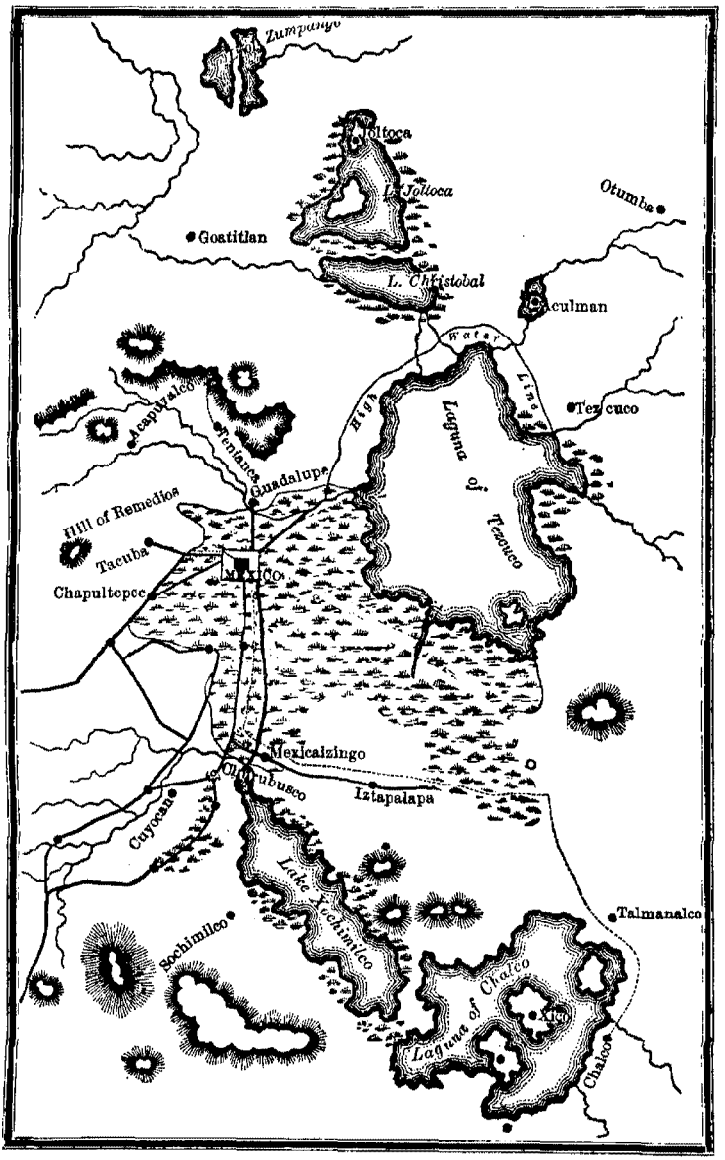
Advantage of having the person of Montezuma, 391—A probable plot and counterplot, 392—The Spaniards and Indians both doubtless designing treachery, 394—Fabulous narratives of the *entré* and appearance of Mexico, 395—The effect of historic fables on the modern city, 397—Mexico as an Indian capital, 397—Interviews with Montezuma before his arrest, 398—The capture of Montezuma, 400—Advantage gained by this treacherous act, 401—Cortez prepares to go against Narvaez, 403—The battle with Narvaez, 404—Commencement of hostilities in the capital, 405—The contest around the Spanish quarters, 406—Capture of the great pyramid, 408—Other events before the night retreat, 408—Unsatisfactory cause assigned for retreat, 409—Cortez' night retreat from Mexico, 410—Recapitulation of the night retreat, 413—The fugitives at the "Hill of *Remedios*," 414—Retreat continued, 415—The second night of the retreat, 415—The retreat to Otumba, 417—The great battle of Otumba, 418—The battle concluded, 419—Cortez reaches Tlascala, 420—The author visits Tacuba, 420.

THE next important event was the entrance of the Spaniards into the island-home of the Aztecs, and the memorable act of treachery which followed it. Cortez, in his first despatch, declares his intentions were to march on Mexico, and seize the person of Montezuma* in a certain contingency, designing to use for his own advantage the profound reverence which Indians pay their rulers. If the benefits of this proceeding were after a few months lost, the disturbance of the charm must be attributed to

* *Cortez*, page 37.

the invasion of Narvaez, and the excessive cruelty and rapacity of the Spaniards, in the absence of their leader. While the spell remained unbroken, Cortez was in effect the absolute ruler of the coalesced tribes; and the industry with which they gathered and brought him gold, shows that he had not miscalculated the power which the possession of the person of Montezuma conferred.

This well-formed design Cortez had followed steadily, from the time of his landing. The war of Tlascala was an unexpected episode, as well as that of the slaughter of the Cholulans. But these inspired such terror among the Aztecs as led them to abandon all hope of resisting the invader by open hostilities. Presents had not conciliated, they had rather whetted the appetite for more; and now, successfully avoiding their ambuscades, they beheld their terrible enemy in full force within their mountain barrier. But one alternative remained—to devote their capital to destruction, and with it to rid themselves for ever of this hated race. The narrow causeways across their marshes were therefore left unguarded, and the light bridges that spanned the water-channels permitted to remain. The little canals, excavated on either side, were covered with canoes, full of people, prepared to receive their enemies, in the gaudy attire of savage merry-making. The *entré* into the imperial capital was arranged with the pomp of Indian stateliness. The display of feather-work was of the richest kind. On every side the plumage of native birds, intermixed with stuffs, stained in fancy colors, and wrought in the borders with *porcupines'* quills, gave a fairy elegance to things



CORTEZ' ENTRY INTO THE CITY OF MEXICO.

the most unreal. The display of welcome was magnificent, and the more ostentatious, as neither party was sincere.

The Indians had learned to abhor the pale-faces, perhaps from some lingering traditions of Phœnician domination, or that the trade-winds were constantly wafting to their shores, from the West Indies, strange tales of blood, which reached even this interior locality. Fugitives from Spanish cruelty for more than a quarter of a century, also, had kept the tribes of the main land in fearful expectation of a visit from that dreaded race, who came and went in "canoes" capable of carrying off the population of an entire village in a single vessel. While the Spaniards threaded the intricacies of the Indian causeways, across the marsh, the subtile natives secretly rejoiced that so large a party of the barbarous enslavers of their race were thus within their power. In their imagination they had but to remove their light bridges, and these invaders within their island-fastness were safe; an escape seemed hopeless, closed, as it was, to all the outer world, with an impenetrable belt of mud. Bark-canoes* the pale-faces could not navigate, and no material for the formation of others within that marshy barrier existed. But the Spaniards advanced unhesitatingly,

* It is quite difficult for an inexperienced person even to get into a bark-canoe. The first attempt generally ends in the boat slipping away, and the novice landing in deep water. When in the boat, none but the most experienced can do more than maintain his equilibrium, seated on the bottom. The author has some painful recollections of this kind of travelling, when the sea was rough. To go dancing over the waves, in an egg-shell-like vessel, is not an agreeable situation at any time. But such is canoe-travelling.

relying not upon the faith of their Indian hosts, but on their own superior valor, and the ability of their leader for success. They were not, as Bernal Diaz foolishly represents, to carry out a fiction, an army led by a debating society. Like all other successful expeditions, despotic power in the hands of a chief was the government, and his capacity to exercise it the secret of its triumph.

In the beginning of the dry season, November 8, 1519, Cortez made his formal entry into the city, and lodged in one spacious enclosure the whole of his little army. Here both Cortez and Diaz turn aside to paint wild figments of the magnificence of the capital of Montezuma. Oriental story, in its richest flights, has hardly ever reached the extravagance of their tales. Were either narrating a public reception of the Caliph of Cordova, in the zenith of his glory, or the triumphal entry of those of Bagdad, they could not have pictured scenes comparable to these described, as actually transpiring in their presence in this Indian metropolis.* The enormity of the fiction is not,

* "This noble city contains many fine and magnificent houses, which may be accounted for from the fact that all the nobility of the country, who are the vassals of Montezuma, have houses in the city, in which they reside a certain part of the year; and, besides, there are numerous wealthy citizens who also possess fine houses. All these persons, in addition to the large and spacious apartments for ordinary purposes, have others, both upper and lower, that contain conservatories of flowers. Along one of the causeways [the Chapultepec] that lead into the city are laid two [water] pipes, constructed of masonry, [doubtful] each of which is two paces in width, and about five feet in height. . . . The inhabitants of this city pay greater regard to the style of their mode of living, and are more attentive to elegance of dress and politeness of manners than those of other provinces and cities, since, as the cacique Montezuma has his residence in the capital, and all the nobility, his vassals, are in the constant

after all, its most striking feature. It lies rather in the credulity—not of the Spaniards, whose belief was regulated by authority—but in that of the whole civilized world, which credited these remarkable narrators without

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habit of meeting there, a general courtesy of demeanor necessarily prevails. . . . . For, as I have already stated, what can be more wonderful than that a barbarous monarch, as he is, should have every object found in his dominions imitated in gold, silver, precious stones, and feathers, the gold and silver being wrought so naturally as not to be surpassed by any smith in the world, the stone-work executed with such perfection that it is difficult to conceive what instruments could have been used, and the feather-work superior to the finest production in wax and embroidery. . . . . He possessed out of the city as well as within numerous villas, each of which had its peculiar sources of amusement, and all were constructed in the best possible manner for the use of a great prince or lord. Within the city, his palaces were so wonderful that it is hardly possible to describe their beauty and extent. I can only say that in Spain there is nothing equal to them. There was one palace somewhat inferior to the rest, attached to which was a beautiful garden, with balconies extending over it, supported by marble columns, and having a floor formed of jasper elegantly inlaid. There were apartments in this palace sufficient to lodge two princes of the highest rank with their retinues. . . . The emperor has another beautiful palace, with a large court-yard, paved with handsome flags, in the style of a chess-board.

"Every day, as soon as it was light, six hundred nobles and men of rank were in attendance at the palace, who either sat or walked about the halls and galleries, and passed their time in conversation, but without entering the apartments where his person was. . . . . Daily his larder and wine-cellar were open to all who wished to eat and drink. The meals were served by three hundred youths, who brought on an infinite variety of dishes; indeed, whenever he dined or supped, the table was loaded with every kind of flesh, fish, and vegetables that the country produced. The meals were served in a large hall, in which Montezuma was accustomed to eat, and the dishes quite filled the room, which was covered with mats, and kept very clean. He sat on a small cushion curiously wrought of leather. He is also dressed four times every day in four different suits, entirely new, which he never wears a second time. None of the caciques who enter his palace have their feet covered, and when those for whom he sends enter his presence, they incline their heads and look down, bending their bodies; and when they address him, they do not look him in the face; this arises from excessive modesty and reverence. . . . . No sultan, or other infidel lord, of whom any knowledge now exists, ever had so much ceremonial in his court."—FOLSOM'S *Cortez.*

either scrutiny or evidence. The violation of natural laws, which their statements involved, may not have been readily detected when philosophy hardly existed as a science. But how shall we account for that blinking of the gross discrepancies between them? Is a love of the marvellous so inveterate in man that critics, even, shut their eyes to the most palpable contradictions?

Could Mexico have then been seen as it now appears—a modern city, built on an antique pattern—our authors might well have painted it in oriental colors, and almost fancied, too, some lingering resemblance to the great cities of the Moorish caliphate within its time-marked palaces. As the occupants of some chamber upon a house-top,* in the day season, they might dream themselves, perhaps, in such a capital as they have fabricated for Montezuma. Domes, and minarets [steeples], and elevated battlements cast strange shadows in the rarified atmosphere, by moonlight, and make a picture so unreal that the visiter of to-day might almost fancy the actual existence of such a world as Cortez only figured. Untrue in fact—untrue even in fancy—his wild assertions have grown almost realities by passing so long unquestioned. Generation after generation allowed their taste and their architectural plans to be influenced by an imagined resemblance to something that had graced the spot before, and uncontradicted fabrications thus became almost truths.

This valley at the sea-level would have been for ever jungle, a dwelling-place for wild beasts, for the

* Such was the author's lodging the first winter he visited Mexico.

screech-owl and the bittern to enjoy unmolested; and that such a spot, perpetually on the verge of inundation, —where the difference between the land and water can be measured by inches,—should be occupied by a large city, demonstrates both the purity of the atmosphere and the uniformity of evaporation, which for centuries has maintained this slight elevation. But the proximity of the two surfaces produces disagreeable results—stagnation and decomposition—the festering evils of an undrained valley, though neutralized in its lower levels by salt and sterility. Sewerage is necessarily upon the surface—the drains of the city cess-pools are its street ditches, or *canals*. All poetic illusion vanishes, when from moonlight on the housetop we descend to the sober reality of day. Since the time of Cortez the resources of engineering have been exhausted in attempts to establish any material change, without tunnelling the mountain, so as to drain Tezcuco *laguna*. These very defects fulfilled the Indian idea of a stronghold, as they at all times insured them that security which a circumvallation of mud and water could furnish. Beyond this, we will not affirm the famous capital of the Aztecs differed materially from an ordinary Indian village of the first class.

Before entering at large upon this "city of the geni," both Cortez and Diaz describe the visits of ceremony exchanged with Montezuma and one of the narrators. The alleged speeches on either side are given by both authors. As narrated by Cortez, his were straightforward and to the purpose; he had to lull the suspicions of his victim, that he might not escape the snare. But, according to

Diaz, Cortez opened the conversation with an exceedingly inappropriate attempt at religious proselytism. He paves the way for this discourse thus: "Our monarch had received intelligence of him [Montezuma] and of his great power, and had expressly sent us to his country to beg of him and his subjects to become converts to the Christian faith, for the salvation of their souls, and that we only adored one true God, as he had previously, in some degree, explained on the downs [sea-shore] to his ambassadors."* Still more inappropriately, when Cortez visits Montezuma in his palace, and is received with the greatest ceremony, he is represented as commencing: "We were Christians, believing in one true God only, Jesus Christ, who suffered and died for our salvation. We prayed to the cross, as an emblem of that cross on which our Lord and Saviour was crucified." We here see the difference between the Phœnician and Spaniard is not in the act of praying to the emblem, but the tradition by which they explain their idolatry. "These figures," Diaz continues, "on the contrary, which he [Montezuma] considered as gods were no gods, but devils, which were evil spirits. It was very evident how powerless, and what miserable things they were, since, in all those places where he [Cortez] had planted the cross, those gods durst no longer make their appearance."†

These addresses, though doubtless never uttered, serve to show the unmixed paganism of the Spaniards in the generation succeeding the conquest, and the kind of *reli-*

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 224. † *Ibid.*, page 225.

gion which supplanted the worship of the Great Spirit at Mexico.

The farce played out, both parties prepared to execute their well-laid stratagem. It is idle to say no proof of sinister design on the part of Montezuma exists. Why, then, did he suffer the Spaniards to enter his capital unresisted? Suspicious by nature, and addicted to stratagem, an Indian would hardly allow this secure retreat to be invaded by a handful of armed men, but to effect their destruction. Cortez only anticipated his enemy, and simply took advantage of the Indian's deceit to carry out a long-meditated counterplot. Men of different races, repugnant to each other in taste, in habits, and religion, were in arms within the limits of a small island. Between these collision was inevitable. It was only a question of time, and the Spanish commander availed himself of his position, to extend what at best was but an armistice, by the surprise and capture of Montezuma. The pretext was the falling off in supplies, and in attentions on the part of the Indians to their Spanish guests. It was, however, only a pretext; for the stock of corn, in an Indian village, would be soon exhausted, by a large addition to the number of its consumers, and the idle curiosity of savages as quickly gratified. Cortez seems to have waited to the last moment at which he could hope successfully to put in execution his original project of seizing the person of the Indian emperor; for already the Spanish occupancy began to weigh as a burden. The *Conquistador* was not a man to waste words in discussion when the time had come to act; and the scene, at the arrest, since invented for dramatic effect, we shall pass unnoticed. The words ex-

changed on the occasion must have been brief, and to the purpose, much as Cortez represents them, and not as dramatized by the historians. A band of resolute soldiers, ready to do his bidding, were more potent than words, words that had to be twice translated to be comprehended by the party addressed. It was a complete surprise, and as resistance was vain, Montezuma, yielding himself with Indian stoicism to the will of his captors, was led an unresisting prisoner to their quarters. So well had the plot been laid, so adroitly had it been executed, that the possession of this valuable hostage was gained without even a street tumult. Much *pious* indignation has been expressed at so gross a breach of faith as this act is represented to have been. But these ideas are out of place in savage war. The faith of treaties, the rights of hospitality, the respect due to the exalted station of the victim, are but figures of speech which neither would regard for a moment, if they traversed well-matured plans. The crime chargeable to Cortez is not then an abuse of hospitality, it is the original design that made it necessary.

The *Conquistador* did not misjudge the advantage which a possession of the person of the emperor conferred. In his name Cortez became the ruler of the tribes, or, to use his own language, "He [Montezuma] immediately requested that I would designate the Spaniards whom I wished to send on this business, and he distributed them, five by five, among many provinces and cities; . . . and with them he sent some of his own people, and directed them to go to the governors of provinces and cities, and say that I commanded each one of them

to give a certain proportion of gold, which he prescribed. Accordingly, all those *caciques* to whom he sent, contributed freely what he demanded of them; . . . we found that the fifth part belonging to your majesty amounted to thirty-two thousand four hundred dollars."* He further writes, "In these concerns, and others of no less advantage to your royal highness, I was employed from the 8th November, 1519, to May, 1520."* Thus, Montezuma was but a tool, a name by which the Indians were held in subjection, and kept to washing gold, until the disturbance created by the arrival of Narvaez overthrew this policy. When that hostile expedition was turned into a reinforcement, it was hardly politic to continue the same state of things. For the lawful accomplishment of his plans, he had the Aztecs in the right position. They had become the vassals of the Spanish sovereign, and if hostilities ensued, their enslavement would be the just punishment of rebellion, even in the opinion of the Hieronomite brothers.† Active war, too, was as necessary now as peace had been before. A host of new adventurers were yet to be provided for, and to be employed. In the ignoble duties of the garrison, their leader could hardly hope to hold them in subordination. It is idle, then, to speculate on the immediate cause of the outbreak. It may have been the unprovoked slaughter of five hundred Indians by *Alvarado*, in the absence of Cortez, as is asserted, or it may have been due to Cortez himself, in sending Ordaz to bring back by force the

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 126.

† The commission already referred to, to protect the Indians from cruelty.

women of his harem.* Either act may have hastened it, but the result was inevitable, after the name of Montezuma ceased to charm. Though the hostile spirit, which occasionally manifested itself before the march against Narvaez, burst forth in the absence of Cortez, it apparently ceased on his return with an overwhelming force. But when their women were seized by violence, fury, rather than courage, seemed to possess them.

The regular order of the war was here broken by this episode of Narvaez. We have followed Diaz and Cortez thus far throughout, reducing their hyperboles to realities, and rejecting their fabrications. They differ not only in the style, but in the character of their inventions. Cortez confines himself to the transforming of Indian villages into metropolitan cities, and their war parties into imperial armies, to be swept away by the torrent of Spanish invasion. Victory over the infidels is the result of every movement. Diaz, on the other hand, while moderating his numerals to such a degree as makes the narratives irreconcilable, devotes himself to supplying a *religious* phase to the war, and to exhibit the *pious* conduct of his *armed missionary*, whose zeal he represents as so overwhelming that the last injunction put into his mouth is one to Montezuma, "to see that the image of the holy Virgin and the cross were constantly decorated with green boughs; that the church [chapel] was kept clean, and wax lights burning night and day on the altar, and not to allow his *papas* [medicine-men, or conjurers, called also priests by the Spaniards] to sacrifice any human beings."†

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 334. † *Ibid.*, page 303.

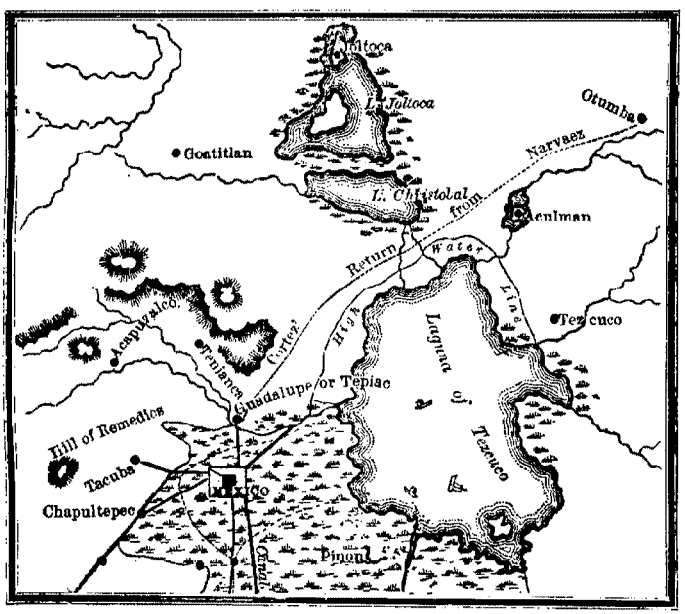
After this *pious* exhibition, our *missionary* sends his concubines to Tacuba, for safe-keeping, and then starts on his expedition against Narvaez.

In the affair of Narvaez there is again a disagreement, but the order of variance is reversed. It was safe for Cortez to magnify the number of Indians who opposed him, but not to exaggerate the Spaniards in the expedition of Narvaez, for the actual number of these last was registered. Thus he states those sent against him as only eight hundred.* But Diaz, under no constraint, raises the roll to fifteen hundred,† and kills off the extra number in the night retreat, *triste noche.* According to Cortez, Narvaez had ten or twelve pieces of ordnance: Diaz has forty, and says he was present at the capture of a battery of eighteen.† Once they agree—in the number of horses—in both they are eighty. The battle which ensued, between Cortez and Narvaez, was fought during a rainy night. It was hardly a battle, but rather a farce, to impose upon the discomfited partisan, whose officers had been bribed, and men seduced, before the affair began. It was a precedent to the victories "by purchase," which in the present day form so striking a feature of the military annals of Mexico; victories in which no lives are sacrificed, but those of such as are *insensible to reason!* We may dispose, therefore, of this return to the coast in a single paragraph. The hostile meeting and total defeat of Narvaez, and the incorporation of his force with that of the traitor Velasquez had sent him to capture, and return prisoner to Cuba, scarcely needs a comment. That the

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 128. † *Diaz*, vol. I., page 322.

battle terminated so auspiciously was the effect of gold, and the value of promises, not the want of courage in Narvaez or the display of prowess in Cortez.

On the return of the conquistador from the rout of Narvaez, the hostilities which had broken out during his absence were suspended. The Indians, acting on their original plan, or overawed by his greatly augmented force, made no opposition to his re-entering their capital.



RETURN TO THE CITY AFTER DEFEAT OF NARVAEZ.

This time he came by the route of Otumba, and the causeway of Tepeac, or *Gaudalupe*, on the north side, having marched around the mountains by the plains of Apam, instead of crossing directly from Tlascala. He brought with him the whole force of the united armies,

stated by Diaz at thirteen hundred, with ninety-six horses, in one place;* in another, "nearly sixteen hundred, with seventy-nine horses,† and two thousand auxiliaries." But the whole, including Indians, could not have exceeded a thousand men. Again, fairly settled in his old quarters, he sent for his women, as before mentioned; whereupon hostilities were resumed with fury. This was June 24th, 1520.‡ Both parties were now prepared for a final struggle. To the ordinary repugnance men have to another race, a sense of outrage even to Indian ideas of morality, gave these latter an energy that for a time compensated their inferiority in warlike means. They fought like demons, rather than men, and many a Spaniard paid dearly for his crimes.

Rarely do we find, in military annals, a more thrilling account of encounters, assaults, sorties, and hand to hand combats, constant alarms by night, and hair-breadth escapes by day, than that Cortez furnishes of the memorable siege, sustained in his quarters, in the midst of "the greatest and noblest city in the whole new world."§ Now buildings within the enclosure are set on fire, and are torn down to check the progress of the flames. Again, the enemy who have scaled the walls are to be driven back, and then a well-projected sortie is to be repulsed. So hard pressed were they at last on every side, that the imperial shadow, Montezuma, was brought out by the Spaniards to appease the fury of the besiegers. At the sight of their venerated chief, the weapons of the assailants were low-

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 334.
† *Ibid.*, page 336.
‡ *Ibid.*, page 356.
§ FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 145.

ered, and a profound silence succeeded to the shouts of battle. A short exhortation to peace was all the maddened warriors could hear,* before a missile, sent by chance or design, struck the sachem to the earth while addressing them. Such a public indignity was a mortal wound that he could not survive. He refused surgical aid, and was soon a corpse. Again the battle raged with renewed violence; movable towers were constructed, to be used as batteries for cannon, but they were soon broken and dismantled. Houses were captured, one by one, and burned or pulled down, so as daily to enlarge the open space around the Spanish quarters, while constant sorties were made in the direction of the short causeway of Tacuba, with the view of opening a passage to the main

* This is not an extraordinary result, after the war-spirit had become rampant. The only remarkable feature in the narrative is, that violence should have been done to the person of the sachem. His deposition was the natural result of a change of policy.

In this respect the statesman of the forest is in no safer position than the civilized politician. Brandt, in the zenith of his popularity, presumed to exhort his confederates to peace, when determined on joining in the memorable war of the north-western frontier. Instantly his influence was gone, and from that moment he was regarded only as a relic of the past.

The case is thus stated by his once secretary to the author:—The Iroquois confederacy, after continuing to act in harmony for about two hundred years, had been severed at our revolutionary war.

One party had sided with the revolutionists, and remained at their old homes in the "States;" another party, with Brandt at their head, had retired to Canada, preferring to live under the king's dominion.

In a new confederacy, formed among the North-Western Indians, the Iroquois of Brandt's party held a conspicuous part.

In a general council of this new confederacy, held after the peace of Paris, the question of renewing the war with the United States was discussed. Brandt, as the head of the peace party, deprecated further hostilities with his usual eloquence, but Captain Tom McGee, a young chief, advocated war, and carried the council against Brandt.

Immediately Brandt withdrew with his little band from the confederacy, and died in comparative disfavor.

land. At night the defenders dressed their wounds, and repaired the breaches in their works. Thus were they occupied night and day, without cessation.

