



BOOK XIII.

THE SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

How letters reached Cortés [to say] that a certain Cristóbal de Tápia had arrived at the Port of Vera Cruz with two ships and was bringing commissions from His Majesty appointing him to rule New Spain, and what was decided and done about it.



AS soon as Cortés had despatched the Captains and soldiers, already named by me, to pacify and settle in the provinces, at that [very] time Cristóbal de Tápia the Veedor of the Island of Santo Domingo came with commissions from His Majesty, by advice and direction of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano (for so he was called), to take over the Government of New Spain.

Besides these commissions he brought many letters from the Bishop himself for Cortés and for many others of the conquistadores and of the captains who had come with Narvaez inducing them to support Cristóbal de Tápia. In addition to the letters which came closed and sealed by the Archbishop he brought many left blank, so that Tápia could write in them all that he wished, and could name such

soldiers and captains as might appear to suit his purpose. All these letters conveyed many promises from the Bishop to the effect that he would grant us great favour if we gave the Government to Tápia and in case we did not deliver it up to him, many threats, saying that His Majesty would send to chastise us.

Let us leave this ; Tápia exhibited his decrees before Gonzalo de Alvarado, the brother of Don Pedro de Alvarado, who at that time was Cortés's representative, for Rodrigo Rangel who used to be Alcalde Mayor had committed I know not what excesses and injustices, and Cortés had deprived him of his office. When the commissions were exhibited to Gonzalò de Alvarado he submitted to them and placed them on his head as the commissions and orders of our Lord and King, and as to complying with them, he said that he would assemble the Alcaldes and Regidores of the town and that they would talk it over and see how and in what way the decrees were obtained, and that they would obey them jointly, for he alone counted but as one person, and they would also see whether His Majesty was aware that such commissions had been sent. This reply did not suit Tápia very well and some persons, who were not on good terms with Cortés, advised him to go at once to Mexico where Cortés was stationed with most of the Captains and soldiers and that there they would yield obedience to the commissions.

In addition to presenting the commissions as I have stated, Tápia wrote to Cortés to the effect that he was coming as Governor. Cortés was too clever not to see through the graciousness of Tápia's letters, and not to observe on the one hand the offers and promises of the Bishop of Burgos, and on the other hand his threats, so that for all the many agreeable expressions he had received, Cortés sent him [Tápia] even pleasanter, more flattering and complimentary replies. Cortés promptly requested

and ordered certain of our Captains to go and see Tápia, and they went, namely Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Diego de Soto, he of Toro, and a Baldenebro and Andrés de Tápia, and Cortés sent post haste calling on them to suspend for the time the settlement of the provinces in which they were located and proceed to Villa Rica where Tápia was; and moreover he ordered a friar named Fray Pedro Megarejo de Urrea who was a good speaker, to go with them.

Tápia was already on his way to Mexico to see Cortés when he met the Captains and the Friar whom I have already named, and on account of the speeches and promises they made him he turned off the road to a town called Cempoala, and there they demanded of him that he should again exhibit his commissions so that they could see how and in what manner His Majesty had given the orders, for if his Royal Signature was attached to them, or he was cognizant of them, they would all of them with their breasts on the ground obey them in the name of Hernando Cortés and all New Spain for they were empowered to do so. Tápia again displayed the commissions and the Captains one and all kissed them and placed them on their heads as decrees of their Lord and King, but as to their being carried out, they [said they] would appeal to the Emperor our Lord [himself] who they said was not cognizant of them, nor of any events and that Tápia had not sufficient ability to be governor, and that the Bishop of Burgos was hostile to all of us conquistadores who were his Majesty's servants, and went on giving these orders without making a true report to His Majesty, and in order to favour Diego Velásquez and Tápia so as to marry him to a Fonseca, a niece or daughter of this same Bishop. When Tápia saw that neither words nor letters nor promises nor compliments were of any avail he fell ill from vexation, and those captains whom I have named

wrote to Cortés all that had taken place and advised him to send ingots and bars of gold so that by that means the fury of Tápia might be assuaged. These he sent post haste and they bought [from Tápia] some negros and three horses and one of the ships, and he embarked in the other ship for the Island of Santo Domingo whence he had set out. When he arrived there, the resident Royal Audiencia and the Geronomite Friars who were the Governors took careful note of his return and of the selfish means he had employed to enrich himself, and they were angry with him because, before he left Santo Domingo to go to New Spain, they had ordered him plainly not to think of going at that time, for it was sure to bring trouble and would break the thread of the conquest of Mexico ; but he would not obey on account of the support of the Bishop de Fonseca, and the Judges and Friars did not dare to act otherwise than according to the Bishop's orders, because he was the President of the [Council of the] Indies, and His Majesty was at that time in Flanders and had not come to Castile.

Let us leave this matter of Tápia and say how Cortés soon sent Pedro de Alvarado to make a settlement at Tututepeque which was a country rich in gold, and so that those who did not know the names of these towns may understand clearly, one is Tustepeque to which Sandoval went, and the other is Tututepeque where Pedro de Alvarado was now going. This I state so that I should not be accused of saying that two Captains went to settle in one and the same province. Cortés also sent to establish a settlement on the Rio de Panuco, because he had received news that Don Francisco de Garay was preparing a great fleet to come and settle it, for it appears that His Majesty had given Garay the Government [of that province] as I have more fully stated in former chapters which treat of the ships which he sent ahead, which were destroyed by

the Indians of this same province of Panuco. Cortés did this so that if Garay should arrive he would find the country already settled by Cortés himself.

Let us pass on and state how Cortés sent Rodrigo Rangel for a second time to be his representative at Villa Rica, and removed Gonzalo de Alvarado and ordered him at once to send the Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez, whom he held prisoner, to Coyoacan, where latterly Cortés had settled. For at that time Cortés resided at Coyoacan, and had not yet gone to settle in Mexico and was waiting until the houses and palaces in which he was going to live had been built. Cortés sent for Narvaez because, according to what has been reported of him, when the Veedor Cristóbal de Tápia arrived at Villa Rica with the decrees that I have mentioned, Narvaez spoke to Tápia and in a few words said to him, "Señor Cristóbal de Tápia, it seems to me that you ought to bring and you are bringing the same authority that I did, and observe what an end it has led me to, although I brought such a fine fleet; look out for your own safety, and do not lose any more time, Cortés has not come to the end of his luck, he knows why they are giving you gold. Go back to Castile and present yourself before His Majesty, especially enjoying as you do the support of the Bishop of Burgos you will not want for protection and helpers, and then report what is going on here, and this is the best [thing to do]."

Let us change this conversation, and I will relate that Narvaez set out at once for Mexico and beheld the great populations and cities, and arriving at Texcoco he was struck with wonder, also when he saw Coyoacan and he wondered all the more when he beheld the lake and the cities which are peopled in it, and last of all the great City of Mexico. When Cortés knew that he was coming he ordered great honour to be paid him and sent [a party] out to meet him, and when Narvaez came before him he

fell on his knees and tried to kiss his hands, but Cortés would not permit it, and raised him up and embraced him, and showed him much affection and ordered him to take a seat near him. Then Narvaez said "Señor Capitan, now I can say truly that the least of the things that you and your valiant soldiers have accomplished in New Spain was defeating me and taking me prisoner even if I had brought a greater force with me than I did bring, for I have seen so many great cities and lands that you have conquered and subjected to the service of God and of our Emperor, and you may congratulate yourself and hold yourself in as high estimation as I do, so say I, and so will say all the most renowned captains who are alive to-day, that one can place you ahead of the most famous and illustrious men who have lived in all the world, and that there is no other greater or stronger city than this of Mexico, and your Excellency and your soldiers deserve to receive the greatest favours of the hands of His Majesty" and he uttered many other flatteries which need not be repeated.

Cortés answered him that no power of ours could have done what we had accomplished but only the great mercy of God which always aided us, and the good fortune of our Caesar.

Let us leave this conversation and the promises which Narvaez made to Cortés, and I will relate how at that time Cortés went to settle the great City of Mexico, and he allotted the sites for the churches and monasteries and royal houses and plazas, and to all the settlers he gave lots, and let us not waste more time on the description of the way in which it is now built up, and according to the reports of many people who have been in many parts of Christendom, there had never been in the world another more populous or greater city of better houses inhabited by gentlemen, considering its character and the time at

which it was settled (let it be understood) by the poor conquistadores. While Cortés, as I have stated, was occupied in the laying out of the city, and was somewhat recovered from his fatigue, they brought him letters from Panuco [to say] that the whole province had risen in revolt, and they were very belligerent warriors for they had killed many of the soldiers whom he had sent to make settlements, and he must without delay send all the assistance he could. Cortés promptly decided to go in person, for although he might have wished to send some of our other captains, there were none of them in Mexico, for, as I have stated, we had all of us gone to other provinces. He took all the soldiers he was able to collect, and horsemen, crossbowmen and musketeers, for there had already arrived in Mexico many men from among those whom the Veedor Tápia had brought with him, and others were there who had accompanied Vásquez de Ayllon to Florida, and others who by that time had come from the Islands.

Leaving a good garrison in Mexico with Diego de Soto a native of Toro as captain, Cortés set out from Mexico. At that time there were no horseshoes, or only a very few for the many horses he was taking with him, for there were over one hundred and thirty persons on horseback, and two hundred and fifty soldiers in all including musketeers and crossbowmen and the horsemen. He also took with him ten thousand Mexicans. At that time Cristóbal de Olid had already returned from Michoacan for he had established peace there, and he brought with him many Caciques and the son of Caçonçi, for so he was called, who was the Lord in chief of all those provinces, and he brought much low grade gold, which was mixed with copper and silver.¹

¹ Blotted out in the original : and Cortés decided that from the low grade silver horseshoes and nails should be made.—G. G.

Cortés disbursed on that expedition to Panuco, a great quantity of pesos de oro and he afterwards demanded that His Majesty should repay him that expense, and the officials of His Majesty's treasury did not wish to receive the account nor to pay any of it, for they said that if he made that expedition and [incurred] that expense it was because he wished to gain possession of that province so that Don Francisco de Garay who was coming to conquer it should not have it, for the news had already been received that they were coming from the Island of Jamaica with a great fleet.

To go back to my story, I will relate how Cortés arrived with all his army at the province of Panuco and found the people at war, and he sent many times to summon them to peace and they would not come. He had many warlike encounters with them and in two battles in which they stood up to him, they killed three soldiers and wounded more than thirty and killed four horses, and many others were wounded, and more than two hundred of the Mexicans died, without counting another three hundred that were wounded. The Huastecs,¹ for so they call the Indians of these provinces, numbered over fifty thousand men when they gave battle to Cortés, but by the will of God they were defeated, and all the field where this battle took place, was closely strewn with dead and many wounded from among the natives of that province, so that they never rallied on that occasion to attack again.

Cortés remained for eight days in a town where those conflicts took place called² in order to cure the wounded and bury the dead, and supplies were plentiful.

In order to send once more and call the people to peace he despatched two Caciques, persons of importance from

¹ Guastecas in the text.

² Here the author has left a blank space.—G. G.

among those who had been taken prisoners in the battles, and through Doña Marina and Gerónimo de Aguilar whom Cortés always took with him, he made them a speech and asked them, how could all the people of those provinces hope to avoid submitting themselves as vassals of His Majesty, when they had seen and had heard the news, how with all the power of Mexico and its strength in warriors, the city had been destroyed and razed to the ground, and [he told them] to make peace promptly, and to have no fear, for he pardoned them for the deaths that had taken place, and he spoke these words to them with kindness, but he also used threats. As [the Indians] were cowed and many had been killed in the last battle, and they saw their towns laid waste by fire, they made peace, and all brought jewels of gold, although they were of little value, and presented them to Cortés who received them in peace with affection and caresses.

From this place Cortés went with half his army to a river called Chila¹ about five leagues from the sea, and he again sent messengers to all the towns on the other side of the river to summon them to make peace and they would not come, for, made fierce by the blood of the numerous soldiers killed two years earlier, (who came under the captains whom Garay had sent to settle on that river, as I have already stated in the chapter which treats of that subject,) they thought they could do the same with our army. As they were posted by three great lagoons and rivers and swamps which served them as a strong fortress, the reply they made was to slay two of the messengers whom Cortés had sent to treat for peace, and to make prisoners of the others. Cortés waited some days to see if they would change from their evil purpose, and as they did

¹ Chila is to the N. of the Rio Panuco, about 19 miles W. of Tampico,

not come, he sent for all the canoes that could be found in the river, and with them and some barges, made from the timbers of the old ships which had belonged to the captain whom Garay had sent and [the Indians] had killed, he sent one hundred and fifty soldiers, most of them musketeers and crossbowmen, across to the other side of the river by night, and fifty cavalry in canoes tied together two by two, so that they crossed over in a matter of and as the natives of those provinces keep watch over the passes and rivers, when they saw them, they allowed them to pass with the intention of killing them, and they were waiting for them on the other side.

If many Huastec Indians, for so they are called, had come together in the first battles that they had fought against Cortés, far greater numbers had been massed on this occasion, and they came on like rabid lions to fall on our men, and on the first encounter they killed two soldiers and wounded over thirty, and they also killed three horses and wounded fifteen others and many of the Mexicans, but our men fell on them so quickly that they could not hold the field and they were soon put to flight leaving behind a great number of dead and wounded. When this battle was over our men went to sleep at a pueblo from which the inhabitants had fled, and they camped there after posting sentinels, watchmen, patrols and spies, and food for supper was not wanting. As soon as the dawn came, when walking through the pueblo [our men] saw hanging up in a Cue and oratory of the Idols, many clothes and faces that had been flayed off and cured like glove leather, with the beards and hair [still adhering], which had belonged to the soldiers of the captains sent by Garay to make a settlement on the Rio Panuco who had been killed, and many of them were recognised by our soldiers who said that they were their friends, and the hearts of all were broken with grief at seeing them in this state, and they

took them down from where they were and carried them off for burial.

From that pueblo they went on to another place, and, as they knew how very warlike the people of that province were, they always marched with great caution and in fighting array so that they should not be taken unawares. It was reported by the scouts that some great squadrons of Indians were lying in ambush so that as soon as our men should dismount and go into the houses they might fall on the horses and on the men. As they had been found out, the Indians could not do as they intended, but all the same they sallied out very boldly and fought against our men like brave warriors and for more than half an hour the horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen and the Mexican Indians, could not force them to retreat or drive them off. They killed two horses and wounded seven others and they also wounded fifteen soldiers of whom three died of their wounds.

There was one thing remarkable about these Indians, that even when they were beaten, they turned and rallied to fight three times, a thing one has seldom seen among these people. When they saw that our people were wounding and killing them they fled for refuge to a rapid and flowing river, and the horsemen and light infantry went in pursuit and wounded many of them, while others decided to scour the country and go to other pueblos which were deserted, and in them they found many large jars of the wine of the country stored underground in places like cellars. They spent five days among these villages scouring the country, and as all of these were deserted and abandoned by their inhabitants, they returned to the river Achile.¹ Cortés again sent to summon all the pueblos on the other side of the river which were

¹ Chila?

still at war to make peace, and, as our troops had already killed many of them, the Indians feared our falling on them again, and for this reason they sent to say that they would come within four days, that they were seeking jewels of gold to present to him. Cortés waited the four days when they said that they would come, and as they did not come then, he promptly ordered [an attack to be made] on a very large pueblo situated near a lagoon, which was very strong on account of its swamps and rivers, . . . they were to cross the lagoon on a dark and drizzling night in numerous canoes which he had promptly ordered to be collected and tied together two by two and in other single ones, and on well-made rafts [steering] towards a part of the pueblo where they could neither be seen nor heard from the town itself, and many of our Mexican allies crossed without being seen and fell on the pueblo and destroyed it, and looted it and gained much spoil, and our allies carried off all the property that the natives possessed. When the Indians saw this, within five days nearly all the pueblos in the neighbourhood made peace, except some pueblos which were so far out of the way that our people were not able to go to them at that time.

