

CHAPTER V
THIRD VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA
1498

Discovery of the Mainland

"Chains for the Admiral of the Ocean! Chains
For him who gave a new heaven, a new earth,
As holy John had prophesied of me,
Gave glory and more empire to the Kings
Of Spain than all their battles! Chains for him
Who push'd his prow into the setting sun,
And made West East, and sail'd the Dragon's Mouth,
And came upon the Mountains of the World,
And saw the rivers roll from Paradise!"

Alfred Tennyson.



On Wednesday, the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed from the port of San Lúcar de Barra-meda, near Cadiz, on his third venture into the western ocean. He landed at Porto Santo, the Madeira, and at Gomera, in the Canaries. Columbus left here on the 21st of June, and when off Ferro, he divided his fleet, sending three vessels, under Carvajal, Araña, and Colombo, with supplies for the new town which the Adelantado had started on the southern shore of Hispaniola. The Admiral himself, with the three smaller craft, turned the southward, and arrived at the Cape Verde Islands on the 27th, where he supplied himself with fresh water and goat's meat. He left here on the 4th of July, and steered to the southwest. It was the Admiral's plan on this voyage to take a more southerly course than formerly, and seek the equatorial regions to the south of Hispaniola and Cuba, where he expected to find the islands or land which the Indians told him lay in that direction. Moreover, he believed, with Jayme Ferrer, the learned jeweler, that the nearer one approached the equator the blacker became the people, and the more abundant the gold, pearls, precious stones, drugs, and spices.

On July 12th the squadron was in latitude 5° north, when the wind ceased and the heat became intolerable. The seams of the ships opened and tar dripped from the rigging. The meat and

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wheat, in the hold, spoilt; and the water-butts and wine-casks burst their hoops. The sailors lost strength and spirits, and their commander suffered from fever and his old malady, the gout. The horrors formerly suffered by sailing vessels when caught in the "doldrums," the region of calms near the Equator, are now nearly eliminated by the general use of steamers.

On the 20th a breeze springs up; and on the 22d birds are seen flying towards the northwest. It was the custom of Columbus, when engaging in an undertaking, to invoke the aid of the Holy Trinity; and when starting out on this voyage he vowed to name the first land discovered after the sacred Triad. On the 31st of July, 1498, as if in response to this vow, the triple peaks of a mountain are seen in the west, by Alonzo Perez, who happens to climb up into the crow's-nest. "It has pleased Our Lord," writes Columbus, "for His divine glory, that the first sight was three *mogotes*, all united; I should say three mountains, all at one time and in one view." The Admiral calls the distant land *Trinidad*; and all join in chanting the "Salve Regina" and other pious couplets.

The ships approached Trinidad at its southeastern corner, now called Point Galeota; after doubling which, they sailed westward along the south coast. The next day, August 1, 1498, Columbus saw land to the south, his first sight of the continent of America, and, believing it an island, he names it *La Isla Santa* (Sancta), or Holy Island. The Admiral passed around the projecting tongue of land on the southwest point of Trinidad by a turbulent channel, between it and Isla Santa, which he called *Boca del Serpiente* (the Serpent's Mouth). While anchored here at night his vessels are nearly swamped by a giant wave, or bore, the dreaded *pororoca* of the Orinoco river. Once inside Point Icacos, Columbus found himself in an immense body of water, as quiet as a pond, and sweet to the taste.

To the north of the lowlands of Isla Santa (really the delta of the Orinoco) was a range of mountains, seemingly on a third island, to which the Admiral gave the name *Isla de Gracia* (Island of Grace, or Mercy). The Indians on the latter were taller, fairer, and more intelligent than any yet encountered in the Indies. They called their land Paria, a name yet preserved in designating the cape and gulf on the northeast corner of Venezuela, opposite the island of Trinidad. Columbus, however, called the gulf *Golfo de las Perlas*, on account of the many pearls collected from the Indians; and confirmed the statement by Pliny, that oysters generate pearls from dewdrops,

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when he beheld, at low tide, oysters clinging to the mangrove bushes, with their mouths open to receive the falling dew. The good Bishop Las Casas, who came here later, is more accurate in his observation, for he notes that these oysters living in shallow waters do not produce pearls, but that the pearl oysters, "by a natural instinct, as if conscious of their precious charge, hide themselves in the deepest waters."

The Admiral spent two pleasant weeks about the gulf in friendly intercourse with the natives of Trinidad and Paria. Besides pearls, they wore ornaments of *guanin*, an alloy of gold, silver, and copper. Columbus found deer and numerous monkeys, the first seen in the New World; and is surprised to find the temperature much lower than in the same latitude on the coast of Africa. Vainly seeking an exit on the western side of the gulf, he is met everywhere by rivers of fresh water and shallow soundings, and is compelled to turn back and risk passage to the north through the rushing currents of the *Boca del Drago*, or Dragon's Mouth. The attempt is made, by moonlight, on the night of August 13th, and is successful, though the Admiral commits one of his rare errors of seamanship when he lets go his anchors on encountering a great wave, similar to the one met in the Serpent's Mouth.

Safely in the Caribbean Sea, Columbus descries two islands faintly perceptible in the northeast, probably *Tobaga* and *Granada*, but is satisfied to name them Asuncion and Concepcion, and steers west along the north coast of Paria for about one hundred and fifty miles, when he became convinced from its extent and particularly from the mighty volumes of fresh water flowing into the Gulf of Paria that it was not an island, but "Terra Firma, of vast extent, of which until this day nothing has been known."

Near the shore are a number of islands, at the largest of which he collects three pounds of pearls from the Indians, and calls it *Margarita*—the Pearl. Near by are *Cubagua* and *Coche*, and to seaward of Margarita are *La Blanquilla* and *Los Testigos*. The Admiral called this region *Costa de las Perlas*, and the islands soon became famous as the Pearl Islands. Ojeda, who robbed the natives later, started a settlement on Cubagua, which he named New Cadiz, but it was afterwards abandoned.

For some time Columbus had been suffering with fever and inflammation of the eyes, and gave his orders from a couch on deck. While ruminating over the strange phenomena he had observed, of which Marco Polo said nothing, and which neither the Ancient Philosophers nor the Holy Fathers could explain,

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his disordered and fevered fifteenth-century brain conceived that he now was near the apex of the earth, upon which was situated the Earthly Paradise, which none could enter except by Divine permission; that in this Eden was the Tree of Life, and from it issued the rivers of fresh water, which we now know as the mouths of the Orinoco. He was willing to concede that the Eastern hemisphere was perfectly round, as Ptolemy and others proved by the eclipses of the moon, "but this western half of the world, I maintain, is like the half of a very round pear, having a raised projection for the stalk, as I have already described, or like a woman's nipple on a very round ball."

On the morning of the 16th of August, the Admiral sailed out of the bay of *Cumana*, opposite the island of Margarita, and steered northwest for Santo Domingo (then called Nueva Isabella), the new town established by Don Bartolomé in 1496, on the south coast of Hispaniola, at the mouth of the Ozama river. Columbus had noted, on leaving the Dragon's Mouth, that a current set strongly to the west, but on turning from the coast he failed to allow for this drift, and found himself, on the evening of the 19th, off the island of Beata, fifty leagues west of the new capital of the Indies. Here he was joined by his brother Bartholomew, and together they arrived at Santo Domingo, August 30, 1498.

During the two years absence of the Viceroy, the thriftless and vicious Spaniards, who constituted a majority of the colonists, tired of robbing and maltreating the Indians, and rebelled against the rule of Columbus and his brothers. They were headed by Francisco Roldan, the *alcalde mayor*, or chief judge of the island, who, like the other Spaniards, did not relish the honors and authority conferred upon these foreigners. At the same time the enemies of Columbus in Spain—and they appear to have been numerous—aided and encouraged by Bishop Fonseca, who was in charge of all business relating to the Indies—besieged the Court with slanders and charges against him; and the King and Queen decided to send out Francisco de Bobadilla, commander of the military and religious order of Calatrava, to inquire into affairs on Hispaniola; and, if necessary, relieve Columbus of command.

After weary months of humiliating negotiations with Roldan, and the hanging of Moxica and several other renegades, the Viceroy succeeds in suppressing the revolt; but no sooner are things again peaceful and promising than Bobadilla arrives, and with as little sense as decency, places Columbus and his brothers in irons. Las Casas tells us that the shackles were put on the

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Admiral by one of his own servants, "a graceless and shameless cook. I knew the fellow, and I think his name was Espinosa." The first, and perhaps the greatest, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, the man who widened the intellectual as well as the physical world for mankind, and who had given an empire to the little kingdoms of Castile and Leon, was carried to Spain in chains.

During the voyage, or directly upon reaching Spain, Columbus wrote a beautiful letter to Doña Juana de la Torres, who had been *aya* or governess to the Infante, Prince Juan, and who was on intimate terms with Queen Isabella, giving a simple narrative of events on Hispaniola, and the wrongs he had suffered. It is one of the sanest documents he ever penned—nothing about Marco Polo, the Cham of Tartary, or a terrestrial Eden; and no golden promises impossible to fulfill. The Admiral arrived at Cadiz November 25, 1500, and this letter, probably with the connivance of Vallejo, was forwarded to Doña Juana, then with the Court at Granada, before the dispatches of Bobadilla; and in a short time Columbus and his brothers were released from arrest.