Constantly annoyed by missiles thrown from the top of the great mound, Cortez finally resolved to rid himself of that difficulty. He summoned a select party of his men, and made a sortie for that purpose. Without loss they forced an entrance into the alleged enclosure that surrounded it, and boldly charged up the sides of the pyramid. Step by step the Indians defended their position; and step by step, and breast to breast, the Spaniards ascended the slippery height. At last the summit was gained, and its defenders hurled headlong down, to be slaughtered by the guards below. In these fearful hand to hand struggles, the assailant is ordinarily successful—the very inequality of the contest inciting him to put forth apparently superhuman effort. That for the possession of this height was fairly fought, and bravely won, we have no doubt; and we have to regret the foolish attempts to exalt its importance, by exaggerating the number of those engaged in its defence—nearly five hundred, according to Cortez.* Not an unreasonable number; but one which Diaz increases to three or four thousand.†

The siege continued still, however, without decisive results, from the 24th of June until the 1st of July, the sorrowful night of Cortez; but which Diaz fixes as the 10th.‡ The true reason of that night retreat of the Spaniards, we cannot now determine. The cause assigned by Cortez, as is too often the case, is undoubtedly untrue.

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 153. † *Diaz*, vol. I., page 342. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 256.

"The Indians," he says, "boasted they were so numerous as to enable them to sacrifice twenty-five thousand of their number, to destroy one Spaniard."* Diaz adds, "All our attempts to fire the houses, or pull them down, were fruitless, *as they stood in the midst of the water!* and were connected to each other by drawbridges only."† A flat contradiction to a statement of Cortez, who declares he fired three hundred in the street of Tacuba alone, at a single sortie, before the Indians could rally; and even when they did, he turned and destroyed the buildings of another street.‡ In the midst of such clouds, we have to feel our way slowly.

The most perilous step in Indian war is a retreat. Better is it to risk the alternative of death firmly, than to present the least symptom of faltering or hesitation. The savage, like the wild animal of the forest, is often cowed by a bold front, but lashes himself into fury at the yielding of his adversary. This night retreat was the great mistake of the campaign, for any reason that has yet appeared, and almost proved fatal to the whole Spanish force. Water must have been abundant, for the siege occurred in the midst of the rainy season; and if provisions were wanting, the houses of the natives could have furnished a supply of corn, to be eaten with the flesh of their horses. The invested quarters might have been turned into a fortress begirt with a wet ditch, while with the cannon an open space could gradually have been cleared, in which no Indian might safely venture. But

* *Cortez*, page 155. † *Diaz*, vol. I., page 341. ‡ FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 155.

all the advantages of a central position were lost from this movement, which appears to have been the result of one of those unaccountable panics, which afterwards astonish the very actors themselves. In our own history we have had several instances of disastrous retreats before an Indian enemy. But all combined were unequal to the sufferings of Cortez and his band in the *triste noche.*

The exact date of this event, which has attracted so much discussion, is entirely immaterial. Whether it was the first day of July, or the tenth, matters little; the main features of the affair are unquestionable. The reader may easily fancy the scene presented by a body of several hundred footmen, horsemen, cannon-bearers, women, and prisoners, huddled together in thick darkness, with their baggage, *materiel,* and armor, upon a narrow causeway, having a wide opening, to be crossed only by wading and climbing the opposite bank. On either side were ditches, and a bog, both covered with infuriated savages, howling and yelling, and with every Indian device to create confusion among the crowded fugatives. Those who maintained a hold upon the muddy roadway were in danger of being trampled under foot by their terror-stricken companions; those who slipped from it met a certain death in the muddy bath into which they fell. Cortez, who led the van, was the first to reach the main land; he says by swimming,* more likely by leaping his horse over the smaller openings, after he had crossed the main one by his movable bridge. His alleged return to

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez,* page 160.

NIGHT RETREAT TO TACUBA.

the rear, through the disordered multitude, is a little apocryphal; but in no other part could his services have been more necessary. Affright and confusion caused greater destruction than the weapons of the enemy. The struggle was of that kind in which the soul of an Indian delights; when his frail weapons acquire a tenfold strength from the disorder of his foe. *Leon* and *Alvarado* covered the column from the furious onslaught of the enemy, with a force of two hundred and fifty foot and twenty cavalry. Ultimately Alvarado was unhorsed, and on the point of falling into the hands of those who had doomed him to

the torture, for his unprovoked massacre, when he leaped the *Salta de Alvarado* and escaped alone. The cannon-bearers sank with their burdens into the all-absorbing mud, or met their death from the spears of the assailants. The distinguished prisoners perished either at the hands of their guards, or from being trampled upon by the fugitives, but not by the weapons of their countrymen. Twenty-four of the horses were also lost,* most likely in unsuccessful attempts to leap the ditches,† and one hundred and fifty Spaniards.‡ This is the estimate of Cortez, and most likely correct. But Diaz—who had an extra amount to dispose of from overstating the Narvaez men—puts the loss at eight hundred and fifty, including a few killed in the subsequent retreat.§ Considering all the difficulties to be surmounted in this "night of sorrow," the loss of life is remarkably small; the greatest sacrifice was the necessary abandonment of the entire *materiel.* The first declaration of both is, that the loss of treasure was almost total; but Diaz, afterwards, in accounting for the purchase of a new outfit, confesses, "that of the gold stowed away by the Narvaez men, and our own troops, particularly by the horse, a great quantity was certainly saved. Besides that, many of the eighty Tlascalans, who were loaded with the gold, and retreated from Mexico in the vanguard, got safely over the bridges."|| That is, nothing was really lost but the *imaginary treasure,* now grown inconveniently large, and which had to be accounted for

* Folsom's *Cortez,* page 161.
† *Ibid.,* page 158.
‡ *Ibid.,* page 161.
§ *Diaz,* vol. I., page 356.
|| *Ibid.,* page 382.

to the emperor.* The *Conquistador* was too good a soldier to hazard his gold; it was therefore in the advance, and came safely off.

In so important an event it is as well to recapitulate. There was probably no gold lost, as mentioned above. Cortez could not otherwise have made the extensive purchases he did in San Domingo, Jamaica, and Vera Cruz, for his third expedition. And a correct statement of the numbers brought by Narvaez added to the general muster of forces at Tlascala, would hardly leave a margin for more than one hundred and fifty, as the total loss in men. Aiming to conciliate the Aztecs, it would have been grossly impolitic to introduce a large body of undisciplined Tlascalans into the city. The loss of the Indian allies must, therefore, have been small. As for the millions of assailants, they were *buckram men;* panic, alone, peopled the air with them. The place of battle was not accessible to large bodies. The causeway ditches, through the marsh, were broad and shallow; there a small number, in canoes suddenly collected, might find places to assail the Spaniards on their flanks. Necessarily, the most determined contest was with the rear. This had been judiciously made up partly of veterans, and partly of the Narvaez men, supported by twenty horse.† As this force suffered severely, and sustained nearly all the loss, it is probable the Indians succeeded in making a lodgment in their rear, and prevented the restoration of the temporary

* "Abandoning the garrison together with much wealth, belonging to your highness."—FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 159.

† *Diaz*, vol. I., p. 351.

bridge, after it had once fallen.* Besides mere ditches, there seems to have been but one broad opening in the causeway; the others were only open drains, to pass the local accumulations of water to the lower levels of the *laguna*. Most of those who crossed by the bridge doubtless reached the main land, but the larger part of the rear-guard, not having done so before it fell, perished. This, perhaps, is the correct version of the conflicting accounts of the night retreat, which has been seized upon by the various narrators as a convenient occasion of restoring the equilibrium between their own exaggerations and the subsequent muster-rolls. One of the dead, too, in this convenient slaughter, was named as royal treasurer in the despatches; so that all discrepancies were safely balanced in this "night of sorrows."

The barren hill of *Remedios*† presented a sad and sickening spectacle when morning dawned. The escaped of the late garrison, weary, wounded, cold, and hungry, their clothing saturated with alkaline water, *tequisquita*, —themselves stiff, from its effects on their too common infirmity, hurried through the village of Tacuba, and huddled together on that elevated position. But there no food could be procured, and they had but miserable rags with which to dress their wounds.‡ Yet, even in their changed circumstances, the Spaniards thought themselves fortunate in such a refuge; they could, at least, abide in security until darkness again enabled them to resume their flight. How great a change a few days had

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 349.

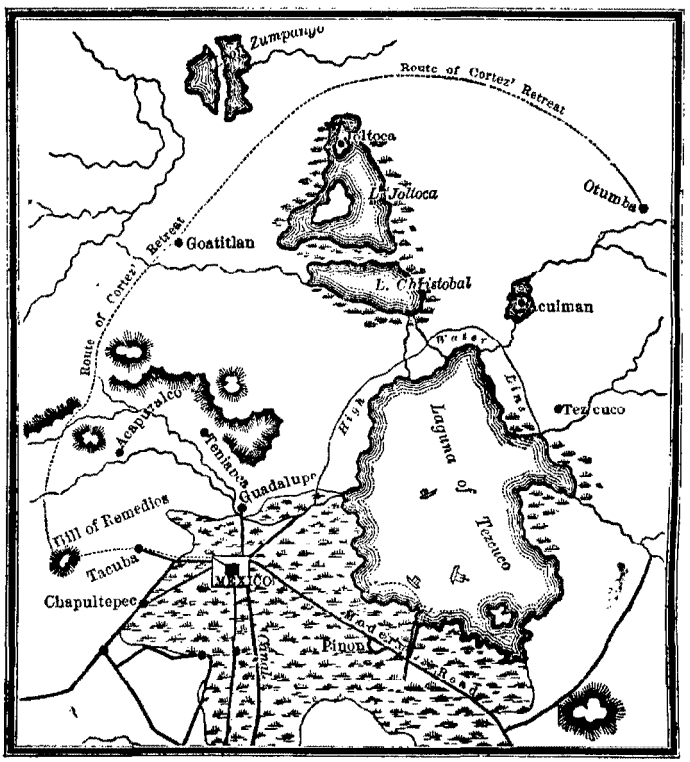
† See supplemental note, "Our Lady of Remedies."

‡ *Diaz*, vol. I., page 353.

effected! But a little time before their leader had entered the island capital of the Aztecs, with the prestige of an unparalleled victory, and in possession of a well-appointed army. He had since succumbed to the passionate assaults of half-armed Indians, and now, reduced to a disorganized band of fugitives, that army was resting for darkness to cover its escape from an hitherto despised force! The blessed Virgin's interposition here in staunching the wounds of the survivors made it a place of pilgrimage for centuries. But since the revolution of castes the memory of Cortez and his companions has fallen into disfavor, so, too, has the Virgin of the Remedies—*Los Remedios.** She was identified with the conquering race, and in the resurrection of the children of the soil her image had to seek another asylum. Its nose is broken, it has lost an eye, but it is a *virgin* still, though certainly an antique one.

At length the hour arrived to resume the retreat. It was midnight. With fires lighted and the usual devices to conceal a movement, the Spaniards stole from their quarters and threaded their way among the hills, bogs, and pools, which then, as now, characterize the route from Tacuba to the neighborhood of the laguna of *Joltoca* or *San Christobal.* They were not, however, undiscovered by their watchful enemies, who continued to annoy them with arrows, stones, and *revilings*† through the march. In one of the passes among the hills, a wounded man died; and a horse was killed, over which

* See supplemental note, "Our Lady of Remedies."
† *Diaz*, vol. I., page 354.



RETREAT TO OTUMBA.

last they deeply grieved. To a military mistake of their enemies, they alone owed their escape. Possessing an interior line of communication, it was in their power to select the most desirable point and moment for attacking the Spaniards. In accordance with the custom of Indian warfare, some intricate defile or pass should have been chosen for the grand assault, where cavalry could not be made available. Instead of following this prudent suggestion, however, the open plain of Otumba was selected.

The Aztec fell into the common error of victors—despising the flying enemy, he took the fatal resolve of intercepting him in a pitched field. The result was such as might have been anticipated. While preparations for the great battle were making, the fugitives, comparatively undisturbed, had time to recover their spirits, and hope revived before the not difficult alternative was presented by the lines of an undisciplined enemy.

The first night after leaving *Remedios,* the Spaniards fortified themselves upon a hill, near a tower, having made three leagues* (about ten miles), according to Cortez;†—a good day's march under the circumstances; but according to Diaz, the march to Otumba was made on the second or third day, which is impossible. On the second day, in the account of Cortez,† they marched around several lakes—the *laguna* of Joltoca doubtless, and perhaps also the still more northern one of Zumpango—and reached a deserted village, where, an abundance of corn being found, they remained two days to refresh themselves. On the fifth night, of Cortez,‡ they took up their quarters in some straggling huts, with little food. The sixth day, which is the first of Diaz,§ a horse killed by the enemy, was eaten by the hungry soldiers, even to the skin. The plan adopted that night, of leaving the wounded to themselves, Cortez blasphemously claims as an inspiration of the Holy Ghost,|| as on the next day, the seventh of the retreat, the great battle of Otumba was

* The Spanish league is two and three quarters of a mile.

† Folsom's *Cortez,* page 162.

‡ *Ibid.,* page 163.

§ Lockhart's *Diaz,* vol. I., page 354.

|| This blasphemy is shocking.

fought. To this suggestion of Cortez, the cardinal, Archbishop *Lorenzano*, responds: "This is right, as God alone could have performed such miracles; and this ought to cover with confusion those who detract from the merits of the Conquest. Cortez was another Moses, when he said: 'The Lord will fight for us:' Exodus xiv."* A queer kind of Moses! The Moses of the king's historian! The leader rather of "Satan's chosen people" in the valley of Mexico!

The battle of Otumba surpassed in magnitude any other ever fought with Indians. The braves of the whole confederacy were assembled to intercept the fugitives, and the Aztec host fought bravely; bravely as was their wont with a retreating enemy. But the result was inevitable. History rarely furnishes an instance in which a retreating force has been successfully intercepted. Even the supple *Alvarado* was brave, when flight was impossible, while Cortez performed prodigies of valor. Fear itself added to the courage of the Spaniards. The *Paladin, Rolando, Amadis de Gaul*—heroes as familiar to *Diaz* as to *Don Quixote*—could hardly have exceeded the achievements of the *Conquistador* and his companions; for though now but a feeble folk, yet the combined force of the whole Aztec empire was scattered before them. On this occasion, as in the days of Homer, the demigods were unwilling to trust entirely to fate, or the prowess of mortals. St. James of Compostella brought a lance to the assistance of his favorite Spain; for Diaz informs us, that "one of Guatamozin's chief officers, who was present at the

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 165.

battle, beheld him with his own eyes as he afterwards affirmed."* On this, an Indian's testimony, it has become the established belief, that this wonderful victory was solely owing to the visible interposition of San Diego and his venerable white horse! As in the battles under the walls of Troy, the favorite of the gods wins the day, so heroes are but *pawns* in the hands of a patron saint.

Though the little phalanx remained unbroken, in the charge it was enveloped with enemies, and its progress through the living mass apparently impossible. The showers of missiles upon it, even more than the pressure of superior numbers, was fast exhausting its strength, notwithstanding the valorous blows of the saint—dealing death to the *infidels*, and victory to the beloved of the Virgin—when an event occurred which created a panic among the undisciplined assailants. It is thus described by Cortez: "We were engaged during a greater part of the day, until it pleased God that one should fall who must have been a leading personage amongst them; at his death the battle ceased."† The event thus elegantly expressed, throws into the shade all the gaudy descriptions of the Spanish historians, with their saints and supernatural machinery. Diaz is silent as to the number slain, as is Cortez. But it is not likely many Spaniards fell, since their closed ranks were never broken during that eventful day.

Hungry and without suitable means of dressing their wounds, they then passed the night at a solitary house near by, and on the morrow, resuming their march,

* LOCKHART'S *Diaz*, page 354. † *Ibid.*, page 165.

reached the friendly territories of the Tlascalans. On the second day following, they entered its territory from the north, having come by the plains of Apam around the mountains. Thus ended the retreat from Mexico.

THE AUTHOR VISITS TACUBA.

As I rode along the street to the gate, and passed out upon the causeway of Tacuba—the causeway of the "Night of Sorrow" (*triste noche*), I naturally fell into reflections upon the righteous retribution that there overtook a portion of the Spaniards; and on the mysterious ways of Providence in allowing Cortez and a remnant to escape, after the lives they had led in the city. The Indians had made a feeble resistance when *Alvarado* murdered their chiefs, and had cringed into submission when Cortez returned. But now their wrongs had reached that point where even Aztecs could endure no more. Their cup of iniquity seemed full, when Cortez, who had left a wife in Cuba, sent to the little village of Tacuba, called by Diaz Tlacupa, to fetch thence some "women of his *household*," among whom was the daughter of Montezuma [he had already one daughter of Montezuma in his power], whom he had given in charge of the King of Tlacupa, her relative, when he marched against Narvaez. The women being rescued, Cortez afterward sent Ordaz, with four hundred men,* which brought on hostilities that ended in this night retreat.

It is a prominent trait of Indian character to guard with the utmost jealousy the virtue of their wives. Even among the debased Indians of California, female infidelity is punished with death; and I have seen the whole population of an Indian village, on the Upper Sacramento, thrown into the utmost confusion—the women howling, and the men brandishing their weapons—because a base Indian had sold his wife to a still baser white man. "Such a thing was never," they said, "done in the tribe before." And here we have Cortez, in contempt of even Indian notions of virtue, sending to bring to his harem, by violence, a second daughter of Montezuma.

When the Aztecs were thus roused to action by the lust of Cortez, they assailed him with frenzy rather than with courage, until his quarters in the city became untenable, and then this night retreat was undertaken, in which the treasures! and two sons and one daughter of Montezuma, were lost in the

* LOCKHART'S *Diaz*, vol. I., p. 338.

confused rush of a multitude over this footpath. The Indian story is, that Cortez slew the children of Montezuma when he found himself unable to carry them off. Perhaps he did; but the probability is, that they perished by chance, or rather it seems to have been by chance that Cortez or any of his party escaped.

The objects of interest by the road-side, after I had passed the city gate, were, first, the French Academy, which is well worthy of a visit for its pretty grounds, if nothing more. Before the author got to Tacuba, the land rose above the water-level of the swamp. Here a branch-road and an aqueduct turned off to Chapultepec, and in the angle thus formed by the two roads is the English burying-ground or cemetery. This resting-place of the dead can be and is irrigated from the aqueduct, while the art of man has been busy in improving the advantages that Nature has so lavishly bestowed upon it.

Just before my first arrival in Mexico, public attention had been particularly directed to this quiet spot, from its having been chosen as the place for depositing the ashes of the last President of Mexico, at whose burial no holy water had been used, and no consecrated candles had been burned, and for the repose of whose soul no masses had ever been said, or other superstitious rites performed, and yet he slept as quietly as those who had gone to their burial with the pomp and circumstance of a state funeral. No priest had shrived his soul, his lips had not been touched with the anointing oil, nor was incense burned at his funeral; yet he died in peace, declaring in his last hours that he had made his confession to God, and trusted in him for the pardon of his sins, and refused all the proffered aid of priests in facilitating his journey to Heaven. Thus died, and here was privately buried, the first and last Protestant President of Mexico, the only really good man that ever occupied that exalted station, and probably the only native Mexican who ever had the moral courage to denounce the religion of his fathers upon his dying bed.

Adjoining the English cemetery, on the south side, is the American burying-ground, which has been established since the war, where have been collected the remains of seven hundred and fifty Americans, that died or were killed at Mexico, and a neat monument has been erected over them. Here Americans that die henceforth in that city can be buried. An appropriation of five hundred dollars a year would make this more attractive than the English one, but the place has been wholly neglected by Congress since that worthy man, the Rev. G. G. Goss, completed his labors. There is a pleasure in observing the natural affinities which, in foreign countries, draw close together these branches of the Saxon family. A common language and a common religion overmaster political differences, and the English and Ame-

rican dead are laid side by side to rest until the judgment. At the south of the American cemetery is a vacant lot, which the King of Prussia should purchase, so that the Germans may no longer be dependent on Americans for a burying-place, and that the three great Protestant powers of the world —Saxons and Anglo-Saxons—may here, as they everywhere should, be drawn close together. After passing this necropolis, and crossing a little water-course, we have but a few furlongs of high land to pass, in order to reach the quiet Indian village of Tacuba.—*Mexico and its Religion.*

TACUBA.

Tacuba is a very small village, and is not in anywise noted except for an immense cypress-tree, that must have been a wonder even in the time of Cortez. It has the historical notoriety of being the place where hostilities first broke out between the Aztecs and the Spaniards, and the spot to which the night retreat of the latter was directed. Here the land is high and quite fertile, and a little way from the village are several water-mills, where the grain raised in this part of the valley is ground into flour.

THE HILL OF REMEDIOS.

A little way beyond Tacuba is the hill and temple of the "Virgin of Remedies." Upon this hill, within the enclosure of an Indian mound, the retreating party of Cortez made their first *bivouac*, and built fires, and dressed their wounds. Hence they gave to the hill the name of *Los Remedios*, and the church afterward erected was dedicated to our Lady of Remedies. Diaz tells us that it became very celebrated in his time. The story of Cortez finding a broken-nosed image in the knapsack of one of his soldiers is mentioned neither by himself nor Bernal Diaz, and must have been an afterthought, to give plausibility to a subsequent imposition.

OUR LADY OF REMEDIES.

The story is, that while the fugitives were resting here, a soldier took from his knapsack an image with a nose broken and an eye wanting, which Cortez held up to adoration, and made the patron saint of the expedition; this little incident so encouraged his men that they started off with renewed vigor upon their disheartening retreat. The whole story of the Virgin is probably a very silly modern invention, as the bulk of Cortez' forces most likely was composed of that class of reprobates, who to this day are found about almost every West India seaport, ready for any enterprise, however hazardous.

They have no religion; they are not even superstitious, but yield a nominal acquiescence to the forms of the Catholic Church. Cortez sometimes speaks of his efforts to convert the Indians; but it is in such a business way as to appear to have been done to make an impression at home—a matter about which he cared little. This famous image, according to the current story, disappeared soon after the Conquest; but was found about one hundred and fifty years afterwards, in a maguey plant, and was as much dilapidated as if it had been exposed to the weather for the whole of that century and a half.

Such, in substance, is the tradition of the Virgin of Remedies, who for a century divided with the Virgin of Guadalupe the adoration of the people in the most amicable manner. The first monopolizing the adoration of the aristocracy; the other was the favorite of the *peasantry*. But when the insurrection of 1810 broke out, these two virgins parted company. "*Viva* the Virgin of Guadalupe!" became the war-cry of the unsuccessful rebels; while "*Viva* the Lady of Remedies!" was shouted back by the conquering forces of the king. The Lady of Guadalupe became suspected of insurrectionary designs; while all honors were lavished upon the Lady of Remedies by those wishing to make protestations of their loyalty. Pearls, money, and jewels, were bestowed upon her by the nobility and the Spanish merchants; and as one insurrectionary leader after another was totally defeated, the conquering generals returned to lay their trophies at the feet of the Lady of Remedies, to whose interposition the victory was ascribed. They carried her in triumphal procession through the streets of Mexico, singing a *laudamus*. Then it was that the Lady of Remedies was at the zenith of her glory. Her person was refulgent with a blaze of jewels; and her temple was like that of Diana of Ephesus, and all about the hill on which it stood bore marks of prosperity.

Her healing powers were then as unquestioned, as unrivalled; and the list of cures which she is claimed to have effected, surpasses that of all the patent medicines of our day. She was an infallible healer, alike of the diseases of the mind and of the body. A glimpse at her broken nose and battered face, instantaneously cured men of democracy and unbelief. Heretics stood confounded in her presence—while the halt, the lame, and the leprous hung up their crutches, their bandages, and their filthy rags, as trophies of her healing power, among the flags and other evidences of her victories over the rebels. Nothing was beyond her skill—from mending a leaky boat, to securing a prize in the lottery; giving eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, restoring a paralyzed limb, or healing a broken heart, to putting the baby to sleep. Her votaries esteemed her omnipotent, and carried her in procession

in times of drought, as the goddess of rain; and when pestilence raged in the city, she was borne through the infected streets. Such was she in the times of her glory.

Now all is changed. She is still a goddess, but her glory is eclipsed. She, like many a virgin in social life, neglected to make her market while all knees were bowing to her; and now, in the scar and yellow leaf, she is a *virgin* still. Her temple is dilapidated, her garlands are faded, her gilding is tarnished, the buildings about her court are falling to decay—while the bleak hill which her temple crowns, looks tenfold more uninviting than if it never had been occupied. When I entered this neglected temple of a neglected image, a superannuated priest was saying mass, and three or four old crones were kneeling before her altar. Such are the effects that followed the revolution of Iguala. Not only was her hated rival of Guadalupe elevated from her long obscurity to be the national saint, but the animosity against this dilapidated image of Remedies was carried to that extreme of cruelty, that, when the Spaniards were expelled from Mexico, the passports of the "Lady of Remedies" were made out, and she was ordered to leave the country. Poor thing!

The porter's eye glistened at the now unwonted sight of a silver dollar, and he soon had me through the most secret recesses of the sanctuary. The only things I saw worthy of admiration were some pictures, made, *as I was told*, from down, or the feathers of the humming-bird, by which a richness of color was imparted to the pictures that could not be obtained from paints.

At last we came to the back of the great altar—the curtain of damask silk being drawn up by a little string—we saw, sitting in a metallic maguey plant, a bright new Paris doll, dressed in the gaudy odds and ends of silk that make such a thing an attractive Christmas present for the nursery. Paste supplied the place of jewels, and a constellation of false pearls were at the back of her shoulders. The man kept his gravity, and did reverence to the poor doll; while I burned with indignation at being imposed upon by a counterfeit "*universal remedy for all diseases.*" I had often read in the apothecaries' advertisements cautions against counterfeits, and rewards for their detection; and I always noticed that the counterfeits were exactly in proportion to the worthlessness of the genuine article—and that medicine, which was utterly valueless itself, suffered most from the abundance of counterfeits. So it was with the Lady of Remedies; after she had fallen below the dignity of a humbug, and no man was found so poor as to do her reverence, she was spirited away to the Cathedral of the city of Mexico, in order to save her three jewelled petticoats from being stolen; and a child's doll, covered with paste

jewels, now personified the great patron saint of the vice-kingdom of New Spain.