Not to waste more words on this story I will omit telling of many things that happened and will only say that Cortés then founded a town with one hundred and twenty settlers, and among these he left twenty seven horsemen and thirty six musketeers and crossbowmen so that they numbered one hundred and twenty in all. This town was named Santistevan del Puerto and stands about a league from Chila. To the settlers who peopled that town he apportioned and gave in encomienda all the pueblos which had made peace, and he left as Captain of them and his representative one Pedro Vallejo.

While Cortés was in that town ready to start for Mexico,

he learnt for certain that three pueblos which were at the head of the rebellion of that province and had been concerned in the death of many Spaniards, were on the move again, although they had given their fealty to His Majesty and made peace, and they were persuading and luring the other pueblos in the neighbourhood and saying that after Cortés had returned to Mexico with the horsemen and soldiers, some day or night they would fall upon the settlers who remained behind and would have a good feast off them. When Cortés knew the whole truth, he ordered their houses to be completely destroyed by fire, but they soon made a new settlement.

Let me say that, before we had set out from Mexico on this expedition, Cortés had ordered them to send him from Vera Cruz a vessel laden with wine and provisions, preserves, biscuits, and horseshoes, for at that time there was no wheat in Mexico with which to make bread. While the barge was going on its course in the direction of Panuco, laden with all that Cortés had ordered, it seems that there arose severe northerly gales and struck the vessel so that she was lost, and only three persons were saved, who, supported on some boards, reached the shore of an Island three or four leagues from the main land where there were some great sandy beaches frequented by many seals which came out by night to sleep on the beaches, and they killed the seals, and with fire which they made from sticks of wood, in the way that throughout the Indies people make it, who know how to do so, they were able to roast the flesh of the seals, and they dug in the middle of the island and made a sort of well and took out water that was somewhat brackish ; and there was a fruit which looked like figs, so with the flesh of the seals and fruit and brackish water they kept themselves alive more than two months. As in the town of Santistévan they were awaiting the arrival of the fresh supplies and horse-

shoes, Cortés wrote to Mexico to his Mayordomos to know why they had not sent the relay of supplies, and as soon as they received this notice through Cortes's letter, they felt sure that the barge had been lost, and the Mayordomos of Cortés promptly sent a small vessel in search of the barge that was lost, and it pleased God that they touched on the island where the three surviving Spaniards were [stranded] who made smoke signals both by night and day, and as soon as they saw the vessel they were delighted, and they were taken on board and came to the town. One of these men was called something Ciciliano, a settler in Mexico.

Let us leave this and say that while Cortés was already on his way to Mexico, as he had news that many pueblos which stood among some very steep sierras had rebelled and were making war on other pueblos which were at peace with us, he decided to go there before entering Mexico.

As he went on his way, the people of that province heard of it, and lay in wait for him at a bad pass and fell on the rear of the baggage and killed some of the carriers and robbed them of their loads, and as it was a bad road on which to defend the baggage the horsemen went to their assistance and [the enemy] disemboweled two horses ; when they arrived at some villages they paid them well out for it, for as many of our Mexican allies went with them, in order to avenge the robberies in the bad pass and road which I have mentioned, they killed and captured many Indians and even the Cacique and his captain, and these were hanged after they had given back the things that had been robbed.

When this was accomplished Cortés ordered the Mexicans to do no more damage, and sent to summon all the chieftains and priests of the village to make peace, and they came and gave their fealty to His Majesty, and

the office of Cacique he ordered to be held by a brother of the Cacique whom they had hanged, and he left them in their homes pacified and well chastised. Then he returned to Mexico.

Before going any further I wish to say that in all the provinces of New Spain there are no people fouler or more evil or with worse habits than these of the province of Panuco for "todos eran someticos y se enbudavan por partes traseras," an obscenity never heard of in the world, and they were sacrificers [of human beings] and excessively cruel as well as drunkards and filthy and evil and they were guilty of thirty other vices.

If we look into it, they were chastised with blood and fire two or three times, and other greater evils overtook them in having as Governor Nuño de Guzman who as soon as the Government was given to him made slaves of nearly all of them and sent them to be sold in the Islands, as I will relate more fully in its time and place. Let us go back to our story and I will tell what Cortés heard and did after his return to Mexico.

CHAPTER CLIX.

How Cortés and the King's officers decided to send to His Majesty all the gold that had accrued to the royal fifth from the spoils of Mexico, and how there was sent separately the personal property of gold and jewels which had belonged to Montezuma and Guatemoc, and what happened about it.

ABOUT the same time that Cortés returned to Mexico from his expedition to Panuco, and occupied himself with the peopling and rebuilding of the city, Alonzo de Ávila already often mentioned by me in former chapters, had returned from the island of Santo Domingo and reported on the subjects he had been sent to negotiate with the

Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars who were the Governors of all the Islands, and the message he brought was that they gave us authority to conquer the whole of New Spain and to brand slaves according to the instructions that were sent, and to divide and make allotments of the Indians as was customary in the Islands of Española, Cuba and Jamaica.¹

This permission which they gave was to be valid up to the time that His Majesty was informed of it, or should be pleased to send other orders, and the Geronimite Friars themselves at once wrote him an account of this and sent a ship post haste to Castile, and at that time His Majesty who was still a youth, was in Flanders, and there he learnt what the Geronimite Friars were sending him.

They rendered no account of this to the Bishop of Burgos, for they were aware that he, in his position of President [of the Council] of the Indies, was very hostile to us, nor would they consult with him on many other matters of importance, for they were very ill pleased with his proceedings.

Let us leave this matter of the Bishop and repeat that as Cortés looked on Alonzo de Ávila as a very daring person, and was not on very good terms with him, he always wished to keep him at a distance, for truly if when Cristóbal de Tápia came with the commissions Alonzo de Ávila had been in Mexico (he was in the Island of Santo Domingo at the time) as he was a follower of the Bishop of Burgos and had been his servant, and Tápia had brought letters for him, he would have been a great opponent to Cortés and his affairs. For this reason Cortés always tried to keep him far from his person, and when he returned from this voyage he chose that occasion to allot Cuautitlan²

¹ Xamayca in the text.

² Gualtitan in the text.

to him so as to content and please him, and gave him certain pesos de oro, and with the fair words and promises, as well as the allotment of the town already mentioned which was a very good one and very profitable, he made so firm a friend and follower of him that he sent him to Castile, and with him his captain of the Guard named Antonio de Quiñones, and these two went as proctors of New Spain and of Cortés, and they took two ships and carried with them fifty eight thousand Castellanos¹ in bars of gold. They also took with them what we called the private treasure of the great Montezuma which Guatemoc had in his keeping, and indeed it was a fine present for our great Caesar, for it contained many very rich jewels and some of the pearls were the size of filberts, and there were many chalchihuites which are fine stones like emeralds, and there was even one as broad as the palm of a hand, and many others so numerous that, so as to avoid delay, I will not stop to describe them or call them to mind. We also sent some pieces of the bones of giants which were found in a Cue or Oratory in Coyoacan, similar to those other great bones which were given to us in Tlaxcala which we had sent on the first occasion, and these were even larger. They also took three tigers² and other things that I cannot now call to mind.

The Municipality of Mexico wrote to His Majesty by these proctors, and so too did the greater number of us Conquistadores write jointly with Cortés and Fray Pedro Melgarejo and the treasurer Julian de Alderete and one and all spoke of the many and good and loyal services that Cortés and all of us Conquistadores had rendered him and would continue to render him, and related what had happened to us since we had started

¹ Castellano, an ancient Spanish coin.

² Jaguars.

to capture the city of Mexico, and how the South Sea had been discovered, and it was certainly considered to be a very valuable discovery. We also petitioned His Majesty to send us bishops and monks of the different orders who should be of a blameless life and doctrine so as to aid us more firmly to implant our holy Catholic faith in these parts, and we unanimously begged that he would be pleased to give the government of this New Spain to Cortés who was his good and loyal servant, and that he would grant the favour to us Conquistadores and our children, that all the royal offices such as treasurer, accountant, agents and notaries public, trustees and governors of forts, should not be given to other persons, but should be retained among us. We begged him not to send any lawyers, for they would turn the country upside down with their books and lawsuits and dissensions would ensue, and the affair of Cristóbal de Tápia who came directed by Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca the Bishop of Burgos, was brought to his knowledge, and how he was not a fit person for the government, and that New Spain would be lost if he remained as governor; and would he [His Majesty] be graciously pleased to ascertain beyond doubt what became of the letters and reports which we had written to him, giving an account of all the happenings in this New Spain, for we felt very sure that the Bishop himself had not sent them on to him, but would rather have written the very opposite of what had happened so as to favour his friend Diego Velásquez and Cristóbal de Tápia with the intention of marrying him to one of his relations named Doña Petronilla de Fonseca, and [we stated] how he [Tápia] presented certain decrees which came already signed and addressed by the Bishop of Burgos, and that we all bowed down to the ground to obey them and how they were obeyed. But seeing that this Tápia was no good for war

and had neither the spirit nor judgment to fit him for a governor, that [the Conquistadores] appealed against the decrees until they would acquaint his royal person with all that had taken place as we were now informing him and making him aware, as loyal vassals bound to our King and Lord, and that now, whatever move he might be pleased to command, here we were with our breasts to the ground ready to fulfil his royal orders.

We also begged him to be pleased to send an order to the Bishop of Burgos not to interfere in anything concerning Cortés or us, for it would entail breaking the thread of many matters relating to conquests and the pacification of provinces which he alone was able to carry out in this New Spain, for this same Bishop had given orders to the officials in the House of Trade in Seville named Pedro de Ysasaga and Juan López de Recalte not to permit any supply of arms or soldiers or any support to pass for Cortés or for the soldiers who were with him. We also reported how Cortés had gone to pacify the province of Panuco and had left it at peace, and the very fierce battles that he fought with the natives of that province, and that they were a very pugnacious and warlike people, and how the people of that province had killed the captains sent by Francisco de Garay and all their soldiers because they did not know how to conduct their wars skilfully; and that Cortés had expended on that expedition over sixty thousand pesos which he was claiming from the officials of the Royal Treasury and they did not want to pay them. We also informed him how Garay was now preparing a fleet in the Island of Jamaica and was coming to settle at the Rio Panuco, and, in order to prevent the same fate happening to him as to his captains who were killed, we begged His Majesty to send him an order not to leave the island until the province was entirely pacified, because we would conquer and hand it

over to him, for if he should come at that time, and the natives of that territory should see two captains in command, there would be risings and attempts to sow discord especially on the part of the Mexicans. Many other things were written, besides Cortés for his own part left no subject in the inkstand and gave so full an account of all that had happened [in his letter] that it covered twenty one pages, and inasmuch as I read and understood them all very well, I make it known here as I have stated it. In addition to this Cortés sent to beg his Majesty to give him permission to go to the Island of Cuba to capture its Governor named Diego Velásquez and to send him to Castile in order that His Majesty might have him punished there, so that he should no longer disturb and excite commotions in New Spain, for he had sent orders from the Island of Cuba to have Cortés killed.

Let us leave these letters and speak of the favourable voyage which our proctors accomplished after leaving the port of Vera Cruz on the twentieth day of the month of December in the year fifteen hundred and twenty two, and with good weather they got through the Bahama channel, and on the way two of the three tigers they were taking with them broke loose and wounded some of the sailors, and they determined to kill the one that was left for he was very fierce and they could not manage him. They proceeded on their voyage as far as the Island named Terceira,¹ and Antonio de Quiñones who was captain prided himself on being very valiant and amorous; it appears that he became entangled with a woman in that island about whom some quarrel arose, and they stabbed him so that he died and Alonzo de Ávila remained the sole captain.

As he was going on his way to Spain with the two ships, when not far from the Island, the French pirate Juan

¹ Tercera in the text

Florin, fell on them and seized the gold and the ships and captured Alonzo de Ávila and carried him a prisoner to France. About the same time Juan Florin robbed another ship that came from the Island of Santo Domingo and took over twenty thousand pesos de oro and a great quantity of pearls and sugar and hides out of it and returned with it all to France a very rich man, and he made great presents to the king and to the Admiral of France of the objects and pieces of gold brought from New Spain, and all France was astonished at the riches we were sending to our great Emperor. Even the King of France himself became more covetous than before of taking a share in the Islands and in this New Spain.

It was then that he said that only with the gold sent to him from these Islands our Lord was able to make war on his France, and yet at that time Peru was not conquered, nor was there any knowledge of it, but only, as I have said, of New Spain and the Islands of Santo Domingo and San Juan and Cuba and Jamaica. It is reported that the King of France said or sent word to our Emperor that as he and the King of Portugal had partitioned the world without giving him a share, that they had better produce the Will of our father Adam as proof that he had left them as heirs and lords of these lands which they had seized between the two of them, without giving any of them to him ; and for this reason he [the King of France] was justified in robbing and taking all he could on the sea. He again promptly ordered Juan Florin to go back with another fleet and seek a livelihood on the sea.

On his return from that voyage as soon as he had taken a great booty of all sorts of cloth, he fell in between Spain and the Canary Islands with three or four powerful ships of the Biscayan fleet and some on one side and some on the other engaged Juan Florin and defeated and routed him and took him prisoner with many other Frenchmen

and they captured his ships and the cloth. They carried Juan Florin and the other captains as prisoners to the House of Trade at Seville, and they were sent captive to His Majesty at the Court, and as soon as he [the Emperor] heard of it, he ordered that justice should be meted out to them on the road, and at the port of Pico they were hanged, and this was the end of our gold and of the Captains who carried it and of Juan Florin who stole it.

Let us get back to our story; they took Alonzo de Ávila as a prisoner to France and placed him in a fortress, for as he was in charge of so much gold they thought to get a good ransom for him and therefore guarded him well.

Alonzo de Ávila managed to come to such an understanding with the French gentleman who had him in charge or who held him prisoner, that in order that they might know in Castile how he was kept a prisoner and might come to ransom him, he arranged that all the letters and powers which he was bringing from New Spain should be despatched post haste and delivered at the Court of His Majesty to the Licentiate Nuñez, a cousin of Cortés who was counsellor at law to the Royal Council, or to Martin Cortés the father of the said Cortés who lived at Medellín, or to Diego de Ordás who was at the Court, and they went with such complete safety that they reached their hands, and they promptly forwarded them to His Majesty in Flanders and told the Bishop of Burgos nothing at all about it. However, the Bishop found it out and said that he rejoiced [to hear] that all the gold had been stolen and was lost, and he is reported to have said that the affairs of this traitor Cortés were bound to come to such an end, and he made other ugly remarks.

Let us leave the Bishop and turn to His Majesty who as soon as he was informed of the matter is said to have understood it all, and felt some grief at the loss of the gold

on the other hand he was delighted to see that they were sending him such riches so that the King of France should feel that with such presents as we were sending him he would be able to carry on war. He promptly sent orders to the Bishop of Burgos to give support and assistance in all matters concerning Cortés and New Spain and [said] that he was coming to Castile shortly and would decide the justice of the contentions and disputes between Velásquez and Cortés.

Let us leave this and say that as soon as we knew in New Spain about the loss of the gold and the wealth of treasure¹ and of the capture of Alonzo de Ávila and all the other matters noted by me above, we felt great grief at it, and Cortés promptly and without delay endeavoured to collect all the gold that it was possible to get together and to levy a tax on the low grade gold and silver which had been brought from Michoacan, so as to send it to His Majesty, and the tax was called "the Phoenix."²

I also wish to state that Alonzo de Ávila still retained that town of Cuautitlan which Cortés had given him, for at that time his brother Gil Gonzáles de Benavides did not hold it, not until three years later on did Gil Gonzáles come from the Island of Cuba, when Alonzo de Ávila was already free from imprisonment in France and had come to Yucatan as Accountant, and it was then that he gave authority to his brother to make use of it, for he never wished to give him the property.