Ferdinand and Isabella were sorry for the way in which Columbus had been treated by Bobadilla, and renewed the assurance of their high appreciation and regard—but were careful not to restore him to his viceroyalty, or to revoke the general license, of 1495, permitting other navigators to explore and barter in the West Indies. Under this license, during 1499 and 1500, Alonso de Ojeda, with Amerigo Vespucci and Juan de la Cosa; Pedro Alonso Niño, with Cristoval Guerra; Vicente Yañez Pinzon, and Diego de Lepe, had followed the course laid down by the Admiral to Paria, and had discovered the coasts of Brazil, and Venezuela, westward of the island of Margarita; all returning to Spain with pearls or slaves. In October, 1500, just preceding the return of Columbus, Rodrigo de Bastidas had set sail for the Pearl Coast, with Juan de la Cosa as pilot, and having on board a bright young man by the name of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

Nor was Spain the only nation engaged in making voyages into unknown seas. The English Court, which had favored the initial voyage of Columbus, and pronounced his Discovery more divine than human, sent out John Cabot and his son Sebastian, in 1497, who returned in three months and reported finding land in the west; which probably was Labrador. In 1498, Sebastian Cabot again sailed to the west for Henry VII, and followed the shores of a continent south to near the latitude of Cuba.

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But most important of all was the voyage of Vasco da Gama, who sailed from Portugal in 1497, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and reached Calicut on the Malabar coast of Hindustan. By sailing to the east, around Africa, Gama had found the Spice Islands and people so long sought by Columbus in the west. King Emanuel of Portugal sent Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, in 1500, with a fleet, to follow up the work of Gama and start a Portuguese colony in India. Cabral had just sent back the intelligence, by one of his ships, that he had found land southwest of Cape de Verd Islands, lying east of the Pope's Line. This land was Brazil, which had been discovered two months before, January 20, 1500, by Pinzon; but the Pope's ruling, and a subsequent treaty between Spain and Portugal, gave the region to the latter.

These expeditions, particularly the return of Gama, in 1499, with the rich spoils of the East, tended to dim the fame of Columbus, and rob Spain of the wealth of India and Cathay. Accordingly, about the middle of 1501, the Admiral proposed another voyage to the King and Queen; and they were only too ready to enter into any scheme that might thwart the encroachments of their rival, Portugal.

In the meantime, Don Nicolas de Ovando, a militant priest of the Order of Alcántara, is made Governor and Judge of Hispaniola; and sails in great state, February 13, 1502, with thirty ships and twenty-five hundred people, to relieve the blundering Bobadilla, and establish the sovereignty of Spain more firmly in the West Indies.

While awaiting the preparation of his own modest squadron, the unstable mind of Columbus wanders off into mystic meditations, and he writes a treatise on the fulfillment of prophecies. The manuscript of *Los Libros de las Profecias*, though edited and commended by Fray Gaspar Gorrico, and dedicated to their Most Catholic Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, still awaits a publisher.

Copy of letter written to Nicolás Oderigo, at Genoa, by Christopher Columbus, concerning the bequests the latter had made to the Bank of St. George, in trust, to reduce the tax on corn, wine, and other provisions in his native city:

"Virtuous Sir:

"When I departed for the voyage from which I now come, I talked with you at length. I believe that you well remember all that was said then. I believed that on arriving I would find letters from you and a person with a message. Also at that time I left with Francisco de Ribarol a book of copies of letters and another book of my *Privileges* in a case of red Cordovan leather with a silver lock; and I left two letters for the Bank of St. George, to which I assigned the tenth of

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my revenue, for the reduction of taxes on wheat and other provisions. To nothing of this have I had any reply. Mr. Francisco says that everything reached there in safety. If there is discourtesy in the matter it was on the part of the gentlemen of St. George in not having replied, and their fortune is not increased thereby. And this is the reason for its being said that whoever serves all serves no one. Another book of my *Privileges* like the aforesaid I left in Cadiz with Franco Catonio, the bearer of this letter, that he might send it to you. Both were to be placed in safe-keeping wherever you might consider it best. I received a letter from the King and Queen my Lords, at the time of my departure. It is written there. Look at it and you will find it very good. Nevertheless Don Diego was not placed in possession according to the promise.

"During the time I was in the Indies I wrote to their Highnesses about my voyage, by three or four different ways. One letter was returned to me, and sealed as it was I send it to you with this. In another letter I send you the supplement to the description of the voyage, for you to give it to Mr. Juan Luis, together with the other letter of information, and I have written him that you will be the reader and interpreter of the letters. I would like to receive letters from you and desire that they speak cautiously of the purpose to which we have agreed.

"I arrived here very sick. At this time occurred the death of the Queen, my Lady, whom God has, without my seeing her. Up to the present I cannot tell you what will be the result of my achievements. I believe that her Highness will have provided well for me in her will and the King, my Lord, answers very well.

"Franco Catonio will tell you the rest at length. May our Lord have you in His keeping.

"From Seville, December 27, 1504.

"The High Admiral of the Ocean Sea, Viceory and Governor-General of the Indies, etc.

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.S. A. S.
X M Y
Xpo Ferens"

[Showing the *rubrica* or peculiar signature of Columbus.]

CHAPTER VI
FOURTH VOYAGE
OF
COLUMBUS TO AMERICA
1502

Discovery of Central America and the Isthmus of Panama

"Push off, and sitting well in order, smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the Western stars, until I die."

Alfred Tennyson.



THE previous voyages of Columbus westward towards Asia were in search of land; his fourth and last voyage was undertaken to find a water passage, or strait, leading to the region of Cathay visited by Marco Polo; or which would pass south of Asia into the Indian Ocean.

The Admiral had found two mainlands, as he thought. To the north was Cuba, which he believed to be a part of Mangi (Cochin China); in the south was Paria, with the Garden of Eden somewhere on its more elevated parts. Between these two *Terrae Firmae* was an unexplored region in which the two mainlands either joined, forming one immense continent; or, what was more probable, they were separated by a body of water. When Columbus left the south coast of Cuba, in 1494, at a point three hundred and thirty-five leagues west of Cape Maisi, the coast to the westward turned to the south. The shores of Paria and his Eden *Terra Firma* (South America), extended indefinitely towards the west. Along this coast was a strong current setting to the west, and the same drift was observed as far north as *Hispaniola*. Besides, the lay of the islands was east and west, and the prevailing winds blew also in that direction. All these natural phenomena proved to the Admiral that the waters of the Western or Atlantic Ocean flowed through a strait between his two mainlands.

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This seems to be a point against the alleged voyage of Pinzon, Vespucci, Solis, and Ledesma, through the Yucatan Channel into the Gulf of Mexico and around Cuba, in 1497-8, which would have given Amerigo Vespucci a sight of the continent of America a year ahead of Columbus. If this voyage really occurred, and it was known that the westward-flowing currents of the Caribbean Sea found an outlet through the passage west of Cuba, a hundred miles in width, why did the Admiral dream of a strait to the southwest of Hispaniola, where the two continents would tend to approach each other? Columbus located this strait at about the Isthmus of Panama, where it was found, later, that the waters of the western and eastern oceans almost mingled. His unbridled imagination again held sway, and he planned to sail around the Golden Chersonese (Malacca) to the Spice Islands and the mouth of the Ganges, cross the Indian Ocean, double the Cape of Good Hope, and so back to Spain. The conception and planning of a circumnavigating voyage in 1494, and again at this time, are sufficient in themselves to mark Columbus as a man of exceptional talent.

With this end in view, he supplied himself with credentials to the Asiatic rulers, and the Portuguese officials he might encounter; and carried interpreters familiar with Arabic. As a result of this voyage, the Admiral expected increased riches for himself and family, and renewed his promise to their Majesties and Pope Alexander VI to equip a force and restore the Holy Sepulchre to the Christians.

Ferdinand and Isabella renewed their pledges to keep their contracts with Columbus, and the latter, before sailing, sent attested duplicates of all his grants and agreements to the Signory of his native city, Genoa, where they are still preserved.

For this, the last venture of Columbus, four vessels were chartered, named the *Capitana*, *Santiago de Palos*, *Gallego*, and *Vizcaina*, the largest of seventy tons, and the smallest of fifty tons burden. With these small vessels, more or less dilapidated, the Admiral proposed to sail around the world; but, as we shall see later, within a little more than a year the worm-eaten hulks of his entire fleet were strewn about the shores of the Carib Sea. The crews, men and boys, numbered one hundred and forty-one; and the Admiral's staff raised the complement to about one hundred and fifty souls. They were provisioned for two years, and carried goods for barter with the Indians. It was fortunate that Columbus was able to induce his brother Bartholomew, somewhat against his will, to go along as captain of one of the caravels.

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The Admiral asked and received permission to take with him his second son, Fernando, then scarcely fourteen years of age. Fernando Colon was of a literary turn of mind, and in after years wrote the biography of his father, to which we are indebted for the best account of the last voyage of Columbus.

The fleet sailed from Cadiz on the 9th of May, 1502; and on the 11th parted from St. Catherine and went to Arcila, a town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, held by the Portuguese, and lately besieged by the Moors. The Admiral exchanged civilities with the wounded Governor, and was visited by some kinsmen of his dead wife, Doña Felipa. The same day he left for the Canary Islands, which he reached on the 20th, where the ships were supplied with wood and water. The night of May 25, 1502, the fleet set out for the Indies; on the 26th passed Ferro, and, "without handling the sails," was borne speedily by the trade-winds to the Caribbee Islands, arriving at Martinino on Wednesday, the 15th of June. Martinino was the "Island of Amazons," and is generally believed to be Martinique, the birth-place of the Empress Josephine, and the site of the volcanic eruption which destroyed St. Pierre. Here Columbus secured fresh water and wood, and made the men wash their clothes. On Saturday he resumed the voyage, passing Dominica, Santa Cruz, and the other islands; till, on the 24th, the fleet was sailing along the south side of *San Juan de Puerto Rico*.