I again mounted my horse, angry at being cheated; and though the day was a most lovely one, I rode home in a fit humor to contrast the system of paganism which Cortez introduced with the more poetical system which preceded it, and to compare these cast-off child's dolls with the alleged allegorical images of the Aztecs—but, most likely, relics of a much more ancient race. My landlord had two boxes of such images, collected when they were cleaning out one of the old city canals. By way of parlor ornaments, we had a god of baked earth. He was sitting in a chair; around his navel was coiled a serpent; his right hand rested upon the head of another serpent. This, according to the laws of interpreting allegories, I suppose we should understand to signify, that the god had been renowned for his wisdom; that with the wisdom of the serpent he had executed judgment; and that his meditations were the profundity of wisdom. And yet this allegorical worship, defective as it may have been, was better certainly, than the adoration of a child's doll—one that had very possibly been worn out and thrown from a nursery, and picked up by some passing monk, to be made the goddess of New Spain, and clothed with three petticoats, one adorned with pearls, one with rubies, and one with diamonds, at an estimated cost of $3,000,000. Which was the least objectionable superstition?

THE RETREAT TO OTUMBA.

"From this point Cortez and his party, without their women, trudged along the north side of the hills of Tepeac, or Guadalupe, and around the lakes to the plains of Otumba."—*Mexico and its Religion.*

The author has diligently examined the region of hills and bogs that make up the distance from this point to the *lagunas* of *Zumpango*, and Joltoca or San Christobal, and from thence to Otumba, and has ventured to mark down what he believes to be the very track of the fugitive Spaniards. Both these *lagunas*, it may be proper here to add, are much higher than Tezcuco; but their bulk is not sufficient to burst through their barrier. The highest of all, Zumpango, has become nearly fresh since it has been drained out of the valley by the cut, *desagua*, of *Hushuatoca.*

It should be stated too, that one of the evidences of the imposture of Diaz, is his making Cortez travel modern roads instead of the earlier ones. Thus, he has made him pass to the north of the Perote in ascending to the tableland, enter the valley by the Rio Frio, and retreat to Otumba by Guadalupe.

CHAPTER XII.

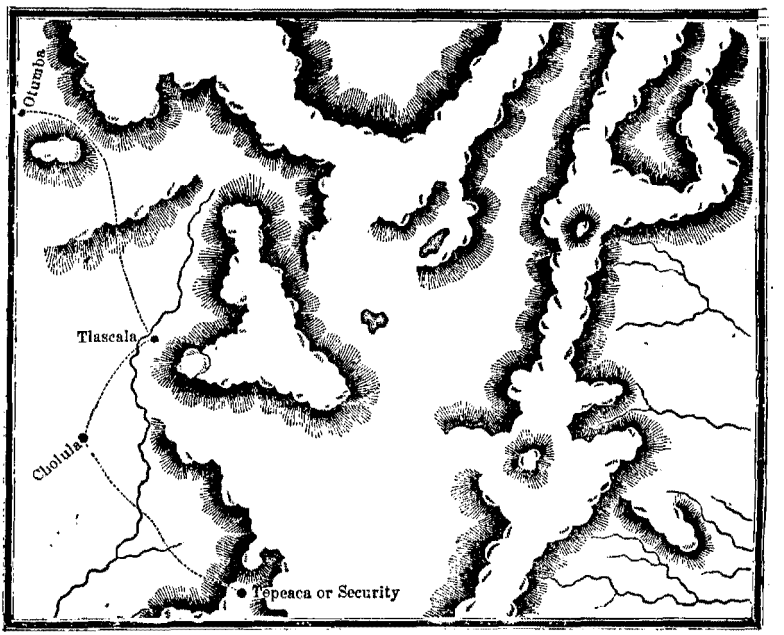
BUILDING OF THE BRIGANTINES, CAMPAIGN OF TEPEACA, AND RETURN TO THE MEXICAN VALLEY.

Cortez begins a war of extermination, 426—He determines to build a flotilla, 427—Cortez enslaves the Indians of Tepeaca, 429—Subjugation of Tepeaca and founding a colony, 430—The branding of Indian women with a hot iron, 430—The Spaniards disgust the Indians with Christianity, 431—Gomora's fables on this campaign, 432—Cortez secures the passes to Mexico, 433—The policy of Cortez, 433—The *lagunas*, and size of the brigantines, 434—The difficulties encountered in building this flotilla, 435—A wonderful success, but marred by fables, 436—How Cortez obtained supplies and friends, 436—How he circumvented Las Casas, 437—How Cortez justified his enslavement of Indians, 438—The manner of transporting the flotilla, 439—The fabulous number of Indians engaged, 439—Why Tezcuco was selected as the flotilla station, 440—A muster of forces, 442—The passage of the mountain, 444—Cortez' entry into Tezcuco, 445—Cortez fortifies his quarters, 445—Cortez entrapped at Iztapalapa—his night retreat, 446—An explanation of the Iztapalapa affair, 447—Death of the Emperor Cuetravacin, 449—How the statement of Cortez becomes possible, 450—Cortez' account of it, 450—Don Fernando, Lord of Tezcuco, 451—A topographical survey of the Mexican valley, 452—The Mexican causeways, 452—The maps used in this chapter, 452—Survey of Lieut. H. L. Smith, U. S. A., 460.

A RESPITE of twenty days was now allowed the weary and wounded soldiers, to recruit their exhausted energies, prior to the resumption of active hostilities. Henceforth the war was to be one of extermination. The outbreaks occurring on every side were styled rebellion and apostasy. While the Spaniards were in the full tide of success, all the tribes through which they passed had acknowledged the sovereignty of Charles V., and had allowed crosses to be

erected in their villages. But when the grand army dwindled to a company of fugitives, its prestige was gone. The crosses were no longer regarded as "good rain makers" in time of drought. The notary and his parchment, the priest and his surplice, were alike forgotten in the prospective return of Mexican tax-gatherers, or remembered only as unavailing conjurers, inferior to the native *medicine-men*. The surest way to turn aside the wrath of the Aztecs was to kill all the Spaniards upon whom they could lay their hands. Under these changed circumstances ten unfortunate men, passing through the country, were suddenly set upon and slain, and the valuables they possessed fell into the hands of the murderers.

Near a year had necessarily to elapse before the plan of attack devised by Cortez could be successfully put into execution against the city of Mexico. Trees were to be felled upon the Tlascalan mountains, and by the slow labor of the axe reduced to planks. Oakum, small cordage, and iron, were to be brought from the seaboard. Pitch could be procured in the mountain forests. But all required time. The small flotilla to be constructed, though light enough to be carried over the lofty summit, must yet be capable of navigating the *lagunas* and canals of the Mexican valley, at least in the rainy season; and, as the present one was too far advanced to be made available, the next must be awaited. During this delay, all, both Spaniards and auxiliaries not required in the service of the shipwrights, were kept in active service, not only to preserve discipline, but for the more thorough subjugation of the country between Tlascala and the sea coast.



MARCH TO TEPEACA.

That large extent of open land between the first mountain-barrier and the Mexican chain, south and east of Cholula and Tlascala, Cortez includes under the general name of Tepeaca. The scattered tribes occupying this mostly deserted region, were the first to feel his vengeance. The murder of his ten men, in crossing these plains, served as a pretext for hostilities. His despatch represents these unfortunate sufferers as loaded with treasure and other valuables. Their fate would be the same to-day, if unarmed; yet none would deem it a sufficient cause of war against the unoffending inhabitants. Nor did Cortez consider it quite a justification for that extermina-

tion and enslavement he meditated, in violation of the "*new ordinances.*" Hence the necessity of producing a charge so monstrous as to justify his disregard of the newly-established policy of the court. He had been in the country nearly a year, but we hear nothing about cannibalism from him until now. One motive, he avows, for his meditated cruelty, was to strike terror into the Mexicans. His justification to the emperor is a charge of cannibalism. The words of the despatch are, "besides having murdered the Spaniards, and rebelled against your majesty, these people eat human flesh."* This is his apology for disobeying the law. It is the fabrication of a libel to justify a crime. Thus was inaugurated a campaign of terrors, according to his own admission, to the very author of the ordinances, at a time when *Las Casas* and the Hieronomite brothers were in the West Indies, charged with the correction of the very abuses he had resolved to perpetrate.

Our armed missionary, Cortez, the Moses of Cardinal-archbishop *Lorenzano*, is so brief and indefinite, however, on the subject, we have to turn to Diaz, for the details of the enterprise, who must have gathered them from "*Las Casas on Gomora.*" The main object of the campaign was to re-open communication, by the southern route, with Vera Cruz; a secondary result was to gather whatever might be plundered from so poor a people. The expedition consisted of four hundred and twenty Spaniards, besides Tlascalan auxiliaries.† The first encounter was in

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 172. † *Diaz*, vol. I., page 366.

some open fields of *maize* and *maguey*, with the same result as at Tobasco. The cavalry having a good opportunity to manœuvre, scattered the savages with considerable slaughter. This victory was followed by their submission and the entry of the victors into Tepeaca, and the founding there a colony, which Cortez named "Security-of-the-frontier," *Securidad de la Frontera.*

Without detailing the different villages assailed and subjugated in succession, we may sum up, in the words of Diaz: "In this way we visited *Tecalco, Las Guavas,* and others, whose names I have forgotten."* Then he concludes with the following remarkable statement:—"After peace had been restored to the whole province, and its inhabitants had submitted to his majesty, Cortez, finding there was nothing further to be done at present, determined, with the crown officers, to mark all the slaves with the iron. Notice was therefore given that every person was to come with his slaves to a certain house appointed for the purpose, that they might be marked with the red-hot iron. . . On the night preceding, the finest of the Indian females had been secretly set apart, so that when it came to a division among the soldiers, we found none left but old and ugly women. . . Another soldier asked Cortez if the division of the gold in Mexico was not a sufficient imposition! and now he was going to deprive the poor soldier who had undergone so many hardships, and suffered from innumerable wounds, of this small remuneration, and not even allow him a pretty Indian female for a companion."† Thus were depravity

* *Diaz,* vol. I., page 368. † *Ibid.,* page 379.

and religious form united in the Spaniards, who combined the erection of crosses, the violation of women, branding and baptizing, with the establishment of the long-forgotten worship of the "Queen of Heaven."

Fit successors of the Phœnicians, were the *Conquistadors.* The heathen could hardly have equalled them in moral obtuseness. This Diaz, the imaginary companion of Cortez—whose character has been drawn under the eye of the church dignitaries—resembles a Sepoy in his negation of the common feelings of humanity, rather than a European existence; embodying at once the cruelty and fanaticism of a Brahmin. To call the men of whom he is a type Christians, is a libel on Christianity. To call their *religion* Christianity, is a libel on Christ. From their licentious queen*—who now follows on foot a con-

* "When the pains of labor were approaching, the pangs of remorse rushed in upon the queen, and reproached her with her dissolute career. She sent for Archbishop Claret, a prelate who well deserves the glorious name he bears. The queen begged his counsel, and as he is no courtier, he told her Majesty that her conduct made her the subject of ribald jests; and as she was about to be exposed to the perils attendant upon childbirth, he exhorted her to banish her paramour, Puig Moro, from the palace, and country. The increasing pangs of the crisis added force to the archiepiscopal persuasions, and a promise was made; but the archbishop, not content with the royal word, extorted a written promise to that effect. He followed up his success by an exhortation to his royal auditor to be reconciled to her husband; and even if she felt unable to love him, he urged her to have more respect for the proprieties of life, and to appear constantly with him before her subjects. Having obtained a promise to that effect, he repaired to the king's apartments and gave him like counsel. The king's promise was, however, conditional only; he would consent to be reconciled to his wife only on condition that she paid his debts, and that the banishment of the queen's paramour should be instantaneous. The archbishop returned with a check for the payment of the king's debts, and the other promise; but a compromise has been effected, to avoid the public scandal which instantaneous exile may occasion—and Colonel Puig Moro struts about amongst his fellow-citizens, who have yet enough of

secrated wafer—to the lowest devotee in her realm, we have the same Oriental exhibition of moral and religious obliquity. And thus it was that the lewd champions of the ever-blessed Virgin brought the very name of Christianity to stink in the nostrils of their savage foes.

This year, almost a blank in the despatches and in the narrative of Diaz, is completely filled with battles and sieges of the first magnitude in the history of the magniloquent Gomora, to the exceeding glory of his master. Immense cities and fertile provinces he finds scattered through this region of the *bad land.* So intensely fabulous are his relations, they arouse even the denunciations of Diaz. "We are," says he, "to write one, when Gomora says eighty." But with this abatement, the stories are a hundredfold too extravagant. The campaign of Tepeaca, reduced to reality, is, as we have presented it, famous only for the cruelties practised upon a sparse population, gathered here and there upon the few fertile portions it contains. We therefore pass to things of more importance—to the pacification of the tribes between Tlascala and Mexico; and to the opening of a direct route across the mountains to the great valley.

The inhabitants of Guacahula, whose village was situated in a mountain pass leading to Mexico, applied to

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the leaven of loyalty in them to look with feelings of something akin to deference and respect on one who sustained such intimate relations with their queen."—*Madrid Correspondence.*

The foregoing is a pretty fair specimen of Spanish court scandal, from time immemorial. The present queen, as we have said, is hardly a whit behind her predecessors in morals, excepting her great namesake; though the watchword of a successful rebellion was MORALITY.

Cortez to free them from their oppressive Aztec garrison. This was a most fortunate request; and was immediately complied with, as it would secure him a foothold, if successful, where most needed, in the prosecution of his ulterior designs. Accordingly a force of thirteen horse, two hundred foot, and three hundred—not thirty thousand —Indian allies, were sent to relieve that village. This party, on the march, taking counsel from its fears, was seized with a panic, and returned to Cholula without encountering any but imaginary enemies. Cortez, well understanding the unfavorable effect of such a retrograde movement upon the mind of the enemy, at once abandoned all other operations, and, hurrying to Cholula, assumed in person the command. This is one of the many occasions in which he displayed his superior capacity. On his appearance, the soldiers were at once reassured. The undertaking on the point of failure, proved entirely successful without further difficulty; and an important position was permanently assured. In this instance, Cortez has disfigured a really great achievement, by asserting that the auxiliary Indians amounted to one hundred thousand.*

Thus, step by step, was the *Conquistador* advancing his influence, and securing, not only his communications, but an allied force for the contemplated operations in the great valley itself. Outside that the Aztecs had now no certain support, while the Spaniards, before entering upon their war of subjugation, possessed themselves of a sure native alliance. In these particulars, in this far reaching policy, and in the good faith with which he at all times

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 179.

treated his Indian allies, we have constantly to remark the greatness of Cortez. We owe it to his memory to say this, as we have not scrupled to expose his criminal acts, and his cruelty, in which he resembled the savage quite as much as in his system of war.

We now return to those small, flat boats, which, in the bombastic language of the relators, were called brigantines. They were built in sections in Tlascala, more readily to be carried over the mountain, put together, and launched in the *laguna* of Tezcuco. In another place we have pointed out those physical peculiarities of the valley, which created a marsh instead of a lake, as the enclosure of the city; a body of water so widely diffused in volume, as to be held at various levels by such slight barriers as grass, rushes, and Indian dikes presented; permitting only a sluggish flow, scarcely a current, from the southern portion,* above the city, to that below its level, the *Tezcuco*, the north-eastern *laguna*. It is impossible, therefore, it could ever have been navigated by that class of vessels known as brigantines.† Vessels such as Cortez undoubtedly built, are still there, and still navigate the lagunas and canals outside the city; and they could now, as then, be built also in the mountains of Tlascala, and be thence

* The waters of the two *lagunas* of the north are also higher than the Tezcuco—in fact the *laguna* of *Zumpango* is the highest waters of the valley. But neither the Zumpango, nor the San Christobel, has any ordinary outlet, and, of course, both are salt, like Tezcuco.

† In order to sail in another manner, these flat boats required some substitute for a keel. This substitute was probably either a slip keel in the centre of the scow, or a board, let down on the lee-side when required —a very common appendage to vessels designed to navigate shallow water.

transported, put together, and launched at Tezcuco. But it would be a wonderful achievement. How much more was it so in his day?

The time occupied in building, equipping, and transporting to their destination thirteen of these little vessels, was not unreasonably long, considering the disadvantages under which the workmen labored. Boards were to be made with the tools of a ship carpenter; forges to be built for the smiths, without baked bricks, tanned leather, or seasoned lumber. The preparation of oakum was not difficult, but the process of collecting pitch from the trees could not be hastened, while its manufacture was by boiling after the Indian fashion in bark kettles.* The preparation of sails and cordage, too, for each little craft, most vitally important, was a work of time;† yet was it indispensable to confer upon them powers of locomotion superior to the Indian bark canoe,‡ that they might choose their own point of attack, and possess also the means of escape when assailed by a superior force.

These labors must have sorely tried the patience of Cortez; and their successful termination is the most remarkable event in the early history of our continent.

* The process by which the boiling of water is effected among the Indians, is by placing it in water-tight kettles of birch bark; into which heated stones continue to be dropped until the process is effected. To boil pitch, it would be necessary to place a kettle of pitch inside one of water, and the heated water would cause the pitch to boil. This is a process of which the historians were evidently ignorant when they tell us, that kettles were brought from the sea in which to boil the pitch.

† The material was the fibre of the *maguey*, known among us as manilla hemp.

‡ Diaz sometimes mentions pirogues, as well as canoes. By the former, I understand the ordinary vessel of birch-bark; by the latter, one dug out of a large log.

This achievement of civilized art in an enemies' country, and amidst a savage population, is almost miraculous, so great, indeed, that had Diaz here introduced his "blessed Virgin," industriously plying the handsaw or the adze, we might almost admit the necessity of that supernatural intervention. How strange is it that this most wonderful success should be obscured by such absurd fables! But stranger still that the story of those impossible brigantines has not destroyed all credence in the rest of the history. The popular passion for the marvellous has made these very additions, which a well poised mind at once rejects, to constitute in truth the great attraction in all our histories of the Mexican Conquest.

Before again setting his face towards the valley of Mexico, several incidents occurred to our hero, which in the narrative of the conquest deserve especial notice, from their influence on its final result. The first of these was the arrival of two more vessels from the unfortunate expedition of *Francisco de Garay* to the Panuco river. Every assistance was rendered them in their distress, and none the less willingly as their misfortune was a great advantage to the Conquistador, who was thus enabled to supply many of his most urgent necessities. A large Spanish craft from the Canaries likewise entered the port of Vera Cruz with a cargo of military stores,* all of which were greedily purchased. This vessel furnished also thirteen additional soldiers and three horses to the little army. A more delicate affair was at the same time consummated. Agents were sent to San Domingo to obtain, if possible, an

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 385.

approval from the Hieronomite brothers of the conduct of the Spaniards, both in the affair with Narvaez and in the violation of the new ordinances. This was done more especially to shield Cortez from the invectives Las Casas was pouring forth against him, with his usual vehemence. In fact, that well-meaning enthusiast had already denounced him for many wrongs and cruelties perpetrated before leaving the Islands. A more secret mission was intrusted to the same agent, which was to contract an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the mortal enemies of that distinguished monk—the *Franciscans.* A league, that proved, when consummated, as serviceable to the interests of Cortez in Spain, as that of Tlascala had been to him in Mexico.

The Conquistador thoroughly understood the relations of the respective parties. He knew that while the *Protector of the Indians* was honored with that high-sounding title, he really possessed no power whatever to redress their grievances. The emperor, though fully appreciating the motives of the man, prudently intrusted that important function to a board chosen from those religious gentlemen, the *Hieronomites,* of whose honorable character we have already spoken. Both court and people confided in the prudence and the sincerity of purpose which appeared to govern them. None dared trust *Las Casas,* whose zeal too constantly outran his judgment. Hence, to these worthy men, and not to him, were delegated the necessary powers over those abuses which, in the administration of Spanish West Indian affairs, had become monstrous. Their prudence and moderation could not be

appreciated by zealots, but the excellence of the reforms they inaugurated has vindicated them to posterity. To these *visitadores* Cortez now appealed for his justification, backed by the influence of the powerful order of *San Francisco.*

The council of reform, *junta de visitadores,* would certainly have condemned him, notwithstanding that support, had he not, in anticipation of such an event, provided a still more effectual shield in that charge of rebellion and apostasy which he brought against the unfortunate Indians. To disregard this might have endangered the standing of the tribunal itself with the emperor. This subterfuge, as old as the times of Pontius Pilate, has ever proved efficacious under a jealous despotism. "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend," retorted the Jews, when they had no other charge to allege against the Saviour. A similar accusation was equally successful in the courts of the German Cæsar.* Apparently to lay a foundation for this charge, Cortez, at every village he visited, had required from the Indians an acknowledgment of vassalage to the King of Spain. Proceedings that must have appeared to the people but as a sort of merry-making. In the end, however, they found them to possess a tragic reality. But to return to the expedition, and the campaign against the Aztecs.

All the country between the sea and the Mexican valley had now been subjugated. Of its people, those tribes whose alliance afforded no advantage to the invaders, were

* Cæsar was the title of the German emperors, so long as that office existed.

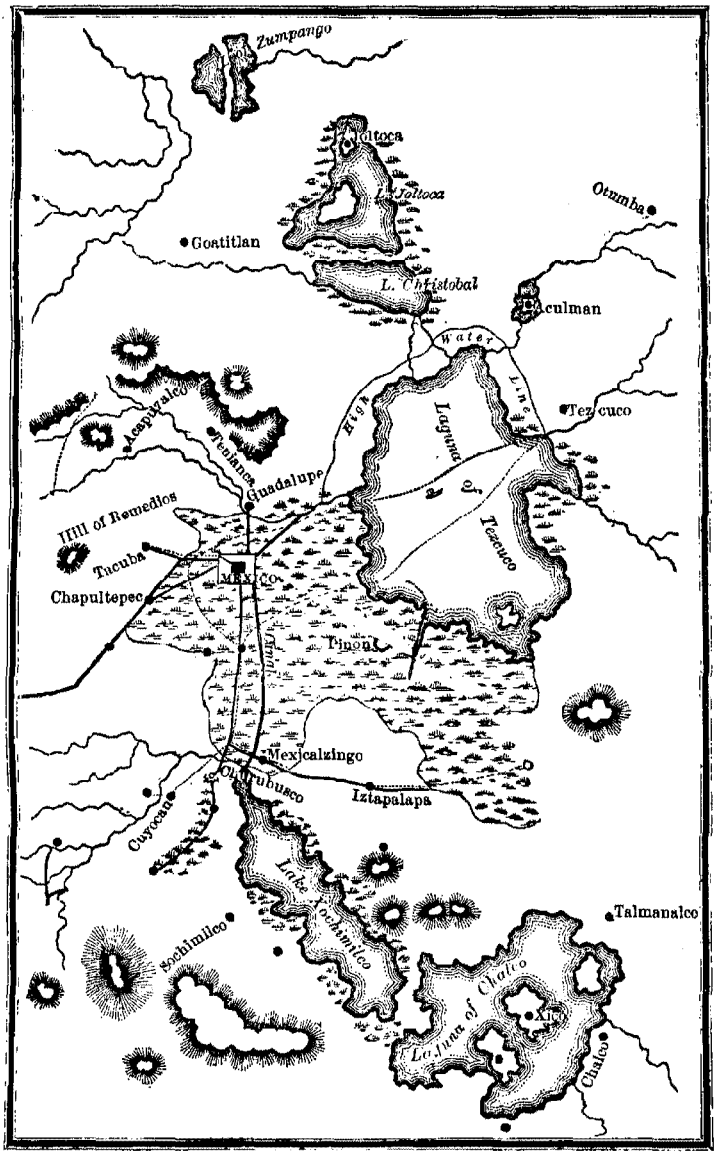
declared apostates from the Romish superstition, to be eaters of human flesh, and were consigned to the most abject slavery. The useless men were given over to the Tlascalans; the women, after branding and *baptizing*, were distributed among the soldiers, as appears from the statement of Diaz.* The mountain barrier of the valley being now in the possession of Cortez or his allies, on the third day after Christmas, 1520—with the flotilla about half completed—he commenced his return march. With this the greatest act in the drama of the conquest begins, and every step we advance increases its interest. The successful passage of lofty mountains by Indian trails, blocked up and beset by an active enemy, would always be esteemed a great achievement; but if to this we add the carriage of a flotilla over these same wild paths, though disjointedly, and piece by piece, we chronicle a success about equal to that of their construction.

This, however, within the reach of the possible, is yet so difficult of accomplishment, a modern general would hardly undertake it, even with the certainty thereby of completely turning the natural defences of the city, and laying its population at his mercy. As to the fifteen thousand Tlascalans, who Diaz† says were employed to bring these brigantines to the *lagunas*, and the eight other thousand he assigns to the same duty in another page,‡ and still another eight thousand who accompanied them, and the two thousand that conveyed provisions, though all ridiculously fabulous, they are still moderate when compared with the greater exaggerations of Cortez and

* *Diaz*, vol. I., page 367. † *Diaz*, vol. II., page 18. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 16.

Gomora. Eight thousand Tezcucans are said also to have been employed to clean out and enlarge one of the canals. From personal inspection, we declare that half as many hundreds would have been too numerous to work in so contracted a space. We are, besides, to consider the serious burden these vast crowds must have proved to the limited commissariat of the army.