Let us stop telling stories that don't help on my narrative and report all that happened to Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains whom Cortés had sent to settle the provinces already named by me, while Cortés was perfecting his preparations for the tax and the col-

¹ De la recamara, that is the personal property of gold, jewels, etc. belonging to Montezuma.

² Fenis in the text.

lection of the gold to send to His Majesty. I know well that some interested readers will ask, why is it that when Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains [to undertake] the conquests and pacifications which I have already mentioned, that I did not finish my story about what they had done and what happened to each of them on their expeditions, so I must state again that I must go back very far in my story, and the reason that I give for this is that while they were going on their way to their provinces and conquests, at that very moment Cristóbal de Tápia so often mentioned by me, arrived at the Port of Villa Rica to take over the Government of New Spain.

As Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval were his most distinguished Captains and wise advisers, Cortés sent post haste to summon them to deliberate on what could be done in the matter, and get their support and assistance, so they suspended their conquests and pacifications and, as I have said, they came to this affair of Tápia which was more important for His Majesty's Service, for it was looked on as certain that if Tápia should remain as governor that New Spain and Mexico would rise in revolt again. At that moment also Cristóbal de Olid arrived from Michoacan (for it was near Mexico) which he found peaceful, and they [the inhabitants] gave him much gold and silver, and as he was recently married and his wife was young and handsome he hastened his coming.

Then immediately after this affair of Tápia the rising at Panuco took place, and Cortés went to pacify it, as I have related in a former chapter which tells about it. Then we had to write to His Majesty and send the gold and give authority to our proctors whom I have already mentioned, and on account of these distractions which came one after another I will now call the matter to mind:—and it happened in the manner I will now describe.

Q 2

CHAPTER CLX.

How Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived with his army at a pueblo called Tuxtepec,¹ and what he did there and how he afterwards went on to Coatzacoalcos and all the rest that happened to him. Mind one place is called Tuxtepec and the other Tututepec.²

WHEN Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived at a pueblo named Tuxtepec all the province made peace except some Mexicans who were concerned in the deaths of sixty Spanish men and women from Castile who had remained behind ill in that pueblo when Narvaez came, and that was the time when we were defeated in Mexico, and then they [the Mexicans] slew them in this same pueblo. About two months after the people I have spoken about had been killed, I went [there] with Sandoval and I lodged in a small tower which had been a temple with Idols and which they [the Spaniards] had fortified when they were attacked, and there they were surrounded and perished of hunger and thirst and wounds. I mention that I lodged in that little tower because there were many mosquitos in that pueblo of Tustepeque in the day time, and as the tower was very lofty and exposed to the breeze there were not so many [mosquitos] there as there were down below, and moreover it was near Sandoval's quarters.

To go back to our story, Sandoval endeavoured to seize the Mexican Captains who had attacked and killed them [the Spaniards] and he captured the chief of them and placed him on trial and for sentence ordered him to be

¹ Tuxtepec, in the north of the State of Oaxaca on the River Papaloapan. Tustepeque in the text.

² Tututepec, in the south of the State of Oaxaca near the Pacific coast. Tutetepeque in the text.

burned, and there were many others who deserved the penalty of death as much as he did, but he let it pass and the one death paid for all.

When this was over he sent to summon to peace some pueblos of the Zapotecs, (another province about ten leagues distant from this town of Tuxtepec,) and they would not come, so he sent a Captain to bring them to peace. This was a man named Briones, often mentioned by me before, who was Captain of a sloop, and a good soldier in Italy according to his own account, and Sandoval gave him over one hundred soldiers, among them thirty musketeers and crossbowmen, and over a hundred allies from the pueblos which had made peace.

As Briones went on his way with his soldiers in good order, it seems that the Zapotecs were aware of his coming against their pueblos and they arranged an ambush on the road, which caused them [the Spaniards] to turn back in a hurry, rolling down some steep inclines, and more than a third of his soldiers were wounded and one of them died of his wounds. These hills where the Zapotecs live are so steep and difficult that horses cannot go among them, and the soldiers had to march on foot, one by one, in and out, along narrow paths, and there was always mist and dew and the paths were slippery. The Zapotecs were armed with very long lances, longer than ours are, with a fathom of cutting edge of stone knives which cut better than our swords, and with shields which cover the whole body, and many arrows, javelins and stones, and the natives were very daring and wonderfully lithe, and with a whistle or cry which they give among those hills the voice resounds and reverberates for a considerable time, as we should say like echoes.

So the Captain Briones returned with his men wounded and one of them dead, and he himself came back with an arrow wound.

The pueblo where he was defeated is called Tiltepec¹ and after it was brought to peace it was given in encomienda to a soldier named Ojeda the one eyed, who now lives in the town of Santo Alfonso. When Briones returned to make his report to Sandoval of what had happened, and told him what great warriors they [the Zapotecs] were, as Sandoval was in good spirits and Briones posed as being very valiant and was wont to tell how in Italy he had killed and wounded and cleft the heads and trunks of men, said Sandoval: "It seems to me Señor Capitan that these lands are different from those where you [formerly] went soldiering" and Briones, half angry, replied and said that he swore to the truth of his statements and that he would rather fight against cannon and great armies of enemies whether of Turks or Moors than against those Zapotecs, and he gave reasons for it, that appeared acceptable. Still Sandoval told him he wished he had not sent him, since he was thus defeated, for he believed that he would have shown more valour, as he boasted he had done in Italy.

Let us leave this expedition which did more harm than good, and say how this same Gonzalo de Sandoval sent to summon to peace another province, which was called Xaltepec.² These people were also Zapotecs and they border on other pueblos called those of the Mijes,³ a very active and warlike people who had disputes with the people of Xaltepec, the same who I say were now summoned. As many as twenty Caciques and chieftains made peace and brought a present of gold in the form of jewels of various workmanship and ten small tubes of gold in grains which they had just then extracted from the mines.

¹ San Miguel Tiltepec. Dist. of Ixtlan, Northern Oaxaca or Tiltepec. Dist. of Choapam, Northern Oaxaca. Teltepeque in the text.

² Xaltepec or Jaltepec in the District of Choapam. Xaltepeque in the text.

³ Minxes in the text.

The Chieftains came clothed in very long cotton clothes which reached to the feet worked with much embroidery and they were, so to say, like Moorish bornouses. When they came before Sandoval they offered it [their present] with great reverence and he received it with pleasure, and ordered them to be given beads of Castile, and paid them honour and made much of them. They asked Sandoval to give them some Teules, for so they call the Spaniards in their language, to go with them against the pueblos of their enemies the Mijes who made war on them. As Sandoval could spare no soldiers at that time, to give them the help they asked for, because those who had gone with Briones were all wounded and others were sick and four were dead, for the country was very hot and unhealthy, he told them in pleasant phrases that he would send to Mexico to tell Malinche (for so they called Cortés) to send plenty of Teules, and that they must restrain themselves until they arrived, and meanwhile that ten of his companions would accompany them to examine the passes and the country so that they could go and make war against their enemies the Mijes. Sandoval only said this in order that we could go and see the pueblos and the mines where they extracted the gold they had brought, and in this way he dismissed all but three of them whom he ordered to stay and go with us. Then he promptly sent a soldier named Alonzo de Castillo, the decided, to examine the pueblos and mines I have spoken about, and Sandoval ordered me and six other soldiers to go with him and examine the mines thoroughly and the nature of the pueblos. I wish to explain why that Captain who went with us as leader was called Castillo the decided, and it was for the reason that I will now state:—

In the Company which Sandoval commanded there were three soldiers with the surname of Castillo, one of

them was very elegant and took pride in it at that time, and for this reason they called him Castillo the elegant,¹ of the other two Castillos, one was of such a nature that he was always thoughtful, and when he was spoken to, he delayed long in thinking what he should say, and when he replied or spoke it was some foolishness or something that made us laugh, and on this account they called him Castillo the deliberate.² The other was Alonzo Castillo who now went with us who spoke his thoughts quickly and answered much to the point about anything they asked him, and they called him Castillo the decided.³

Let us cease talking about trifles and relate how we went to that province to see the mines, and took many Indians with us from those pueblos, and with some things in the shape of troughs they washed in three rivers before us, and from all three they extracted gold and they filled four small tubes with it, each tube the length of the middle finger of one's hand and they were a little thicker than the quill of a Spanish duck ; with this sample of the gold we returned to where Gonzalo de Sandoval was stationed and he was delighted thinking that the country was rich. He promptly set about making the division of those pueblos and that province among the settlers who were to remain there to people it, and he took for himself some pueblos called Huaspaltepec,⁴ which at that time was the best thing there was in the province, very near the mines, and they even promptly yielded him over fifteen thousand pesos in gold. Sandoval believed that he was taking a very good thing and he entrusted the province of Xaltepec, whence we brought the gold, to Captain Luis Marin and thought that he was giving him an earldom, but they

¹ El galan. ² De los pensamientos. ³ De lo pensado.

⁴ Guazpaltepeque in the text, near Playa Vicente on the Rio de Villa Alta.

all turned out very bad assignments, both that which Sandoval took as well as the one he gave to Luis Marin, and he even ordered me to stay in that province and gave me very good Indians with a good income, and would to God that I had taken them, they [the pueblos] were called Matlatan and Orizaba, where the Viceroy's mills are now situated, and another pueblo called Ozotequipa,¹ but I did not want them, for it seemed to me, Sandoval being my friend, that if I did not go in his company I should not be acting up to my standard of personal honour, and Sandoval thoroughly understood my feelings, and so as to have me with him in the wars, if there should be any later on, acquiesced.

Let us leave this and relate that he named the town which he settled Medellin,² for so Cortés ordered him to do, because Cortés was born at Medellin in Estremadura.

At that time the port was at a river called Chalchocueca, which was the river to which we had given the name the 'Rio de Banderas' where we had gained sixteen thousand pesos by barter, and up that river proceeded the ships that came with merchandise from Spain, until the port was changed to Vera Cruz.

Let us leave this and go on our road to Coatzacoalcos which was distant a matter of seventy leagues from the town of Vera Cruz, which we had already settled. We entered into a province called Çitla³ which was the coolest and the most thickly peopled and the best supplied with food that we had yet seen. The people at once made peace, and this province which I have mentioned is twelve

¹ I cannot identify Matlatan, Orizaba and Ozotequipa, there is a Santiago Matatlan in the district of Tlacolula.

² This is going back; Sandoval settled Medellin, which is a little to the south of the modern Vera Cruz, sometime before arriving at Tuxtepec.

³ This name has disappeared from the maps.

leagues long and about the same in breadth and all thickly peopled ; and we arrived at the great river of Coatzacoalcos and sent to summon the Caciques of the pueblos which were the capitals of those provinces, and for three days they did not come nor did they send any reply, and on that account we thought that they intended war, and it is even said that they had made up their minds not to let us pass the river. They afterwards decided to come within five days, and they brought us food to eat and some jewels of very pure gold, and said that when we wanted to cross they would bring many large canoes. Sandoval thanked them greatly and took counsel with some of us as to whether we could dare to cross over all of us together at the same time in the canoes. What we thought best and advised was that four soldiers should cross over and observe the disposition of a village which was near the river, and should watch and endeavour to enquire and find out whether they were hostile, and that before crossing we should have in our power the principal Cacique who was named Tochel. So the four soldiers went over and found out all that we had sent them [to ascertain] and they returned to report to Sandoval that everything was peaceful and moreover the son of this same Cacique Tochel, for so he is called, came with them and brought another present of gold but it was not worth much. Then Sandoval caressed him and ordered him to bring a hundred canoes tied together two and two, and we passed the horses over the day after the feast of Espíritu Santo, and to cut the story short, we made a settlement in the pueblo which stood near the river, and it was a good place for sea traffic because the port lay four leagues down stream, and we called it the town of Espíritu Santo and we gave it that sublime name, on one account because on the feast of Espíritu Santo we defeated Narvaez, on another because that holy name was our

watchword when we defeated and captured him, and lastly because we crossed this river on this same day, and because all these towns came in peaceably without making war, and there we all of us settled, the flower of the gentlemen and soldiers who had come out from Mexico to settle with Sandoval. There was Sandoval himself and Luis Marin, Diego de Godoy, Captain Francisco de Medina, Francisco Marmolejo, Francisco de Lugo, Juan López de Aguirre, Hernando de Montesdoca, Juan de Salamanca, Diego Azamar, one Mansilla and another soldier named Mexia Rapapelo, Alonzo de Grado, the Licentiate Ledesma, Luis de Bustamante, Pedro Castellar, the Captain Briones, and I and many other gentlemen and persons of quality, and if I were to name them all here I could not finish quickly, but it may be taken for certain that we were wont to assemble in the Plaza for a rejoicing and review over eighty strong in horsemen, and eighty then was more than five hundred now-a-days, and the reason is that there were but very few horses there in New Spain and they were costly and only a few could afford to buy them.

Let us leave this and say how Sandoval apportioned those provinces and pueblos among us, after he had sent to visit them and form a judgment of the land, and examine the character of all the towns.

The provinces which he apportioned are those which I will now name:—

First of all Çitla, Coatzacoalcos and Huaspaltepec,¹ Tepeaca,² Chinantla³ and the pueblos of the Zapotecs and [as well as] other pueblos which are situated on the other side of the river, the province of Copilco, Cimatan and

¹ Guazpaltepeque in the text.

² Tepeaca, further on called Tepeca, not to be confounded with Tepeaca near Puebla.

³ Chinanta in the text.

Tabasco and the mountains of Quechula,¹ all the [land of] the Zoques towards Chiapas,² and Zinacantan and all the [land of] the Quilines and Papanaguasta. These pueblos that I have named were held in allotment by us settlers who had settled in that town [of Espíritu Santo] and it would have been better if I had not remained there, for, as it afterwards turned out, the land was poor and many lawsuits arose with three towns which were founded later on. One was with Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, over Huaspaltepec and Chinantla and Tepeaca,³ another was with the town of Tabasco over Cimatan and Copilco and another with Chiapas over the Quilines and Zoques, another was with Santo Alifonso over the Zapotecs, for all those towns were established after we settled at Coatzacoalcos. Had they left us all the districts that we held we should have been rich. The reason why they established these towns that I have mentioned was that His Majesty sent an order that all the Indian pueblos bordering on or nearest to each town were decreed to be within the boundaries [of that town] so that they clipped our wings on every side and left us in the lurch. This was the reason why, as time went on, Coatzacoalcos was deserted, and from being the best township of honourable Conquistadores that existed in New Spain, it is now a village of a few inhabitants.

To return to our story :—while Sandoval was looking after the peopling of that town and bringing other provinces to peace he received letters saying that a ship had entered the Rio de Ayagualulco, which is a port, although not a very good one, about fifteen leagues distant ; and that in it there had come from the Island of Cuba, the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez, surnamed la Marçayda, the wife of Cortés, her brother Juan Juarez,

¹ Cachula in the text. ² Chiapa in the text. ³ Tepeca in the text.

who was later on a settler in Mexico, brought her and another lady who was her sister, and there came Villegas, he of Mexico, and his wife [called] the festive,¹ and his children and also the grandmother and many other married women. It also seems to me that Elvira López, [nicknamed] the tall,² arrived at that time, she was then the wife of Juan de Palma who came with us and died hanged, and afterwards she was the wife of a certain Argeta and Antonio Diosdado also came, he was afterwards a settler in Guatemala, and many others arrived whose names I do not remember.