"Thence we took the way for San Domingo, the Admiral having a mind to exchange one of his ships for another, because it was a bad sailer, and, besides, could carry no sail, but the side would lie almost under water, which was a hindrance to his voyage, because his design was to have gone directly upon the coast of Paria and keep along that shore till he came upon the strait, which he certainly concluded was about Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But, seeing the fault of the ship, he was forced to repair to San Domingo to change it for a better."

Columbus arrived off the mouth of the Ozama on the 29th of June, but did not enter the harbor, as he had been forbidden by the King to stop there; but from a little bay farther west he sent Pedro de Terreros, captain of the *Gallego*, to Governor Ovando to seek an exchange for his unseaworthy craft, or to purchase a new one. Ovando declined to aid Columbus, and likewise refused his request to shelter his caravels in the river from an impending storm. The large fleet brought out by the new Governor was just about to set sail for Spain, and the Admiral sent a second message to Ovando entreating him not to permit the fleet to leave the harbor under eight days. The

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warnings of the old Admiral were received with derision by the Governor and his pilots, and the big fleet stood bravely out to sea on its homeward journey. When barely clear of the island it was overtaken by a typical West Indian hurricane, and more than twenty of the ships foundered off the southeast end of Hispaniola, near the islet of Saona. Among those who perished were Bobadilla, Roldan, and other enemies of Columbus; Guarionex, cacique of the Vega Real; and many prisoners, both Indian and Spanish; besides 200,000 *castellanos* in gold, including the largest nugget ever found on Hispaniola. A few vessels¹ managed to get back to Santo Domingo, and only one, *La Aguja*, proceeded on to Spain. This was the worst ship in the fleet, and on it were four thousand *pesos* in gold and other goods belonging to the Admiral, collected by his agent, Carvajal.

Fernando Colon says that his father was much vexed "to behold the baseness and ingratitude used towards him in that country he had given to the honor and benefit of Spain, being refused to shelter his life in it." Three of the Admiral's vessels were driven from the shelter he had sought, and each thought the others lost; but all came together again at Azua, about sixty miles west of Santo Domingo, on the Sunday following. Each gave an account of his misfortunes, when it appeared that Bartolomé Colon, on the *Bermuda*,² "had weathered so great a storm by flying from land like an able sailor, and that the Admiral was out of danger by lying close to the shore, like a cunning astrologer, who knew whence the danger must come." The common Spaniards held that Columbus had used "art magic" to overthrow his enemies; Las Casas considered the tempest a Divine judgment; and Columbus believed that he had been preserved by the Lord for still other accomplishments.

The Admiral remained in Azua, or Puerto Hermoso, long enough for his men to rest and repair damages to the caravels.

¹ On one of the vessels escaping the storm was Rodrigo de Bastidas, arrested by Bobadilla, and being carried to Spain for trial.

² The name "*Bermuda*," as one of the ships, is used only by Fernando Colon, and does not appear in the official list given at the end of this chapter. Several conjectures are allowable: In spite of the opposition of Ovando, Columbus may have succeeded in exchanging for another vessel at Santo Domingo; or, the "*Santiago*" may have been so-called after the master, Francisco Bermudez; or, Bermuda may have been the name of the *Capitana*, which means simply the flagship. The Admiral was getting old, and in bad health, and may have changed his flag from a rough sailer to a smoother ship; assigning his skillful brother to command the poor sailer.

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When at leisure they went fishing, and one day caught a manatee, or sea-calf. Columbus then went to sea again, and laid his course for Jamaica; but ran into another storm, and put into the port of Brazil, now Jacmel, Haiti. On the 14th of July he made another start, and two days later arrived at the Pozas or Morant keys, off the Jamaican coast, where he collected water from puddles (*pozas*) made in the sand.

The Admiral then steered west-southwest in the direction of the supposed strait, but the wind was so light and the currents so strong that, on the 24th, he found himself again among the Queen's Gardens, along the southern shore of Cuba. Believing, as he did, that the south coast of Cuba continued in a southerly direction, Columbus now headed south-southwest; and, on July 30, 1502, reached an inhabited island called *Guanaja*. This is now known as Bonacao, or Bonacca, one of the bay islands lying north of Truxillo, Honduras.

Don Bartolomé landed on Guanaja, and interviewed the Indians, whose chief was named Imibe. They had very low foreheads, but differed but little from the other natives already encountered.

On the way back to the ships, two canoes are seen coming along the island from the west, which are captured without resistance and brought to the flagship. One canoe is eight feet wide, and as long as a galley. It was propelled by a score of paddlers, and in the stern, beneath a neatly thatched canopy, sat the *cacique*, surrounded by his females and children. He seemed to be on a trading voyage, for the canoe was loaded with many articles, all strange to the Spaniards. There were cotton cloaks and tunics finely worked and dyed; hatchets, cups, and bells made of copper; crucibles for melting metals; knives chipped from obsidian; wooden swords, edged with sharp flints; and vessels of stone, clay, and wood. They carried bread made from roots and maize, and a beer concocted from the latter: also a store of *cacao* (chocolate) beans, for food and money, which the Spaniards thought were a new variety of almond.

It was obvious at a glance that here was a superior race, much in advance of the Indians of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Paria. Both men and women wore clothes, and were modest in demeanor. Fernando Colon says that the females covered their bodies and faces as completely as the Moorish women of Granada. Columbus thought that at last he was nearing the precincts of the Grand Khan.

By the use of signs and the Haitian dialect, the Spaniards

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understood that these people came from a country nine days' journey to the west, called Ciguaré, where gold, coral, pearls, and spices abounded. The King possessed ships, cannon, and animals, which were believed to be horses. Ciguaré was on another ocean, and ten days beyond was a river called the Ganges—so it was understood.

"This moved the Admiral to use them well, to restore their canoe, and give them some things in exchange for those that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them, but an old man, whose name was Giumba, who seemed to be the wisest and chief of them, to learn something of him concerning the country, and that he might draw others to converse with the Christians, which he did very readily and faithfully all the while we sailed where his language was understood. Therefore, as a reward for his services, when we came where he was not understood, the Admiral gave him some things, and sent him home very well pleased."

From Guanaja, Columbus sailed toward land faintly visible in the south, about forty miles away, and found a cape, which he christened Caxinas. This is now known as Cape Honduras, and was a turning point not only in the voyage, but also in the destiny of Columbus. From here the land extended east and west, and when the old Indian was asked where the gold came from, he pointed to the east, and thereby saved his country, Yucatan, from the Spaniards until 1517, when it was discovered by Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, under the pilotage of Antonio de Alaminos, who was with Columbus on this voyage. Cordova was followed the next year by Grijalva, who went to Tabasco and San Juan de Ulloa (Vera Cruz); and, in 1519, Hernando Cortes landed at the latter place and began the conquest of Mexico. The nearest Columbus came to a culture-stage approximating that of the Grand Khan was his sight of the canoe-load of Mayan products at Guanaja.

As another reason for turning eastward, advocates of the alleged Pinzon-Vespucci-Solis-Ledesma voyage of 1497 claim that the Admiral knew, at this time, that Cuba was an island; and that Ledesma, who was now with Columbus, assured him there was no strait to the west. Inasmuch as both Pinzon and Ledesma testified, in 1513, in the lawsuit of Diego Colon against the Crown, that they entered the Gulf of Mexico after the Admiral's search for a strait, I shall continue to think that Columbus believed Point Caxinas to be continuous on the west with the south coast of Cuba, and that only to the eastward could a passage exist.

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Anyhow, Columbus followed the coast to the east, which seemed like turning back to the Caribbee Islands, on the route to Spain. He met a storm, and sheltered his ships for a few days behind Point Caxinas. The natives were friendly, and on Sunday, the 14th of August, the *padre* and crews held mass on shore. The Indians called their country *Maia*, and on the 17th the Adelantado took possession for Spain, at a stream which he called the River of Possession, now known as Black river. Some of the natives wore cotton jackets and head-dress, and painted their bodies with the figures of animals in red or black. In this same region were Indians who made such large holes in the lobes of their ears that Columbus called that part *La Costa de la Oreja* (The Coast of the Ear).

For seventy days the little fleet fought against head winds and contrary currents, and made only sixty leagues. During this time there was one continuation of rain, thunder, and lightning, and neither sun nor stars were seen. The vessels opened their seams, the sails were in rags, and anchors, rigging, boats, and provisions were lost. The Admiral fell ill, and the sailors meek and humble in spirit, so that they confessed their sins one to another.

"Other tempests there have been, but none which lasted so long or caused such fear."

On the 14th of September the ships rounded a narrow point, from which the land turned due south. This brought the wind on the quarter, and the weather improved; in gratitude of which, Columbus named the cape *Gracias á Dios* (Thanks to God). By the 16th they had sailed sixty-two leagues in this direction; when, being in need of wood and water, the boats were sent up a deep river in search of them. On coming back, one of the boats was overturned while crossing the bar and the crew lost. This disaster led the Admiral to call the river *El Rio del Desastre*.

Columbus continued to sail southward along the Mosquito coast of Nicaragua. On Sunday, the 25th of September, the fleet anchored by a little island near the mainland, opposite the mouth of a river, where was situated an Indian village called Cariari. The name of the island was Quiriviri; but, from the abundance of its fruits, the Admiral called it *La Huerta*, or the Orchard. Besides bananas and cocoanuts, there was a fragrant and luscious fruit which he mistook for the mirabolane of the East Indies. The main shore was covered with beautiful forests extending back to cloud-capped mountains.

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The Indians gathered under arms, and made hostile demonstrations against the Spaniards; but, soon seeing no harm was intended, they swam out to the ships and offered to barter cotton gowns and ornaments of *guanin*, or pale gold. Columbus gave them presents, but would not trade, hoping they would produce more valuable possessions.