Before the march a council was called to settle the *point d'appui*, or base of operations in the valley. Chalco had great advantages. It was not only the nearest point, but the most accessible from Tlascala; and was besides the highest land in the southern valley. The water of the adjoining *laguna*, too, was fresh, and above the level of the city several feet. The Chalcans, likewise, were a conquered people, and at heart on the side of the invaders. To Tezcuco there were objections of a serious character. The people of that village were of kin to the Mexicans, and could not but sympathize with them in their extremity. But all these advantages and disadvantages were more than counterbalanced by the strategic benefits the last town afforded. Being on the salt, or lower extremity of the marsh, there was a much greater space of open water and a wider field of action for the flotilla, when once launched. From thence, too, in the rainy season, the city could be reached by several avenues. By the way of the flats of *San Lazarus*, on the north they could attain the sadly memorable causeway of Tacuba, by passing through that of *Guadulupe* or Tepeac. Pursuing a southerly direction, through ditches and shallow waters, the brigantines might reach the important dike

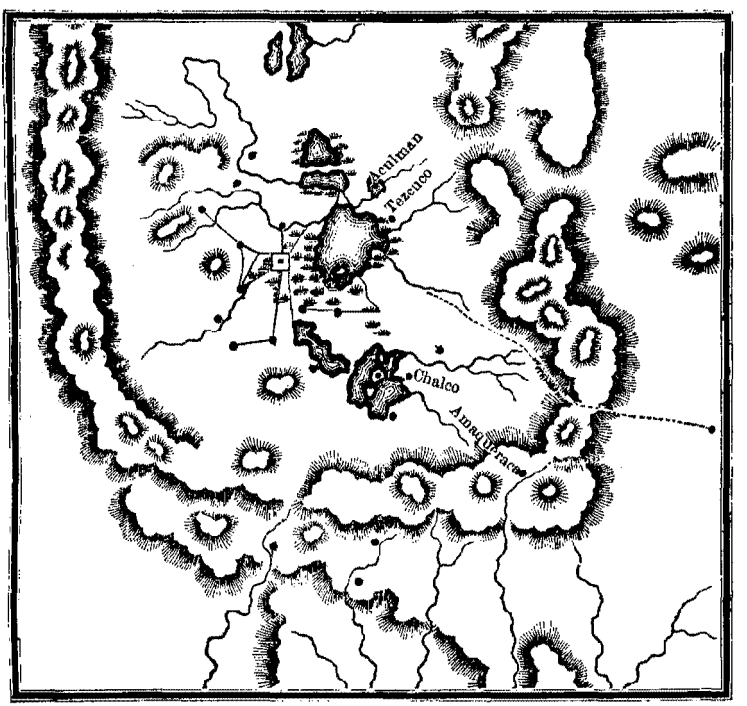


SAILING AROUND MEXICO.

which joined the city to Mexicalzingo and Iztapalapa, and effectually succor troops advancing against those villages, in case the enemy should, as they afterwards did, cut through in their rear the connection with the eastern shore. If they took a westerly course, before reaching the first of those villages, and crossed the southern pathway near *Churubusco*, they could approach almost to the rock of Chapultepec; thence turning to the right, they could advance northerly to the south side of the fatal route of the *triste noche*, and continuing on through the opening in this causeway, they would sail again over the flats of *San Lazarus*, in returning to their quarters; or they could, if desired, complete the circuit of the city. In a very wet season this could now be done, and certainly when the volume of water was greater than at present, without difficulty. For the many objects designed to be effected by the flotilla, Tezcuco, therefore, was clearly the most desirable point for the concentration of the forces, and was accordingly chosen.

On the second day after Christmas, 1520, preparatory to the march, a muster was had of the forces. As Cortez had no motive to misstate its strength, the enumeration is probably correct. It is, also, consistent with itself and with former statements, and therefore are we bound to give it full credence. The numbers were forty horse and five hundred foot, eighty of whom were cross-bowmen and musketeers. There were also eight or nine field-pieces and a small quantity of powder, and, in addition, a body of Indian auxiliaries, not so numerous as to burden the commissariat, nor to impede the steadiness of the dis-

ciplined soldiers, yet sufficient to supply a valuable body for any duty in which irregulars could be advantageously employed. This must comprise all that were ever in the service. It is unnecessary, therefore, to discuss the improbabilities which the daily encumbrance of the march by fabulous thousands of friendly Indians suggests. We have here then the exact effective force of the little band which so boldly ventured to re-enter the valley of Mexico, after all that had been previously suffered, or witnessed there of the sufferings of others, in the expedition of the previous year. It is not only a marked instance of daring, but the beginning of a series of adventures that are almost without a parallel.



MARCH TO TEZCUCO.

The next day, that of the Holy Innocents, the march actually began, and was continued for six leagues, to *Guajocingo*,* a town in the Tlascalan alliance.† The following morning, the 29th day of December, 1520, they left their friendly quarters and commenced the ascent of the mountain. Cortez, with ten horsemen and sixty foot, all lightly armed‡ and experienced in this kind of warfare, led the van.§ Four leagues up the weary ascent had been made, when they encamped for the night, upon the very crest of the ridge, ten thousand feet above the sea, the eastern boundary of Aztec territory. It was amid a tempest of driving snow, so fierce as to hide them from the ever watchful Mexican scouts, while they suffered intensely from the cold. The next morning, after enduring this memorable exposure, they made the descent unopposed and undiscovered, until the greatest difficulties of the route were passed. The path was broken up throughout its entire course. But all obstacles were readily surmounted, as no enemy was present to dispute the passage. At last watchfires blazed on every side. The braves were summoned to arms, and hostilities commenced; too

* Huaxocingo.

† Folsom's *Cortez*, page 203.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 204.

§ We have already referred to a set of plate armor suspended in the Museum at Mexico. Like all the relics of the Conquest, it is at least apocryphal.

Iron defensive armor is only requisite to defend the body from iron weapons.

Cortez was but nineteen years of age when he came to the West Indies. He had no knowledge of any war but Indian war, in which iron plate armor would not only be of no advantage, but would render the wearer almost unserviceable in that peculiar kind of hostility, known as Indian war. Then, again, the heat of the climate would make such armor insupportable.

Like the copy of his picture, which has no original, and his banner, made since his death, this armor was probably purchased for effect.

late, however, to effect any important result. At night, the last of the year 1520, the invaders encamped at a distance of only three leagues from Tezcuco.

The next day's march was delayed by a solemn embassy from that town, "bearing a golden mace;"* it solicited for the people and their chief the pardon and friendship of Spain. The real object, however, was to gain the time necessary for a general flight. But the prayer of the petitioners being instantly granted, and the march resumed, the invaders forthwith entered and took up their quarters there. Cortez was for awhile at a loss to define the object of the Tezcucans in extending so friendly a reception. But a party of soldiers ascending an elevated mound to reconnoitre, he learned that those who had failed to make good their retreat to the island-capital, were now flying with their valuables in every direction. Diaz unfortunately adds, "Many took shelter in the reeds growing in the [salt!] lake!"† But the designed evacuation of the town and entire shore of the mainland was frustrated by the rapid movements of the invaders.

On the first day of the year 1521, Cortez entered Tezcuco, and on that very night its sachem, with his principal men, fled to Mexico. The bulk of the population, unable to cross the *laguna*, took refuge in the mountains. For the three first days of its occupation, the place presented the appearance of a deserted town; and so little prospect was there of any hearty alliance with its people, that eight more were industriously employed in putting it in a state of defence. During this while the

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 207. † Lockhart's *Diaz*, vol. II., page 5

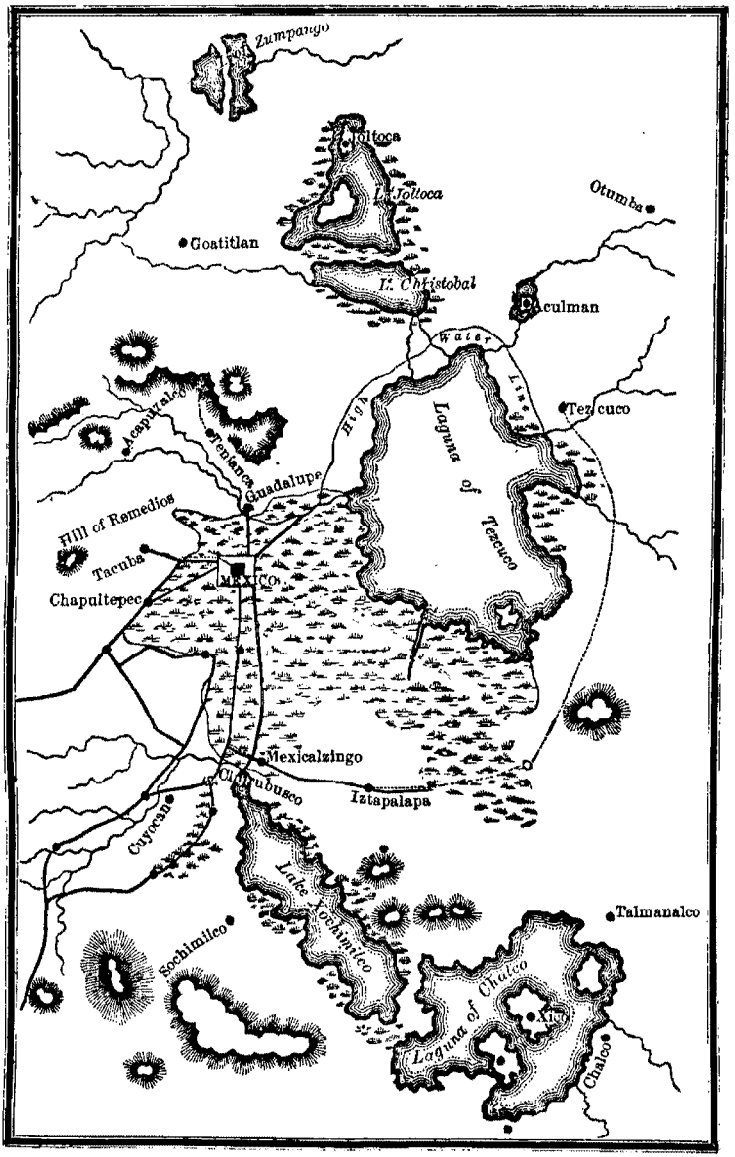
inhabitants of the adjacent hamlets sent delegates to offer their submission, and many of the townspeople were likewise induced to accept protection. Foraging parties were at the same time diligently engaged in collecting whatever supplies might be found on the narrow margin of fertile land, between the mountains and the *laguna*, constituting the territory of that town.*

The next movement of importance, after thoroughly establishing the army at Tezcuco, was against *Iztapalapa*, a small isolated grain-producing district, within the everglade barrier of the city. The expedition was led by Cortez in person, and it fully demonstrated the strength of the natural defences of the valley; while the assailants, inferior upon the water, had to make head against defenders who possessed means of traversing both it and the neighboring marshes at their will. The affair ended in a disastrous night retreat; less serious indeed than the *triste noche*, but sufficiently so to prove the necessity of the flotilla, to insure success.

Iztapalapa, according to the American topographical survey, is over four feet higher than the Grand Plaza, the highest part of the city of Mexico; which city is again six and a half feet above the *laguna* of Tezcuco.†

* "Cortez speaks of the fine fields of corn on the east side of this *laguna*. They could not have been finer in his day than they are at present, though they furnished him with the supplies that supported his army. This splendid farming-land, though but a narrow margin extending from the shore to the foot of the mountain, was strikingly in contrast with the flatness and barrenness of the plain on the opposite side, which is so slightly elevated above the level of the salt water that a few inches of rise in the laguna spreads out an immense sheet."—*Mexico and its Religion.*

† See *Report of the Reconnoissance of the Valley of Mexico*, by Lieut. M. L. Smith, U. S. A.



MARCH OF CORTEZ FROM TEZCUCO TO IZTAPALAPA.

In order, therefore, to elevate that salt lake to the level of Iztapalapa, as alleged by the writer of "Bernal Diaz," and all subsequent historians, it would be necessary to submerge not only the quarters of Cortez, at Tezcuco, to the depth of more than eleven feet; but to flood the city of Mexico itself also with at least four! Diaz, entirely unacquainted with the facts, confounds dikes with causeways; because Cortez sometimes uses the word dike for causeway, and sometimes treats them as synonymous,* as in the present instance. They are, however, entirely distinct; the dike is to impede a current, while the causeway is so constructed as not to interfere with the natural channel.

The inhabitants of Iztapalapa fled at the approach of the Spaniards, and took refuge in some neighboring villages—in the fresh-water *laguna*, probably *Xochimilco*, as they had timely notice of their approach. Nor is it impossible that the "waters of the salt lake began to flow with great impetuosity towards the fresh lake,"† through the opening made in the causeway "two-thirds of a league" in his rear; that is, from a lower to a higher level—an apparent impossibility, which, however, frequently occurs even in our day, when a strong north wind drives the water before it. The absurdities into which the historians of the Conquest have fallen, by misconceiving this statement, probably originated with Gomora, and were pointed out doubtless by *Las Casas*, or some other author, now suppressed. Diaz undertakes to turn the edge of the criticism by pretending, that in his

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 213. † *Ibid.*, page 213.

time, the *physique* of the country had entirely changed;* modestly insinuating, as its cause, an earthquake that never occurred. Cortez probably discovered, while his men were busily engaged plundering the village, that the enemy were equally so in destroying the causeway in his rear, and that they were aided in their work by a powerful north wind. Whereupon he hastily fled, and by "*half running and half flying,*" escaped to the mainland by another night retreat. As for the ten thousand families, or fifty thousand inhabitants of Iztapalapa, the necessary rule of discount furnished by Diaz applied here, will afford the probable number. "Write one, where he says eighty."

The Cuetravacin† of Cortez, the Cuitlahuatzin‡ of Diaz, a brother of Montezuma, was that sachem of Iztapalapa whose duty it had been to welcome the Spaniards on their first arrival. On the death of that unfortunate emperor, he became the leader of the confederates, and whether besieging the Spaniards in Mexico, or following them in their sorrowful retreat, he had shown himself worthy to fill the place of his illustrious predecessor. But the small-pox soon made him its victim in the midst of his career. He had been called to the administration in

* "Iztapalapa was at that time a town of considerable magnitude, built half in the water and half on dry land. The spot where it stood is at present all dry land; and where vessels once sailed up and down, seeds are sown and harvests gathered. In fact, the whole face of the country is so completely changed, that he who had not seen these parts previously would scarcely believe that waves had ever rolled over the spot where now fertile corn-plantations extend themselves to all sides, so wonderfully have all things changed here in a short space of time."—*Bernal Diaz*, vol. I., page 220.

† FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 186.

‡ LOCKHART'S *Dias*, vol. I., page 344.

a time of great calamity, his vigorous measures, before his untimely death, had apparently restored affairs to their former prestige. A powerful enemy who was in his very capital when he assumed the government, had not only been driven out with immense loss, but had been forced to fly beyond the limits of his hereditary states. If that enemy again returned, it was not until after Cuetravacin's death. That Cortez returned at all, was doubtless because he dared not go back to his own country unsuccessful. An ignominious punishment, or a conquest, were the alternatives that seemed to have forced upon him the necessity of renewing the war. That Divine ruler, too, who sent the hornet before the children of Israel, for wise purposes of his own, permitted the small-pox to pave the way for the Spaniards to re-enter. The future, however, was unknown to the dying Cuetravacin. He beheld only the magnitude of his victory over the fated enemy of his race; and stoically wrapping himself in his feathered mantle, as his eyes closed in death, he rejoiced at his expected welcome to the celestial hunting-grounds, and felt that he was worthy a name among the immortal braves. Thus he died.

There is no difficulty in reconciling with truth that portion of the narrative of Cortez which declares the enemy opened the dike or causeway two miles in his rear, and that the water flowed with impetuosity from the salt into the fresh *laguna*, as we have already suggested; for the water, close to the eastern shore, is both deep and salt, and we have witnessed the same phenomena there, at the same season of the year, when the north wind blew furiously. If the waters ceased their flow

the next morning, it was not the result of an equilibrium, as Cortez supposes, but because the wind had moderated. The flood, too, on the day of the attack, may have filled the causeway ditches to overflowing even as far as Iztapalapa; and hence, with the usual exaggeration, it became, in the despatches, a town in the water. The number of Indian auxiliaries in this expedition, too, were as usual counted by thousands, instead of hundreds; with these qualifications we admit the correctness of the narrative.

Returning to Tezcuco, after the night retreat from Iztapalapa, the submission of Otumba and other villages and hamlets in that vicinity, was received. About the same time, also, Sandoval and an expeditionary party were sent to open a communication with Tlascala. There was a second object to be gained by this, Cortez proposing to provide the people of Tezcuco with a sachem on whom he might rely. While in Tlascala, a scion of the reigning family of Tezcuco had lived with him, who was now about eighteen years old, and had been carefully educated in the Romish superstition, and baptized under the name of Don Fernando. This youth, on his arrival at Tezcuco, was installed as its cacique. This is the famous Don Fernando who played so conspicuous a part afterwards in the siege of Mexico, and was the founder of that noble family which, for many generations, furnished the rulers of Tezcuco, and who, under a royal commissioner, were its hereditary lords. It is pleasant to notice kindly traits in the *Conquistador*. They were few, but they did exist. Of them the brightest instance is his ardent friendship for this Indian chief, which terminated only at his death.

According to a provision in his last testament, the remains of Cortez, as already noticed, were brought from Spain, and deposited by the side of those of his bronze-visaged friend. A little chapel and a rough-stone wall mark the spot where the two once lay side by side. We have never hesitated to condemn the wrongs that were committed by Cortez in his lifetime. Yet, looking upon these memorials of his friendship for one of another race, we can hardly resist the conclusion that, had he been brought up under other circumstances, he might have been not only the great man he was, but a good man also, which is a thousand-fold more desirable.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.

A great deal of poetry and very little prose has been written about the valley of Mexico. From the heights of Rio Frio; from the summit above the Cross of the Marquis; and from the highest peak of the Tepeac behind Guadalupe, I saw a tropical morning sun disengage itself from the snowy mountains. From these three favored spots I have looked upon the valley, where dry land and pools of water seemed equally to compose the magnificent panorama. Immense mirrors, of every conceivable shape and form, were reflecting back the rays of the sun; while the green shores, in which the fresh-water ones were set, enhanced the effect. The white walls, and domes, and spires of the distant city heightened still more a picture that can only be fully appreciated by those who have looked downward through its pure atmosphere from such a position; but when I descended to the common level, the charm was broken. Instead of lakelets and crystal springs, I found only pools of surface-water, which the rains had left; and the canals were but the ditches from which, on either side, the dirt had been taken to build the causeway through the marsh, and were now covered with a coat of green. The valley has no outlet; and as evaporation only takes up pure water, all the animal, vegetable, and mineral matter that is carried in, is left to stagnate and putrefy in the ponds and ditches.

A practical "man of the times," with more sense than poetry in his com-

position, must grieve as he looks at the great advantages here possessed for irrigation which are unimproved. There is not a spot in the whole valley that is not capable of the most perfect drainage,* while basins have been formed by nature in the highest points, from which water could be supplied to the whole valley; but decay and neglect—fitting types of the social condition of the people—everywhere exhibit themselves. Water stands in all the narrow sewers, or ditches, that occupy the middle of the streets, for the want of a suitable one to draw it down to the level of the Tezcuco. Once a year the flags are taken from the covered ditches, and the mud dipped out; and a bundle of hay, tied to the tail of a dirt-cart, is daily dragged through the open ones.

I have spoken only of the lower division of the valley—that in which the city stands. If we consider the two partly separated as one, the whole constitutes an oval basin seventy-five miles long from north to south, with an average width from east to west of twenty. Two-thirds of the southern, however, is a marsh; and might well be called the "Montezuma," it so strikingly resembles the one of that name in the state of New York, though the whole body of pond and morass contains much less water than its northern namesame. The stage-road from Vera Cruz crosses this marsh for fourteen miles, and has a great number of small stone bridges, beneath which the water runs with considerable current towards the north, on account of the difference of level between the southern fresh-water ponds and the lower salt-water ponds, as in the days of Cortez. There are occasional dry spots, and now and then there is open water; but the greater portion is filled with marsh grass, and furnishes good feeding for the droves of cattle that daily frequent it for that purpose. The ancient village of Mexicalzingo, or "Little Mexico"—the traditional home of the Aztecs before they built Mexico—is situated on one of the dry portions, slightly elevated above the level of the fresh water, and a short distance from it Iztapalapa, and on another, six miles distant, stands the famous city of Mexico itself, resting on piles driven into a foundation of soft earth. The canal of Chalco commences at the northerly extremity of the Xochimilco, and, passing by Mexicalzingo and the "*floating gardens*," viz., artificial islands, continues along the eastern front, and empties itself into the salt (*tequisquita*) pond of Tezcuco, having received as a tributary the canal of Tacubaya, which passes along the southern boundary of the city, and the main trunk sewer.

The highest water of the southern portion of the valley, is the pond of

* *Report of* M. L. Smith, *Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A.*

Chalco in the extreme south-east, being $4\frac{8}{12}$ feet above the level of the Grand Plaza of the city, and twenty miles distant therefrom, and $11\frac{2}{12}$ feet above Tezcuco;* but its volume being small, for the last four hundred years, the slight impediments of long grass and a few Indian dikes have prevented any injury to the city by a too rapid flow to the northward. Xochimilco is the pond, or open space in the marsh, that extends from the Chalco to near Mexicalzingo on the same level. Tezcuco is the lowest water in the valley, being $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the Grand Plaza of the city.† It receives the surplus of the waters that have not already been evaporated in the other ponds. At this great elevation, 7500 feet, evaporation does its work rapidly all over the valley; but it is in Tezcuco that the residuum of the waters is deposited. And as this water evaporates 8 per cent. faster than fresh, the greatest portion of the evaporation here takes place.

It may be well to repeat that, strictly speaking, there are two valleys —the upper or northern, and the valley of the city of Mexico; the first extends in an oval form beyond the hills of Tepeac, some sixty miles to Pachuca, and communicates with the plains of Otumba and Apam on the east. In this valley are the ponds or *lagunas* of Zumpango (the highest waters of Mexico), and Joltoca or San Cristobal; and in it is also the town and half of the *laguna* Tezcuco, which is the lowest *laguna* of the valley. North of these *lagunas* is a country of fine farming lands, which was probably inhabited long before the time of the arrival of the Aztecs.

The valley of the city of Mexico lies to the south of these hills, and is also oval in shape; but not more than twenty miles in extent. The surface-water with which it is saturated, is in part fresh, and in other parts *tequisquita*— that is, where the waters have a current, they are fresh; but where they remain from year to year, discharging their volume only by evaporation, there they become infused with saline properties, and all about them is marked with barrenness. If the process of evaporation was less intense than it is, all vegetation would die from the extreme humidity of the soil—as the gardener's phrase is, it would rot. Even in the city itself, a couple of feet of digging brings you to the water-level even in the dry season; and seventy or eighty yards of boring does not carry you beyond the perceptible influence of *tequisquita*.‡ This law of evaporation puzzled the Aztecs, who, ignorant of all philosophical principles, could only account for the disappearance of the

* LIEUT. SMITH'S *Report*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Near the author's lodgings in the city of Mexico, an artesian well, in process of boring, at that depth, gave clear indications of the presence of *tequisquita*.

immense mass of water that fell in the valley, upon the hypothesis, that the Tezcuco had a leaky bottom, or that there was *a hole in the lake*—an idea that thousands in Mexico credit even at the present day. This was the origin of that absurd story which Cortez repeats in his despatches, that this lake communicated with the sea, and had its daily tides, because, perhaps, he saw the water driven by the north wind at the time he wrote.

The volume of water in this valley in the time of Cortez, could not have been much greater than at present, if the accumulations of each year were to be carried off by evaporation alone. As this is the turning-point in the history or fable of the Conquest, I must adduce the proofs and arguments that are at hand to establish this statement. That the level could not have been higher, is clear from the fact that neither Mexico, Mexicalzingo, nor Iztapalapa could in that case have been inhabited; and much less Tezcuco, which is 6½ feet lower than Mexico.

Cortez' account of deep waters has often been made plausible by adding the hypothesis that the accumulating mud of centuries has filled up the lakes that then existed, and which have thus become ponds. But this by no means removes the difficulty; for then, as now, the waters of the southern *laguna* flowed into Tezcuco, conveying with them the infinitesimal infusion of *tequisquita* that had instilled itself into the Chalco. Had the volume of Chalco and Xochimilco been increased several feet, then the slight Indian barriers and the long grass would no longer have been able to retard the progress of the water till evaporation had diminished its quantity, but, precipitating itself in a mass into the Tezcuco, it would have overwhelmed the town of Tezcuco, the city of Mexico, and all their shores, and established an equilibrium of surface in the two.

All the *lagunas*, canals, and ditches that have been described, are navigated by small scows that draw but a few inches of water—the medium of an extensive internal commerce. Through the *lagunas* and canal of Chalco come from Cuatla the supplies of the products of the hot country for the city and surrounding region. This commerce exceeds the whole foreign trade of the republic.* The style of boats now used was probably introduced by Cortez, and in this convenient form his thirteen brigantines were doubtless made; for, had his brigantines been of a larger draught of water, they could not have navigated canals intended only for Indian canoes. One of these vessels, when supplied with a sail, a cannon, and a movable keel or sideboard, would be a formidable auxiliary in an assault upon the city at the

* *Comércio de Mexico*, 1852.

present day. And if one such scow was placed in the ditch on each side of the southern causeway, as Cortez alleges he did, it would enable an assailing enemy to present just so much more front as the additional width of two boats would give him, and also to rake both the ditch and causeway.

Authors have expressed their surprise at the existence of two navigable canals to each causeway, one on either side, as an immense expenditure of unnecessary labor. The explanation of this is found in the fact, that in the construction of a pathway (for Cortez says that it was but two spears' length in width) through wet and marshy ground, a broad ditch is ordinarily made on either side to obtain earth for the embankment, and to keep the water-level permanently below the top of the pathway. So it is, and so it must always have been at Mexico, in order to keep these footpaths in travelling condition. In the dry season, which is the winter, these broad ditches are covered with floating islands of green "scum;" but in the rainy season, which is the summer, they may be navigated by the shallow Mexican scows. A pathway of earth thirty feet (perhaps only twelve) in width could not endure the winds and waves of a navigable lake, or the wear and "swash" of a canal twelve feet deep on either side; and the fact that Cortez navigated the ditches in the rainy season, establishes the insignificant size of his famous brigantines.

As the level of the surface of the land and the surface of the water at Mexicalzingo, at Mexico, and at Tezcuco, does not materially vary now from what it was in the time of Cortez, if we can take for data the foundations of the churches built by the Conquistador at these several places, we shall have to look to another quarter for a supply of water for the city canals, which were sufficiently capacious for canoe navigation. This supply we readily obtain by allowing the waters of the canals of Tacubaya and Chalco to pass through the streets of the city in ditches sufficiently large for canoes, instead of passing along the south and east fronts outside. By this hypothesis we obtain a current, a prerequisite to the very idea of a canal, particularly in the streets of a city.

The *savans* of Europe have shown their profound ignorance of the first principles of navigation, in taking it for granted that the canals of Mexico were filled with stagnant water, that had "set back" from the stagnant pond of Tezcuco; and that the level of the pond must at all times have been so high as to fill the canals—thus keeping the city in constant danger from any sudden rise in the *laguna*. But, aside from the rules of canal construction, there is an important sanitary question involved. The present ditches in the middle of the streets, though they have a perceptible current,

and a slight infusion of *tequisquita*, are an intolerable nuisance, and have a deleterious effect upon the public health. How much more so must they have been when, from the uncleanly habits of the Indians, they were the common receptacle of all kinds of filth, and were constantly stirred up to their very bottoms by the setting-poles of the navigators? The system of canalling is a system of slack-water navigation, but abhors stagnation.