As soon as Gonzalo de Sandoval heard about this, he in person and most of us Captains and soldiers went to fetch those ladies and the other persons they had brought in their company. I remember that at the time it rained so heavily we could not travel along the roads nor cross the rivers and streams for they came down so swollen that they overflowed their banks. As there had been heavy northerly gales, it was on account of the rough weather and to avoid being driven ashore that they had put into that port of Ayagualulco. The Señora Doña Catalina Juarez la Marçayda and all her company were delighted to see us, and we promptly brought all those ladies and their company to our town at Coatzacoalcos. Sandoval sent the news of their arrival to Cortés post haste, and at once took them on the road to Mexico, and Sandoval himself and Briones and Francisco de Lugo and other gentlemen accompanied them.

When Cortés knew of it, it was said that he was very sorry that she had come, but did not show it. He gave orders for their reception and much honour was shown them in all the towns until they arrived in Mexico, and in that City there were rejoicings and tilting with reeds, and

¹ La Zambrana.

² La Larga.

within about three months of her arrival we heard a report that one night they found her dead from Asthma and that there had been a banquet the evening before and a great festival. Because I know nothing more about this than I have said we will touch no more on this delicate subject, which other persons spoke about more clearly and openly in the lawsuit that arose out of it later on before the Royal Audiencia of Mexico.

Let us cease speaking of this affair that is past and gone and relate what happened to Villafuerte, who went to settle at Zacatula¹ and to Juan Álvarez the less² who went to Colima. On Villafuerte they made many attacks and killed some of his soldiers and the country was in revolt and wanted neither to obey nor to pay tribute, and neither more nor less happened with Juan Álvarez. When Cortés heard this he was sorry for it, and as Cristóbal de Olid had come from the affair at Michoacan, and was returning a rich man and had left the country at peace, it seemed to Cortés that he was the right man to go and secure and pacify those provinces of Zacatula and Colima. He [therefore] determined to send him as Captain and gave him fifteen horsemen and thirty musketeers and crossbowmen.

As he went on his way, when he had already arrived near Zacatula, the natives of that province awaited him very valiantly in a bad pass, and killed two soldiers and wounded fifteen, but nevertheless he conquered them and went on to the town where Villafuerte was stationed with the settlers who were established there. These did not care to go to the pueblos which had been apportioned to them lest they [the villagers] should prepare to kill them, as they had already killed four settlers in the pueblos assigned to them, for as a rule they began by appointing *encomenderos* to all the provinces and towns that were

¹ In the State of Guerrero.

² Juan Álvarez Chico.

settled, and as soon as these asked the natives for tribute they rose in revolt and killed all the Spaniards they could. When Cristóbal de Olid saw that he had quieted the province and the people had made peace, he went from Zacatula to Colima and found it at war, and he had some encounters with the natives and they wounded many of his soldiers, [however] he defeated them and left them peaceful. I do not know what became of Juan Álvarez Chico who went as Captain. I think he died at that town.

Then Cristóbal de Olid when he had quieted Colima and it appeared to him to be peaceful, returned to Mexico (for he was married to a beautiful Portuguese lady, whom I have already said was named Doña Felipa de Arauz or Zarauz) and he had hardly turned his back when the people of Colima and Zacatula rose again. At the same time Gonzalo de Sandoval had arrived at Mexico with the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez la Marcayda and Juan Juarez and all their company, as I have already related in the Chapter that tells about it. Cortés decided to send him [Sandoval] as captain to pacify those provinces, and with the small number of horsemen that he then gave him and a matter of fifteen crossbowmen and musketeers, all old Conquistadores, he proceeded to Colima and punished two Caciques and handled the affair with such dexterity that the whole country remained completely pacified and never revolted again. He did the same thing at Zacatula and quickly returned to Mexico.

Let us go back to Coatzacoalcos and state that as soon as Gonzalo de Sandoval left for Mexico with the Señora Doña Catalina Juarez nearly all the provinces which had been allotted rose against the settlers and we had the greatest trouble in pacifying them again. The first to revolt was Xaltepec of the Zapotecs, where the people lived among lofty and rugged mountains, and after this the people of Cimatan and Copilco, who live among great

rivers and swamps, rebelled, and other provinces rose in revolt, and even within twelve leagues of the town there were pueblos which killed their encomendero. We marched about quieting them with the greatest difficulty and while we were on an expedition with the Captain Luis Marin and an Alcalde ordinario and all the Regidores of the town, letters came to say that a ship had arrived in port in which had come Juan Bono de Quexo the Biscayan, and that he had come with the ship, which was a small one, up the river as far as the town, and said he had brought letters and decrees from His Majesty to notify us that we should promptly return to the town and desist from the [further] pacification of the province.

When we heard this news, as the Alcalde and the Regidores were [all] in the company of the Lieutenant Luis Marin, we went to see what it was that he [Juan Bono] wanted. After embracing us, and welcoming each other, for Juan Bono was very well known from the time when he came with Narvaez, he said that he begged us to be good enough to assemble in Cabildo as he wished to proclaim certain decrees of His Majesty and of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, the bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, and that he had brought many letters for all. It appears that Juan Bono had brought letters in blank with the signature of the Archbishop, and while they had gone to summon us from the pacification on which we were engaged, Juan Bono found out which of us were Regidores, and in the letter which he brought in blank he wrote the promises that the Bishop sent us if we should give up the country to Cristóbal de Tápia, whom Juan Bono refused to believe had returned to the Island of Santo Domingo, and the Bishop thought for certain that we would not receive him, and for that reason sent Juan Bono with that authority.

He brought to me as a Regidor a letter from the Bishop

himself written by Juan Bono. As soon as we had met in Cabildo and saw his despatches and decrees, (and he would never tell us what they were up to that moment) we quickly got rid of him by saying that Tápia had already returned to Castile, and that he had better go to Mexico where Cortés was, and there he might tell him what was suitable.

As soon as Juan Bono heard that Tápia was not in the country he desisted and was very sorrowful, and the next day he embarked and went to Villa Rica and thence to Mexico. I do not know what took place there, except that I have heard it said that Cortés helped him down to the coast and he returned to Castile.

Let us abstain from telling more stories, but it is right to add that all the time we stayed at that town there were never wanting hardships and conquests of the provinces that had revolted and let us go back and relate how Pedro de Alvarado fared in the expedition to Tututepec¹ and among its people.

CHAPTER CLXI.

How Pedro de Alvarado went to Tututepec to found a town and what happened to him in the pacification of that Province and the founding of the town.

WE must go back a little to recount the setting out of Pedro de Alvarado to found Tututepec, it was as follows:—As soon as the City of Mexico was captured and it was known in all the districts and provinces that such a strong city had been razed to the ground, they sent to congratulate Cortés on his victory and to offer themselves as Vassals of His Majesty, and among the many great pueblos that came at that time there was one called

¹ Tututepeque in the text.

Tehuantepec¹ of the Zapotecs, and they brought a present of gold to Cortés and told him that there were other pueblos in their province somewhat remote named Tututepec which were their inveterate enemies and had come to make war on them because the people of Tehuantepec had given their fealty to His Majesty ; that these towns were situated on the South Coast and that the people were very rich in gold in the form of jewels as well as in mines, and they begged Cortés with much importunity to give them horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen to go against their enemies.

Cortés spoke to them very lovingly and told them that he wished to send Tonatio with them, for so they called Pedro de Alvarado, and he promptly gave him over one hundred and eighty soldiers, among them thirty five horsemen, and instructions to demand another twenty soldiers, chiefly crossbowmen, from Francisco de Orozco who was captain of the province of Oaxaca,² if that province were peaceable.

Carrying out his orders he [Alvarado] arranged his departure and set out from Mexico in the year [fifteen hundred and] twenty two, and Cortés directed him to go and inspect certain rocky hills on the way, which were called Ulamo, where [the people] were said to be in revolt, but he found them all peaceful and well disposed at that time.

He delayed more than forty days before reaching Tututepec, and the Lord of the pueblo and other chieftains when they knew that he was approaching near to their pueblo went out to receive him peaceably, and took him off to lodge in the most thickly peopled part of the pueblo where the Cacique had his Oratories and his large apart-

¹ Teguantepeque in the text.

² Guaxaca in the text.

ments, and the houses were very close one to the other, and they were made of straw, for in that province they have no azoteas as it is a very hot country.

Alvarado took the advice of his Captains and soldiers that it was not a good thing to lodge in those houses so near one to the other, for if they were set on fire they could not protect themselves, and they agreed to go to the end of the pueblo. As soon as they were lodged the Cacique brought him very great presents of gold, and plenty to eat, and every day they stayed there he brought him very rich presents of gold.

As Alvarado saw that they possessed so much gold he ordered them to make some stirrups of fine gold like others which he gave them as patterns and they made and brought them to him. A few days later, he took the Cacique prisoner, because the people of Tehuantepec told Pedro de Alvarado that all that province intended to make war on him, and that when they lodged him among those houses where the Idols and chambers stood that it was in order to set fire to them, so that all of them [the Spaniards] should perish ; and for this reason he made him prisoner. Other Spaniards of good faith and worthy of credence said that it was in order to extort much gold [from him] without bringing him to trial that he died in prison; and this is now accepted as certain, that one way or the other, that Cacique gave to Pedro de Alvarado over thirty thousand pesos, and he died from anger and from his imprisonment, and the Caciqueship went to his son, and he [Alvarado] got from him more gold than from his father. Then he sent to visit the pueblos in the neighbourhood and distributed them among the settlers and founded a town to which was given the name of Segura, because most of the settlers who peopled it had been formerly inhabitants of Segura de la Frontera, which was Tepeaca.

When this was accomplished and he had collected to-

gether a good sum in pesos de oro he took it to Mexico to give to Cortés.

It is also said that Cortés himself wrote to him that he should bring with him all the gold he was able to collect, in order to send it to His Majesty, because the Frenchmen had stolen all that he had sent by Alonzo de Ávila and Quiñones, and that he should give no share of it to any one of the soldiers who were in his company.

When Alvarado was already prepared to start for Mexico certain soldiers most of them musketeers and crossbowmen, formed a conspiracy to kill Pedro de Alvarado and his brothers on the following day, because he was carrying off the gold without giving them their share, although they had begged for it many times, but he would not give it up, also because he did not give them good assignments of Indians. If a soldier named Trebejo who was in the conspiracy had not revealed the plot to him, they would have attacked them the following night. When Alvarado knew about it, (and they told him about the hour of vespers) he went out hunting on horseback near some huts, and some of those who were in the plot went on horseback in his company. Then to deceive them he said "Señores, I have got such a stitch in my side, let us go back to our quarters and call me a barber to bleed me."

As soon as he got back he sent to summon his brothers Jorge, Gonzalo and Gómez, all Alvarados, and the Alcaldes and Aguazils, and they seized those who were in the plot and according to verdict they hanged two of them, one named something de Salamanca a native of the county [of Salamanca], who had been a pilot, and the other named Bernaldino the Levantine, and with these two hangings he pacified the others, and he set off at once for Mexico with all the gold, and left the town settled. When the inhabitants who remained in the town saw that the allotments

that had been given them were no good and that the country was unhealthy and very hot, and many of them were ill, and the servants and slaves they had brought with them had died, and that there were many bats and mosquitos and even bed bugs, and above all that Alvarado had not divided the gold among them but had taken it with him, they decided to avoid wrangling and to abandon the settlement. Many of them went to Mexico, others to Oaxaca and they scattered over other parts.

When Cortés heard of this he sent to make enquiry about it, and he found out that the abandonment was agreed upon by the Alcades and Magistrates in Cabildo, and those who were concerned in it were condemned to death, and they appealed, and the punishment was [reduced to] banishment. This is what happened in the matter of Tututepec which was never afterwards peopled because it was unhealthy although the land was rich. When the natives of that country saw that the place was abandoned and what Alvarado had done was without reason or justice, they rebelled again, and Pedro de Alvarado returned to them and summoned them to make peace and without need to attack them they became peaceful.

Let us leave this and say that when Cortés had got together over eighty thousand pesos de oro to send to His Majesty together with the Phœnix tax he had invented, news came at that time that Francisco de Garay had arrived at Panuco with a great fleet, and what was done about it I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLXII.

How Francisco de Garay came from Jamaica to Panuco with a great fleet, and what happened to him and many things that took place.

AS I have already said in another Chapter which deals with Francisco de Garay, he was a rich man and the Governor of the Island of Jamaica. He had heard news of our discovery of very rich lands during the expeditions of Hernando de Córdova and Juan de Grijalva, and how we had carried off twenty thousand pesos de oro to the Island of Cuba, and Diego Velásquez who was Governor of that Island had got possession of them, and that at that very time Cortés was setting out with another fleet, and Garay had a covetous desire to go and conquer some lands [himself.] He had much better equipment than any of the others, and he obtained news and information from Anton de Alaminos (whom we had brought as chief pilot when we made our discoveries) to the effect that from the Rio Panuco onwards there were very rich and thickly populated countries, which he might petition His Majesty to grant him.

After Garay had been thoroughly informed by the Pilot Alaminos about the discovery, and by other pilots who were with Alaminos at the time of the discovery, he determined to send his Mayordomo, named Juan Torralva, with money and letters to the court to beg the gentlemen who at that time were president and judges for His Majesty to bestow upon him the Government of the Rio de Panuco and whatever further country he might discover and settle. As at that time His Majesty was in Flanders and Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano was president of the Council of the Indies and directed everything with the Licentiate

Zapata and the Licentiate Vargas and the Secretary Lope de Conchillas, they sent him [Francisco de Garay] a commission as Adelantado of the Rio San Pedro and San Pablo and all [the land] he could explore. On the strength of this commission he immediately despatched three ships with as many as two hundred and forty soldiers with many horses and musketeers and crossbowmen and sent as their captain a certain Alonzo de Álvarez Pineda or Pinedo often mentioned by me before.

When he sent that fleet, as I have already related, the Indians of Panuco defeated it and killed the Captain Pineda and all the horses and soldiers he had with him, except about seventy soldiers who came to the Port of Vera Cruz in a ship under the command of Camargo and joined our company.

When Garay received no news of those ships, he sent two other ships after them with many soldiers, horses, and supplies under the command of Miguel Díaz de Ausuz and a certain Ramíres, already mentioned by me many times. These also came to our port when they had ascertained that neither hair nor hide of those already sent by Garay was to be found at the Rio Panuco, except the two wrecked ships. All these things I have already told in my story, but it is necessary to go back to the beginning so that it may be clearly understood. Now to return to our business and story. When Francisco de Garay saw that he had already expended many pesos de oro, and he heard of the good fortune of Cortés, and of the great cities that he had discovered, and about the great amount of gold and jewels that there was in the country, he grew more envious and covetous than ever, and his desire increased to come in person and bring the largest fleet he could, and he hunted up eleven ships and two sloops which made a total of sail and he got together one hundred and thirty six horses and eight hundred and forty soldiers, most of

them musketeers and crossbowmen, and he fitted them out well with all that was necessary, which was cassava bread and salt pork and sun-dried beef, for there was already a sufficiency of cattle, and as he was a rich man, and it all came from his own crops he did not feel the expense, and there was a superabundance of men and horses who flocked to the Island of Jamaica for the equipment of that fleet.

In the year fifteen hundred and twenty three he started from Jamaica with all his fleet on the day of San Juan de Junio¹ and reached the Island of Cuba at a port named Xagua, and there he learned that Cortés had already pacified the whole Province of Panuco and established a town and had spent in the pacification more than sixty thousand pesos de oro, and had sent to petition His Majesty to grant him the Government of that country as well as that of New Spain. When they told him of the heroic actions done by Cortés and his companions in New Spain, and when he heard the news that with two hundred and sixty six soldiers we had defeated Pánfilo de Narvaez who had brought with him over thirteen hundred soldiers including a hundred horsemen and as many more musketeers and crossbowmen and eighteen cannon, he felt afraid of Cortés's good fortune. During the time that Garay was at the port of Xagua many settlers in the Island of Cuba came to see him and eight or ten of the principal persons of that town joined his company, and the Licentiate Zuazo who, under orders from the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, had come to that Island to take the *Residencia*² of Diego Velásquez also came to see him. When Garay was conversing with the Licentiate about Cortés's good fortune and [saying] that he feared he would have trouble with him about the Province of Panuco,

¹ Midsummer Day.