When the Spaniards made a landing, on the following Wednesday, they found all their gifts neatly tied up and lying on the beach. This was an intimation that they would receive nothing except in what they considered fair trade, and was an unusual exhibition of independence by such primitive people. To further propitiate the strangers, they sent two girls, of not too modest demeanor, to Columbus, who promptly clothed them in Castilian garments, and returned them to the shore. This won the confidence of the Indians, so that when the Adelantado went ashore the next day, two of their principal men waded out to his boat and carried him to land. When he questioned them, the notary, Diego de Porras, began to take notes, which so alarmed the Indians that they fled in terror, and only returned after burning a sweet-smelling powder and blowing the fumes over the white men, as if to nullify some evil spirit.

These Indians were more advanced than those of Haiti and the other islands. Their houses were better constructed, and in some were seen the mummified corpses of chiefs and relatives. The women wore their hair short, but the men had long braids wound about the head. Both sexes wore some clothing, and ornaments of *guanin*, from mines in the interior. They stated that more gold was found in the country of Carabarú (or Caravaró), adjoining them on the south. Columbus seized two men for guides, which the Indians vainly tried to redeem with two peccaries; and, on October 5th, he left Cariari and sailed south-east along what is now called Costa Rica. The "crocodiles," monkeys, and shrubbery remind Columbus of descriptions of the East Indies by Pliny and Marco Polo, and he thinks he is approaching the Ganges.

There is considerable similarity about scenes in the tropics, and at many ports in the Caribbean we find the mouth of a river, a small island near the shore, and the same green vegetation the whole year round. Hence, it is not always easy to identify the places visited by Columbus and the early explorers. Most writers state that Bluefields, Nicaragua, corresponds to the *Cariari* of Columbus; while others say it was Greytown (*San Juan del Norte*). The Admiral and Fernando write that in one day's sail, of some twenty-two leagues, they arrived at

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the bay of *Carambaru*, easily identified as Almirante Bay, Panama. Now, Bluefields is almost three degrees, and Greytown nearly two degrees of latitude from Almirante Bay; and the difference in longitude from both places is one degree and a half. In order to examine the coast, Columbus sailed only by day; and if we consider the short Spanish league, the miserable condition of the caravels, and the constant complaints of head winds and currents, we are forced to locate Cariari much nearer to Almirante Bay than either Bluefields or Greytown. Reckoning the twenty-two leagues as about fifty-five miles, and remembering that the vessels were poor sailers against wind and tide, and that so good a seaman as was Columbus would sail cautiously through the islands about Almirante Bay and the Chiriqui Lagoon, the distance traveled by daylight would not be over sixty miles. This would place Cariari at *Puerto Limon*, Costa Rica, where are found a small island near the shore, a river, and mountains in the background.

Columbus anchored in the bay still known by his rank of Admiral, and sent boats to the islands, where they obtained some ornaments, and heard of a much better place to trade, a few miles farther on. The same day the ships got under way and passed through a narrow channel to a larger bay to the south and east, which the Indians called *Aburena*, now known as the *Laguna de Chiriqui*. Here the Spaniards found a profusion of golden ornaments in the shape of eagles, frogs, tigers, and other animals, and also worn as coronets, armlets, and plates hung about the neck. These last Columbus calls *espejos de oro*, or golden mirrors, and were, no doubt, used as such. Many of these images have been recovered from the *guacas*, or old graves, and can be seen in our principal museums, together with stone implements and the beautiful pottery obtained from the same sources. The writer has several of these golden figures, which he secured when in this region. Pedro de Ledesma, a pilot with Columbus, states that eighty canoes gathered about the ships at one place, the occupants eager to exchange their gold for hawk-bells and needles.

Most of this time the Admiral suffered from what has been called the gout, and directed his fleet from his couch. His brother Bartholomew, the Adelantado, and the captains visited the islands and the main shore, bartering with the natives. Repairs were made, and on one of the islands, yet known as Careening Cay, the ships were careened and cleaned. Columbus inquired about his strait, and the natives told of another sea on the south, and a "narrow place" leading to it. The

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Indians were perfectly honest, and meant to indicate that another great water (the Pacific Ocean) existed beyond a narrow strip of land (the Isthmus of Panama). The mind of the Admiral is fixed on a strait, and he interprets the "narrow place" as water and not land; the Strait of Malacca, which will carry him into the Indian Ocean. He understood that the strait was a little farther on, in the direction of regions called *Veragua*, and *Cobija* (*Cubigá*), where gold was even more plentiful than where they then were.

On October 17, Columbus departed from Aburena (Chiriqui Lagoon), taking with him two of the natives as additional guides. He followed the coast toward *Veragua*, and found it turning now to the east. After sailing about twelve leagues, the fleet came to a river called *Guaiga*, where "the Admiral commanded the boats to go ashore, which as they were doing, they saw above a hundred Indians on the strand, who assaulted them furiously, running up to the middle into the water, brandishing their spears, blowing horns, and beating a drum in warlike manner, to defend their country, throwing the salt water towards the Christians, chewing herbs and spurting it towards them." Through the interpreters the Spaniards appeased the natives, and relieved them of sixteen gold plates they had about their necks, worth a hundred and fifty ducats. The next day, being Friday, the 19th of October, the boats went to land again to barter, and were received in the same hostile manner; when, not wishing to be despised by the Indians, the Christians wounded one in the arm with an arrow, and fired a cannon, which so frightened them that they parted with three more golden plates.

The Admiral was content to get samples of what these parts afforded, and proceeded on his quest of a pass. His next stop was in the mouth of a great river, called *Catiba*, where the warriors assembled at the sound of conchs and tom-toms to repel the white men. Diplomacy again prevailed, and the Spaniards landed and found the King, "who differed in nothing from the rest but that he was covered with one leaf of a tree, because at that time it rained hard." Here they secured nineteen plates of pure gold. Fernando Colon further says: "This was the first place in the Indies where they saw any sign of a structure [masonry], which was a great mass of wall, or imagery, that to them seemed to be of lime and stone: the Admiral ordered a piece of it to be brought away as a memorial of that antiquity."

The fleet continued eastward and came to *Cobrava*, and the

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wind being fresh, Columbus held on his course, "and went on to five towns of great trade, among which was *Veragua*, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates made."

"The next day he came to a town, called Cubiga [or Cobija], where the Indians of Cariari said the trading country ended, which began at Carabora [Caravaró, or Almirante Bay], and ran as far as Cubiga, for fifty leagues along the coast."

"The Admiral, without making any stay, went on till he put into *Puerto Bello*, giving it that name because it is large, beautiful, well peopled, and encompassed by a well-cultivated country. He entered this place on the 2d of November [1502], passing between two small islands, within which the ships may lie close to the shore, and turn it out if they have occasion. The country about that harbor, higher up, is not very rough, but tilled and full of houses, a stone's throw or a bow shot one from the other; and it looks like the finest landscape a man can imagine. During seven days we continued there, on account of the rain and ill weather, there came continually canoes from all the country about to trade for provisions and bottoms of fine spun cotton, which they gave for some trifles, such as points and pins."

"On Wednesday, the 9th of November, we sailed out of Porto Bello, eight leagues to the eastward; but the next day were forced back four leagues by stress of weather, and put in among the islands near the continent, where is now the town of Nombre de Dios; and because all those small islands were full of grain, he called it Puerto de Bastimentos; that is, the Port of Provisions."

At this place a boat pursued a canoe full of Indians and failed to catch even one of them after they took to the water; "or if it did happen to overtake one, he would dive like a duck, and come up again a bow shot or two from the place."

Columbus remained at Bastimentos, mending his ships, until the 23d, when he sailed east to a place called Guaiga. "there being another of the same name between *Veragua* and *Cerago*." [Caravaró, or Almirante Bay]. Here were found three hundred Indians on the beach, "ready to trade for such provisions as they have, and some small things of gold they wore hanging at their ears and noses." The Admiral made no stay here, and Saturday, the 24th of November, on account of rough weather, put into a little cove, which he named *Retrete*. "that is, Retired Place, because it could not contain above five or six ships together, and the mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty paces over, and on both sides of it rocks appearing

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above the water as sharp as diamonds, and the channel between them was so deep that they found no bottom." The fleet continued here during nine days of bad weather. The Indians were friendly, but the Christians stole away from the ships, and, "like covetous, dissolute men, committed a thousand insolences," which brought on some skirmishes between them. The vessels were so near the shore, and the natives so threatening, that Columbus ordered some cannon fired to terrify them; but they had become skeptical of the heavenly origin of the white men, and answered with shouts and defiant gestures. "Therefore, to abate their pride, and make them not contemn the Christians, the Admiral caused a shot to be made at a company of them that was got together upon a hillock, and the ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible there was a thunderbolt, as well as thunder; so that for the future they durst not appear even behind the mountains."

Perceiving he could make no progress against the violent east and northeast winds, the Admiral determined to run back to Veragua and investigate for himself the richness of the mines. On Monday, the 5th of December, he left *El Retrete*,³ and that night was back again at *Puerto Bello*, ten leagues to the west. The next day he continued his course; but, instead of being hurried along by the strong east winds which he had combated for the last three months, he now faced gales from the west, which led Columbus to call this the Coast of Changing Winds—*Costa de Contrastes*. The Admiral, in his letter to the King and Queen, says:

"For nine days I wandered as one lost, without hope of salvation. Never have eyes seen the sea so high and ugly, or so much foam. The wind was not available for making headway, and did not permit us to run for any shelter. There I was, held in that sea turned into blood and seething like a cauldron upon a huge fire. So awesome a sky was never seen; for a day and a night it blazed like a furnace, vomiting forth sheets and bolts of lightning, until, after each one, I looked to see whether it had not carried away my masts and sails. With such frightful fury they fell upon us that we all believed the ships would founder. During the whole time the water never ceased falling from the skies; not in what would be called rain, but rather as though another Deluge were upon us. My people were already so

³ Puerto del Retrete, afterwards called Escribanos, was the Port Scrivan of English writers of buccaneer history. This description by Fernando Colon tallies with that by Lionel Wafer, surgeon of the Buccaneers.