We come next to the question of the dimensions of these street canals. We know that they were intended only for the navigation of Indian canoes; that such of them as intersected the causeway of the night retreat, Cortez crossed with his army all but one, either by leaping or climbing down into them, wading across, and then climbing up on the other side while loaded with their armor, while fighting against a superior force of the Aztecs; and that Alvarado actually leaped across the main one of the openings, shows conclusively that the canals could not have had any great breadth. On the hypothesis that Cortez used scows that drew no more water than the scows of the present day, his story becomes credible, so far, at least, as the possibility of making the circuit of the city in his boats in a season of rains.

The waters of the valley are now distributed in the best possible manner to favor evaporation; and yet so completely is this power taxed, that when, in 1629, a water-spout, bursting over the small river Guautitlan, had forced the waters of Zumpango over its barriers into the Joltoca or San Cristobal, and that again into the Tezcuco, the city was inundated to the depth of about three feet. Evaporation was unable to remove or materially lessen this new volume of water in a period of five years. This fully demonstrates that the average annual fall of water is equal to the full capacity of evaporation. The valley of Mexico is a very small one over which to dispose of the mass of water that the mountain-torrents and the tropical rains pour into it, and with the small margin of six and a half feet for rising and falling, the city must have been in constant jeopardy. Still the floods have not been frequent, fully demonstrating the great uniformity in the fall of water in the rainy season. When a water-spout occurred in the Chalco in 1446, in the time of the Aztec kings, there was a flood, which probably ran off into the Tezcuco. Under the Spaniards the following floods are enumerated: the first in 1553; the second in 1580; the third in 1604; the fourth in 1607; the fifth in 1629.

After the flood of 1607, the tunnel of Huehuetoca was undertaken, and constructed in eleven months, for the purpose of letting out of the valley the waters of the river Guautitlan, so as to prevent it from falling into Tezcuco, or flooding the city. For those times it was a great work; but we should say now that it was poorly engineered and badly managed, and not worthy

the notice it has received in books on Mexico. Since that time, the great inundation of 1629 occurred while the mouth of the tunnel was closed. After that time, the Spaniards, instead of building inside of the tunnel an elliptical tube, actually, by a hundred years of misapplied labor, turned the tunnel into an open cut.

Cortez furnished a map to illustrate his description. This map has the same defect as his narrative; that is, it was incorrect at the time he made it. The dimensions of the *lagunas* are exaggerated to an impossible size. Now, if we carry the village of Tezcuco and the shore of the lake with it to its correct position, we shall have the *laguna* of Tezcuco in its present form and size.

In this survey of the ponds of Mexico, I have drawn upon the information on the subject acquired at the extensive salt manufactories of Syracuse and the surrounding villages in Western New York; and also from the experience of our engineers upon the Erie Canal, and the engineers upon the dikes or levees at Sacramento, where the nature of the soil resembles that of Mexico. And I may now conclude this long survey of the canals and *lagunas* of Mexico, by saying that it is a wise provision of Providence that all bodies of water that have no outlet are found to contain a considerable infusion of salt, otherwise their accumulations of decaying matter would be such that mankind could not live in their vicinity. This valley is an illustration of that truth. The Tezcuco, surrounded by barrenness, is not deleterious to life; while the fresh-water *lagunas*, though continually changing their volume, render Mexico unhealthy in summer by the gases which they exhale from decaying vegetation.

I have pretty thoroughly described this small valley; and have also stated how large a portion of it is flooded with surface-water, and how large a portion of this water is infused with salt. In the vicinity of Tacubaya it is remarkably fertile, and there is good tillable land as the mountains are approached, especially about Chalco on the south-east; but under Indian cultivation, the whole of this area could have produced sustenance for only an extremely limited population, if the product of the "*floating gardens*" and the birds upon the pond should be added. It is totally inadequate to feed the population of Mexico under the vice-kings, 400,000, or its present population of say 300,000; nor could the valley itself be made to sustain one-third of this. The valley, it must be recollected, is enclosed on all sides by mountains that exceed 10,000 feet above the sea level; while the commissariat capacity of barbaric tribes is not such as to procure extensive supplies from a distance. Under such circumstances, we should look for an

extremely limited population. Yet the most surprising part of the story of the Conquest, is the enormous numbers assigned to the many large cities which it is alleged the valley contained. Diaz says, "A series of large towns stretched themselves along the banks of the lake, out of which [the lake] still larger ones rose magnificently above the water." Cortez says that Iztapalapa contained "10,000 families," which would give the town 50,000 inhabitants; "Amaqueruca, 20,000 inhabitants;" "Mexicalzingo, 3000 families," or 15,000 inhabitants; "Ayciaca, more than 6000 families;" "Huchilohuchico, 5000 or 6000." The population of Chalco he does not give, nor the population of very many villages whose names he mentions. At the present day, there are a few mud-huts in nearly every locality named; but not enough in any one instance to merit the name of village. And this, I am inclined to believe, was the real condition of things in the time of Cortez. The city of Mexico alone would have exhausted the limited resources of the valley. Old Thomas Gage was as much puzzled two hundred years ago to account for this astonishing disappearance of the numerous Indian cities of this valley, as we are; and also for the supposed filling up of the lakes—never appearing to suspect that the story was a fiction.

THE CAUSEWAYS.

Now as we are on the new causeway, broad and spacious like all the others, it may be well to conclude the discussion of the physical condition of this valley by determining the size of the old Aztec ones.

An island, embosomed in a marsh, has always formed a favorite retreat for an Indian tribe—whether among the everglades of Florida, or the wild-rice swamps of Northwestern Canada. Such a retreat is still more desirable when, in addition to the security it affords from an enemy, it is likewise a resort for wild-ducks, as was and is the case with the *lagunas* of the Mexican valley. Hence, probably, the Aztecs selected this place as the site of their village; and to reach it, it was necessary to make one or more footpaths across the marsh. As the Aztecs had no beasts of burden, this must have been a task of no little magnitude. To have made it thirty feet wide would not only have been a work of immense difficulty, but would have destroyed the defensive character of their position. Still, we can, upon this occasion, afford to be a little liberal with the statements of Cortez, as we have had to cut his hundreds of thousands of warriors down to a few thousand of miserably-armed Indians, and reduce his magnificent cities to Indian villages. In order to make the island of Mexico at all inhabitable, we have had to re-

duce his lakes from navigable basins of twelve feet or more in depth, to mere evaporating ponds. His floating islands have been transformed into garden-beds, built upon the mud; and his canals have sunk to mere ditches. Now let us deal liberally with the old Conquistador in the matter of his causeways, and admit that they might have been twelve feet in width—as broad as the tow-path of the Erie Canal.—WILSON'S *Mexico and its Religion.*

THE VOLUME OF WATER THE SAME NOW AS IN THE TIME OF CORTEZ.

Some persons, ignorant of nature's methods of sustaining equilibriums, have hastily adopted the hypothesis; that the volume of water in the valley of Mexico has so diminished since the time of Cortez, as to convert his alleged lakes into the ponds or *lagunas* of the present time. Where the discharge depends upon drainage, the enlargement or contraction of the drain must diminish or increase the volume of the reservoir. But when we come to those unchangeable laws, that hold evaporation and precipitation in equilibrium, we know that bodies of water dependent on these powers for their supply and discharge have not increased or diminished their volume since the last chain of mountains to their windward acquired their present form and shape, (See Lieut. Maury's Physical Geography, § 377)—that is, the volume of water in the valley of Mexico is to-day precisely what it was in the times of Cortez, and perhaps a thousand years before—the Zumpango alone, except in time of flood, evaporating all the water that now escapes by the canal of Huehuetoca—the little river Guautitlan.

LIEUT. H. L. SMITH, U. S. A.

The author knows nothing more in relation to the survey made by this officer, than is contained in a pamphlet defence of *Francesco Suarez Iriarte* published at the city of Mexico, by R. Rafael, 1853, in which a Spanish translation of this important report is introduced as one of the *Appendices.*

He obtained it at the palace, of M. M. Lerdo, then first official in the department of public work (*Fomento*) now mixed up in revolutionary movements, and the author of the law *Lerdo*, in relation to church property.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SIEGE OF MEXICO.

The youthful Emperor Guatamozin, 461—Effect of the appearance of the "brigantines," 462—Guatamozin's line of defence—his heroism, 463—Transporting the "brigantines" to Tezcuco, 464—Cortez makes a reconnoissance in force, 465—Incidents of the march, 466—More topographical blunders of Diaz, 467—Sandoval's expedition to Chalco, 468—More woman-branding—arrival of a Papal bull, 469—Their sins pardoned by virtue of the bull, 469—Cortez' expedition south of the *lagunas*, 470—Cortez engages the mountain tribes, 472—The beauty of the gardens of Guastipeque, 472—The capture of Cuernavaca, 473—Capture of Xochimilco, 474—The second day at Xochimilco, 475—The second reconnoissance to Tacuba, 476—The character of this reconnoissance, 476—The canal built by Cortez, 477—A fabulous depth given to his canal, 478—Adventurers attracted by the first despatch, 478—A muster and division of forces for the siege, 479—The land forces placed in position, 480—By means of his brigantines Cortez captures the Pinon, 480—The first battle on the water, 482—The first week of the siege, 483—A complete investment effected, 484—Its results, 485—The Chinampas, improperly called Floating Gardens, 485.

GUATAMOZIN was the successor of Cuetravacin, the second from Montezuma, and last emperor of Mexico. His name is inseparably linked with the destruction of the Aztec empire and the ruin of its people. Called to the supreme command of a nation already doomed, his fate has thrown around its misfortunes the halo of his own self-devotion. The long-sustained supremacy of his people rested upon the impregnable position of their mud-girt islands, and the ample supply of food which their fast-anchored gardens furnished—the floating gardens of

the Spanish romancers, and our own historians—and the corn fields of Iztapalapa. Heretofore it had been optional, either to engage in aggressive war, or to practise at home the arts of peace. None had been able to disturb them in their secure retreat. Even the last assault of the Spaniards but proved its security. But that enemy now appeared with two auxiliaries, as strange to the Indians as were the pale faces; one, the small-pox, left behind in their retreat, was already in the field; the other, the flotilla, preparing in the mountains of Tlascala, was yet to come.

Under these circumstances, Guatamozin, a youth of eighteen,* came to the leadership of the confederacy. He had at best but inadequate means of defence against the returning enemy and his fearful allies. If the youthful emperor had relied confidently upon his command of the water-approaches to his capital, when he saw the strange "canoes" launched upon the Tezcucan *laguna*, that hope must have passed away. So light were they in draught, they could follow even his bark-built vessels in the shallowest water, yet so large they still contained twenty men and a cannon.† Stranger yet, driven by the wind, they moved with a speed that made them a terror to his most expert oarsmen.‡ When this new auxiliary entered the contest, the chief comprehended at once the fate that awaited both him and his people. No longer was he master of the time, and point of attack or retreat, that power was now transferred to the enemy. His ditches were

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 315. † *Ibid.*, page 267.
‡ The bark-canoe is propelled by one or more paddles—not oars.

no more a pathway to the flanks of his assailants, they were the road to his own. These "strange canoes" commanded all his defences, and equally covered the advance or retreat of his enemy. The advantage of the causeways belonging to the master of the water, the peculiarity of his position no longer aided him in his defence. Day by day he saw the Spaniards approaching by these hitherto unassailable paths, until they deployed in his capital. They came and they went, morning and evening, under the protection of their boats, with the regularity of daily laborers. The very gardens upon the water, those artificial islands which until now had ever been a certain source of supply to his city, were in the power of its enemy, and furnished his commissariat abundantly; and while his own people were perishing from hunger, the fields of Iztapalapa supplied their foes with forage. Such were the circumstances under which Guatamozin was to make his final stand.

There was no hope of ultimate success. The utmost the youthful emperor could expect was to protract the siege, and make the victory as dear as possible to the besiegers. To this end the whole system of Indian tactics was abandoned. Either his people must yield unresistingly at once, or daily struggle, hand to hand, uncovered, against an enemy armed with iron weapons. Either they must succumb now, or expose their bodies to the bullets of the arquebus and the fire of the artillery, with the additional risk of being trampled into the earth by those to them strange beasts, the horses. Yet this last was the choice our youthful hero adopted, and successfully con-

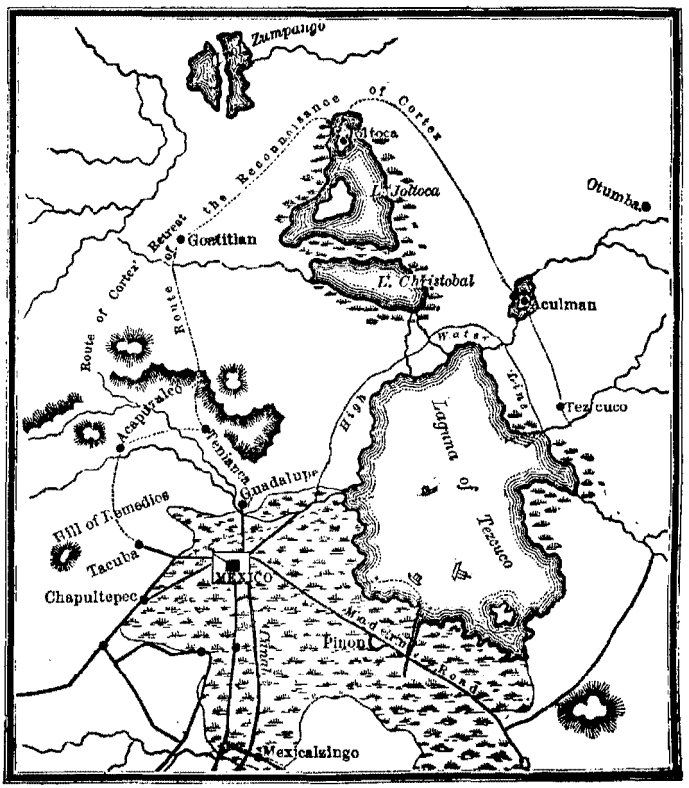
tinued, as long as there was a city to defend, and warriors to maintain the contest. When no firm land remained to him, his canoe became his palace, and there, in the midst of the shallow waters adjoining his capital, beyond the reach of the horses, surrounded by a few famishing survivors, with Indian stoicism he awaited the stroke of some lucky missile to terminate his misery. This was the defence resolved upon in the councils of Guatamozin—the most remarkable ever adopted by undisciplined warriors—a resolve we must characterize as fortitude rather than courage. The Aztecs could easily have abandoned their capital, when they discovered it was no longer defensible, and sought safety by dispersing themselves among their allies in the adjoining mountains and distant forests towards Otumba. But they chose rather to die among the houses and by the graves of their ancestors, that they might be counted worthy of their lineage, when they should meet hereafter the immortal braves who had gone before them. Thus it was a part of the original purpose of his tribe to die where they were, if necessary, rather than fly before the *pale-faces*. And we have here a clue to the whole series of contests that, from the appearance of the brigantines to the extermination of its defenders, occurred about the capital of the Aztecs. On the one side we are to herald exploits of brave Spaniards thirsting for victory; on the other doomed warriors who had ceased to value their lives, and seeking only to sell them at the dearest rate to their implacable foes.

The successful transportation across the mountains of the planks and "cross-timbers" that were to constitute

the thirteen "brigantines," was the occasion of a great rejoicing, a grand *fiesta* at Tezcuco, in which all concurred. By the circuitous mountain-path traversed, the distance was eighteen Spanish leagues,* over such broken ground as we have described. The vessels had to be carried, board by board, timber by timber; this so extended the line of march, that, from the head to the rear of the column was a distance of two Spanish leagues—five miles. In the van were a hundred foot and eight horse, as a guard, with "ten thousand Tlascalans"—one hundred and twenty-five, according to the rule of discount which Diaz supplies—and a like number of Spaniards and Tlascalans in the rear. Besides these, there were also two thousand porters with provisions. Four days were required for the march, and when the procession entered the town, it was received with the beating of Indian drums, and other rejoicings. Three days to recruit were then allowed the Tlascalans, after which they were summoned to a warlike expedition.

Secretly resolving to make the northern circuit of the *lagunas*, as far as Tacuba—the rendezvous after the night retreat—to study his ground on every side, Cortez started with an expeditionary force of three hundred foot and twenty-five horse, fifty archers and musketeers, six cannon and "thirty thousand," viz., three hundred and eighty Tlascalans. The movement was a reconnoissance in force, intended also to remove whatever obstacles existed to the complete investment of the city on that side, by driving in every hostile garrison. The

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 227.



CORTEZ RECONNOITRES THE CITY ON THE NORTH.

reason assigned in his despatches—that he might appear driven by Indian obstinacy to the adoption of a cruel policy—was, that he went to Tacuba to parley with the Mexicans; to bring about, if possible, a peace*—an idea entirely at war with his intentions.

The first conflict took place at Joltoca, situated on a small island in the salt *laguna* of that name. The enemy

* FOLSOM's *Cortez*, page 229.

being routed and driven out, the march was resumed and the column proceeded to the "*large and beautiful city,*" that is, the small Indian village of Guatitan, and this was found deserted by its inhabitants. There Cortez lodged the second night after leaving Tezcuco. Leaving this he advanced to Tenianca. Meeting no opposition, he continued to Acapuzalco.* Hurrying on from this point, he reached Tacuba the same evening. After his allies had plundered and partly burned this village, he advanced to the head of the causeway, and held a parley with the Mexicans without effect. Diaz says he here attempted to re-enter the city, and was allowed to advance so far on the causeway as to fall into a well laid plot, which subjected him to a serious loss: viz., five Spaniards killed and many wounded.† This is a mere invention. Cortez was too good a soldier to be twice entrapped in the same snare. On the return a night was again spent at Guatitan. The second was passed at the friendly village of Aculman, on an island in a little fresh-water lake of the same name. There friends met and escorted him back to Tezcuco.

The only noteworthy feature of this expedition is the laughable mistake into which Diaz and the historians of the conquest have fallen, from their ignorance of the country. Diaz again mistakes the causeway for a dike. The causeway which connected Joltoca with the main land, was cut through; to this Diaz unfortunately adds, "and thereby flooded the country."‡ The country on this, the north side, is higher than the water, and the

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 230.

† Lockhart's *Diaz*, vol. II., page 22. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 20.

natural discharge of the Joltoca in the opposite direction, is only restrained by a slight barrier from flowing into the Tezcuco; so that, the only flood these elevated *lagunas* could create would be first felt in the Spanish quarters at Tezcuco! Gales cannot change the result here, for the gentle south wind disturbs not the equilibrium of these waters. Thus we add another instance to the many, in which, the blind leading the blind, all have fallen into the ditch. Diaz charges as "shocking blunders of Gomora"* the declarations of Cortez, that he concealed from the Tezcucans his design of marching to Tacuba, and also that he went there for the purpose of a parley. Who is the real blunderer?

The next event was the march of Sandoval with his division to the relief of the Chalcans. On his arrival there he was joined by the Indians of that town and their allies in fabulous numbers, of course. The united force immediately moved against Guastapeque—*peque* meaning hill. At this place there was a double battle, but ultimately the enemy was driven out, and pursued to Acapictla, a strongly fortified position, which Sandoval carried by assault, and with so great a slaughter, that, Cortez informs us,† for a whole hour the little stream that surrounded the town ran red with blood, so that the thirsty soldiers could not drink it! Diaz is so scandalized at the impossibility of this, that he alleges it to be one of the "shocking blunders"‡ of Gomora. Other matters connected with this expedition were more congenial to the

* LOCKHART'S *Diaz*, vol. II., page 25.
† FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 235.
‡ LOCKHART'S *Diaz*, vol. II., page 30.

Sepoy *piety* of Diaz, as that, "our troops satisfied themselves by capturing *some few pretty females, and other objects of value.*" After this engagement, Sandoval returned to Tezcuco, bringing with him great numbers of prisoners, among whom were many beautiful Indian females.

The Emperor Guatamozin was greatly excited at the result of Sandoval's expedition. Immediately upon its return to Tezcuco, a fleet of "two thousand canoes"!* was despatched with an expedition consisting of twenty thousand, viz., two hundred and fifty warriors.† Passing through the narrow *laguna* of Xochimilco, it made a descent upon the territories of Chalco, with but indifferent success. This expedition of the Aztecs repulsed, nothing of importance claimed attention. In the interval the captives taken by Sandoval were distributed. These, Diaz tells us, Cortez resolved should be marked with a red hot iron."† This brutal process was followed by an exhibition of Spanish *piety*, unlike aught we have yet had, and more degrading in its nature than anything the Brahminical system presents—a sale of those rewards reserved for the righteous, to the vilest of mortals for money.

"A Dominican friar, *Pedro Malgarejo de Urea*, from Seville, brought with him a Papal bull, by which," says Diaz, "we obtained absolution for all the sins we may have been guilty of during these wars. By means of this bull *Urea* amassed a large fortune in the space of a few months, with which he returned to Spain"!‡ Such was

* LOCKHART'S *Diaz*, vol. II., page 30. † *Ibid.*, page 31. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 32

the *religion!* imported into Mexico four years before the breaking out of the Protestant reformation in Europe. The ship which bore this vagrant monk, had also a supply of military stores for sale. These were so opportune that Cortez declares them to be "a succor that God miraculously sent us at a time when greatly needed."* To the pretended gift of God, the divine pardon, he does not even refer as one of the evidences of heavenly favor! Had this pardon been genuine, it would indeed have been a miracle greater than any ever wrought by monk or priest, with or without a bull, or other agency of Satan. As a companion piece to this, Diaz tells us, the main inducement so large a party as twenty thousand and over of the allies had to join the expedition was, not the hope of plunder alone, "but the expectation of a plentiful repast of human flesh, which never failed after an engagement"!

The reconnoissance on the northern side completed, on the 5th day of April, 1521, Cortez marched along the eastern shore of the *laguna* of Tezcuco for a similar purpose. His force then consisted of twenty horse and three hundred foot, fully equipped, besides "twenty thousand," viz., two hundred and fifty Tezcucans, the Tlascalans having been sent to their homes. The first night they lodged at the hamlet of *Tulmavalco*, within the jurisdiction of Chalco. On the next day they arrived at that village, and there received a new accession of "forty thousand,"† viz., five hundred, making, with the Tezcucans, a body of seven hundred and fifty, a number extravagantly

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 236.

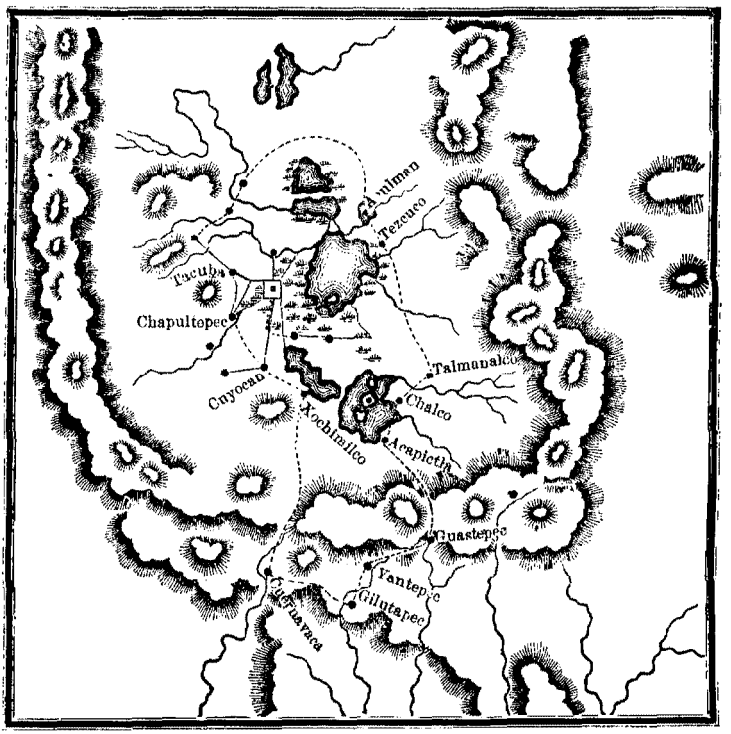
† *Ibid.*, page 239.

large for such a district to furnish, and inconveniently so for the purposes contemplated by the expedition.

At dawn on the third day the march was resumed, and they entered upon a rugged mountain district, which forms the southern rim of the valley. The inhabitants, allies of the Aztecs, assembled upon the principal hills, and bade defiance to their invader. An assault was made upon a party perched on one of these rocky fastnesses, and repulsed with serious loss. A second attack upon another was more fortunate. Having made a lodgment upon an equal elevation near by, the crossbowmen and musketeers opened a damaging fire upon the garrison of the neighboring mount, whereupon the latter threw down their arms and proposed a surrender, which was accepted. So easy were the terms, the victorious party on the first hill were induced to accept the same capitulation also.

And here we have to turn aside from our narrative to notice the oft recurring instances of the extraordinary qualities exhibited by so young a man as Cortez. In statesmanship he seems to be the counterpart of Cæsar in dealing with the Gothic tribes. When the alliance of any tribe was of advantage to him, he was most scrupulous in observing his treaties, while he exterminated without scruple all whom he could not rely upon.

Peace thus settled, Cortez remained with his new-made friends two days, and then proceeded to Guastepeque, the scene of the exploits of Sandoval. Here he describes a garden, belonging to its chief, as being two leagues in circuit. In it his army took up their quarters. This description is altogether a *conte d'Espagne*. There is



CORTEZ MAKES A COMPLETE CIRCUIT OF THE CITY.

nothing, indeed, in nature more beautiful than the scenes presented to the eye, in some of those valleys which open to the south; and it would require little artistic labor to make them what Cortez describes them then to be—"the most beautiful and refreshing I ever beheld."* In these spots all the beauty and loveliness of the hot country is found without its deleterious malaria. Cottages em-

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 242.

bowered in trees are covered with wild flowers and creepers; while the mountain rills that water their natural gardens add materially to the general effect by their sparkle and their murmur.