² Residencia. The examination and formal account demanded of a person holding Public Office.

[he] Garay begged him [the Licentiate] to go with him on that voyage to act as mediator between him and Cortés, and the Licentiate replied that he could not go at that time before he had taken the Residencia, but that he would be there soon.

Then Garay at once gave orders to set sail and steer in the direction of Panuco, and he had a stormy time on the way, and the pilots he had with him went higher up towards the Rio de Palmas and he dropped anchor in the river itself on Santiago's day, and at once sent to examine the country. The captains and soldiers whom he sent did not consider it a good country, or had no wish to stay there but to go on to the Rio de Panuco proper (because it was nearer to Mexico), and to the settlement and town that Cortés had established. When that news was brought to him Garay decided to exact an oath from all his soldiers that they would not desert their banners and would obey him as their Captain General. He appointed Alcaldes and Magistrates and all that was necessary for a town, and he said that the town was to be called Garayana. He ordered all the horses and soldiers to be disembarked and when the ships were empty he sent them along the coast under a captain named Grijalva, and he [Garay] and all his army went by land along the coast near to the sea, and he marched for two days through a bad uninhabited marshy country, and crossed a river which came from some mountains which they could see from the road, at a distance of about five leagues, and they crossed that great river on rafts and in some broken canoes which they found. As soon as they had crossed the river they came on a pueblo which had been deserted that very day, and found plenty to eat, maize, and even poultry, and there were plenty of very good guavas. Then in that pueblo Garay captured certain Indians who understood a little of the Mexican language. He flattered them and gave them shirts and

sent them as messengers to other pueblos which they told him were near by, in order that they should receive him peaceably. After going round a marsh, he went on to some pueblos, which were those spoken about, and they received him peaceably and gave him plenty to eat and many fowls of the country and other birds like geese which they captured in the lagoons. As many of the soldiers he took with him were wearied, and it seems that he did not give them the things the Indians had brought for them to eat, some of them mutinied, and went off to rob the Indians of the pueblos through which they had passed. They halted in this pueblo for three days, and on the following day they went on their way with guides and reached a great river which they were unable to cross without canoes which were supplied by the Indians of the peaceable pueblos where they had halted. They managed to take over all the horses by swimming, each canoe as it was rowed across leading a horse by a halter, and the horses were numerous and not very clever. On emerging from the river they got into some bad swamps and after suffering great hardship arrived at the land of Panuco.

When they arrived there they expected to find food, but all the towns were stripped of maize and other supplies, and were much disturbed, and this was on account of the wars Cortés had waged against them a short time before. If they possessed any food they had garnered it and placed it in safety, for when they saw so many Spaniards and horses they were afraid of them and deserted their pueblos, and where Garay looked for repose he found more hardship. In addition to this as the houses where they lodged had been deserted there were many bats and bugs and mosquitos, and everything went against them. Next another ill fortune befel them, the ships which were coming along the coast and bringing plentiful supplies had

not reached port nor had they been heard of. This they learned from a Spaniard who came to visit them or whom they found in a town which belonged to the settlers who were established at the town of Santistevan del Puerto. This man had fled from fear of punishment for a crime that he had committed, and he told them that there was a [Spanish] settlement very near by, and that in Mexico there was very good land and that the settlers who lived there were rich. When the soldiers whom Garay had brought with him heard from this Spaniard who conversed with them that the land in Mexico was good, and that of Panuco was not as good, many of them deserted and started for the pueblos to loot them, and went on to Mexico.

About that time, seeing that his soldiers were in revolt and he was not able to prevent it, Garay sent one of his Captains named Ocampo to the town of Santistevan to find out the intentions of Cortes's lieutenant, named Pedro de Vallejo, and he even wrote to him informing him that he brought commissions and authority from His Majesty constituting him Governor and Adelantado of those provinces and how he had made the Rio de Palmas in his ships, and about the bad road and the hardships that he had endured. Vallejo paid much honour to Ocampo and those who went with him, and gave them a pleasant reply, and told them that Cortés would be delighted to have such a good neighbour as Governor but that the conquest of that country had been a great expense to him and that His Majesty had been pleased to grant the government to him, but that he [Garay] could come when he pleased with his army and that he would do all he could to serve him, and he begged him to order his soldiers to do no injury to the Indians and not to rob them, for two pueblos had come to him to complain about it. After saying this Vallejo wrote post

haste to Cortés, and even sent him Garay's letter, and also made Gonzalo de Ocampo himself write another letter.

He sent to ask what Cortés's orders were and [to say] that he must either send many soldiers promptly or must come in person.

As soon as Cortés saw the letter he sent to summon Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Diego de Ocampo, a brother of the Gonzalo de Ocampo who had come with Garay, and he sent with them the authority that he held showing that His Majesty had commanded that all that he might conquer should be held by himself until the question of rights between him and Diego Velásquez should be cleared up and that this should be notified to Garay.

Let us stop talking about this and say that when Gonzalo de Ocampo returned with the answer of Vallejo to Francisco de Garay, it seemed to him a good answer and he came with all his army to occupy [a position] even nearer to the town of Santistevan del Puerto. Pedro de Vallejo, acting upon the information obtained from five of Garay's soldiers who had come to the town [of Santistevan], that the mutineers had halted in a fine and large town called Nachapalan and were very careless and never kept watch, had already made his arrangements with the settlers in the town [Santistevan], so Vallejo's men who knew the country well fell on Garay's people and captured over forty soldiers and carried them off to their town of Santistevan del Puerto. These men were glad of their imprisonment and the reason Vallejo gave for capturing them was that they went about looting the country without showing the commissions and authority that he [Garay] had brought.

When Garay saw this he was much distressed and again sent to Vallejo to say that he must release his soldiers, threatening him with punishment from our Lord and King.

Vallejo answered that as soon as he should see the Royal commissions he would obey them and place them on his head, and it would have been better for Ocampo to have brought and displayed them when he came, so that they might be carried out, and he begged him to order his soldiers to desist from robbing and looting His Majesty's pueblos. At that moment the captains arrived whom Cortés sent with his powers, and as Diego de Ocampo was at that time chief Alcalde for Cortés in Mexico, he began by issuing injunctions against Garay to prevent him entering the country, because His Majesty had commanded that Cortés was to hold it. Several days were taken up with demands and replies, and meanwhile each day many of Garay's soldiers deserted, they were present at dusk and absent at dawn, and Garay saw that Cortés's captains brought with them many horsemen and musketeers and that more arrived every day, and he learned that he had lost two of his ships which he had sent along the coast in a northerly gale which is a foul wind. The Lieutenant Vallejo sent to request the other ships, which were at the mouth of the harbour, to come at once into the river lest some disaster and storm like the last should overtake them, if not that he should treat them as pirates who go about and plunder. The captains of the ships replied that Vallejo had no business to give orders in the matter, and that they would come in when they chose. Just then Francisco de Garay was afraid of Cortés's good luck, and during this critical time the chief Alcalde Diego de Ocampo and Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval held secret conversations with the followers of Garay, and with the captains who were in the ships in port, and arranged with them to come into the harbour and go over to Cortés. Martin de San Juan a native of Lepusco and Castro Mocho, ship masters, surrendered themselves with their ships to the Lieutenant Vallejo for Cortés, and

as he held the ship in the name of Cortés, Vallejo went in them to demand of the Captain Juan de Grijalva, who was [still] at the entrance of the port either to come inside and anchor, or go off to sea whenever he pleased. He [Grijalva] answered him by firing many shots at him. Then they sent a King's notary named Vicente López in a boat to ask him to come into the port, and he also carried letters to Grijalva from Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval and from Diego de Ocampo with offers and promises that Cortés would grant him favours. When he saw the letters and that all the other ships had entered the river, Juan de Grijalva did so also with his flagship, and Vallejo told him that he was a prisoner in the name of the Captain Hernando Cortés; but he released him at once as well as the others who had been arrested.

When Garay saw how little authority he possessed and that his soldiers had deserted and mutinied, and his ships had gone ashore and the rest were taken for Cortés, if he was very sorrowful before they took them from him, he was still more so when he saw himself worsted, and he promptly demanded with many protests made to Cortes's captains, that they should give him back his ships and all his soldiers as he wished to return and settle at the Rio de Palmas, and he exhibited the commissions and authority that he had brought for that purpose, and in order to have neither contentions nor quarrels with Cortés he wished to go back. Those gentlemen answered that he might go and good luck attend him, and that they would order all the mutinous soldiers who were in the province and the pueblos to return at once to their captain and go in the ships, and they would order everything to be supplied to him that was necessary as well in the matter of food as of arms and cannon and powder, and that they would write to Cortés so that he might supply very fully everything of which there was need.

Garay was contented with this reply and offer, and a proclamation was promptly made in that town and in all the pueblos, and Alguaciles were despatched to seize the mutinous soldiers and bring them to Garay. Notwithstanding all the penalties that were threatened the proclamation was in vain, and profited nothing; some of those who were brought in as prisoners said that having arrived in the province of Panuco they were no longer bound to follow him [Garay], nor to keep the oath that he had exacted from them, and others were more outspoken and said that Garay was not a captain who knew how to command, nor a fighting man. When Garay saw that proclamations were of no avail, nor the kindly efforts which Cortés's captains seemed to him to be making to bring in his soldiers, he was in despair. Then, when he saw himself abandoned by all, the gentlemen who had come from Cortés advised him to write at once to Cortés himself and they would act as intercessors with him in order that he should return to the Rio de Palmas, [saying] that they believed Cortés to be so well disposed that he would help him in all that he was able, and that Pedro de Alvarado and Sandoval would be surety for it, and would see that he carried it out.

Garay promptly wrote to Cortés giving him a very full account of his voyage, misfortune and hardships, [and said that] if his excellency ordered it he would come to see him and communicate things helpful to the service of God and His Majesty, commending his honour and estate to him [Cortés] and begging him to carry it [the order] out in a way which would in no way diminish his [Garay's] honour. Pedro de Alvarado, Diego de Ocampo and Gonzalo de Sandoval also wrote entreating Cortés on Garay's behalf that he should be assisted in every way.

As they had been great friends in times gone by, when Cortés saw those letters he was moved to pity Garay and

answered him with much gentleness that he was sorry for all his hardships and that he should come to Mexico and he promised to help him in every way he could with the greatest good will, and he should trust to his power, and he ordered that wherever he should pass great honour be paid him and everything provided that he stood in need of, and he even sent refreshments for him along the road, and when he arrived at Texcoco he had a banquet prepared for him and on his arriving at Mexico Cortés and many gentlemen went out to meet him, and Garay was confounded at seeing so many cities and more so when he saw the great city of Mexico. Cortés at once took him off to his palaces which were then being newly built.

When Cortés and Garay found themselves together, Garay related to Cortés his misfortunes and hardships and charged him to amend matters. Cortés promised it to him very willingly and even Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo de Sandoval proved themselves friendly intercessors, and within three or four days of his arrival there was talk of marrying a daughter of Cortés named Doña Catalina Cortés or Pizarro, who was a child, to a son of Garay, who was his heir, (and Cortés promised him as a dowry with Doña Catalina Cortés a great number of pesos de oro,) and that Garay himself should go to settle at the Rio de Palmas, and Cortés would supply him with everything that was needful for the settlement and pacification of that province, and he even promised to give him some of his own captains and soldiers so that with their help he would be relieved from anxiety in the wars that might ensue, and with these promises and the good will that Garay met with from Cortés he was very cheerful, and I am convinced that Cortés would carry it out in the way he had agreed and arranged.

Let us leave all this about the marriage and the promises and I will relate how at that time Garay went to lodge in

the house of Alonzo de Villanueva, because Cortés was building his houses and palaces and they were of vast size and had as many courts as the Labyrinth of Crete and as it appears that Alonzo de Villanueva had been in Jamaica, when Cortés sent him to purchase horses, (but I cannot say for certain if this was then or afterwards) he was a very great friend of Garay, and on account of this acquaintance Garay himself begged Cortés that he might go to Villanueva's house, and he [Cortés] paid him all the honour he could and all the settlers in Mexico did the same.

I wish to say that Pánfilo de Narvaez, (he whom we had defeated, as I have already related before) was in Mexico at that time, and he came to visit and talk to Francisco de Garay, and they embraced one another and each one began to talk of his hardships and misfortunes, and Narvaez who spoke very freely in the course of conversation said, half laughing, Señor Adelantado Don Francisco de Garay I have been told by some of the soldiers who mutinied and deserted from you that you said to the gentlemen whom you brought in your fleet "Look to it that we behave like men and fight stoutly against these soldiers of Cortés, do not let them catch us unprepared as they caught Narvaez." Well! Señor Francisco de Garay, when they fought with me they destroyed this eye, and robbed from me and burned all I possessed and even killed my ensign and many soldiers and they captured my captains but they never caught me as unprepared as they have told you I was. I would have you know that there has never been in the world so lucky a man as Cortés, and he has such captains and soldiers that one can quote each one of them as fortunate in his undertakings as Octavius, in conquests as Julius Cæsar, and in overcoming difficulties and fighting battles as Hannibal. Garay replied, there was no necessity to tell him so, one could see what he had

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stated in their deeds, for what [other] man in all the world would, with so few soldiers, have dared to run his ships ashore, and trust himself to make war among such strong towns and great cities.

Narvaez answered reciting other great deeds and praises of Cortés and one and the other kept up the talk about the conquest of this New Spain in the manner of a conference.

Let us leave these flatteries that took place between them and say how Garay begged Cortés to give Narvaez permission to return to the Island of Cuba to his wife named Maria de Valenzuela who was rich on account of the mines and the good Indians which Narvaez owned, and, in addition to Garay begging it of him with many entreaties, the wife of Narvaez herself had sent to beg Cortés in writing to let her husband go, for it appears they were known to one another when Cortés was living in Cuba, and they were *compadres*.¹ So Cortés gave him permission and assisted him with two thousand pesos de oro. As soon as Narvaez received this permission he humbled himself greatly before Cortés, and after first promising him that in all matters he would be his servant, he went off promptly to Cuba.

We will not talk any more about this, but state what was the end of Garay and his fleet, and it was this, that on going one Christmas night in the year fifteen hundred and twenty three, in company with Cortés to Matins, after returning from the church, they breakfasted with much merriment, and an hour later, Garay was caught in a sudden draught and not having been well before, was taken with pleurisy and high fever. Doctors were sent for to bleed and purge him and when they saw that the malady was increasing they told him that he had better confess and make his will, which he did at once and left Cortés as executor, and after receiving the holy Sacra-

¹ The relationship between godfather and godmother.

ments, within four days of being taken ill he gave up his soul to our Lord Jesus Christ who created it. The land of Mexico has this peculiarity, that within three or four days they die of this malady of a pain in the side [pleurisy] as I have already stated before, as we had already learned by experience when we were at Texcoco and Coyoacan and so many of our soldiers died. So Garay was dead, may God pardon him. Amen. They paid high honour to him in his funeral and Cortés and other gentlemen put on mourning.

As there were some malicious persons who were on bad terms with Cortés, there were not wanting those who said that he had ordered arsenic to be given Garay in his breakfast and it was great wickedness on the part of those who thus slandered him, for he certainly died a natural death and the doctors Ojeda and the Licentiate Pedro López, who attended him, swore that it was so.

Garay died away from his own country, and in a strange house and far from his wife and children.