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COLUMBUS ENCOUNTERS GREAT STORMS OFF VERAGUA. HIS BROTHER, DON BARTOLOMÉ COLÓN, FIRST ADELANTADO OF THE INDIES

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worn out that they courted death, to be free from such continued martyrdom. The ships, for the second time, lost boats, anchors, cables, and sails, and were leaking. When it was our Lord's pleasure, I sought Puerto Gordo, and there repaired as well as I could."

His son Fernando, who was with him, graphically describes the dangers of the sea when he writes: "For in such dreadful storms, they dread the fire in flashes of lightning, the air for its fury, the water for the terrible waves, and the earth for the hidden rocks and sands which sometimes a man meets with near the port where he hoped for safety, and not knowing them, chooses rather to contend with the other elements in whom he has less share."

Don Fernando further relates that on Tuesday, the 13th of December, they were in danger of a water-spout, but dissolved it by saying the Gospel of St. John. That same night they lost sight of the *Biscaina*, and did not see her again for three dreadful days. A day's calm gave the men a little rest, but brought multitudes of sharks, dreadful to behold, especially for the superstitious. Nevertheless, they catch some, and are glad to eat the meat, instead of the mouldy biscuits infested with maggots. Many of the seamen waited till night to eat their pottage that they might not see the maggots; "and others were so used to eat them that they did not mind to throw them away when they saw them, because they might lose their supper if they were so very curious."

Father and son call the same place by different names. The Admiral generally uses the name he gave the port, and Fernando cites the Indian designation, which, with erroneous dates, cause some confusion between the two accounts. The *Puerto Gordo* of Columbus is usually stated to be Puerto Bello; but I figure it to be our Limon (Colon) Bay, three leagues east of *Pennon*, which I identify with the mouth of the Chagres river.

Fernando Colon calls Puerto Gordo, *Huiva*, and this is what he says about it: "Upon Saturday, the 17th, the Admiral put into a port three leagues east of *Pennon*, which the Indians called *Huiva*. It was like a great bay, where we rested three days, and going ashore, saw the inhabitants dwell upon the tops of trees, like birds, laying sticks across from bough to bough, and building huts upon them rather than houses. Though we knew not the reason of this strange custom, yet we guessed it was done for fear of the griffins there are in that country, or of enemies; for all along that coast the people at every league distance are great enemies to one another."

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The fleet sailed from Huiva on the 20th, and immediately encountered another tempest, which drove them into "another port," whence they departed again the third day. Contrary winds again drove them back and forth between Pennon and Veragua, and "not daring to encounter the opposition of Saturn," as indicated by the almanac, the Admiral put into "that port where we had been before on Thursday, the 12th of the same month." Columbus writes: "This was on Christmas day, about the hour of mass."

Writers commonly say that the Admiral again sought shelter in Puerto Bello, but I believe this port was the Pennon of Don Fernando, which I reckon to be the mouth of the Chagres. Here the Spaniards spent the last of the old and the first of the new year. They repaired the ship called *Gallega*, and took aboard abundance of Indian wheat (maize), water and wood. On the 3d of January, 1503, they made another start for Veragua.

"Upon Thursday, being the Feast of the Epiphany,⁴ we cast anchor near a river which the Indians call *Yebra* [also written *Hiebra*], and the Admiral named *Belem*, or *Bethlem*, because we came to that place upon the feast of the three Kings. He caused the mouth of that river, and of another westward, to be sounded; the latter the Indians call Veragua, where he found but shoal water, and in that of Belem four fathom at high water." On the bar of the Rio Belen, however, there were but ten palms (eighty-inches) of water; but the two smaller caravels, the flagship, and the *Biscaina*, manage to cross it, and enter the river on January 9th; followed the next day, at high tide, by the other two vessels. This was fortunate, as it again turned stormy; which would have prevented crossing the bar.

A short distance within the river was a village, the Indians of which assembled to hinder the landing of the Christians; but they were soon pacified, and bartered fish and gold for pins and the little bells they loved so much. The third day after reaching Belen the Admiral sent his brother, the Adelantado, around by sea in boats to the Veragua river, one league to the west, where dwelt the *Quibian* (called *Quibio* by Don Fernando), or head chief of the Indians of this region. The chieftain and his warriors come down the river in canoes to meet the strangers, and fight if necessary, but the Indian guides from up the coast tell him about the Spaniards, and he receives

⁴ January 6th, 1503. The Admiral called the port Belen, "because the day on which the Wise Men found shelter in that Holy Place."

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Don Bartolomé in a dignified and friendly manner.³ Gifts are exchanged, and the Quibian and his people parted with twenty golden plates, or mirrors, some tubes of gold, and nuggets of native gold, which they said were collected upon remote and rough mountains, "and that when they gathered it they did not eat, nor carry women along with them, which same thing the people of Hispaniola said when it was first discovered." Next day the Quibian returned the visit, and discoursed about an hour with the Admiral, aboard his ship.

Columbus relates that it rained continuously until February 14th; but on Wednesday, the 24th of January, the Belen shower rose so suddenly that the Spaniards believed some great shower had fallen on the mountains of Veragua, "which the Admiral called St. Christopher's, because the highest of them was above the region of the air where meteors are bred; for no cloud was ever seen above, but all below it." This flood drove the *Capitana* foul of the *Gallega*, lying astern, bringing the foremast by the board, and nearly wrecking both ships. It also partly filled up the channel with sand and silt, so that the vessels could not now leave the river if they wished to do so. The bad weather continued for some time, during which they caulked and repaired the ships.

When it turned calmer, on Monday, the 6th of February, Don Bartolomé, with sixty-eight men, started out in the rain, and rowed by sea to the Veragua river. A league and a half up this stream he arrived at the village of the Quibian, who received the Adelantado hospitably, and entertained him the next day with accounts of the mines. "On Wednesday they

³Of the Quibian, Bancroft writes as follows: "He is tall, well-modelled, and compactly built, with restless searching eyes, but otherwise expressionless features, taciturn and dignified, and, for a savage, of exceptionally bland demeanor. We shall find him as politic as he is powerful; and as for his wealth, unfortunately for him, his domain includes the richest gold mines of that rich coast. On the whole, the Quibian is as fine a specimen of his race as the adelantado is of his. And thus they are fairly met, the men of Europe and the men of North America; and as in the gladiatorial combat, which opens with a smiling salutation, this four-century life-struggle begins with friendly greetings. Pity it is, they are outwardly not more evenly matched; pity it is, that the European with his civilization, saltpetre, Christianity and bloodhounds, his steel weapons, and strange diseases, should be allowed to do his robbery so easily! But ravenous beasts and bloody bipeds are so made that they do not hesitate to take advantage of the helpless; it is only civilized man, however, that calls his butcherings by pleasant names, such as progress, piety, and makes his religion and his law conform to his heart's unjust desires."

History of Cent. Amer., Vol. I., p. 219.

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traveled four leagues and a half, and came to lie near a river, which they passed forty-four times, and the next day advanced a league and a half towards the mines shewed them by Indians sent by Quibio to guide them. In two hours time after they came thither every man gathered some gold about the roots of the trees which were there very thick and of a prodigious height. This sample was much valued, because none of those that went had any tools to dig, or had ever gathered any. Therefore, the design of their journey being only to get information of the mines, they returned very well pleased that same day to Veragua, and the next to the ships."

Only those of my readers who have hiked and scrambled through the jungles of the Isthmus can picture these poor, tired white men, many no doubt in cuirass and helmet, carrying sword, buckler, arquebus, and cross-bow, toiling and sweating after their fleet-footed guides. It is probable that the Quibian had heard of the doings of the Spaniards in Haiti, and he was wise enough to conduct them out of his own domain, and show the mines belonging to his enemy, the chief of *Urira* (*Hurirá*). From an elevation the guides pointed out the mineral lands of the other chieftains, and proclaimed that at the end of twenty days' journey to the westward one would still be among them.

The report of his brother was so confirmatory of the wealth of this region that Columbus determined to leave a garrison to hold the country; while he went back to Spain for reinforcements. He believed that the gold of Veragua would fully atone with Ferdinand for his failure to find a strait leading to India. In his letters to the King and Queen, from aboard his water-logged wrecks on the shores of Jamaica, in the following July, the Admiral writes:

"One thing I can venture upon stating, because there are so many witnesses of it, viz: that in this land of Veragua I saw more signs of gold in the two first days than I saw in Española during four years, and that there is not a more fertile or better cultivated country in all the world, nor one whose inhabitants are more timid; added to which there is a good harbor, a beautiful river, and the whole place is capable of being easily put in a state of defense."

In that same letter he contended that the mines of Aurea were identical with those of Veragua, from which, according to Josephus, came the gold left by David to Solomon wherewith to build the Temple. Columbus further adds: "They say that when one of the lords of the country of Veragua dies, they bury all the gold he possessed with his body."

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On Thursday, the 14th of February, Don Bartolomé, with forty men on shore and fourteen more in a boat, made a reconnoissance along the coast to the west, to see if he could find a better site than the Belen river for a settlement. The next day the party reached the river of *Urirá*, seven leagues from Belen; and the cacique of that territory came a league from his town to meet the white men, and offer them provisions and golden plates. "Whilst they were here the cacique and chief men never ceased putting a dry herb into their mouths and chewing it, and sometimes they took a sort of powder they carried with that herb, which looks very odd." Christians and Indians went together to the village of the latter, where the Spaniards were given abundance of food and a great house to lie in.