Having now passed the mountains, they proceeded by a circuitous route to *Yantepeque*, the inhabitants of which fled at their approach, and were pursued to *Gihutepeque*, "where some women and young persons were taken prisoners;"* from thence the march was continued to *Cuernavaca*. The beauty of this place seems to have so charmed Cortez, that he resolved upon it as his future residence, and it really afterwards became the home of the Marquis of the valley; this title and this village being bestowed upon him by the emperor about the same time. Great difficulty was found at first in effecting a lodgment on the side of the ravine, opposite the one by which they approached. Succeeding at last, the village was carried by assault. Here they remained but a single night. Turning northward, Cortez recrossed the dividing ridge where it rises to an elevation of ten thousand feet above the sea. He complains of the sufferings his men and horses endured there from thirst. They did not, perhaps, undergo more than did the author and horse on the same route; yet the Conquistador adds, some of his Indians perished from that cause on the march! Such a calamity the cold made impossible in so short a period. The night was spent on the mountain seven leagues from *Cuernavaca*.†

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 243.

† "Cuernavaca is to this day celebrated as one of finest spots on earth. It stands close under the shadow of the huge mountains that shield it from the northern blast; and it is

Early on the second day the column re-entered the great valley, and arrived at Sochimilco, by the side of the fresh-water *laguna* of that name, the Xochimilco of the maps. Cortez calls it a great city.* It was, most probably, then as now, a mere hamlet. This place, though fortified by bog and ditches, he finally carried and held in force, as a point from which to conduct his reconnoissance of the southern front, protecting his position by the very works the enemy had constructed to oppose him. The inhabitants had vainly supposed themselves secure from the Spaniards by the intervention of their ditches; and not until they were shot down at a distance by fire-arms, crossbows, &c., and found no cover from such, to them unusual weapons, did they fly from their effect. Even then they rallied, returned, and renewed the attack with a boldness which Cortez says "astonished him;" even rushing upon the quarter he occupied. Yet it was only to be subjected to an encounter with another, to them still strange element of war; to be trampled on by the cavalry. "Then they again," says he, "fled from the fear of the horses."† "Though some of them," he continues, "discovered so much courage as to wait their advance. On this occasion Cortez escaped death only by

at the same time protected from the extreme heat of the tropics by its elevation of 3000 feet. The immense church edifices here proclaim the munificence of Cortez; while the garden of Laborde, open to the world, shows with what elegant taste he squandered his three several fortunes accumulated in mining. The combination of a fine day in a voluptuous climate, the beautiful scenery, and the happy faces of the people celebrating New Year's day in the shade of the orange-trees, made an impression upon a traveller not easily forgotten."—*Mexico and its Religion.*

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 246.

† *Ibid.*, page 247.

the timely aid of a Tlascalan, who rushed to his assistance when his horse stumbled in the midst of a crowd of enemies. A Spaniard, also, who, Diaz says, was *Christobal de Olea*,* came up at the critical moment, and aided him to remount. When the Aztecs were finally routed after a hard day's fight, the openings where the bridges had been were ordered to be filled up; then "after using much precaution, and setting many guards, we retired for the night." Thus terminated the first day at *Xochimilco.*

On the next there came from Mexico, by the canal and the narrow *laguna* of *Xochimilco*, an army of "twelve thousand warriors," viz. one hundred and fifty, "in a great fleet of canoes exceeding *two thousand* in number; at the same time the country was covered by the multitude that poured in by land."† A remarkable incident this day was the appearance of Aztecs armed with Spanish swords, taken the night of the sorrowful retreat. On the second contest the infantry was left to defend the town, while Cortez sallied forth with the Tlascalans. These he subsequently divided into squads, which scoured the plain, and put the whole undisciplined multitude to flight. He then assailed a party that had taken refuge on one of the precipitous hills scattered through the valley. By the aid of his Tlascalans, these were driven upon a party placed to intercept their retreat, by which more than five hundred were slain."‡ It was "ten o'clock in the day" when the horse returned from the pursuit to their friends in *Xochimilco*, who all this while were engaged with those

* LOCKHART'S *Diaz*, vol. II., page 44.

† FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 248.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 249.

of the enemy who had disembarked from the canoes. Here, likewise, being again victorious, they obtained as trophies two of the swords the Indians had used. But the Aztecs, dissatisfied with the sudden repulse of the morning, once more on the same day assailed the Spaniards from a causeway, but with the usual result.

After setting the town on fire, they left the place the next day pursued by the enemy, who construed their movement into a flight. Continuing the reconnoissance, however, without heeding these attacks, Cortez now advanced to *Cuyocan*, which place he contemplated making his head-quarters during the siege. He states with great brevity his reason for selecting this point; that it was situated about equidistant from Mexico, *Coluacan*, *Churubusco*, *Iztapalapa*, *Cuitaguaca*, and *Mezqueque*. After reconnoitering the causeway, which there leads directly to the city, Cortez on his return set those houses on fire, that were not occupied by his party. Accomplishing the object of his visit, he proceeded to *Chapultepec*, where the spring which supplies the city with fresh water is situated; from thence he advanced to Tacuba, the scene of his former visit, and the rendezvous of the night retreat. Having remained at that place several hours, the march was resumed by the route of the northern exploration. Two days afterwards he was once more welcomed to hospitable quarters at the friendly village of *Aculman*.

Thus was completed one of the most extraordinary expeditions recorded of so small a force. Exposed at all times to attack from an enèmy in full force, both in front and rear, on the plain and in the mountain passes, it yet

fully succeeded. From time to time, while advancing, the enemy was beaten in the field; besides which, the hostile garrisons placed upon the route were driven in, and *Guatamozin* left without a single post outside the contemplated lines of circumvallation. The enemy having command of the water, and resting on Mexico as a pivot, could assail the expedition step by step as it advanced. Every day, therefore, required new victories, not only to accomplish the direct purpose of the march, but to disentangle the troops from daily ambuscades and surprises. There is in the narrative of this expedition, as usual, an accuracy of detail, and a straightforwardness in the *Conquistador,* strikingly in contrast with the blind halting of Diaz. The latter adds nothing to the account of his predecessor, except a few apparently invented incidents, and a stereotyped phrase which he inserts from place to place—"we here captured a number of beautiful females and other valuable plunder." Wherever topography is involved Diaz ceases to be of any assistance, as we have often before remarked. We use him for other purposes.

The next event, and one that is unsurpassed by any in the war, was the completion and launching of the flotilla, the "brigantines" of the historians. The shallowing of the water towards the shore, made this a work of extraordinary difficulty. To remedy it, hurdles or bundles of sticks were laid in the soft mud, in two parallel lines, fastened with stakes, and loaded with stones, so as to confine a little rill there to a straight channel, until it reached deep water. Both a harbor and canal were thus formed in the muddy shore of the *laguna,* and the constant flow

of water prevented filling them again. The meanderings of the little watercourse through the solid earth had also to be straightened and deepened into a canal, which made the whole a work of great labor and much ingenuity. This is evidently designed to be described by Cortez when he says, "it was protected by a coating and a fence."* The coating must necessarily have been hurdles, and the fence, the stakes that secured the work. Modern engineering could have added nothing, except, perhaps, to sink a couple of pier-heads at the outer extremity, if it was to remain a permanent structure.

Between the first of January and the middle of April, in the midst of hostilities, and under the eyes of a watchful enemy, this extraordinary labor was effected. It is well characterized by Cortez as "a grand work, and certainly worthy of admiration."† It is to be regretted, however, after stating all other things correctly, as the present landmarks clearly indicate, he should have given to it an impossible depth in his descriptions—twelve feet instead of twelve inches.

The first letter, or despatch, after the organization of the town council, *ayuntamiento*, in the camp at Vera Cruz, was now producing its natural fruits in Spain. Court and emperor, no less than the common people, were filled with wonder at the *El Dorado* discovered, and which its discoverer was then engaged in subjugating. Imperial favor inclining to the side of the bold adventurer, the statements of the *Conquistador* were at once accredited as truth, in spite of the denunciations of the bishop of Borges, and

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 257. † *Ibid.*, page 256.

even of the good Las Casas. Adventurers began to flock to Vera Cruz. Ships laden with warlike stores came there seeking a market; and lastly, as we have seen, one of those traffickers in the souls of men, a retailer of the pretended gifts of God, a monk with a Papal bull, scented the gold of this far-off region. In this way all the losses of the disastrous retreat, and of the previous campaign, were made good, as appeared from a new muster of the forces.

On the 28th day of April, 1521, the "brigantines" being completed and launched, Cortez reviewed his whole force. It consisted of eighty-six horse, one hundred and eighteen archers and musketeers, and seven hundred and odd foot, armed with swords and bucklers. With these were three heavy iron cannon, [probably six-pounders] fifteen small copper field-pieces, and ten hundred weight of powder.* Messengers were then sent to all the tribes in alliance, demanding the promised auxiliaries. On Whitsunday the Tlascalans arrived at Tezcuco; "according to a return made to us by the captains, there were *fifty thousand.*"† After the *fiesta* caused by this arrival was over, on the second day of Whitsun week there was a parade, for the purpose of distributing the force into three divisions. Tacuba was assigned to Alvarado as his point of attack, with thirty horse, eighteen archers and musketeers, and one hundred and fifty infantry, armed with swords and bucklers, besides *twenty-five thousand*, viz. three hundred and twelve, warriors of Tlascala. An equal force, under Christoval Olid, was to march with

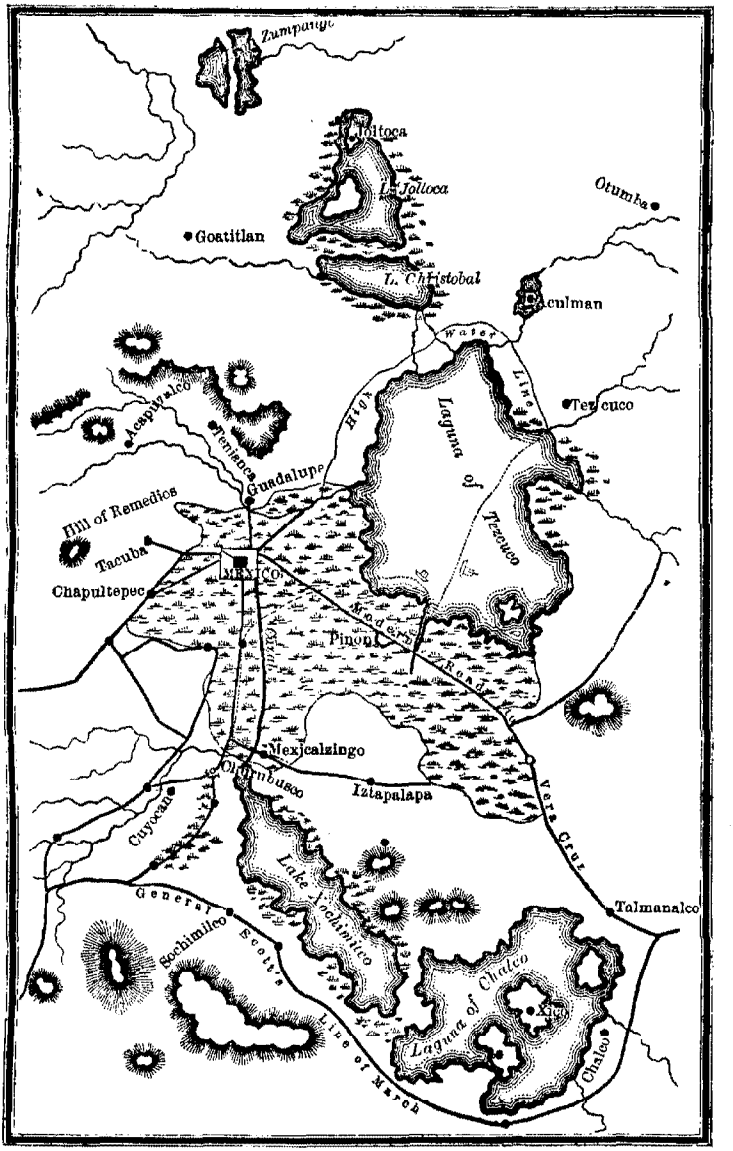
* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 257.

† *Ibid.*, page 258.

Alvarado to Tacuba. From that place they were to proceed together to Chapultepec, and there cut the water-pipes; more likely cut off the pathway, by which the Indian water-carriers, *aguadores*, brought fresh water to the city. This accomplished, Alvarado was to return to Tacuba and make that his permanent position, while Olid was to continue his march to Cuyocan. At that last point, it may be remembered, Cortez designed to establish his head-quarters.

Sandoval was to occupy temporarily Iztapalapa with twenty-four horse, four musketeers, thirteen bowmen, one hundred and fifty infantry, fifty of whom were picked men, and thirty-five to forty thousand, viz., four hundred and fifty to five hundred Tlascalans, though the real number of this last force did not exceed two hundred. This party was to destroy that town, and then continue its march until it reached the interior causeways. It was to pass them under the protection of the brigantines, and join Cortez at his proposed camp. Four days were consumed in constructing a permanent road between the camp of *Alvarado*, on the causeway of Tacuba, and the position of Olid, at Cuyocan. After each division was settled in its respective quarters, hostilities by the several causeways they commanded, were to commence. We now return to the thirteen "brigantines," the flotilla of Cortez.

A picked body of three hundred men was assigned to the flotilla, giving a crew to each of twenty-five, including captains and commissioners. Six on each of the vessels



ROUTE OF THE BRIGANTINES.

were musketeers and archers.* Each also had a small brass cannon. The plan arranged, Cortez went on board of one, and by the united force of sail and oars, proceeded to the southward. Landing near the Piñon, he carried that important military position† by assault, and put its entire garrison to the sword. Immediately on the conclusion of this affair, the enemy came down with his whole force of canoes, the "brigantines" lying in shore. Desirous to make an impression in his first encounter on the water, for the reason, as he justly states, that "the brigantines were the key of the whole war, as both the enemy and ourselves would suffer most by water, it pleased our Lord that while we were looking at each other a wind arose from the land, favorable for an attack upon them,"‡ whereupon orders were given to the commanders to break through the fleet before them, and to pursue them until they took refuge in the city of Mexico.

Cortez thus describes the engagement:—"As the wind was fair, we bore down upon the midst of them, and although they fled as fast as possible, we broke an immense number of them, and destroyed many of the enemy in a style worthy of admiration."‡ Thus the flotilla effected the same results among the light canoes, upon the water, that the horse achieved upon the land, crushing

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 259.

† When General Scott entered the valley of Mexico, he proposed to advance to the city by the modern causeway, built for the Vera Cruz road. The van-guard had actually proceeded several miles along this route, when its further progress was stopped by the batteries of Santa Anna erected on this Piñon; and it was not until after the position was found impregnable, that the march around the southern limit of the valley was resolved upon.

‡ Folsom's *Cortez*, page 264.

at once an enemy unacquainted with such an extraordinary agent in war.

Both parties on shore watched with intense anxiety the result of this encounter. The effect of the Spanish success depressed the spirits of Guatamozin, while it elated those of the *pale-faces* to the same extent. That no time might be lost in supporting his land forces, the flotilla immediately sailed around to the southern causeway, and made a lodgment there upon an isolated spot, within half a league of the city. Being joined by a party from Cuyocan, a battery was erected, and one of the three heavy iron cannon so planted as to rake the whole causeway. It made great havoc among the Indians, who covered the road as far as the city. Cortez, now, instead of Cuyocan, chose this point as his permanent head-quarters. He then directed the division of Sandoval to join him by the causeway from Iztapalapa. When that captain, after passing Mexicalzingo, came to any place which had been demolished by the Mexicans, the "brigantines" were used as bridges,* fully demonstrating the character of those vessels and their exceeding light draft.

Sandoval first led his division to Cuyocan, where for the time it was lodged; then, taking with him ten horsemen, he returned to the causeway, and following it repaired to the camp of Cortez. Hostilities continued there for the six subsequent days, without any important

* "When I learned that the Indians had made a considerable breach in the causeway, so that the people could no longer pass over it with ease, I sent two brigantines to assist them in passing, of which they formed a bridge for the infantry to cross over the breach."—FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 269.

result. The Mexicans persevered in their attack from the causeway and their canoes, notwithstanding the raking fire of the heavy ordnance and the small brass swivel each brigantine carried.* During this time, the remainder of the flotilla made the circuit of the southern and western fronts of the city, as far as the causeway of Tacuba; it also entered by the canals into its suburbs. Thus ended the first week of the siege. The remark of Cortez, that "the brigantines" passed around the city, must be understood only as extending this circuit to the flats of San Lazarus on the north. To have continued it around the east front, would not only have been difficult, but unnecessary.

The result so far cut off the Mexicans from their ordinary supplies of food and fresh water. The Spanish lines were now drawn close around the city on the south and west; while the road connecting the two posts at Tacuba† and Cuyocan with the camp of Cortez, upon the southern causeway, was protected on the side of the city by the flotilla. The less important causeway, the northern, extending to Guadalupe or Tepeac, was left unguarded. Cortez pretends, for effect, in his despatch, that he was ignorant of its existence, until informed of it by Alvarado;‡ which was impossible. The truth was, it could not be occupied, though nearest to Tezcuco, until by the contraction of his lines one of the divisions could be spared for that purpose; and not even then, unless the

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 267.

† The causeway of Tacuba does not extend all the way from Mexico to that suburb, but only to the fork of the roads. To the author's best recollection, it does not exceed a mile in length.

‡ Folsom's *Cortez*, page 269.

brigantines could be made to supply food and water to the garrison of that barren spot.*

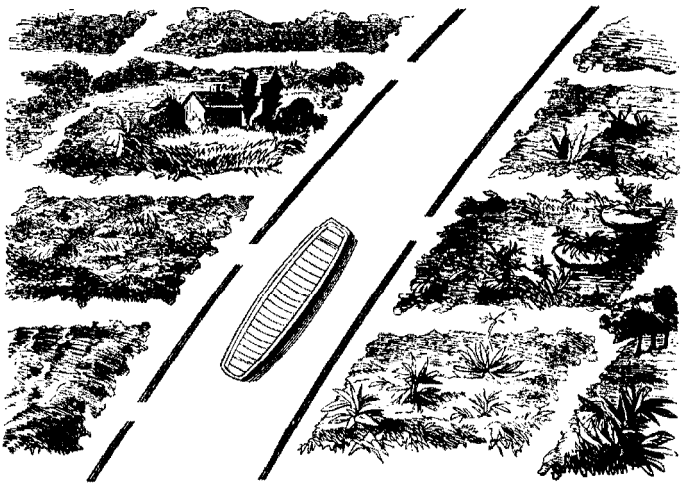
All the plans so far were completely successful. They were the triumph of civilized art over the highest efforts of savage courage ever witnessed. A mutitude of Indians—men, women, and children—were now crowded together within this fortress, as Cortez properly calls the city, to die of hunger and thirst, or by the destructive weapons of Europeans. From this date, the length of the siege was to be determined by the limits of human endurance. When the powers of nature were exhausted, then the city was to fall into the hands of the Spaniards. There was to be no surrender, but to Death.

CHINAMPAS—IMPROPERLY CALLED FLOATING GARDENS.

A difficulty the traveller everywhere encounters in Mexico, is that he can believe nothing he hears, even on the most trifling subject, without careful examination and weighing of testimony. As he cannot examine everything himself, he is constantly liable to be imposed upon by taking for granted that which is everywhere affirmed. Humboldt for once, with all his caution, seems to have fallen into the common trap, and credited, without examination, the story of the floating gardens.

The chinampas are formed on the fresh-water mud on each side of the canal of Chalco, from the south-east corner of the city to a point near the ancient village of Mexicalzingo, and for a part of the way they are on both sides of that beautiful but now neglected *paséo*, Las Vegas; there are also a small number near the causeway of Tacubaya, and in other parts of the marsh; their number might be extended without limit if it was not regulated by the demands of the vegetable market of Mexico. Chinampas are formed by laying upon the soft mud a very thick coating of reeds, or rushes, in the form and about the size of one of our largest canal scows. Between two chinampas a space of about half the width of one is left, and from this open

* It must be understood that the Vera Cruz road, marked on the map as a causeway, did not then exist.



CHINAMPAS.

space the mud is dipped up and poured upon the bed of dry rushes, where it dries, and forms a rich "muck" soil, which constitutes the garden. As the specific gravity of this garden is much greater than that of the water, or of the substratum of mud and water combined, it gradually sinks down into its muddy foundation; and in a few years it has to be rebuilt by laying upon the top of the garden a new coating of rushes and another covering of mud. Thus they have been going on for centuries, one garden being placed upon the top of another, and a third placed over all, so soon as the second gives signs of being swallowed up in the all-devouring mud.

This is the whole story of the chinampas, the most fertile and beautiful little gardens upon the face of the earth. A correct picture of them would be poetry enough, without the addition of falsehood; for whether it is the rainy season or the dry season, it is always the same to them. They know no exclusive seed-time, and have no especial season for harvest; but blossoms and ripe fruits grow side by side, and flowers flourish at all seasons. As market gardens they are unrivalled, and to them Mexico is indebted for its abundant supplies.

The evidence that Humboldt* produces in favor of floating gardens, viz., that he saw floating islands of some thirty feet in length in the midst of the

* *Essai Politique*, vol. II., page 61.

current of rivers, amounts to little in this case; for every one that has travelled extensively in tropical lowlands has seen vegetation spring up upon floating masses of brush-wood. Where earth torn from the river bank is so bound together by living roots as to form a raft, it will always float for a little while upon the current, provided that its specific gravity does not materially exceed that of the water; and those grasses that flourish best in water will spring up and grow upon these islands. Peat, too, in bogs, will float and form islands, for the simple reason that it is of less specific gravity than water; and a scanty vegetation will also spring up on these peat islands. But all this furnishes no evidence that the invariable law of nature, which carries to the bottom the heaviest body, has been suspended at Mexico. Had the floating gardens been built in large boats, made water-tight and covered over, they might have floated. But, unfortunately, the Indians had not the means for constructing such boats. Even timber-rafts would have become saturated in time, and sunk, as rafts of logs waiting to be sawed into lumber do if kept too long in the "mill-pond.

There is another law of nature, which must not be lost sight of, which is at war with the idea of a garden floating on a bed of rushes; and that is, capillary attraction, which would raise particles of water, one by one, among the fibres of the rushes until the frail raft on which the earth rested was saturated—and still pressing upward, the busy drops would penetrate the superincumbent earth, moistening and adding to the specific gravity of the garden by filling the porous earth until it became too heavy to float, if it ever had floated.—WILSON'S *Mexico and its Religion.*

CHAPTER XIV.

CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF MEXICO.

Commencement of the siege, 488—The fabulous numbers of allies reduced, 489—Cortez retreats and abandons a cannon, 490—The advantage Cortez derived from his cavalry, 490—The result of two days of fighting, 491—Cortez divides his flotilla, 491—Cortez makes another attack, 493—Cortez burns the fabulous palaces of Mexico, 493—Hunger, thirst, and the small-pox hasten the event, 494—New fables and further reductions by Diaz, 494—Submission of the neighboring hamlets—defeat of Alvarado, 495—Remarkable fortitude of the Mexicans, 496—The Mexican trenches—how made, 496—Cortez suffers a serious repulse, 497—Cortez rescued from the enemy, 498—A fearful retribution, 498—Indian peculiarities in war, 499—Secondary expeditions during the interval, 500—Cortez resolves to demolish the city, 500—Cortez plans a successful ambuscade, 500—Cortez providing cannibals with their food, 501—Cortez in possession of seven-eighths of the city, 502—The famine in the city, 502—The miserable condition of the citizens, 503—Guatamozin prefers death to a surrender, 503—The capture of Guatamozin, 504—The torturing of the prisoners, 505—The motive not understood in Spain, 507—Result of Cortez' policy, 508—Cortez governed by policy, 508—Exaggerations reduced to reality, 509—Cortez one of the great men of his age, 510—Cortez eclipsed by Pizarro, 511—The youthful hero Guatamozin, 512.

THE work of slaughter was now fairly systematized. For two days, from the newly established camp, the attack continued. The forces at head-quarters—after the departure of Sandoval—consisted of the crews of the "brigantines," amounting to two hundred and fifty men, and two hundred Spanish infantry, and among them twenty-five archers and musketeers. The remainder of the force at Cuyocan was added to this, excepting ten horse left at the entrance of the causeway to keep the

inhabitants of that village from falling upon the rear. Thus supported, the assault began. The "brigantines," placed on either side of the road, raked both causeway and ditches, while the infantry, covered by their fire, moved towards the city. At the same time Sandoval and Alvarado made strong diversions on the north and west. Cortez had advanced but a little before he found his progress interrupted by a ditch and breastwork, thrown up by the Mexicans. He describes this transverse work as being a spear's length in width, and foolishly adds, "the same in depth."*

Having carried this, no further obstruction was met with until they came to the entrance of the city. There a similar intrenchment was also won by the aid of the boats. This, says Cortez, they could not have done, unless aided by the "brigantines." By means of these the land forces passed the water together with "*eighty thousand*"† Indian allies! These, it must be recollected, were in addition to the "twenty-five thousand" with Alvarado at Tacuba,‡ and the unmentioned thousands following Sandoval at the barren rock of Tepeac or Guadulupe. But as a narrow causeway, built for foot-passengers alone,§ was the only means of access to the city, a thousand Indians must have seriously incommoded the movements of the disciplined force, and jeopardized the success

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 279.

† *Ibid.*, page 272.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 259.

§ The custom of Indians in war, as on a journey, is uniformly to move in "single file." It is so to this day throughout Spanish America. "Single file," and "Indian file," are used as synonymous.

The causeways were built with reference to the movement of such bodies, with only width enough to give the embankment consistency.

of the siege. Let us drop then the thousands, and assume eighty as the actual number of allies engaged in this causeway expedition. We must do so often.

When they had advanced so far as actually to enter the city, a barricade more formidable than the others was encountered. It required two hours of steady fighting, to dislodge the enemy from it; nor was it effected even then, until the Spaniards, leaping into the water and assailing their flanks, compelled the Mexicans to give way. Following this advantage, they came to yet another opening, the bridge over which had not been moved. Passing on, they entered one of the squares of the city, and planted there one of their cannon, which did serious injury to the enemy. Pressing forward, they now compelled the Mexicans to take refuge within the enclosure of the great pyramid. There, discovering the Spaniards had no horses with them, the Aztecs rallied and drove them from the Plaza. The rout was so complete, that the cannon was left behind.