Let us cease talking about this and speak again of the province of Panuco. When Garay had come away to Mexico, as his captains and soldiers had no chief nor any one to command them, they wished to make captain one of the soldiers whom I will here name, whom Garay brought in his company, these were called Juan de Grijalva, Gonzalo de Figueroa, Alonzo de Mendoza, Lorenzo de Ulloa, Juan de Medina the squint-eyed, Juan Dávila, Antonio de la Cerda, and one Taborda, this Taborda was the most turbulent of all those in Garay's camp, and over all of them there was appointed as Captain a son of Garay whom Cortés wished to marry to his daughter, but they did not respect him or pay any attention to him, neither those whom I have named nor any others of his company, on the contrary, they got together in parties of fifteen or twenty and went about robbing the pueblos and seizing by

force the women and the cloths and poultry as though they were in the land of the Moors robbing whatsoever they could find.

When the Indians of that province observed this, they agreed one and all to kill them, and within a few days they sacrificed and ate more than five hundred Spaniards all belonging to Garay's party. In one pueblo it happened that they sacrificed more than one hundred Spaniards together; in most of the pueblos they only killed, sacrificed and ate the stray Spaniards who were wandering about, for these could neither offer resistance nor would they obey the settlers of the town of Santistevan which Cortés had established. When they [the settlers] sallied out to make war on them [the Indians,] the multitude of warriors was so great that they could avail nothing against them, and things came to such a pass, and the Indians grew so daring, that many of them attacked the town and fought so boldly by day and by night, that it ran great risk of being taken, and had it not been for seven or eight Conquistadores, old followers of Cortés, and for the Captain Vallejo, who posted sentinels and went the rounds and encouraged the rest, [the Indians] would certainly have entered the town. Those Conquistadores told the rest of the soldiers of Garay that they must always endeavour to keep close to them in the field, and that there in the open they were much better off and that they should not return to the town, and so it was done, and they fought with them [the Indians] three times and although the Captain Vallejo was killed and many others were wounded they defeated the Indians and killed many of them. All the Indians, natives of that province, (I cannot now remember the name of it) were so furious that on one night they burned to ashes forty Spaniards and killed fifteen horses, and many of the men were followers of Cortés and all the rest followers of Garay.

When Cortés came to know about the havoc they wrought in this province he was so angry that he wished to go against them in person, but as he was very ill with a broken arm he could not go, and he promptly ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval to go with a hundred soldiers, fifty horsemen, two cannon and fifteen musketeers and crossbowmen and he gave him eight thousand Tlaxcalans and Mexicans and he ordered him, not to return until he left them well punished so that they could not revolt again.

Sandoval was very valiant, and when he was entrusted with matters of importance neither slept at night nor delayed long on the road, and he gave orders to the horsemen with the greatest forethought how they were to charge in and out among the enemy. As he had received news that all the companies of warriors of those provinces were awaiting him at two bad passes, he determined to send one half of his army to one bad pass, and he halted with the other half of his company on the other pass, and he gave orders to all the musketeers and crossbowmen that only some of them should fire while the others loaded, and that they should attack the enemy and see if they could put them to flight. The enemy shot off many javelins, arrows and stones and wounded eight soldiers and many of our allies. When Sandoval saw that he could not get through them, he stayed at that pass until it was night and sent to order the others who were at the other pass to do the same. The enemy never deserted their posts, and the following morning when Sandoval saw that he was not gaining any advantage by staying there as he had ordered, he sent to summon the other companies, whom he had sent to the other bad pass, and made them strike camp and return on the road to Mexico as though they were frightened. When the natives of those provinces who were close by thought that they were retreating through fear, they came out into

the road and followed after them yelling and shouting out insults, and although more Indians were coming out in his rear, still Sandoval never turned on them, and this was to put them off their guard so that as they had already stood waiting there three days, he could return and get through the bad passes that night with all his army. This he did returning at midnight and, catching them somewhat off their guard, he got through with his horsemen, but it was not so free from danger, for they killed three of his horses and wounded many soldiers. As soon as he found himself and his armies in good country and clear of the bad pass, he on one side and the rest of his company on the other, fell on the great squadrons which had collected together that night as soon as they knew that he had turned back, and they were so numerous that Sandoval had some mis-giving lest they should break his ranks and rout him, and he ordered his soldiers to close upon him so that they might fight together, for he saw and understood that enemies of that sort would come like rabid tigers and throw themselves on the points of their swords. They had already captured six lances from the horsemen who were not men accustomed to warfare, and Sandoval was so angry at this that he said it would have been better to bring fewer soldiers [but men] whom he knew, instead of those he had brought.

He there gave instructions to the horsemen who had lately arrived how they were to fight, that is with their lances held rather short, and not to stop to give thrusts, except at the faces, and to press on ahead until the enemy were put to flight, and he told them that it was a well-known thing that if they stopped to give thrusts that the first thing the wounded Indian did was to catch hold of the lance; that as soon as they saw the enemy turn tail that then they should follow them at an easy pace the lance still held short, and if they [the Indians] should catch hold of the lance, (for even then they will grab at them,)

they should put spurs to their horse, and wrest it quickly out of their hands, holding the lance tightly with the hand and firmly grasped under the arm so as to gain more strength to drag it from the power of the enemy, and if he would not leave go to drag him along by the strength of the horse.

Then when he had already given them orders how they were to fight and had seen all his soldiers and horsemen closed up together, he camped that night on the banks of a river, and there he stationed good sentinels, and watchmen and patrols and ordered the horses to be kept saddled and bitted throughout the night, and the musketeers crossbowmen and soldiers all to be on the alert. He ordered the Tlaxcalans and Mexicans to encamp their companies a little way apart from us, for he already had experience in the affairs at Mexico that if the enemy were to come during the night to attack the camps our allies would be no hindrance to them. Sandoval was afraid they would come because he had observed companies of the enemy gathering together very near his camps, and made sure they must come and attack us that night, and he heard many yells and trumpets and drums very near by. It was understood that our allies had told Sandoval what the enemy were saying, that as soon as dawn came they intended to kill Sandoval and all his company. The patrols came twice to give notice that troops were being called together from many parts and were assembling, and as soon as there was daylight Sandoval commanded all his companies to set out in grand array. He once more reminded the horsemen of what he had often told them before, and they advanced through the field towards some huts where they heard the drums and trumpets, and they had hardly gone a quarter of a league before three squadrons of warriors came out to meet him and began to surround them. When he saw that he ordered half of the

horsemen to attack them on one side and the other half on the other, and although they killed two of the soldiers who had lately come from Castile, and three horses, still he broke them up in such a way that from that time on he kept on killing and wounding them and they did not get together as before. Then our allies the Mexicans and Tlaxcalans did much damage in all those pueblos, and captured many persons and set fire to all the pueblos they found before them until Sandoval was able to reach the town of Santistevan del Puerto and found the settlers in such a state and so weakened that they kept inside, some of them badly wounded and others ill, and what was worse they had no corn to eat neither they nor the twenty eight horses, and this was because they were attacked both by day and by night and they had no opportunity to bring in maize or anything else, and up to the very day that Sandoval arrived they [the Indians] had not desisted from attacking them, but they then abandoned the attack.

After all the settlers of that town had gone to see and speak to Captain Sandoval and to give him thanks and praise for having come to them in time to rescue them, they told him about Garay and that had it not been for seven or eight old Conquistadores, followers of Cortés, who helped them greatly, they would have run great risk of losing their lives, for those eight [soldiers] went out every day into the open, and made the other soldiers go out also and held out so that the enemy could not get into the town, for they acted as leaders and everything was done according to their advice, and they ordered the sick and wounded to stay inside the town and all the rest to wait in the open, and in that way they held out against the enemy.

Sandoval embraced them all and ordered these same Conquistadores, whom he knew well and who were his friends, especially one Navarrete y Carracosa and one de

Alamilla and five others, all followers of Cortés, to divide among them the horsemen, musketeers, and cross-bowmen which [he] Sandoval had brought with him, and go in two directions and bring in maize and supplies and make war and capture all the people they were able, especially the Caciques. Sandoval gave these orders because he could not go himself as he was badly wounded in the thigh, and had been struck by a stone in the face. Many other soldiers in his company were wounded, and so that they should get cured he stayed in the town for three days and did not go out to make war, for as he had sent out the captains already mentioned, and knew that they would do well, and saw that they quickly sent in maize and supplies, on this account he remained in camp for three days.

They also sent him many Indian women and common people who had been captured and five chieftains who had been captains in the wars, and Sandoval ordered them to free all the common people except the chieftains, and sent them word that from that time onwards only those should be taken who were concerned in the death of Spaniards, and no women nor boys, and that with kindly words they should send to summon them, and they did so.

Certain soldiers from among those who had come with Garay who were persons of importance whom Sandoval found in that town, and who were those through whose doings those provinces had risen in revolt, (I have already named most of them in the last chapter) when they observed that nothing whatever was apportioned to them by the followers of Cortés, began to murmur among themselves and they even persuaded other soldiers to speak evil of Sandoval and his actions, and even began to talk of raising an insurrection in the country, under the pretence that the son of Francisco de Garay was there with them as Adelantado. When Sandoval got to know about it, he spoke very clearly to them and said "Gentlemen, instead

of thinking well of me, because thanks to God, I came to your assistance, I have been told that you say things that gentlemen such as you are should not say, I am not depriving you of your position and honour by sending those whom I found here as leaders and captains, if I had found your honours here as commanders how base would I have been, if I had deprived you of your commands. I should like to know one thing. Why were you not commanders before the siege was raised? What you have one and all told me, is that if it had not been for those seven old soldiers that you would have suffered greater hardships, and as they knew the country better than your honours for that reason I appointed them. Therefore gentlemen in all our conquests in Mexico we do not consider these points and matters, but only how to serve His Majesty well and loyally; and thus I beg that from now onwards you will do the same. I shall not stay in this province many days, unless they kill me here, as I am going to Mexico. The man who will be left here as lieutenant of Cortés will give you plenty of employment, as for me, grant me your pardon."

With this he finished with them, yet they did not give up their ill will towards him. After this had taken place Sandoval promptly set out the following day with those whom he had brought in his company from Mexico, and with the seven whom he had sent out, and he had such a method that he captured as many as twenty Caciques all of them concerned in the death of over six hundred Spaniards who had been killed, partly followers of Garay, and partly followers of Cortés who had remained as settlers in the town. He also sent to summon all the other towns to make peace, and many of them came, and with the others he forgave it although they did not come. When this was done he wrote post haste to Cortés giving him an account of all that had happened, and [asking] what his

orders were with regard to the prisoners, and as Vallejo (whom Cortés had appointed his lieutenant) was dead of an arrow wound, who should be put in his place? He also wrote to say that the soldiers, mentioned by me, had behaved like very brave men. When Cortés saw the letter he was delighted that the province was already at peace, and at the time the letter was given to Cortés there were in his company many gentlemen who were Conquistadores and others who had come from Spain, and Cortés said before them all "Oh! Gonzalo de Sandoval under what great obligation I am to you and of how many difficulties you relieve me." And all praised him highly, saying that he was a very perfect captain, and might be classed among the most famous.

Let us leave these praises and say that Cortés promptly wrote [to say] that, in order that with more justification he could legally punish those who were concerned in the death of so many Spaniards and robberies of goods and deaths of horses, he would send the chief Alcalde Diego de Ocampo to act as judge, and the punishment to which he would justly sentence them should be carried out, and he ordered him as far as he was able to appease the natives of that province, and not allow the followers of Garay nor any other persons whatever to rob or illtreat them.

When Sandoval saw the letter and that Diego de Ocampo was coming he was rejoiced at it, and within two days of the arrival of the chief Alcalde Ocampo, after Sandoval had given him an account of what he had done and what had happened, they commenced a suit against the captains and Caciques who were concerned in the deaths of the Spaniards, and on account of their confessions they pronounced sentence against them and some of them they hanged and burned, and others they pardoned and they gave the office of Cacique to their sons and brothers to whom it would descend by right.

When this had been done, it appears that Diego de Ocampo brought instructions and orders from Cortés for an enquiry as to who those were who invaded and robbed the country and busied themselves in factions and quarrels enticing other soldiers to mutiny, and he ordered that they should be made to embark in a ship and sent to the Island of Cuba, and he even sent two thousand pesos for Juan de Grijalva if he should wish to return to Cuba [and said] that if he wished to remain he would help him and give him full permission to come to Mexico and the end of many arguments was that all willingly wished to return to the Island of Cuba where they owned Indians, so he ordered them to be given plentiful supplies of maize and poultry and all the things that the country produced and they returned to their homes in the Island of Cuba.

As soon as this was done Sandoval and Diego de Ocampo returned to Mexico where they were well received by Cortés and all the City, and from that time onwards that province never revolted again. Let us cease to speak further about it and relate what happened to the Licentiate Zuazo in the voyage when he came from Cuba to New Spain.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

How the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo came in a Caravel to New Spain and ran on some Islands called Las Víboras (the Vipers) and what else happened to him.

AS I have already related in the last chapter, which speaks about the visit of the Licentiate Zuazo to Francisco de Garay at the Port of Xagua which is in the Island of Cuba, near to La Trinidad, and how Garay pressed him to come along in his fleet so as to act as mediator between him and Cortés, because he was well aware that disputes over the Government of Panuco were sure to arise, and Zuazo

promised to do so after he had rendered an account of the Residencia, for the responsibility rested with him of seeing justice done in that Island of Cuba where he was at present living. As soon as he [Zuazo] was through with his work he hastened to hand in his reports and to set sail and get to New Spain whither he had promised to go. He embarked in a small ship and whilst proceeding on his voyage, after passing the Point called San Anton, which is also called the land of the Guanataveys, who are savage Indians and do not serve Spaniards, sailing in his ship which was of small burden, either because his pilot mistook the course or because the course was varied by currents, he struck on some islands which are among the shoals known as Las Víboras. Not far distant from these shoals are others called Los Alacranes, and among these Islands large ships have often been lost, and what saved the life of Zuazo was that his ship was of small burden.

To return to our story; so as to get the ship to an Island which they saw near-by, which was not flooded by the sea, they threw overboard much salt pork and other things which they had brought as ship's stores so as to lighten the ship and be able to reach the island without touching ground. Then a great number of sharks fell on the pork, and were so greedy that they seized one of the sailors who had jumped into the water, which was up to their waists, and tore him to pieces and swallowed him, and if the rest of the sailors had not quickly returned to the Caravel all would have perished, as the sharks were inflamed with the blood of the sailor they had killed. Using their best efforts they reached the Island with the Caravel, and as they had already thrown into the sea the supplies and cassava bread, they had nothing to eat, nor any water to drink, nor fire, nor anything else with which to sustain themselves, save only some sun-dried beef which they had failed to throw into

the sea. By good luck they had brought in the Caravel two Cuban Indians who knew how to make fire with some small dry sticks which they found on the Island to which they were carried, and with these they made fire, and they dug in a sand beach and got out some brackish water. As the Island was small and had sand beaches, many turtles as broad and round and bigger than large shields, came to lay their eggs there, and as they came out [of the water] the Cuban Indians turned them over with their shells upwards, and each one of them was wont to lay over two hundred eggs about the size of ducks' eggs, so with these turtles and many eggs they had enough to sustain the thirteen persons who escaped to that Island. They also killed some seals which came out by night to the sand beach and were very good as food.

Finding themselves in this condition, as there happened to have come in the Caravel two ships carpenters and who had their tools with them, they determined to build a boat in which to sail, and with the boards, nails, tow, tackle and sails which they took from the ship that was wrecked they made a very good boat, like a jolly-boat, in which three sailors, one soldier and a Cuban Indian set out for New Spain. For supplies they carried turtle and the cooked [flesh of the] seals, and with some brackish water and a chart and ships compass, after commending themselves to God, they went on their voyage sometimes with fair weather and sometimes with foul, until they arrived at the port of Chalcocueca, which is the Rio de Banderas, where at that time the merchandize that came from Spain was discharged, and thence to Medellin where Simon de Cuenca was stationed as Lieutenant for Cortés. When the sailors who came in the boat told the Lieutenant the great danger in which the Licentiate Zuazo was placed, Simon de Cuenca promptly, without any delay, searched for sailors and a ship of small burden, and despatched

it with plentiful supplies to the Island where Zuazo was [stranded].