While at *Urirá* the chief of the neighboring town of *Dururi* called upon the Adelantado, and his people "trucked" some gold plates for European trifles. These Indians said that further on were caciques who had plenty of gold and abundance of men armed like the Spaniards. The following day Don Bartolomé ordered a part of his men to return by land to the ships, and he, with thirty he kept with him, journeyed to *Zobrabá* (*Cobrava*), "where the fields for about six leagues were all full of maize." Thence he went to *Catebá* (*Cotiba*), another town, where he was well entertained, and exchanged trinkets for the golden plates they wore hanging from a string about the neck.

Finding no port, nor any river bigger than the Belen, the Adelantado returned on the 24th, and so reported to the Admiral. Accordingly, Columbus gave orders to establish his colony on the River Belen, "about a cannon shot from the mouth of it, within a trench that lies on the right hand, coming up the river, at a mouth of which there is a little hill."

A large storehouse was constructed, in which were placed provisions, goods for barter with the Indians, and several pieces of cannon and ammunition. About this building eight or ten huts were erected, made of timber and covered with palm leaves. Columbus gave the command of the settlement to his brother, Don Bartolomé, and eighty men, more than half the number on the ships, were assigned to remain as a garrison. The ship *Gallega* was left for the use of the Adelantado, with a lot of fishing tackle on her, besides the stores of wine, biscuit, oil, vinegar, cheese, and much grain.

All things were now settled for the Christian colony, but the mouth of the river remained so choked up with sand that the Admiral could not depart with his ships. The natives, of course, noted the actions of the Spaniards, and understood their

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intention to stay in their country. Gifts were liberally distributed to the Quibian and his people, and, apparently, all was peaceful.

Columbus was a poor judge of human nature, and was never alert to evil designs of either white men or red men; but not so Diego Mendez, the notary of the fleet. In the latter's will, made in Valladolid in June, 1536, he tells how he observed a number of canoes passing the mouth of the Belen, going always in the direction of Veragua; which suspicious incident he reported to the Admiral. He then led a boat-load of armed men after the canoes, and came upon a thousand dusky warriors on the seashore between the two rivers. The Indians explained their gathering by saying they were about to attack the people of Cobrara Aurira (Cobravá); but when Mendez offered to join them they declined so promptly that he was convinced the real point of attack was the new settlement on the Belen.

Next day, with only Rodrigo de Escobar to accompany him, Mendez made a scout on foot. At the mouth of the Veragua he met two canoes filled with strange Indians, who warned him that in two days the Veraguans intended to attack the white men and burn their houses. Nothing daunted, the notary bribed these Indians to paddle him up the river to the royal house of the Quibian, which he found on a hilltop, occupying the side of a plaza surrounded by the heads of three hundred of his enemies. The King claimed to be suffering from an arrow wound in the leg, and Mendez pretended to be a surgeon come to heal him. Exhibiting a box of ointment, and boldly approaching the entrance of the royal household, he was met by the Quibian's son, who angrily pushed him away. Mendez then calmly took a seat, brought forth comb, scissors, and mirror, and directed Escobar to trim his hair. This performance first astonishes, then charms the surrounding natives. The young chieftain begs to have his hair cut likewise, and when presented with the cunning instruments he and Mendez part in seeming friendship.

Don Fernando does not mention this ridiculous and foolhardy adventure; but, even if true, I fail to see what benefit resulted from it.

It being evident that the Quibian intended to attack the Spaniards, it was thought fit to seize him and his principal men and send them to Spain. On March 30th the Adelantado, with seventy-six men, went to the village of Veragua. The Quibian sent him word not to come up to his house; but Don Bartolomé,

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with only five men, kept on to the entrance thereof, where another messenger bid him not to enter; that the Quibian, though wounded, would make his appearance.

"Accordingly he came and sat at the door, bidding only the lieutenant come near him, who did so, ordering the rest to fall on as soon as he laid hold of his arm." Through an Indian he had taken along, the Adelantado questioned the chieftain concerning his indisposition, and, pretending to look at the wound, grasped him securely. His companions hurried to the assistance of Don Bartolomé, and Mendez fired his musket, which scared the Indians, and called up the main body of the Spaniards.

Besides the Quibian, a number of his captains, wives, and children were captured, "and never a one wounded, for they, seeing their King taken, would make no resistance." The natives, amid great lamentation, offer a great treasure to be set free; but the Adelantado hurried his prisoners to the boats to be carried back to the ships. The captives were placed in charge of Juan Sanchez de Cadiz, a pilot of good reputation, who volunteered for the honor. Sanchez was cautioned not to allow the cacique to escape, and he boastingly answered "he would give them leave to pull off his beard if he got from him. So he took him into his custody, and went down the river of Veragua. Being come within half a league of the mouth of it, and Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, Juan Sanchez, out of compassion, loosed him from the seat of the boat to which he was tied, and held the rope in his hand. A little after, Quibio observing he did not mind him, threw himself into the water; and Juan Sanchez, not being able to hold fast the rope, let go that he might not draw him after into the water. Night coming on, and those in the boat being all in a confusion, they could not see or hear where he got ashore, so that they heard no more of him than if a stone had fallen into the water. That the like might not happen with the rest of the prisoners, they held on their way to the ships with much shame for their carelessness and oversight."

The Adelantado, with the greater part of his men, remained at Veragua to pursue the Indians; but finding their houses far apart, and the country woody and mountainous, he returned to Belen on the following day. The gold plates, coronets, eagles, and little quills plundered from the Quibian's house, amounting to three hundred ducats, were presented to the Admiral, who, after deducting the royal fifth, divided the remainder among the members of that expedition, the Adelantado, in token of victory, receiving one of the golden twists, or

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the last seen of the selfish and stubborn, but brave, captain. Shortly after, pieces of the boats came floating down the river, together with the corpses of some of his men, each attended by a lot of vultures.

The next day Juan de Noya, of Seville, one of the pilots of the *Viscaino*, badly wounded, came crawling into the settlement, the sole survivor of the unfortunate party. He told how they had been attacked, about a league above the colony, by a multitude of Indians in canoes, who cast their javelins from all sides and made a most hideous noise with their horns. Captain Tristan fought bravely, being wounded in many places, till at last a spear pierced his eye, and he fell dead. In the height of the fray Juan tumbled out of his boat and swam under water to the shore, without being observed by the Indians, and so saved his life.

The situation of the small party at Belen was now extremely critical, and they would have left the river on the *Gallego* had not the heavy surf again filled the channel with sand. Neither they nor the Admiral had a boat capable of crossing the bar, and the two parties were miles apart and invisible to each other.

Flushed with victory, the Quibian again turned his attention to Belen. The jungle resounded to the noise of war-drums and conchs, and for several days he besieged the handful of white men. When almost exhausted, the latter abandoned their buildings and moved to an open beach to the eastward, close by the caravel, where a breastwork was made with the casks and stores, and the cannon planted at convenient places for defense. They were now out of range of the arrows unless the Indians exposed themselves by coming out of the woods.

In the meantime, Columbus, racked with pains and filled with anxiety, waited for the return of Tristan, or some message from his brother. His ships were eaten up by the teredo, and at any time a storm might drive them upon the lee shore. To add to his troubles, the Indian prisoners, kept in the hold of the *Bermuda*, piled up the stones used for ballast, one night, upon which they mounted and threw off the hatch, and with it their guards, sleeping thereon. Many got out and sprang overboard, no doubt reaching the land in safety. Those not able to escape, preferring death to captivity, hung themselves from the deck-beams, which, being low, the poor Indians had to draw up their legs in order to stretch their miserable necks. Others there were who simply attached the end of the noose to their foot and slowly strangled themselves to death.

The escape of the family and friends of the Quibian

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removed any hold the Admiral might have upon the chieftain of Veragua, but it likewise solved the problem of how to communicate with the shore. Some of the sailors affirmed that if the Indians could swim a league to land to obtain liberty, they could risk going through the surf to save themselves and comrades. Pedro de Ledesma, a pilot of Seville, was the one to make the attempt. In the only remaining boat, that of the *Bermuda*, he was rowed up to within a musket-shot of land, when he threw himself into the water, "and with a good heart got ashore." After some time he came back through the breakers to the waiting boat, and reported to the Admiral the disaster to Tristan and the serious plight of the colony.

Nearly the entire voyage Columbus was so invalided that he seldom went ashore; but delegated his authority to his brother, Don Bartolomé. While lying off the Belen, worried about the fate of his men and the safety of his ships, Columbus, tired out and sick in both body and mind, fell into a sleep, as he calls it, and experienced what historians have called his "vision." It was a dreamland hallucination of hearing and not of sight, as the word vision would indicate. Considerable incredulity has been expressed as to the genuineness of this so-called "vision," but I believe it to have been a very natural result of his poor physical and abnormal mental conditions.

The Admiral, in his report of this voyage, states that he had a strong fever, and that his wound—probably a reminder of his pirate days—reopened. He felt that all was lost. "I toiled up to the highest part of the ship, and with a quivering voice and fast-falling tears, I called upon your Highness' war-captains from each point of the compass to come to my succor, but there was no reply." He then fell asleep, during which a compassionate voice likened him to Moses, David, and Abraham, and concluded by saying: "Fear not, trust; all these tribulations are recorded on marble, and not without cause." Don Fernando makes no mention of this incident, or of anything unusual happening to his father at this time.