The appearance of three horses was, however, sufficient, not only to relieve the Spaniards now hard pressed; but to enable them to resume the offensive, recover the Plaza, and again obtain possession also of the enclosure and its pyramid. At evening, returning to their camp, the assailants were so closely pressed, "that, had it not been for the cavalry, the Spaniards would have suffered great loss,"* says Cortez. "Notwithstanding," he adds, "the enemy saw that they were suffering by this means, the dogs rushed on in such a rapid manner that we could

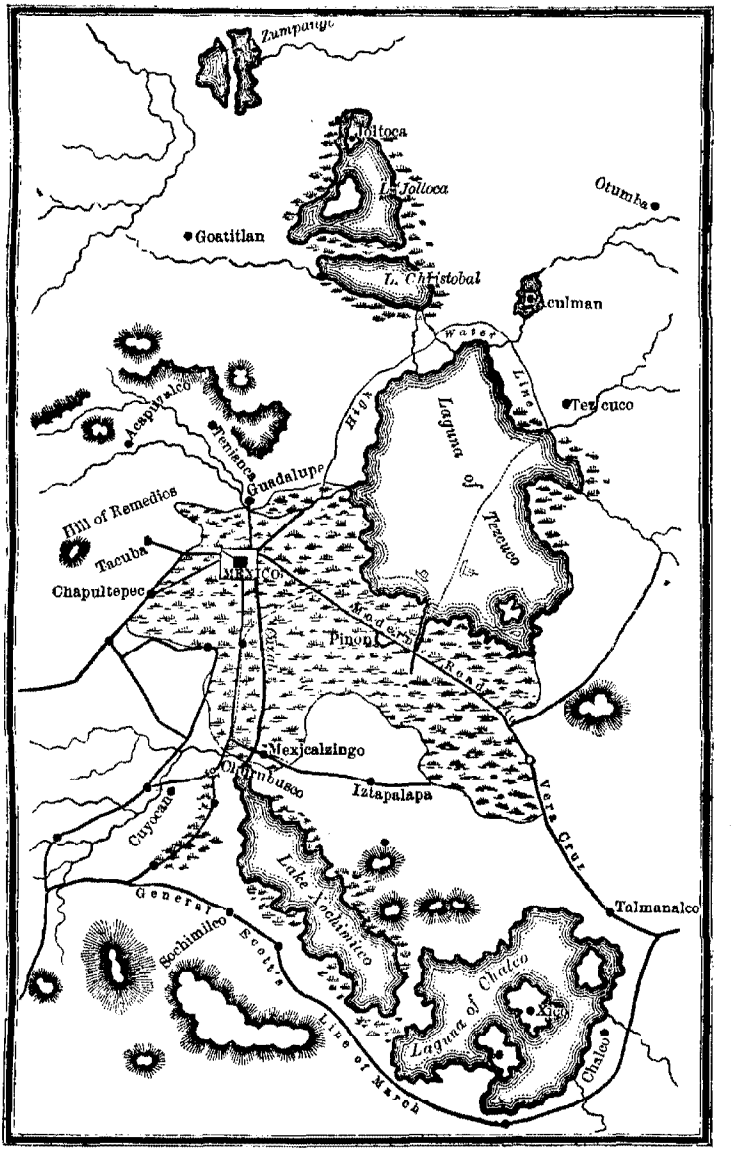
* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 274.

not stop them; nor would they desist from following us."* This is plainly confessing to the rout of the infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and that, too, by savages armed only with flint-pointed wooden spears, and bows and arrows. The Mexicans in these encounters inflicted repeated wounds, but did not kill a single Spaniard in this whole day of alternate success. Such fortitude on their part, is unprecedented. The only explanation is, that they preferred death to Spanish slavery, or to the Tlascalan torture.

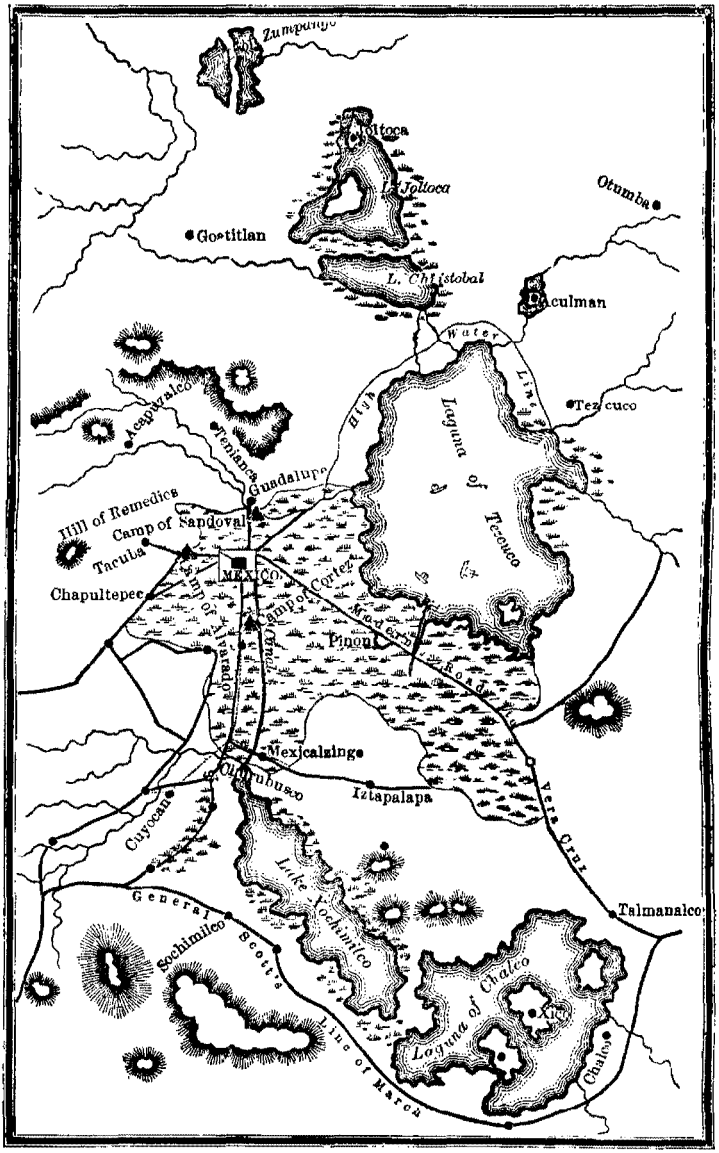
While this assault was in progress, the Mexicans were also attacked by Alvarado and Sandoval; so that this self-devoted people not only resisted with success the main column, but discomfited likewise those two others in their rear. At this time, it must be borne in mind that the Indians assembled at Cuyocan, in the rear of Cortez, were in open rebellion, but effectually prevented from making any movement against his camp by the ten horse stationed at the land-entrance of the causeway.† This rebellion, however, was neutralized by the arrival of a brother of Don Fernando, with "*thirty-five thousand* (say three hundred or so) *Tezcucans.*"‡ These were in addition to the other "*twenty thousand*"! sent to other points. Thus passed the two first days of the siege.

Cortez now ventured on a new measure of the greatest importance. It was the separation of his flotilla into two squadrons. Seven were still to remain and act with him as heretofore. The remaining six were to pass around to the north side of the city, and patrol the flats of San

* Folsom's *Cortez*, 275. † *Ibid.*, page 271. ‡ *Ibid.*, 276.



ROUTE OF THE BRIGANTINES.



POSITION OF THE CAMPS OF CORTEZ, ALVARADO, AND SANDOVAL.

Lazarus between the camps of Alvarado and Sandoval. Night and day was this duty to be performed, to prevent introduction of fresh water and provisions from that quarter by native canoes. The commanders of the vessels were also to aid those captains in their assaults.

A respite of two days was now allowed, after which Cortez led twenty horse and three hundred Spanish infantry, accompanied by a host of Indian allies, to a new assault. No longer are these latter counted by thousands; Cortez declares their number to be infinite!* That is, there may, perhaps, have been one or two hundreds more added! All the defences on the causeway during the interval of quiet had been restored, and were again to be carried as on the former occasion. But again the assailants entered the Plaza, or public square. While his men were fighting from street to street and house to house, their leader withdrew, and taking with him "ten thousand," perhaps fifty men, proceeded to fill the openings in the road by which they had advanced; this required the steady labor of all until *vespers*. Then the streets were scoured by his cavalry, and the people compelled to take refuge in the water.

This day is memorable as that on which those air castles fell, which Cortez had built up on his first visit. As they had no real existence, the conflagration, though great, did little damage. On the contrary, it was a useful fire, as it enabled our hero to descend to reality. As the night retreat of the previous year permitted him to dispose of his fabulous treasure, while the real was carefully

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 279.

preserved, so this left him nothing further to demolish than the *adobe* city, and nothing to exterminate but the Indians, who were resolute to die in its defence.

Having rid himself of these old creations, a new but necessary one was had to account for the support of "an infinite multitude" of allies, without any adequate means. The Tlascalans are represented as holding up parts of the bodies of the slain, and "exclaiming, at the same time, that they would have them for supper that night, and for breakfast next day, as was in fact the case."* Using thus literally the figurative language of the Indians,† for effect at home. The efforts made in Spain to save the character of this as a holy war, after the criticism of Las Casas, may be seen in the reduction by Diaz of the thirty-five, or rather fifty-five thousand‡ Tezcucans to two! Two hundred would doubtless have been nearer the truth! The desperate essays of Diaz "to communicate ideas whereof he himself was not possessed," are equally suspicious. While those facts which discussion at home had made familiar—so long as discussion was allowed—are adroitly handled.

There is such sameness in the daily contests about a beleaguered city, that the mind grows weary with their repetition. This the Spanish historian avoids by retailing fictitious incidents. We enjoy no such privilege, and are compelled to omit all that is unconnected with the

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 271.

† Wilkinson, vol. I., page 398, note, in commenting on Herod. II., sec. 45, says, Herodotus justly blames the Greeks for their ignorance of the Egyptian character, in taking literally their allegorical tales of human sacrifice.

This was exactly the error of Europeans, in reference to the Indians.

‡ Folsom's *Cortez*, page 276.

main features of the siege. The impediments found at first on entering the city were again and again restored, and again and again were they overcome by the Spaniards, but each time with less facility, while the nightly retreat to the camp was attended with increasing labor. Thus the siege bade fair to be indefinitely prolonged, and had been so but for those powerful auxiliaries we have already named, which were rapidly depopulating the city.

The surrounding tribes, anticipating the result, hastened to propitiate in time the Spanish invader. Delegates from every hamlet, on the fresh-water lagunas, came to the camp to render their formal submission. They testified their sincerity by large gifts of provisions. This was particularly the case with Iztapalapa, and the dwellers about the artificial island-gardens. They showed it also by furnishing building materials, when commanded to do so, and by the erection of huts for the soldiery. As they were now in the midst of the rainy season, a roof was necessary to the comfort of the men. While these things were going on at the camp, Alvarado was daily engaged in combats on the Tacuba causeway. At length, having passed an opening of some sixty paces in width, with a party of foot only, he proceeded to fill it up, that his cavalry might follow, when the Mexicans, perceiving the lodgment, and that it consisted of foot only, rushed upon and drove them into the water. Four of the number were captured, and "sacrificed to the Mexican idols,"* most likely tortured, according to Indian custom. But it

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 288.

was necessary, as already suggested, to press the charges of idolatry and human sacrifice upon the Indians continually, for effect in Spain.

Twenty days had now passed, and, instead of becoming intimidated by the daily slaughter, the Mexicans were actually growing bolder. Familiarity with the new system of war had so far led them to despise its terrors, that it had now become a serious affair for the attacking force to penetrate to its accustomed position in the public square. Cortez explains the delay, "first, that the enemy might have an opportunity to recede from their obstinate and implacable policy; and, secondly, because our entrance would be attended with great peril, as they were firmly united, and resolved on death."* This is a true picture of Indian fortitude, when death has become a desirable alternative. The Spartans have doubtless displayed greater active courage, but they never equalled them in that passive kind which we are accustomed to designate as fortitude.

Before noticing a transient gleam of hope which fell upon the despairing prospects of the besieged, it is as well to explain the manner in which their barriers were so readily constructed. Guatamozin seems to have been aware that a general assault was impending, and to have made his dispositions accordingly. His Indians, in the midst of hunger and thirst, continued to labor by night in the restoration of the city's defences, after the exhausting contests of the day. They had not the necessary implements for digging many inches below the surface of the

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 290.

water, but they could remove the hurdles on which their causeways rested, and then they found little difficulty in reducing the mud below to a common level with the canals on either side. All further excavation was as imaginary as it would have been useless. The reality was a sufficient annoyance.

Preparations were now completed for a general assault, which Cortez fondly hoped was to result in the capture of the city. The necessary orders being given, an advance from all the three camps, by the three causeways, was simultaneous. Cortez tarried in the rear of his own column to secure its communication with the camp. His infantry, unchecked by his presence, heated in the pursuit, and stimulated by the near approach of Alvarado, passed a broad opening without first adequately restoring the causeway. Guatamozin, advised of this, rallied his followers, and made a vigorous charge on the entrapped mass. The allies at once fled, and rushed in disorder to the opening in the road. Here, while floundering through mud and water, in their efforts to gain the opposite side, they were joined by the Spanish foot. Soon both were mingled with the pursuing enemy, whose superior skill in aquatic gymnastics gave them a decided advantage. Upon the opposite bank a fearful struggle then ensued, which cost the life of many a valiant Castilian.

Cortez, anticipating this, had placed himself at the head of the causeway, and endeavored to restore some order to the flying multitude, while rescuing the stragglers from the water. But the dripping clothes of the fugitives had rendered the road so wet and slippery, no effective

resistance could be offered, while with their canoes the besieged threw so overwhelming a force upon his position that even he was at last overpowered. A youthful hero saved the life of his commander, and sacrificed his own. Another assisted him to a horse. One Guzman was slain, and his charger likewise. The eight horsemen, stationed on a little island by the side of the causeway to cover the retreat, could do nothing on account of the mire. The enemy had also skilfully dammed the canal so as to raise the water to the level of the road,* and yet had at the same time impeded the passage of the "brigantines," and the "three thousand [probably less than a hundred] canoes of the allies." Cortez barely escaped with his life, completely foiled in his grand design of penetrating quite through the city to Tacuba. He had erred in encumbering this movement with so many of his undisciplined auxiliaries, and in not calculating upon the possible necessity of a retreat. He most certainly knew that in such an event his Indian hordes would surely crowd to the rear, and block up the only avenue of escape.

The Spaniards were now to suffer as well as to inflict suffering. The party stationed in the public *plaza* were first notified of this disaster by the heads of their slaughtered companions being thrown into their ranks.† And this monition was followed by an onslaught more desperate than any the Conquistadors had yet sustained; "and that, too," says Cortez in his chagrin, "in places

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 294.

† A similar event was witnessed at the famous capture of Wyoming, in the American revolution. The heads of those slain in the capture of the first fort were thrown into the other, as a proof of what had happened.

where the enemy would have fled before three horses and ten men."* In this defeat a loss of thirty to forty Spaniards, and a large number of allies was reported. But the most heart-rending sight was that witnessed by the divisions of Alvarado and Sandoval. The Mexicans, to strike terror into these divisions, carried the bodies of all the Spaniards in their power, whether living or dead, to the top of a mound, and there, in plain sight of them,† cut out their hearts, and afterwards tumbled their bodies to the ground. To this most probable act of an Indian enemy, is foolishly added—it was done in sacrifice to their idols, though the very existence of Indian idols is still problematical.

Then followed a truly Indian method of rejoicing, mingled with the celebration of a religious festival. "They burned perfumes, and fumigated the air with certain gums peculiar to their country."† That day and the next this scene was continued with an uproar of horns and kettle drums; the Mexicans appeared to be overwhelmed with joy at the magnitude of their success. In the meanwhile the defences of the city were renewed, and the time required to re-fit and re-arm the Spaniards profitably employed by Guatamozin in strengthening his means of every kind. Ten more days passed with only skirmishes, and a Tlascalan assault, from the side of Tacuba, conducted with no small adroitness, to the great surprise of all parties.‡

The late success of the Mexicans aroused the adjacent

* FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 297. † *Ibid.*, page 298. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 300.

tribes to attack those in alliance with the Spaniards. The people of Cuernavaca complained to Cortez that their territories were invaded, and solicited him to repel the enemy. Tapia was accordingly despatched on a ten days' tour, with ten horse and eighty infantry, to relieve them. This expedition proving entirely successful, Sandoval, two days subsequent to his return, was sent on a similar errand, to relieve the Otumos,* a barbarous people, dwelling to the westward of Mexico. In this way several days more were consumed. Finally Guatamozin, having completed his defensive measures, even to filling the streets and squares with large stones, to impede the passage of cavalry, became wearied with the cessation of active hostilities, and assumed the offensive himself. Alvarado, during the absence of Sandoval, was the object of his attack. But nothing important resulted from the movement.

Forty-five days had now passed without any perceptible impression on the city. "In fighting, and in all their stratagems for defence, we found them displaying more spirit than ever,"† says Cortez. He, therefore, resolved to level the houses, and to fill up the canals, as he advanced. This, to some extent, was of easy accomplishment, considering the fragile material of the Indian huts. But the filling up required the construction of new channels without the city, for the discharge of accumulating water; a work of considerable labor.

The war now became one of extermination; not of Indians only, but of houses and ditches also. The modest number of one hundred and fifty thousand auxiliaries, Cortez

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 304. † *Ibid.*, page 308.

professes to have employed on this work of destruction. Five or six days they labored, without any important incident occurring. After this, collecting from all the divisions a chosen body of forty horse, Cortez sent ten in advance, as on former occasions. These, with the infantry, drove the Mexicans by a rapid movement, far beyond the cleared space, and confined them there; while Cortez, with the remaining thirty, concealed himself in some houses along the line of the accustomed evening retreat, after which the advanced party gave way. While the Mexicans were rushing in disorderly pursuit of the retiring Spaniards, he suddenly burst out upon them, and made a terrific slaughter. This well-devised stratagem cost the defenders dearly. The number of the slain is set down, in the exaggerated language of Cortez, at twelve thousand* of the bravest. Without doubt, it was a most serious loss to Guatamozin. And from this time his prestige seems to have departed.

"That night," says Cortez, "our allies were well supplied for supper; as they took the bodies of the slain, and cut them up for food"*—a horrible declaration, though utterly untrue, that, leagued with cannibals, his commissariat was relieved from their maintenance, according to his success in slaughter! This atrocious libel is, however, hardly equal to one against his Spanish force, where he says, "And so we returned to the camp with much spoil, *and food for our allies!*"† To these straits he was driven to make his narrative consistent, as it started out with the assertion of fabulous thousands in his train.

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 313. † *Ibid.*, page 315.

The military knowledge of the emperor would have detected the commissariat impossibility, had his general not confessed himself an accessary to cannibalism! Living with such allies on terms of equality, and cohabiting even with those addicted to this crime. In his eyes it may have been mitigated by their faith; for his were at least baptized cannibals.

We approach the end. The divisions of Cortez and Alvarado at last perfected their communication, while the city itself was fast ceasing to exist. The famishing defenders were daily more closely straitened in their quarters, which were now reduced to the swampy portions of the town most difficult of access. The palace of Guatamozin, and at least three-fourths of the city, were destroyed by the 25th day of July, 1521. The Mexicans could no longer restore their defences, and the Spaniards made rapid progress. The street leading to Guadalupe was gained, and the market-place nearly so by Cortez on the one side, and Alvarado on the other. On the 27th their divisions met in the city market, where Cortez ascended a mound, and surveyed the scene of desolation. Seven-eighths of the city was in the hands of the Spaniards; that is, it was levelled with the earth. What remained was a small and muddy angle, where land and water disputed the possession.

Here the wounded and the starving were huddled together without defence, beseeching Cortez to slay them, that they might escape their misery, "in loud cries vociferating that death was all they wished."* The scene of famine

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 323.

is thus described:—"We found the streets through which we passed filled with women and children, and other wretched objects, dying of hunger, and wandering about with distressed and haggard looks."* Such was the condition to which they were reduced while refusing to accept of peace!

But the slaughter did not cease, though the enemy could no longer oppose their destroyers, as Cortez tells us, "twelve thousand"† were this day slain! "Our allies practising such cruelties toward the enemy that they spared the lives of none,"‡ &c.; and in a grand assault afterwards on this wretched multitude, he declares "forty thousand perished, or were taken prisoners."§ In this way the fabulous statements of the population of the city were cancelled. Still they kept pressing the enemy more closely, that "they might have no space left to move, except over dead bodies, and on the terraces left to them."|| If these people were cannibals, how could they have wanted food? Why should they take to "roots and the bark of trees,"¶ with such an abundant supply of the daintiest morsels of their peculiar appetite cumbering the very ground? They may have preferred to eat the bodies of their enemies, but thus pinched, who can believe they would hesitate to sacrifice at least their slaves? In these statements Cortez convicts himself and those who have followed him of the grossest inconsistency.

The demon of war had yet to pour out his last vial

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 320.
† *Ibid.*, page 321.
‡ *Ibid.*
§ *Ibid.*, page 326.
|| *Ibid.*
¶ *Ibid.*, page 319.

upon this poor remnant. "*A hundred and fifty thousand allies!*"* (perhaps five hundred) were now brought to devour whatever of unresisting warriors, women and children—whose flesh must have become exceedingly tender by starvation!—remained; and not less effective were the movements of the Spanish troops. The land force and "brigantines" were so gathered as to enclose the small space yet remaining to the helpless multitude, and then the heavy guns were turned upon it. But before commencing the massacre, which was designed to terminate at once the siege, the war, and the tribe against which it was waged, he demanded the surrender of Guatamozin. The answer returned was, "he preferred to die."†

And now the consummation was reached. They who remained alive had been crushed into so narrow a space, that at the time of the conference "many of the inhabitants were crowded together on piles of dead. Some were upon the water, and others were seen swimming about or drowning in that part of the lake where canoes were lying."‡ The number that perished, either from drinking salt (alkaline) water, from famine or pestilence, amounted, says Cortez, to fifty thousand! Yet there was no thought of yielding, and there had ceased to be a city to surrender. But there was a prize which the experience of Cortez had taught him to value, as the bee-hunter the possession of the queen of the swarm. That prize was the person of Guatamozin. He had failed to induce him to succumb by the infliction of cruelties upon his people.

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 327. † *Ibid.*, page 328. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 329.

Now, and as a last resort, at once to close the war, the entire force was so arranged as to secure his person beyond a doubt; the net was closely drawn around him, and he, though still resolved to die in arms, found that starvation had made him powerless. Then it was that Garci Holgin, dashing among the canoes, freighted with their now famishing warriors, came behind the emperor, and made him a prisoner. Thus, scorning to flee, and refusing to surrender, after he had become incapable of further resistance, and more dead than alive, Guatamozin became a captive. Our historians, as usual, have misconceived the statement of Cortez, and construed the retreat of Guatamozin to his canoe as an attempt at flight. They confound an act of heroic resistance, carried to the extreme of human endurance, with a desire to escape the death he coveted. Had our youthful hero meditated flight, he might have effected it long before under the cover of darkness. But he had chosen to die with his people, and when driven to the water, sat, as is the Indian's wont, silently awaiting the pleasure of his enemy. Suicide, among them, is considered an act of cowardice. It should be so everywhere, but the *pale faces* do not always possess an Indian's power of endurance. Thus this Indian youth reminds us of the heroes of Grecian fable, in his proud choice of death, by a slow and torturing process, rather than submission to a foreign master.

Guatamozin did not misjudge his enemy. He knew the tortures in reserve, and though his captor spoke kindly to him, he begged as a favor to be despatched forthwith by the dagger. "He laid his hand on a poniard that I wore,

telling me to strike him to the heart,"* says Cortez. This occurred on the 13th day of August, 1521; just seventy-five days from the commencement of the siege on the 30th day of May. The next step in this barbaric war was the treatment of the prisoners. Cruelty is not peculiar to Indians; it has prevailed among all nations whose hearts the Gospel has not softened. We find scenes of this sort upon the walls of the palace of Sennacherib, the great King of Assyria;† and the Indian allies of Cortez would hardly have submitted to the omission of this ancient custom. From the commencement of the campaign of Tepiaca, the war had been carried on strictly according to the Indian system. Many tribes had been exterminated, against whom it was waged, but the Aztecs had suffered most of all, since their famous city was now effectually blotted out, with all the attendant cruelties of such a conclusion. Now to omit the torture of those who

* Folsom's *Cortez*, page 331.

† We can judge what were the punishments inflicted upon cities, in early times, that held out to the last extremity, from the tortures inflicted on the inhabitants of Rabbah (Chron. xx. 3), David being doubtless more merciful than the heathen that were around about him.

In the representation of the capture of cities portrayed on the walls of the palace of Sennacherib, there is always introduced the king, seated in state, passing judgment on the inhabitants.

The representation of tearing out the tongues, flaying alive, and impaling, is evidently intended to portray the results of a religious war, against those fanatical enemies of idolatry, afterwards known as the Persians. But the tortures inflicted after a protracted siege, could not have been much less cruel.

We have Alexander crucifying two thousand of the principal inhabitants of Tyre.

The torture of prisoners of war, is no peculiar Indian cruelty. It is only part and parcel of that devilish spirit out of which war originates.

Where the gospel has penetrated, this fiendish peculiarity of war is mitigated; but everywhere else it is in full force.

had held out to the last, would not have been tolerated; of the chiefs especially. Policy, too, required it in order to strike such terror that all would henceforth submit without resistance.* Besides the boy emperor, doubtless his council passed the same ordeal. The humbler class most likely were despatched by bull-dogs, as represented in a very coarse painting in the Mexican Museum.†

The writer of Bernal Diaz, in his ignorance, takes it for granted that torture was applied to Guatamozin, not as a punishment, but to extort confession. An absurdity

* "Seeing the many and constant expenses of your Majesty up to this time, and that we ought to increase the *rents* [revenues] by every means before we add to them; and seeing also the great length of time that we have been engaged in these wars, and the wants and necessities to which we have all been exposed, and the delay that must arise before the commands of your Majesty are known; and above all, considering the great importunity of your Majesty's officials and all the Spaniards, and the impossibility of excusing myself to them, I was almost compelled to place the caciques [chiefs and sachems] and natives of the country in the hands of the Spaniards on account of the services they have rendered your Majesty here—and in the mean time some other arrangement may be hereafter made, or this confirmed, that the said caciques and natives may serve and yield to every Spaniard, to whose hands they are committed, what is necessary for his support."—FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 354.

Thus were the benevolent schemes of Las Casas thwarted; and all the tribes of New Spain (excepting the allies) reduced to slavery, in contempt of the emancipation ordinances. This is the most wholesale enslavement of Indians that ever took place. The cruelties perpetrated at Mexico, were a necessary preliminary to its consummation.