And Simon de Cuenca wrote to the Licentiate himself how delighted Cortés would be at his coming, and at the same time he let Cortés know all that had happened and how he had sent the ship well supplied. Cortés was pleased at the good provision that the Lieutenant had made and ordered that when he [Zuazo] arrived in port he should be given all that was needful, clothes and horses, and that he should be sent to Mexico.

Let me go back to say that the ship had a good voyage to the Island, at which Zuazo and his people were rejoiced, and they embarked in it and with good weather speedily arrived at Medellin, where much honour was paid him, and he went to Mexico, and Cortés gave orders that they should go out to receive him and carried him off to his palaces, rejoiced with him, and made him his chief Alcalde. So ended the voyage of the Licentiate Alonzo de Zuazo and let us cease talking about it. I declare that this account that I have given is taken from a letter that Cortés wrote us to the town of Coatzacoalcos to the municipality, in which what I have here said was stated, and within two months this very boat in which the sailors had come to give the news about Zuazo, arrived at the port of that town, and it was there used as a lighter for discharging cargo, and the same sailors told us the story in the way it is here written down. Let us leave this and I will relate how Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to pacify the provinces of Guatemala.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

How Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to the province of Guatemala to found a city and bring the people to peace, and what was done about it.

CORTÉS always had lofty thoughts and in his ambition to command and rule wished in everything to copy Alexander of Macedon, and as he always had excellent Captains and accomplished soldiers about him, after he had established the great cities of Mexico, Oaxaca, Zacatula, Colima, la Vera Cruz, Panuco and Coatzacoalcos, as he had received news that in the Province of Guatemala there were strong towns with large populations, and that there were mines there, he determined to send Pedro de Alvarado to conquer and settle it ; for although Cortés himself had already sent to that province to beg the people to come in peaceably, they would not come. So he gave to Alvarado for that expedition over three hundred soldiers and among them one hundred and twenty musketeers and crossbowmen. Moreover, he gave him one hundred and thirty five horsemen and four cannon and much powder, and a gunner named something de Usagre and over two hundred Tlaxcalans and Cholulans, who went as auxiliaries. Then he gave him [Alvarado] his instructions, charging him to endeavour with the greatest care to bring the people to peace without making war on them, and to preach matters concerning our holy faith by means of certain interpreters and ecclesiastics whom he took with him, and not to permit sacrifices nor sodomy nor the robbing of one another ; and that when he met with prisons and cages in which it was the custom to keep Indians confined in order to fatten them up for food, he should break them down, and liberate the captives from the prisons, and with kindness and good-will he should

bring the people to render obedience to His Majesty, and in all respects should treat them well.

Then after Pedro de Alvarado had said good-bye to Cortés and all the gentlemen who were his friends in Mexico, they took leave of one another and he set out from that city on the thirteenth day of the month of November in the year fifteen hundred and twenty three.

Cortés ordered him to go by certain rocky hills in the province of Tehuantepec, which were near his road, where the people were in revolt. He brought [the inhabitants of] these rocky hills to peace. The hill was known as the Peñol de Guelamo because it was then in the encomienda of a soldier named Guelamo.

From thence he went to Tehuantepec, a large pueblo of the Zapotecs, where they received him very well for they were at peace, and they had already gone from that town (as I have stated in a former chapter which tells about it) to Mexico and given their fealty to His Majesty and had seen Cortés and moreover had taken him a good present of gold.

From Tehuantepec he [Alvarado] went to the province of Soconusco, which at that time was thickly peopled by more than fifteen thousand inhabitants¹; they also received him peaceably and gave him a present of gold and surrendered themselves as vassals to His Majesty. From Soconusco he arrived near to another group of villages named Zapotitlan,² and on the road at a bridge over a river where there was a bad pass, he came across many squadrons of warriors who were waiting for him to prevent his passage, and he fought a battle with them in which they killed a horse and wounded many soldiers and two of them

¹ The word is *vecinos*, which here applied to natives probably means households, not individuals.

² Capotitan in the text. (Zapote in the District of Soconusco, State of Chiapas?)

died of their wounds. So numerous were the Indians who had joined together against Alvarado, not only from Zapotitlan but from other towns in the neighbourhood, that in spite of the number that they [the Spaniards] wounded they were not able to drive them off. Three times they attacked Alvarado and it pleased Our Lord that he conquered them and they made peace.

From Zapotitlan the road led to a strong pueblo named Quetzaltenango, and before reaching it he had other encounters with the natives of that pueblo and with others from a neighbouring pueblo called Utatlan¹ which was the capital of certain pueblos which in their turn are in the neighbourhood of Quetzaltenango, and they wounded some soldiers and killed three horses, although Pedro de Alvarado and his people killed and wounded many of the Indians. Then there was a bad ascent for more than a league and a half through a defile. With the musketeers and crossbowmen and all his soldiers in good order he began the ascent, and at the top of the pass he found a fat Indian woman who was a witch, and a dog (one of those they breed because they are good to eat and do not know how to bark) sacrificed. Further on he came upon a vast number of warriors who were laying in wait for him, and they began to surround him ; as the track was bad and among mountains the horsemen were not able to gallop or turn swiftly nor to make use of their mounts, but the musketeers and crossbowmen and soldiers with sword and shield fought stoutly with them hand to hand, and they went on fighting from the hill and pass downwards until they reached some barrancas where they had another but not very severe skirmish with other squadrons of warriors which were waiting for them in those barrancas. This was owing to a stratagem which

¹ Utlatan in the text.

they had arranged among themselves in this manner: that as Pedro de Alvarado advanced fighting, they should pretend to retreat, and as he would go on pursuing them to where over six thousand warriors, men from Utatlan and other pueblos subject to them were laying in wait there they intended to kill them (the Spaniards). Pedro de Alvarado and all his soldiers fought with them with the highest courage, and the Indians wounded twenty-six or twenty seven soldiers and two horses; nevertheless he [Alvarado] put them to flight, but they had not gone far before they rallied with other squadrons and turned to fight again, thinking to defeat Pedro de Alvarado. It was near a spring that they awaited them so as again to come hand to hand, and many of the Indians would lay in wait by twos and threes near to a horse and try by force to pull it down, and others caught them by the tail. And here Pedro de Alvarado found himself in great straits, for the enemy were so numerous they were not able to bear up against the squadrons who attacked them from so many directions. Then he and all his men, as soon as they saw that they had either to conquer or die, fearing that they might not defeat the enemy, on account of the cramped position in which they found themselves, made a bold attack with the muskets and crossbows and with sturdy sword cuts, and obliged them to draw back somewhat. Then the horsemen were not slow in spearing the enemy and trampling them down and passing through them until they had them routed, so that they did not assemble again for three days. When he [Alvarado] saw that there was no longer any enemy with whom to fight, he remained in the open country foraging and seeking for food, without going to any settlement for two days. Then he went with all his army to the pueblo of Quetzaltenango, and there he learnt that in the past battles they had killed two Captains who were Lords of Utatlan. While he was resting and

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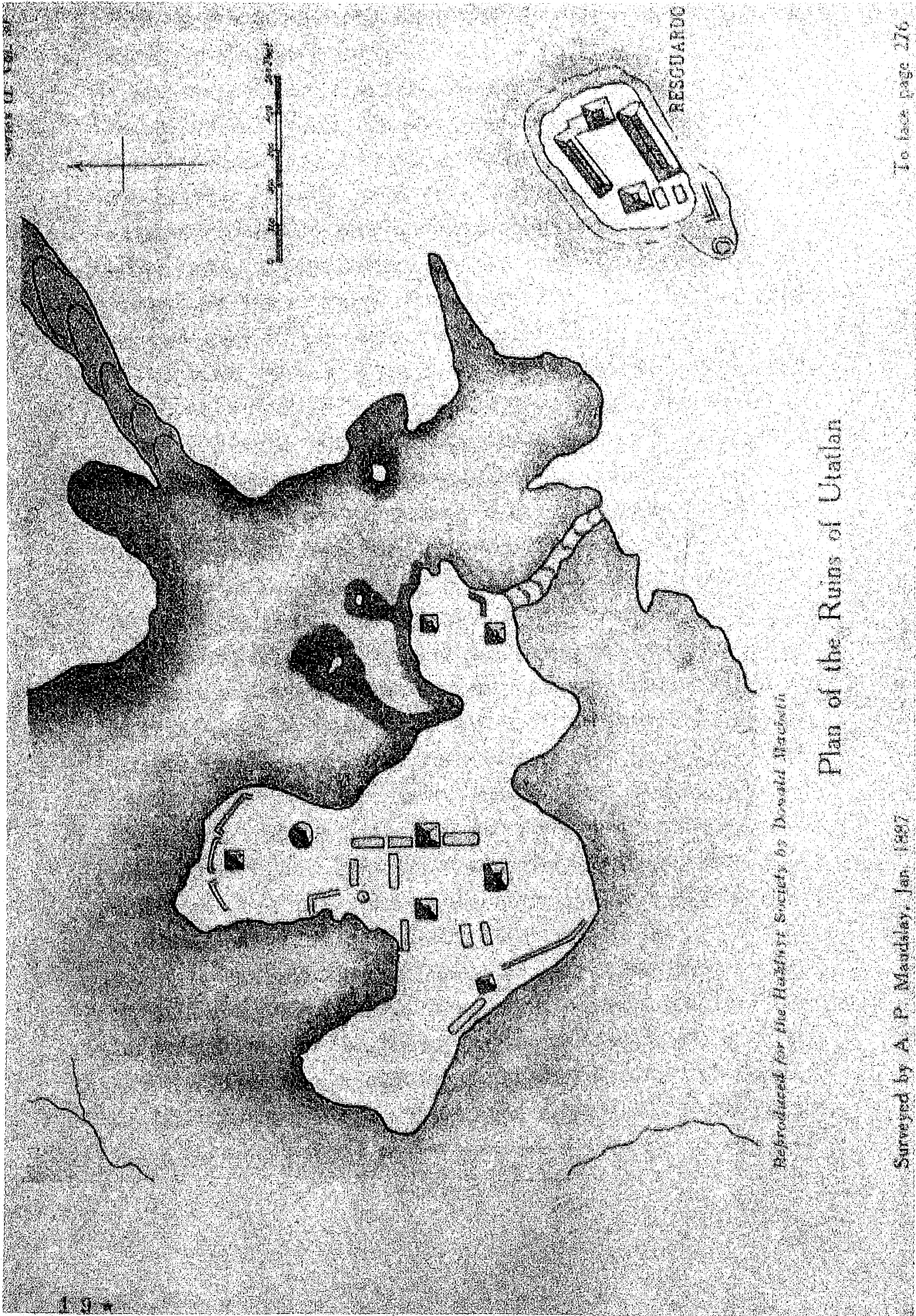
tending the wounded he received the news that all the forces of those neighbouring pueblos were again marching against him ; that a great number had assembled together,¹ and they were coming with the determination to die to the last man or to conquer.

When Pedro de Alvarado knew this he sallied out with his army to a plain, and as the enemy came on with such determination and began to surround the army and to shoot javelins, arrows and stones and [to attack] with lances, and as the ground was level, and the horses were able to gallop in all directions, he charged on the squadrons of the enemy in a way that soon made them turn their backs. Here many soldiers were wounded as well as a horse, and it seems that some Indian Chieftains from that pueblo itself were killed as well as from all that country, so that after the victory those pueblos had a great fear of Alvarado, and the whole of the district agreed to send to him and beg for peace, and they sent him a present of gold of little value to induce him to make peace.

It was fully agreed between all the Caciques of all the pueblos in the province that they should again collect a far greater number of warriors than before, and they ordered their warriors to assemble secretly among the barrancas of that town of Utatlan.

If they sent to ask for peace it was because Pedro de Alvarado and his army were in Quetzaltenango making expeditions and raids and continually bringing in Indian men and women as prisoners, and so as to induce him to go to another pueblo named Utatlan which was stronger and surrounded by barrancas, in order that when they had him inside, in a place where they thought they could get

¹ Blotted out in the original, "more than two Xiquipiles, that is sixteen thousand Indians, for each Xiquipil numbers eight thousand warriors.



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Plan of the Ruins of Utatlan

Surveyed by A. P. Maudslayi, Jan. 1897

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the better of him and his soldiers, they might attack them with their warriors who were already prepared and hidden away for that purpose.

Let us go back to say that when the numerous chieftains came before Pedro de Alvarado with the present, after making obeisance according to their custom, they asked his pardon for the past wars and offered themselves as vassals of His Majesty, and said that as their pueblo was large and in a pleasanter position and was nearer to other townships where they could attend to him better, they begged him to go there with them.

Pedro de Alvarado received it [the present] with great [show of] affection, and did not understand the cunning they were employing, and after alluding again to the evil they had done in making war, he accepted their overture of peace. The next day early he accompanied them with his army to Utatlan¹ for so the pueblo was called.

When he had made his entry, he saw what a stronghold it was, for it had two gateways, and one of them had twenty-five steps before entering the town, and the other entrance was by a causeway that was very bad and broken in two places, and the houses were close together and the streets narrow, and there were neither women nor children in any part of the town, which was surrounded by barrancas, and no food had been provided except what was bad and [that came] late and the chieftains were very shifty in their speeches. [Moreover] some Indians from Quetzaltenango warned Pedro de Alvarado that that very night it was intended to burn them all in the town if they remained there and that many squadrons of warriors had been stationed in the barrancas so that as soon as they saw the houses were burning they should join the people of Utatlan and attack them [the Spaniards] some from

¹ Vtlatan, in the text.