Understanding the situation of those ashore, and the danger of leaving his colony as planned, Columbus gave orders to bring off his men and supplies. Diego Mendez, who was with the Adelantado, was put in charge of the work. It being impossible to get the *Gallega* out of the river, the ship was dismantled, and her spars lashed across some canoes, forming a sort of catamaran. Out of her sails Mendez made sacks for carrying the biscuit and other stores. In eight days the weather mended so much that they could pass out with the improvised trans-

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port, towing the oil, wine, and vinegar casks with ropes. All used such diligence that in two days nothing was left behind but the worm-eaten hulk of the *Gallega*. Seven trips were required to transfer the goods, Diego Mendez, with five men, being the last to leave. He affirmed that the Admiral was so pleased with his labors that he kissed and embraced him, and gave him the vacant captaincy of the flagship.

The settlement of Bethlehem (Nuestra Señora de Belen), on the Bethlehem river (Santa Maria de Belen), perhaps the first attempt of the Spaniards to obtain a footing on the continent of the New World, was even more short-lived than Navidad, their first settlement on Haiti. Columbus writes: "I departed, in the name of the Holy Trinity, on Easter night, with the ships rotten, wornout, and eaten in holes."

From my study of the subject, as shown in a later chapter, I give the credit for the first attempt at settlement to Ojeda, for his effort at Bahia Honda, near the Gulf of Venezuela. "There is glory enough for all."

Again, taking up the narrative of Don Fernando, who says: "Thus rejoicing we were all together again, we sailed up that coast eastward; for though all the pilots were of opinion that we might return to St. Domingo, standing away to the north, yet only the Admiral and his brother knew it was requisite to run a considerable way up that coast before they struck across that gulf that is between the continent and Hispaniola, which our men were much displeased at, thinking the Admiral designed directly for Spain; whereas, he neither had provisions, nor were his ships fit for that voyage." For the third time Columbus passed the Chagres river and Limon Bay, and entered Puerto Bello. The ship *Biscaina* was leaking so badly that she was abandoned here, where her anchor was found a few years later by Diego de Nicuesa, who likewise met disaster on this coast. From Puerto Bello the Admiral continued to the east, passing Bastimentos, El Retrete, and Punta San Blas. Beyond this point was the country of the cacique Pocorosa, and opposite the main was a string of islets, which Columbus named *Las Barbas* (now known as *Las Mulatas*), where he spent a night at anchor. The Admiral kept on along the Isthmus for ten leagues farther, and at the region which

*"Y este fué el primer pueblo que se hizo españoles en tierra firme puesto que luego desde a poco vino en nada." Comment of Las Casas on his transcription of the Journal of Columbus.

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Fernando Colon calls *Marmora* turned northward for Hispaniola, on the 1st day of May, 1503.¹

Writers commonly state that Columbus sailed as far east as Cabo Tiburon, and that he saw the Gulf of Darien (Urabá); but I doubt if he went east of Punta Mosquito. He still believed that a strait existed somewhere in this region, and it is hardly probable that he would have failed to investigate, or at least to mention seeing, this body of water, which extends into the land towards the south, and looks so much as if it ought to be a strait.

Columbus tells us that he did not wish his pilots to know the location of Veragua, and to accomplish this, according to Porras, he took from them the charts.

Still another reason for sailing so far to the east was to overlap the western limits of the voyage of Rodrigo de Bastidas, who sailed along the eastern half of the Isthmus, in 1501. When stopping at Santo Domingo, on the outward voyage, the Admiral or his captains heard something of the route followed by Bastidas; and from Porto Bello eastward he found evidences of a former visit by white men.

When Columbus departed from the Isthmus, in the region of Punta Mosquito, all hands were working with pumps and kettles to keep the two ships from being swamped by the water which was coming in through the holes made by the worms. On Wednesday, the 10th of May, they passed two low, small islands, full of turtles, for which reason the Admiral named them Tortugas, probably the Little Caymans of modern maps. Though all the pilots said the course would carry them east of the Caribbee Islands, yet the Admiral feared, on account of the westerly winds and currents, that he would not be able to make Hispaniola, which proved to be the case, for he was now not only west of Hispaniola, but also west of Jamaica; and

¹ Columbus, in his letter from Jamaica, 7th of July, 1503, gives a different name and date. "On the 13th of May I arrived at the province of Mago, which borders upon that of Catayo, and from there I departed for Española." Obviously, Mago and Catayo stand for Mangi and Cathay, and were not names of regions along the Isthmus of Panama. The Admiral may have really believed that he had arrived at these Asiatic provinces; but more likely he was deceiving the authorities at home as to the location of Veragua and neighboring regions. In fact, in this same incoherent letter, Columbus defines his pilots to say "where is the situation of Veragua." In addition to gathering up all the charts in the fleet, the Admiral took a book describing the places visited, from Pedro Mateos, a sailor on the Gallego, who testified to the fact in Court in after years. A few years later, Diego de Nicuesa did find it difficult to locate Veragua.

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on the evening of the following Friday, Columbus found himself among the familiar islets of the Queen's Gardens, still known as the *Jardines*, off the south coast of Cuba, near the Isle of Pines. While at anchor, ten leagues from the main, a great storm arose in the night and drove the *Bermuda* into the stern of the *Capitana*, to the injury of both.

From here, the Admiral sailed eastward for Hispaniola, along the shore of Cuba, and came to an Indian town, called Mataia, where he obtained some much-needed provisions. The winds and currents still setting to the west, and the water in the ships being almost up to the deck, Columbus gave up hope of reaching Hispaniola and headed for Jamaica. On the 24th of June he put into Puerto Bueno, in the northwest corner of Jamaica, which was a good harbor, but had no fresh water nor any Indian village near it at which to get food. "On the day after the Feast of St. John," the Admiral managed to get his ships into another harbor, a few miles farther east, which he had visited in 1494, and named *Santa Gloria*. Here, on the 25th day of June, 1503, the two foundering caravels, the *Capitana* and the *Bermuda* (Santiago), were run aground about a bow-shot from land, and the active life of Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean Sea, came to an end. *Santa Gloria* is now called St. Ann's Bay, and the sandy shore on which he beached his vessels is yet known as Don Christopher's Cove.

The ships lay board to board, and were shored up so that they could not budge. Sheds were built on deck, poop, and forecastle for the protection of the men, and Columbus spent a weary year waiting for succor from Santo Domingo.*

In July, Diego Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman who had been captain of the forsaken *Biscaina*, made the perilous trip to Haiti in two canoes, each manned by six sailors and ten Indians. The second night from Jamaica, when nearly exhausted, the rising moon disclosed "a small island called *Nabazza*" (now Navassa), where they landed the next morning and secured rain-water from holes in the rocks, the thirsty Indians drinking so much of it that some of them

* There was no white settlement, as yet, on Jamaica, as Juan de Esquivel, by order of Admiral Diego Colon, did not make an entry into this island until November, 1509. Columbus and his party certainly acted very foolishly at this time,—the Admiral in stubbornly trying to hold together his party on the stranded hulks; the mutineers in attacking Columbus when it was evident there was nothing to gain.

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died on the spot. Mendez⁹ struck a fire and cooked some shellfish, which they found along the shore. Having rested and refreshed themselves, they set out again about sun-setting, in the cool of the evening, and the next morning arrived at Cape St. Michael, the nearest land of Haiti.

"Notwithstanding he suffered under a quartan ague," Mendez traveled across the mountains of Xaragua until he found Ovando, butchering the subjects of the queenly *Anacaona*, whom he hanged shortly afterwards. The Governor had neither the desire nor time to devote to the relief of the old Admiral, and proceeded with his killing. The faithful Mendez then went to the town of Santo Domingo, and with Diego de Salcedo, the agent of Columbus, succeeded, after nearly a year, in purchasing with the Admiral's money a vessel with which to go to his relief.

Meanwhile, the Admiral found great difficulty in getting the natives to furnish supplies for his men, and at one time utilized his knowledge of astronomy to foretell an eclipse of the moon to the caciques, in order to extract greater quantities from them.

One day, in March, a caravel came to Santa Gloria, bringing a messenger, or spy, from Ovando, one Diego de Escobar, whom Columbus had previously condemned to death for the part he took in the Roldan rebellion. He gave the Admiral a letter from Ovando, with "a cask of wine and two fitches of bacon," and mysteriously hurried away.

On the 2d of January, 1504, the two brothers, Francisco and Diego de Porras, headed a mutiny and deserted the Admiral, followed by forty-eight of his men. They made a futile attempt to reach Hispaniola, and then roamed over Jamaica, robbing and insulting the natives. Tiring of this, the mutineers decided to attack the ships and make prisoners of Columbus and his brother. About a mile from the two stranded vessels, near the Indian village of Maima,¹⁰ on the 19th of May, the rebels

⁹ The Admiral appreciated the great services of Diego Mendez, and granted his request to be appointed to the office of Alguacilazgo Mayor of the island of Española for life. Soon after this, Columbus died, and Diego Colon paid scant heed to the wishes of his father. Oviedo relates that the Catholic King gave Mendez for arms a lonely canoe upon the sea.

¹⁰ "Where afterwards the Christians built the town they called Sevilla," writes Don Fernando.

By order of the Admiral Don Diego Colon, Juan de Esquivel, in November, 1509, proceeded to Jamaica, and brought the natives to subjection without the effusion of blood. On the site of the Indian village

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were met and defeated by the Adelantado and fifty loyal adherents. This was the first fight between white men on the island of Jamaica. Francisco de Porras was captured, and among the dead mutineers was Juan Sanchez, who allowed the Quibian to escape at Veragua. The pilot, Pedro de Ledesma, "who went with Vicente Yañez [Pinzon] to Honduras, and swam ashore at Belen," also a rebel, was almost hacked to pieces, but was nursed back to life by barber-surgeon Mark, and lived to be assassinated in Spain. The Adelantado was wounded in the hand by the sword of Francisco de Porras as it pierced his buckler; and Pedro de Terreros, the loyal captain of the *Gallega*, was killed.