† "The two figures in the left-hand corner are Cortez and Dona Marina, as the mottoes above indicate. Marina holds a rosary in her hand, while the Marquis appears to be in the act of speaking and perhaps giving order for the execution represented beneath, where a Spaniard is seen in the act of loosening a blood-hound, who springs at the throat of an Indian. In the original copy all the colors are given. The hair of the victim is erect with horror, his eyes and mouth are distended, and his throat is spotted with blood, as the fangs and claws of the ferocious beast are driven through his flesh."—BRANTZ MAYER'S *Mexico As It Was and As It Is*, New York, 1844, page 100.

when applied to an Indian who accounts it heroism to endure, but never to yield. To Spaniards ignorant of their character, this would be incomprehensible. The fiction of the royal treasurer, demanding the torture of Guatamozin to discover hidden riches, must have been invented in Spain, after it became known that he had been subjected to the *question*. The method, too, was Spanish—soaking the feet in oil and then scorching them in the fire—a decided refinement on Indian cruelty. In Spain it would be understood as Diaz reports. So little reliance was there then on unforced evidence, that the torture had become a part of its legal machinery—the common means of discovering truth.

It remains only to consider the results of this system, commenced and carried out in contempt of Las Casas and the new ordinances. The changes sikilfully rung on the charges of rebellion, apostasy, cannibalism, and human sacrifice, seem completely to have foiled the good man in his efforts at restraint. A philanthropist has but a poor chance to be heard, when combating the hero of a successful war. Cortez understood the world better than his virtuous adversary, and knew well that the successful termination of his expedition cured it of all its irregularities. A victory over the Aztecs was also a victory over Las Casas, and all others; and in this he judged rightly.

It had been foreseen that all the other tribes, inhabiting the Anahuac, would accept the iron yoke of slavery, as soon as the Aztecs were crushed. The torture of *Guatamozin* and his braves was thus but a necessary part of the conclusion. It was the most politic course to be

adopted, though likewise the most devilish. But there is no reason to suppose the "Great Marquis" naturally cruel. He belonged rather to that rare class with whom results are alone considered; in whom no sentiments of humanity are allowed to conflict with their schemes of interest. We may shudder at the sacrifice of life, and at the vast amount of misery inflicted, but the end vindicated his wisdom; as that country was not again involved in war, except on the border, for the long period of three hundred years.

The superstition in which Cortez was educated, left little for the conscience to effect, either in vindication of truth or in the restraint of crime. Indeed, in his day, torture was as legitimate an engine of Spanish superstition as of Indian war; but applied for a different purpose. The adoration of the Queen of Heaven was an imperfect substitute for the fear of God. And as that superstition flourished, so did truth and public morality decline, until they shrank to abstract ideas. Had Cortez stated the simple truth, he could hardly have been comprehended. No one was expected to use it when it could be avoided. We have found him exact in all that related to military affairs, though subjected to the closest criticism. It is only when he speaks of the multitude of his enemies, and his allies, that he assumes the language of exaggeration. When he discourses of the court and capital of Montezuma, he describes Grenada. In this none were deceived but those unacquainted with the magniloquent language of Spain. The baptismal record states the number subjected to that ordinance in a single year at six thousand.

And as emigration from surrounding tribes about supplied the place of the slaughtered Aztecs, we may safely estimate the population of the valley at that number on the arrival of Cortez. All above was most probably fictitious. The Mexicans had their allies as well as the Spaniards, and the fighting men within the city were not all Aztecs.* Its supposed impregnability induced many to take refuge there; so that an extraordinary multitude may have been assembled within it at the time of the siege. As there are no laws of exaggeration, so there cannot be any uniform rule of discount by which to bring the statements back to truth. We have tried occasionally to do so, but the sum remaining has been ever too large for credibility, and we have had to leave the numbers indefinite.

Not only was Cortez one of the remarkable characters of an age of great men; he would have been distinguished in any. He warred at the same time against the policy of his own government, the Council of the Indias, its pet governor of Cuba, and the Protector of the Indians, and triumphed over all when he vanquished his savage foes. At the age of twenty-five, with scarce six years of experience, he was more thoroughly conversant with Indian policy, and Indian methods, than those exhibited whose lives have been passed on the frontier. The struggle terminated, he settled down on his estates as the marquis

* "We gave the more credit to this account, because, for a few days past, every time we entered the city for a hostile purpose we had encountered some of the people of the province of Matalcingo—concerning which we had little information, except that it was extensive, and about twenty-two leagues from our quarters."—FOLSOM'S *Cortez*, page 303.

of the valley of Wah-hah-cah, Oajaca, but he was not satisfied. To the gift of this extensive district, with its inhabitants, the emperor had added that of Cuernavaca for a residence; a spot claimed to be another earthly Paradise. Every sensual desire was satisfied; but he found also that happiness does not consist in the gratification of the appetites only. And never having learned to elevate his thoughts or affections above them, he soon became satiated with these enjoyments, and sought relief from an insupportable *ennui* in new enterprises. He undertook to explore the gold fields of California. The northerly winds of the Pacific baffled his endeavors, and the cross seas of the Gulf of California wrecked his vessels, and he not only returned without discovering the *El Dorado* of his hopes, but with a diminished prestige. Whether his sail was directed towards the present gold field, or whether it was the northern limits of Sonora, cannot now be determined. We know only that the expedition was unfortunate.

In Europe he was alike unsuccessful. He accompanied the emperor in his fearful Algerine campaign; and being compelled to swim, in order to escape to the boats, he lost from his person, in the sea, *he said*, the crown jewels he pretended to have taken from Montezuma! The many attempts to discover new empires to conquer were all abortive, and involved him in pecuniary embarrassments. The world is hardly wide enough to afford more than one theatre to each hero. If he reaches the zenith early, and lives to a ripe age, it must be with decreasing glory. The world loves variety even in its

stars. Each new one, as it culminates, appears to surpass its predecessors in brilliancy to eyes wearied with their monotony. Cortez was no exception to this rule. The world was tired of his fame, when his cousin Pizarro turned its gaze to another hemisphere; and his star found itself eclipsed before its proper noon.

But the Conquest furnished more than one hero. If the assault of the city displayed the prowess of Cortez, its defence showed that of another equally brilliant. An Indian youth of eighteen, for ninety-seven successive days baffled all the efforts of a great soldier, backed by the inventions of civilized man. An Indian town, hardly deserving the name of city, was long held with no better weapons than bows, arrows, and flint-pointed spears, with alternate success, in open contests, day by day, against steel swords, and mail-clad men.* And it fell at last less from the weapons of the enemy, than the irresistible force of famine. Its defender refused to yield even then, and was captured only after he and the warriors who surrounded him had become helpless. Subjected to the torture, his enemies admit he bore it without a murmur. If he survived, it was because even savage hate had then become satisfied, and policy required his preservation. Dragged in the train of the conqueror from place to place, he was felt at last a useless burden, and perished by a judicial murder, in the forests of Honduras.

* Cotton mail, as it is called; but impervious to Indian weapons.

CHAPTER XV.

A SUMMARY.

Phœnician vestiges in the British Islands, 513—Probabilities of their crossing the Atlantic, 514—Argument from analogy, 514—Traditional knowledge of American colonies, 515—Extinction of an exotic race, 516—Decay of modern exotics, 517—Our disappointment with others, 518—Our faith shaken at Tlascala, 519—Extinguished at Cholula, 520—The argument from the brigantines, 521—Time occupied in the siege explained, 521—Mexican Empire doubtless a confederacy, 522—Difference of this from our own Indian wars, 522—What the Mexicans really were, 523—The conclusion, 524.

A FEW words more, and we have done. However weak and inefficient some may deem our argument in support of a Phœnician origin of the Central American ruins, few, we believe, are prepared to deny the strong probabilities which uphold it. Even to this day, much of the worship and habits of Phœnicians is traceable in the holiday games of the common people of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They have their *Beltane* fires, *Beltane* dances, and other similar memorials of an age, a nation, and a religion so deeply buried in the past, that the period of their introduction defies the research of the antiquary —memorials of a once dominant race that have, ages since, disappeared. These few and disjointed fragments of a colossal power, seeing the many changes that have taken place there, show how deeply rooted was that superstition of which they are the poor remains.

If so vast a fabric could not only be erected on the shores of these islands—situated in a stormy sea, and distant almost as far as our continent from the parent state—but the teachings of its priesthood also be spread so widely, and rooted so deeply as to resist the Druidism of the Celts, the newer polytheism of the Romanists, and even modern Protestantism, what is there, we say, so strange in our argument, if these things be true? Some chance sail, some storm-driven mariner from the Canaries, the Azores, or the group off the great African cape, may have been the first to visit the Bahamas—carried thither by the trades—and thence to penetrate the mysteries of our great inland sea. In this, there would be nothing beyond the ordinary course of events—kindred accidents occur daily. The road once found, every difficulty vanishes. To return, and to review the new land, would be but a light task to the enterprise of the Tartessians. To settle upon the shores of the Gulf—or Caribbean Sea—a question of profit merely.

That a close analogy in the worship of Phœnicia and Uxmal existed cannot be doubted; there is that identity in the monuments of both sides the ocean, and those analogies in their emblems and minor resemblances which equally point to a common foundation. If, after the same lapse of time, and could it be possible, under similar circumstances, a wanderer from this side should unveil, in the majestic shadows of European forests on their several sites, the great religious edifices of Rome, London, and Glasgow, would he not, despite the differences of arrangement, the nakedness of some, the florid ornament of

others, see at once their common origin and common use? In this view many minor difficulties disappear.

The chief stumbling-block remains: if these buried cities are the vestiges of Phœnician settlements, once centres of population and marts of trade, how are we to account for their abandonment? By what strange accident of fate were they severed, not only from the parent state but from the memory of mankind? In the deep night that hangs upon this question, who may answer? We can only say, the memories of these transatlantic realms were not entirely forgotten. From the days of their European severance to the days of Columbus, the story of their existence was preserved in the fable of the "Hesperian Gardens," and the "Islands of the Blessed." These western worlds, indeed, had a far firmer hold upon mankind than the form and fruitfulness of Africa retained; the voyage or voyages of Pharaoh-Necho or Hanno being only preserved as a misty dream in the minds of a few cosmographers, while the actual existence of the Atlantides was a popular belief.

It cannot be that the native races, found by the early Spanish voyagers, were either the founders or descendants of the founders of those vast piles beside which they dwelt. They knew nought of them or their builders—they pretended to no such knowledge. To the semi-nomad of those tropical shores they were as mythical as to the wondering European. And on this is a most important point—the carved figures are not American in their cast of features. This peculiarity points to a

foreign source. Wherever the white has trodden upon this continent, from the extreme north to the extreme south, from *Boothia* to *Tierra del Fuego*, there is one universal type, which varies even less than that of any other known race.

What occasioned the fall and extirpation of this foreign element is another matter of serious inquiry. So far as our knowledge of the ancient races of the older continents runs, we find, by the concurrent testimony of hieroglyphics, medals, and statues, the same types of mankind to exist now as in the earliest periods. The Berber is the Mauritanian, the *Basque* the Iberian. Cæsar's description of the fiery and changeable Gaul is a portrait of the modern Frenchman, and the German of Tacitus the counterpart of the Teuton of to-day. By some strange, unknown, and inexplicable law, it would appear that the different races of mankind were confined to appointed places. The creation of a mixed race is rendered impossible by another, which annuls their procreative capacity. Thus, from these premises, would follow the certain extinction of any exotic nationality on this continent, if separated even but a short time from its native hive. And this, as we have stated in our past pages, is the fate to which the mighty cities of the south succumbed. Unsupported by a steady infusion of fresh blood, climatic influences overbore them, until the remnant either wasted and went out as a lamp from the exhaustion of its oil, or were swept from the earth in some furious assault of the surrounding natives. There is manifestly some common cause that

works so uniformly.* In Central America the pure Spanish race is all but extinct, in Paraguay it may be said to be perfectly so, and in Mexico it is steadily declining. The same fact holds good in Peru and Equador. In our own country various causes have been assigned for the recognised delicacy, which is steadily advancing in what may be called the pure American. The growing smallness of the hands and feet, the shortening of the jaw-bones, the diminution in the number of the teeth and their rapid decay, are matters of daily comment. But it is not equally well known that a like change is to be observed in the colonies of Great Britain, not only in her South African dependencies, but even already in the newer outposts of Australia. In the West Indies, the hardiest white race melts away in two or three generations, while the climate of Central Africa is so decidedly adverse as to forbid the children of the north even a temporary foothold. In these uniform consequences the most obtuse cannot fail to recognise the operation of a universal law, whose primary effects are to diminish migration, and whose ultimate results are the extinction of the exotic population.

* The reader is, doubtless, familiar with the story of the Danish settlements on the coast of Greenland, in the tenth century. How they flourished—builded churches and public edifices—and after some generations a flow of ice cut off all communication for centuries, and that intercourse was never renewed after the sea "opened."

In 1836, however, the sea in that quarter being again free from ice, the Danes sent out an exploring expedition, which succeeded in finding the locality of the long-lost settlement.

The ruins of churches and other edifices were found, and all the usual evidences of a once flourishing settlement of civilized men. But not a living vestige of the ancient colony could be discovered. All had perished, perhaps centuries before.

That the histories of Mexico, upon which we have so freely commented, are but gross and utterly unfounded exaggerations, we have repeatedly proved. The ruined cities of Yucatan, possibly suggested to the imagination of the Great Captain the enormous fictions which disfigure his despatches. And be it always remembered that these despatches, and the work of Gomora, are the only original documents touching the conquest of Mexico, its people, its civilization, its difficulties, and its dangers. Whatever else we possess is but a *rifaccimento* of these two. There are no other sources from whence to collect and collate. The *picture writings* were the worthless inventions of a subsequent age, so coarsely fabulous, so transparently an imposture, as to be equally unworthy of credit or examination. We were driven by this curious chain of incidents to examine the physical condition of the country whose history we had undertaken to write. Fresh from the burning pages of Prescott, whose splendid imagery and glowing periods must enchant every reader, we stepped upon the shore of Mexico, only to find how the dream-land of our heated brain differed from the Mexico of reality. The effect of this disenchantment we have faithfully reproduced for our readers; and if in the course of these pages we have struck down many a cherished myth, let each loser remember also we have experienced the same regret and suffered to the same extent.

While we lingered around the tropical profusion, which adorns the roadway to the mountains that enclose the table-land, we could hardly turn from its sea of verdure and flowers to hazard a question. But once on the semi-

sterile plateau, all was changed—the howling wilderness where Gomora had located legions—Tlascala begirt with an interior ridge. Whence, suggested the first glance at this very uninviting region, came the necessary support of the millions who are said to have held sway here? No agricultural skill could have forced from the ungrateful soil a tithe of the amount they required to exist; nor could the mountains have yielded sufficient food, though they had teemed with animal life like the South African plains, in the periods of the migrations of the antelope. Physically, the stories of the past were false; and where was the *vallum*, and the solid wall of miles in length? No volcano had burst forth here, no earthquake had shaken it into fragments; and if it had, those fragments must still exist, cumbering the ground, or built into newer structures. Or,

> "*The earth hath bubbles, as the water has,*
> *And these are of them.*"

It was not to be admitted by any possibility, by any faith having the guidance of reason, that these magnificent creations could have had any other existence than the vaunting fancy of Cortez and his chaplain. Thus fell one stone of the edifice, and the key of the mythical arch, which we had so long received as history.

If this unlooked for condition of the country had surprised us, the aspect of Cholula shook our faith into a heap of dust. The lofty pyramid of hewn stone still upheld some futile hopes. They who had erected that massive pile, could not be classed with the savage

inhabitants of those dry and arid plains. Mexico in its glory might yet have been, and our judgment must be restrained. We entered Cholula. We hastened to the great pyramid, the *alpha* and the *omega* of our doubts. The mist passed away. Before us was a large cone, such as still exist in Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana.* It was nothing more, saving that its sides were clothed in rich shrubbery, and a chapel covered its crest; we were in a tropical country and a Romish land, and the erection was to the honor of the Virgin, "Queen of Heaven." These were the only differences. From that moment our task was a simple one. All credence in the relations of previous historiographers being annihilated,† we had to

* We clip the following item from a Western journal, to show that the custom of *mound-sepulture* is not local, but universal among the tribes.

"The Leavenworth (Kansas) City Ledger, of October 25th, announces the death and burial of a young Indian chief, son of To-he. He was placed in a sitting posture, upon the summit of a high hill; his bow and arrow, a war-club, and a pipe, deposited near him, when a pony was shot to accompany him to the happy hunting-grounds. A mound of earth was then thrown over the whole, a white flag raised, and the usual charms placed around to keep away evil spirits. The young chief was not more than twelve years of age."

† Many of our readers may be startled at the deliberate charge of forgery we have made in connection with the standard chroniclers. Such should recollect that we are discoursing not about an Anglo-Saxon country or people, but about Spaniards and Spanish-Americans — among whom forgery is a crime shockingly common. Where a whole category of miracles rests on forged evidence, sustained, perhaps, by perjury, it is not remarkable that such priestly practices should infect secular affairs. Persons familiar with the state of those countries are not moved at the discovery of even forged *cebulas* of the king, after they have for years stood the ordeal of judicial decisions; and while I write, the community is startled at the detection of wholesale Mexican forgeries of California land-titles that had repeatedly passed the ordeal of the American courts. There may be, and doubtless are, occasional adjudications of a bishop in favor of a forged bequest or grant to the church or its ministers, on the testimony of the confessor of a dying penitent. But

search for the solution of their elaborate fictions, in the features of the country itself, and, from whatever fragments of the past could be collected, to reproduce its picture truthfully.

Faithfully we have labored at the work. Had our eyes never dwelt upon the lakes of the great valley of Mexico, the ways that lead into it assured us that no such structures as brigantines, accepting the term to mean vessels of three feet draft, could ever have been transported, even in sections, by such wild and broken roads as they even now must be borne along. If that were not enough, when we beheld the broad and marshy ponds of the valley, which it has been the fashion to dignify as lakes, the proof became complete. For, granting the building and transport of the so-called brigantines, the naked fact remained, they could not have floated in the shallow water for which they were designed. To fulfil both the requirements of the case, these vessels must have been broad and shallow, such as we have described them, and such as navigate to-day the canals and marshes of the valley. To move such constructions to their destination was still no ordinary task; and the skill and conduct evinced in their creation and transit elevate Cortez far

from the facilities offered by these one-sided proceedings for fraudulent practices, all similar adjudications are regarded by many as mere legal robberies. Thus the community is familiarized with a crime, or at least with a criminal accusation, which has a most deleterious effect on public morals. In the California case before us, the highest Mexican ex-officials were found ready to swear to the genuineness of their signatures, and it was only in the forgery of the official seal that the fraud was detected.

What is true in secular affairs is true in their literature. To determine which is untrue and which is genuine, requires the most rigid application of the laws of evidence.

above the ordinary leaders of such a force as was gathered under his banner.

Once master of the lakes, and this his fleet of chaloupes instantly gave him, Mexico was at the feet of the invader. How came it, it may well be asked, then, that its fall was so long delayed? The reply is clear and decisive—the superiority of the Spaniards in numbers and arms was barely sufficient, even under the skilful guidance of a leader, trained in all the wiles of savage warfare, to cast the balance in their favor. It is but a few years since we saw some thousands of half-armed Caffres, with but a few muskets among them, ill trained in their use, chiefly armed with clubs (*knob-kerries*) and *assagaies*, resist for over two years a well-appointed army of many British regiments.* There is not, therefore, any cause of surprise at the long struggle which preceded the fall of the city. That the Spaniards succeeded at all, with the paucity of means at their command, is sufficiently wonderful, without outraging all probability, by evoking the enormous array they are said to have finally overthrown.

We have little doubt, could we disentangle thoroughly that meshwork of fact and fiction, called the despatches of Cortez, we should find the fabled empire of Montezuma a confederacy, like that of the Iroquois and Hurons. The position of Mexico in the temperate region (*tierra templada*) of the tropics must, however, have greatly modified the habits of its people; they were probably more agricultural

* The long-protracted war with the Indians of the Northwest, soon after the American Revolution, and the equally protracted one with those of the Everglades of Florida, are cases in point.

and less nomadic than our northern tribes. We do not intend to detract from the daring character of this famous expedition, which exemplifies so accurately the peculiarities of the people of Spain of that period, remarkable for an overweening self-reliance and desperate tenacity; and if we did, our own history would be its refutation. What five hundred Anglo-Saxons would have thus thrown themselves into the heart of the Iroquois confederacy, and so doing, have achieved as great a triumph? Step by step, and year by year, we have waged war against the red race; our triumph has been slow, but sure; they, the Spaniards, won it almost in an hour, and remained, in the midst of the conquered, the masters of submissive slaves. We have left none to crush with the fetter; the dead alone are behind and beneath; before us is only a broken band, whom our fast-advancing numbers will speedily thrust into the ocean.

No such government as Cortez pretends to have found could have existed without ample means of intercommunication, without a currency, without a literature, and without a written law. Now it is not pretended that any of these were found; and even the polity of the state, whatever its peculiarities were, is rather hinted at than defined. If more be needed to confirm the view we have taken, it may be found in the fact that Mexico itself, like Cholula and Tlascala, has no buildings or fragments of buildings anterior to the conquest, nor, excepting those which we claim as Phœnician, throughout the entire continent north and south. The lapse of years is utterly insufficient to account for this, and could not be pleaded

with reason in face of those vast erections which remain to us yet, like the sepulchral statues of a buried empire. The structures, the cities, and the numbers of the Mexican people were probably then but little superior to those which once surrounded us—different they undoubtedly were, and superior also, from their more fixed character and habits. But they were thoroughly Indian still.

That Mexico was rich in gold admits of but little doubt. Being always found native, and abounding in its rivers, it was likely to be gathered and applied to the common purposes of savage ornaments. But the great metallic wealth of the country has been worked out by Spanish skill. The native Mexican could never have discovered in the rocky ores the glitter of the silver bar; and could he have done so, he had no tools by which to reach the coveted prize. We dismiss, then, these pages to the reader, and if our sagacity has not greatly misled us, we think he will be satisfied also, as we have, of the apocryphal nature of those works, which, hitherto, he has received for truth.

CONCLUSION.

We have now accomplished our allotted task. Others before us have, in good faith, undertaken the same work, but, unfortunately, they sought at the wrong repository for their materials. There is such a pleasure in labor, we almost regret that ours is ended. Hardships have joys mingled with them; and perils, whether on land or at sea, or among robbers, have been succeeded by the gratification derived from an escape. A solitary, unarmed traveller, leaving a disabled steamer in the "South Sea," found his way to the city of Mexico alone—the companion of peasants, the associate of *arrieros*. The novelty of such a journey more than compensated for its hardships, even to one inured to life on the borders of civilization. It was the beginning of a

series, necessary to qualify the author for his task. For how could a man write a history of the Conquest who had endured less? who was less familiar with the ground? less familiar with Spaniards? less familiar with the Indian race? less familiar with the topography of the country?*

We have no fault to find with the monks, who wrote historic romances to illustrate the doctrines of Romanism, and drew their *dramatis personæ* from an Indian war. But we do object to having Spanish fictions turned into American history. As the survivor of a family that, for generations, had lived in the territory of the Iroquois, enjoying their protection and their friendship, it was a sacred duty to defend them and others of their race from the libels of centuries. But this was not enough; it had been done again and again already, to no purpose. The anxiety to have a history of the Conquest of Mexico was so great, that one after another would resort to these exploded fables for the materials of a history. The ink was hardly dry on the leaves of the North American Quarterly, which contained the exposure of these fictions, when another contributor to the same periodical, Mr. Prescott, began his history, founded on authors already denounced as fabulous by so high an authority as the Hon. Lewis Cass. So little do even literary men notice the refutations of romantic falsehoods! Who has not listened with wonder to that absurd showman's tale, of the "Aztec children;" yet, who ever remembered its refutation, or read the report of the legal proceedings by which the father acquired possession of his idiot offspring? These well-known traits demonstrated the necessity, not only of again refuting these fables, but also of compiling an actual history of the Conquest, that hereafter there should be no occasion again to disturb the moles and the bats, in order to gratify public curiosity.

The work may not justify, according to the American standard, the expen-

* In the language of a new work which has just made its appearance, we may sum up our objections to each and every of the historians we have had to consult in writing our narrative.

"Historians, taken as a body, have never recognised the necessity of such a wide and preliminary study as would enable them to grasp their subject in the whole of its natural relations. Hence the singular fact of one historian being ignorant of political economy; another knowing nothing of law; another nothing of ecclesiastical changes of opinion; another neglecting the philosophy of statistics, and another physical sciences—although these topics are the most essential of all, inasmuch as they comprise the principal circumstances by which the temper and character of mankind have been affected, and in which they are displayed."—*History of Civilization in England*, page 3.

diture of time and trial it has cost. But there is even a higher consideration than that of dollars. The scrofula that invades the aboriginal constitution, so soon as the white race plants itself beside the native, does not always spare the intruder. As in the instance before us, a single tombstone records the names of fourteen members of a single family; while a niche remains to be filled with that of the survivor, the author. To such an one, health is dearer than money; and a vagabond life in distant countries, and amid diversified climates, the only antidote for an hereditary consumption. To him death has perils but in a single form, and he unhesitatingly ventures where in other men it would be temerity. He can contemplate death on the deck of a foundering ship, as a familiar topic. When, in a tropical fever, he is pronounced incurable, there is the consolation of knowing that the summons has not come in the hated form. Again, when assured the dreaded malady was at last certain to complete its work, a new journey has stayed its progress, while a ghostly form and a death-like visage has been a passport where other men would not venture. These are considerations, beside money, that have lightened our task.

Educated in a system of "godliness," may we call it, ever unpopular with the world, and taught to look to it as the only solution of political and social evils, we are, at every step, in conflict with the monk, and the popular historian. From a different point of view every fact of history is contemplated, every result is weighed. There is no deification of chance, no Red Republicanism. If Spanish *religion* has often been referred to, it is because it was inevitable; the very idea of history with Spaniards, seems to have been but an exhibition of the prowess of their demigods. We have found Bernal Diaz a faithful exponent of that religious system, as understood by its highest ecclesiastical authorities; and if we have placed it, from time to time, in juxtaposition to our own, it is that the Protestant reader might better understand the motives that swayed those authors in the fabrication of their narratives. They should all be endorsed "historical expositions of the religion of Spain, with fables to match." Farewell.

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