A few weeks later, the ship purchased by Mendez, and another sent by Ovando in response to public opinion, arrived at Santa Gloria. June 28, 1504. Columbus and his crews departed for St. Domingo, but encountered westerly winds and currents, as usual, and it was not until the 13th of August that they reached their destination. The people welcomed the Admiral with distinction, and he was lodged in the Governor's house. On the 12th of September he sailed for Spain, and after a tempestuous voyage anchored in the harbor of San Lucar, on the 7th of November. That same month his friend, Queen Isabella, died, and Columbus received but scant consideration from the wily Ferdinand.

The Admiral urged his claims against the Crown, but was never restored to his vicerealty; nor did he receive the share of the profits from the Indies granted him under the royal seal. "It was believed," observes Las Casas, "that if the King could have done so with a safe conscience, and without detriment to his fame, he would have respected few or none of the privileges which he and the Queen had conceded to the Admiral, and which had been so justly merited."

Worn out with disease and disappointment, he made a codicil to his will, bequeathing all his titles and privileges to his son Diego, and prepared for death. After receiving the sacrament, he said, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." Columbus "gave up his soul to God on Ascension Day, being the 20th of May, 1506." He died in Valladolid, in an inn, the room of which is still pointed out. Above his death-bed hung

of Maima, Esquivel founded the pueblo of *Nueva Sevilla*, where a few years later he died and was buried. In more recent times the town had disappeared, the location being occupied by the Seville sugar plantation.

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the chains in which he had returned to Spain, in 1500, and which, in conformity to his wishes, were buried with him.

The remains of Columbus have experienced the same vicissitudes of fortune that followed the Admiral in life. At first his body was interred in the Convent of St. Francisco, in Valladolid, and a few years later was moved to the Carthusian Monastery of Las Cuevas, in Seville. Here also, in 1526, was deposited the body of his son, Don Diego Colon. On the petition of Doña Maria de Toledo, widow of Don Diego, about 1540, the remains of both Admiral and son were transported to Santo Domingo, Hispaniola. It is probable that Don Bartolomé, and the two sons of Don Diego, Luis and Cristobal, likewise found sepulchre in Santo Domingo.

By the treaty of Basle, in 1795, Spain ceded to France all her title to Hispaniola, "the cradle of her greatness in the New World"; so the Duke of Veragua, lineal descendant of Columbus, and the Spanish authorities, decided to again remove the ashes of the Admiral, and bear them to Cuba, in order to preserve the sacred relics under the Spanish flag. A small vault on the right, or Gospel, side of the high altar of the cathedral was opened, wherein were found some dust and fragments of bones, supposed to be the remains of Columbus. The crumbling bones were carried on the warship *San Lorenzo* to Havana; and in January, 1796, reinterred, with pomp and ceremony, in the wall of the presbytery of the cathedral in that city.

However, in the year 1877, a tomb was uncovered in the Cathedral at Santo Domingo, which contained a leaden box, holding human vestiges, and also a bullet. From the inscriptions on the casket, as well as from its location, these were judged to be the true relics of Christopher Columbus; and the ashes taken to Cuba, in 1795, to have been those of his son, Don Diego Colon.

At present both Santo Domingo and Havana claim to possess the *restos*, or remains of Columbus.

Furthermore, it is affirmed that the Havana ashes, whosoever they be, were carried to Spain, in 1898, before the occupation of the city by United States troops.

Relacion de la gente é navios que llevó á descubrir el Almirante Don Cristobal Colon.

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CARABELA CAPITANA.

Diego Tristan, capitan: falleció jueves seis de Abril de 1502 [3].
Ambrosio Sanchez, maestro.
Juan Sanchez, piloto mayor de la armada: falleció á 17 de Mayo de 1504.
Anton Donato, contra maestre.

MARINEROS.

Martin Dati.
Bartolomé Garcia: falleció domingo 28 de Mayo de 503 años.
Pero Rodriguez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503 años.
Juan Rodriguez.
Alonso de Almagro.
Pedro de Toledo.
Pedro de Maya: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503 años.
Juan Gomez.
Diego Roldan.
Juan Gallego.
Juan de Valencia: falleció sábado 13 de Enero de 504.
Gonzalo Rodriguez: falleció martes 4 de Abril de 503.
Tristan Perez Chinchorrero.
Rodrigo Vergayo.

ESCUDEROS.

Pedro Fernandez Coronel.
Francisco Ruiz.
Alonso de Zamora.
Guillermo Ginovés.
Masetre Bernal, Fisico.

GRUMETES.

Diego Portogalete: falleció miércoles á 4 de Enero de 503.
Martin Juan.
Donis de Galve.
Juan de Zumados.
Francisco de Estrada.
Anton Chavarin.
Alonzo, Criado de Mateo Sanchez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Grigorio Sollo: falleció miércoles 27 de Junio de 504.
Diego el Negro.
Pero Sanchez.
Francisco Sanchez.
Francisco de Moron.
Juan de Murcia.
Grigorio Ginovés.
Ferrando Dávila.
Alonso de Leon.
Juan de Miranda: falleció martes 11 de Abril de 503.
Garcia de Morales: quedó por doliénte en Cádiz; era criado del Almirante.
Juan Garrido: falleció á 27 de Febrero de 504.
Baltasar Daragon.

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OFICIALES DE NAO.

Martin de Arriera, tonelero.
Domingo Viscaino, calafate: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Diego Francés, carpintero.
Juan Barba, lombardero: falleció á 20 de Mayo de 504.
Mateo Bombardero: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Juan de Cuellar, trompeta.
Gonzalo de Salazar, trompeta.

CARABELA SANTIAGO DE PALOS.

Francisco de Porras, capitán.
Diego de Porras, escribano é oficial de la armada.
Francisco Bermudez, maestro.
Pero Gomez, contra maestre.

MARINEROS.

Rodrigo Ximon.
Francisco Domingo: falleció sábado 4 de Febrero de 503.
Juan de Quijo.
Juan Rodriguez: falleció á 6 de Abril de 503.
Juan de la Feria.
Juan Camacho.
Juan Grand.
Juan Reynaltes: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Diego Gomez.
Alonzo Martin.

ESCUDEROS.

Francisco de Farias.
Diego Mendez.
Pedro Gentil.
Andrea Ginovés.
Juan Jácome.
Batista Ginovés.

GRUMETES.

Gonzalo Ramirez.
Juan Bandrojin: falleció á 23 de Octubre de 503.
Diego Ximon.
Aparicio Donis: falleció jueves 1º de Junio de 503.
Alonzo Escarraman, Francisco Marquez y Juan de Mogues llevan sueldo de dos grumetes: el Alonzo falleció martes 23 de Enero de 504.
Alonso de Cea.
Pedro de Villatoro.
Ramiro Ramirez.
Francisco Dávila.
Diego de Mendoza.
Diego Cataño.

OFICIALES DE NAO.

Bartolomé de Milan, lombardero.
Juan de Noya, tonelero.
Domingo Darana, calafate: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Machin, carpintero.

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NAVIO GALLEGO.

Pedro de Terreros, capitan: falleció miércoles 29 de Mayo de 504.
Juan Quintero, maestre.

Alonso Ramon, contra maestre: falleció jueves á 6 de Abril de 503.

MARINEROS.

Rui Ferrandes.
Luis Ferrandes.
Gonzalo Garcia.
Pedro Mateos.
Julian Martin: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Diego Cabezudo.
Diego Delgado.
Rodrigalvares.

ESCUDEROS.

Gonzalo Camacho.

GRUMETES.

Pedro de Flandes.
Bartolomé Ramisez: falleció jueves 6 de Abril de 503.
Anton Quintero.
Bartolomé Dalza.
Gonzalo Flamenco.
Pedro Barranco.
Juan Galdi: falleció 9 de Setiembre de 504.
Alonso Peñac.
Esteban Mateos, page.
Diego de Satander.
García Polanco.
Juan Garcia.
Francisco de Medina, huyó en la Española, no se supo mas de él.
Juan de San Martin.

NAVIO VIZCAINO.

Bartolomé de Fresco, Ginovés, capitan.
Juan Perez, maestre: falleció sábado 7 de Octubre de 503.
Martin de Fuenterabia, contra maestre: falleció á 17 de Setiembre de 502 [3].

MARINEROS.

Pedro de Ledesma.
Juan Ferro.
Juan Moreno.
San Juan.
Gonzalo Diaz.
Gonzalo Gallego, huyó en la Isla Española y dijeron que habia fallecido.
Alonso de la Calle: falleció martes 23 de Mayo de 503.
Lope de Pego.

ESCUDEROS.

Fray Alejandro, en lugar de Escudero.
Juan Pasau, Ginovés.

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GRUMETES.

- Miguel de Lariaga: falleció sábado 17 de Setiembre de 502 [3].
Andrés de Sevilla.
Luis de Vargas.
Batista Ginovés.
Francisco de Levante.
Francisco de Córdoba, entró en lugar de un escudero, criado del Almirante, que se quedó en Sevilla. Se huyó en la Española á la ida, y está allá.
Pedro de Montesel.
Rodrigo de Escobar.
Domingo de Barbasta ó Narbasta: falleció martes 26 de Marzo de 504.
Pascual de Ausurraga.
Cheneco ó Cheulco, page.
Marco Surjano: falleció miércoles 11 de Setiembre de 504 años.
(*Navarrete—tomo 1, pags. 437-43.*)



Photo by the Author.