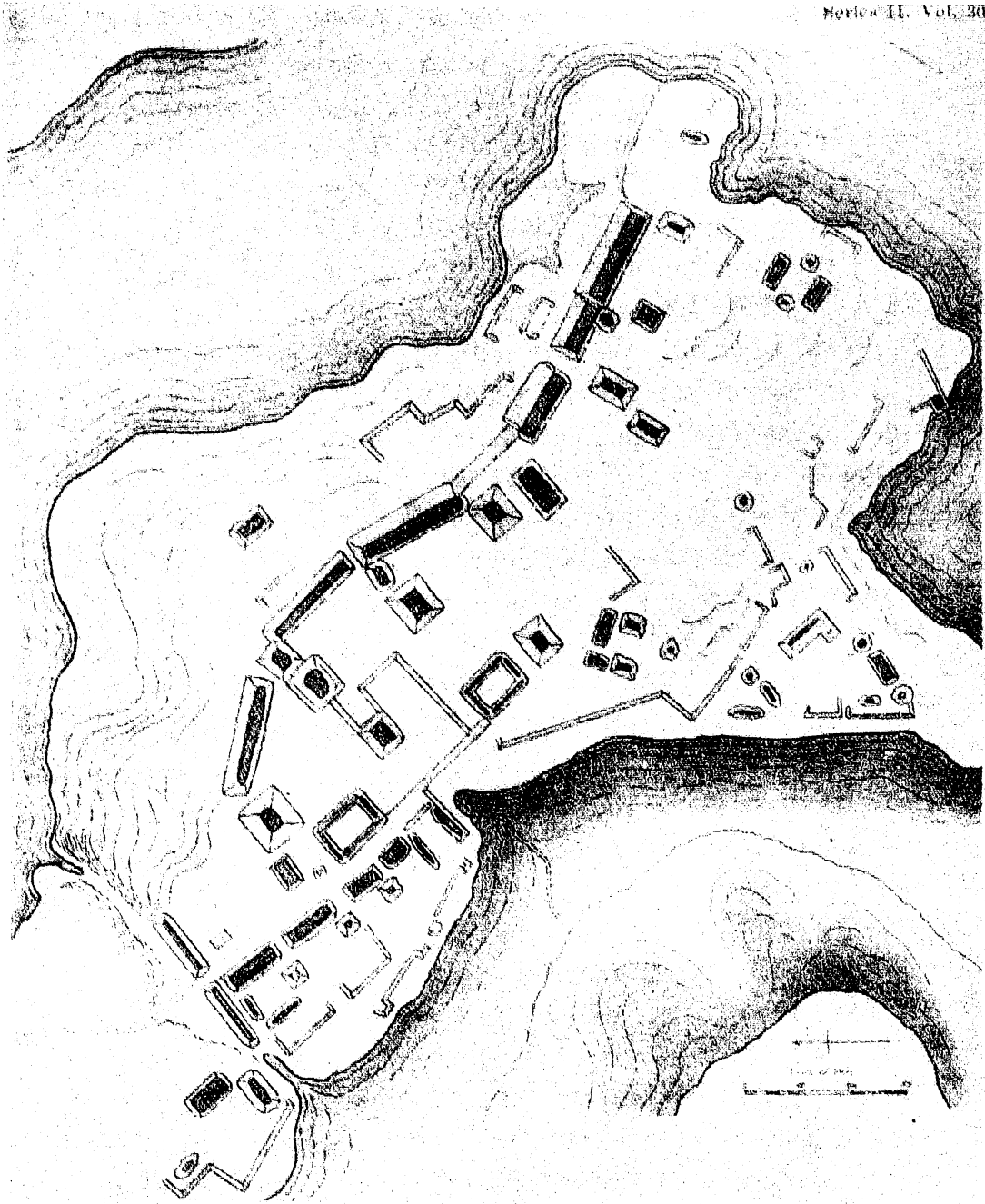
one side and some from the other and that with the fire and the smoke they would be helpless and would be burned alive.

When Pedro de Alvarado understood the grave danger in which they stood, he quickly ordered his Captains and all his army without delay to get out into the open, and he told them the danger they were in, and when they understood it there was no delay in getting out on to the level part close to some barrancas, for just then they had not time to get [right] out into the open plain from the midst of such dangerous passes.

Throughout this Pedro de Alvarado displayed good will towards the Caciques and chieftains of that town and of the other towns in the neighbourhood and told them that as the horses were accustomed to go about grazing in the fields for a part of the day, that was the cause of his having come out of the town, as the houses and streets were so crowded. The Caciques were very sorrowful at seeing them depart in this way, and Pedro de Alvarado could no longer tolerate the treason which they had planned in concert with the squadrons that they had assembled, so he ordered the Cacique of the town to be seized and as justly ordered him to be burned, and he gave the lordship to his son. Then he promptly got out on to the level land away from the barrancas and fought the squadrons which had been got ready for the purpose I have mentioned, and after having thus provoked his strength and ill will, they were defeated.

Let us cease talking about this and say how at that time news had reached a large pueblo called Guatemala¹ of the battles that Pedro de Alvarado had fought since he entered the Province, in all of which he had been victorious, and

¹ Guatimala in the text. This is Tecpan-Guatemala, or Iximché, about 23 miles N.E. of the Lake of Atitlan.



Reproduced for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Maebeth

Plan of the Ruins of Iximché (Guatemala)

Surveyed by A. P. Maudslay, 1887

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that at present he was in the land of Utatlan whence he was making expeditions and attacking many pueblos. As the people of Utatlan and their dependent pueblos were enemies of the people of Guatemala,¹ the latter determined to send messengers with a present of gold to Pedro de Alvarado and offer themselves as Vassals to His Majesty and they sent word that if he had any need of their personal services for that war they would come.

Pedro de Alvarado received them with good will and gave them many thanks for their offer, and in order to see if what they had told him was true, and because he knew nothing of the country, he sent to ask for two thousand warriors to show him the way, and he did so on account of the many barrancas and bad passes that had been intentionally made in order to impede their passage, so that if it were necessary they [the native warriors] should put them in order, and they could carry the baggage. The people of Guatemala sent them (the warriors) to him with their captains.

Pedro de Alvarado remained in the province of Utatlan seven or eight days, making raids against the rebel pueblos which had given their fealty to His Majesty and after giving it had risen in revolt. They branded many slaves and Indian women, and after the royal fifth was paid the rest were divided among the soldiers. Then he went to the City of Guatemala and was received and entertained by the Caciques of that city, who told him that near by there were some pueblos on the borders of a lake who were their enemies and made war on them and they held possession of a very strong rocky hill, and that the people of that pueblo although they knew well that they [the Spaniards] were not far off, and that Pedro de Alvarado

¹ Utatlan was the Capital of the Quichés, Guatemala the Capital of the Cachiouels.

was with them, did not come to tender their fealty as the other pueblos had done, and they were bad people and of worse habits. The said pueblo was called Atitlan¹ and Pedro de Alvarado sent to summon them to come and make peace, and told them that he would treat them well and sent them other smooth messages.

The reply they made was to ill-treat his messengers. Seeing that this availed nothing, he sent other messengers to induce them to make peace, and because he sent three times to ask for peace, and each time they used abusive words [to his messengers], Pedro de Alvarado went in person to them, and he took with him over one hundred and forty soldiers and among them twenty musketeers and crossbowmen and forty horsemen and two thousand Guatemalans. When he arrived near the pueblo he again requested them to make peace, and they only replied to him with bows and arrows and began to shoot.

When he saw this and that not far off there was a rocky hill in the water crowded with warriors, he went to the margin of the lake and two fine squadrons of Indian warriors came out to meet him with great lances and good bows and arrows and many other arms and corselets, sounding their drums, and with ensigns and plumes, and he fought with them for a good while and many of the soldiers were wounded, but the enemy did not remain long on the field but went fleeing for protection to the rocky hill, with Pedro de Alvarado and his soldiers after them.

They soon gained possession of the Peñol and many [of the enemy] were killed and wounded, and there would have been more if they had not all thrown themselves into the water and crossed to an island.

Then they [the Spaniards] looted the houses which were near the lake and went to a plain where there were many

¹ Atitan in the text.

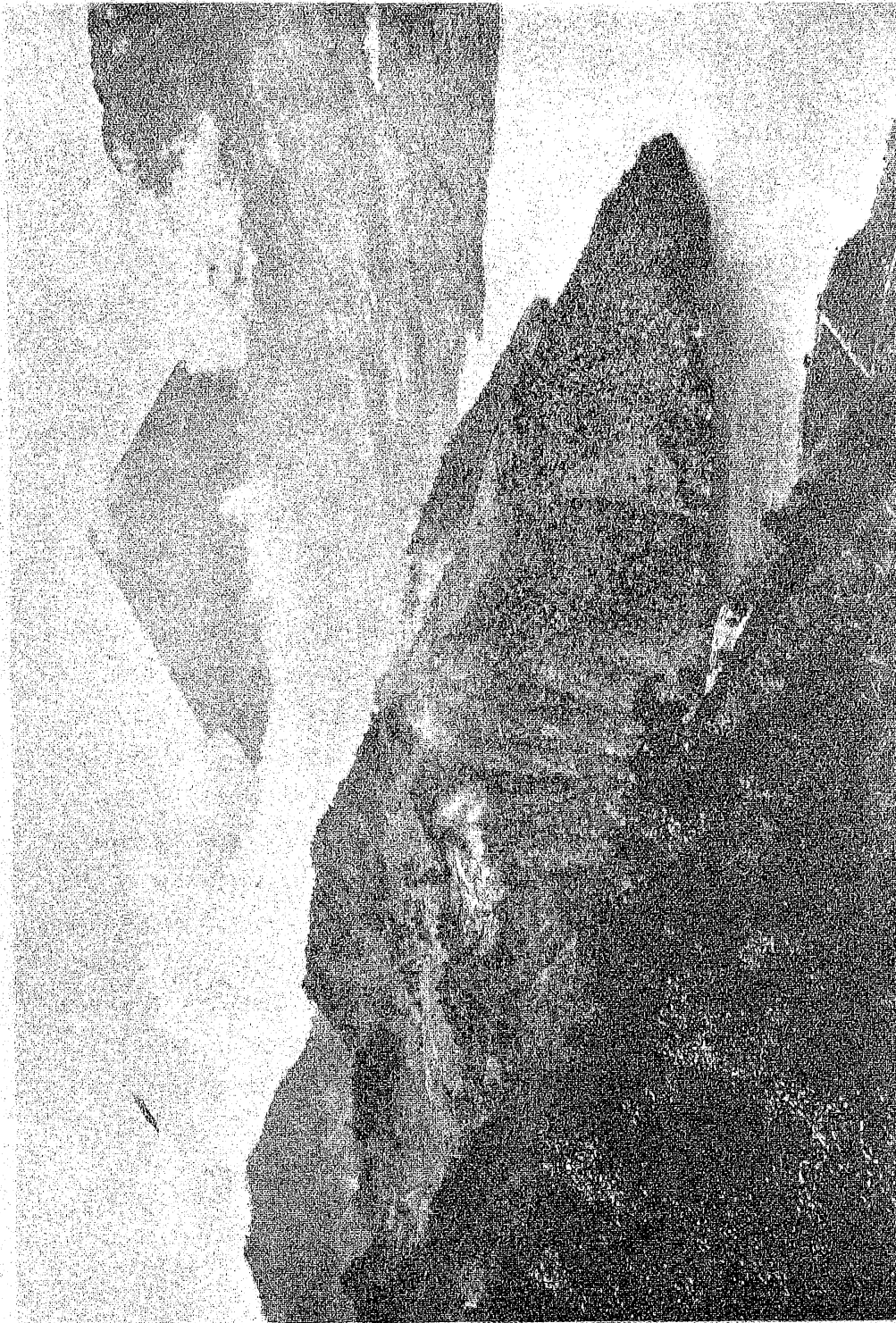


Photo by A. P. Maudslayi.

THE LAKE OF ATITLAN.
SMOKE and CLOUD.

maize fields and they slept there that night. The next day early in the morning they went to the pueblo of Atitlan, for so I have already said it was called, and found it deserted. Then he ordered his men to scour the country and the orchards of Cacao trees¹ of which there were many, and they brought in two chieftains of that pueblo as prisoners.

Pedro de Alvarado promptly sent these two chieftains, together with those who had been captured the day before, to beg the other Caciques to make peace, saying that he would give up all the prisoners to them and would receive them and pay them honour, but if they did not come he would wage war on them as he had on the people of Quetzaltenango and Utatlan and would cut down the trees in their Cacao plantations and do all the damage he could.

At the end of more arguments with these promises and threats they soon came to make peace and brought a present of gold and offered themselves as vassals to His Majesty.

Then Pedro de Alvarado and his army returned to Guatemala and were there some days without doing anything worthy of record, but all the pueblos of the neighbourhood made peace as well as others on the south coast named the Pipiles. Many of these pueblos which came to make peace complained that on the road by which they came there was a town called Escuintepeque² where there were bad people who would not allow them to pass through their country, but came to rob their pueblos and

¹ Alvarado, in his letter to Cortés describing this expedition, says nothing about cacao plantations, certainly there are no cacao plantations at the level of the lake, 5000 ft. above the sea. The Spaniards must have gone over the pass and down the Pacific slope to find them.

² Escuintla or Mataquesuintla ?

they made many other complaints against them, and they were not true, for persons whose words are worthy of credit say that they [the complaints] were made up, and he [Alvarado] went there to rob them of very beautiful Indian women and did not summon them to make peace.

Pedro de Alvarado determined to go to them with his entire force of horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen and many allies from Guatemala, and he fell upon them one morning by surprise and did them great damage and made many captures, and it would have been better had he not done so, for, as in justice must be admitted it was an ill deed and not in accordance with His Majesty's commands.

Now we have told the story of the Conquest and pacification of Guatemala and its provinces, and it is told more completely in a history which has been compiled of it by a settler in Guatemala a relation of the Alvarados, named Gonzalo de Alvarado, where it can be seen more fully, in case I have here made any mistakes.

I say this because I was not present at these conquests [and did not enter this country] until the time that we passed through these provinces when they were all at war in the year 1524, and that was when we came from Higueras and Honduras with Captain Luis Marin, and we found ourselves there at the time that we were returning to Mexico, and moreover I state that we had at that time some warlike encounters with the natives of Guatemala and they had made many pits and impediments in bad passes among the mountains so that we should not pass on account of the great barrancas, and even between a town named Cuajiniquilapa¹ and Petapa in some deep ravines we were detained fighting with the natives of that land for two days for we could not cross a bad pass, and

¹ Juanagaçapa in the text.

then they wounded me with an arrow shot, but it was a small matter, and we got through with great difficulty although many warriors from Guatemala and other towns, were stationed in the pass.

As there is much to tell about this and I am obliged to recall to mind some things which should come in their proper time and place, (and all this happened at the time when there was a report that Cortés and all of us who had gone with him to Higuera were dead) I will leave it now and tell about the expedition that Cortés sent to Higuera and Honduras; I will also state that in this province of Guatemala the Indians were not fighters for they only lay in wait for us in the barrancas, and with their arrows they did nothing.

CHAPTER CLXV.

How Cortés sent a fleet to pacify and conquer the provinces of Higuera and Honduras, and sent Cristóbal de Olid as Captain, and what happened I will go on to relate.

NOW Cortés heard news that there were rich lands and good mines in the country of Higuera and Honduras, and some pilots who had been in those parts, or very near to them, gave him to understand that they had met with some Indians fishing in the sea, whose nets they had seized, and the sinkers attached to them for the fishing were made of a mixture of gold and copper, and they also told him that in those parts they believed that there was a strait by which one could pass from the north to the south coast. Moreover, as we understood that His Majesty had instructed and ordered Cortés during all his discoveries to be on the look-out, and use the greatest diligence and perseverance in searching for a strait, pass or passage to the Spice Islands, so at this time, whether it was on account of the

gold, or to search for the passage, Cortés decided to send Cristóbal de Olid, who had been Quartermaster during the affair of Mexico, as Captain of the expedition—on the one hand because he was a man of his own making, and was married to a Portuguese lady named Doña Felipa de Arauz, already mentioned by me on other occasions,—on the other hand because Cristóbal de Olid held a good assignment of Indians near to Mexico, and Cortés thought he would be faithful and do what he was told to do.

Because such a long journey by land involved great difficulty, hardship and expense, he decided to send him by sea as it would not be so troublesome and costly, and he gave him five ships and a sloop well supplied with guns and powder and provisions and sent in them one hundred crossbowmen and musketeers and twenty-two horses, and among the soldiers were five Conquistadores of our company who came with Cortés himself in the beginning, and had served His Majesty well throughout the conquest, and they already possessed homes and were taking their rest. I thus express it because it was no use saying to Cortés, “Señor, let me take a rest, for I have done work enough,” for he made them go, whither he ordered, by force if they would not go willingly.

He (Cristóbal de Olid) took with him one Briones, a native of Salamanca who had been a Captain of a launch and a soldier in Italy, and this Briones was very turbulent and an enemy of Cortés, and he took many other soldiers who were not on good terms with Cortés because he had not given them good assignments of Indians nor shares of the gold. In the instructions which Cortés gave him (C. de Olid) it was stated that from the port of Villa Rica his course would be to the Havana, and that there in the Havana he would find one Alonzo de Contreras an old soldier of Cortés, a native of the town of Orgaz, who had taken with him six thousand pesos de oro, with which to

buy horses and cassava, hogs, bacon and other things necessary for the fleet. Cortés sent this soldier on ahead of Cristóbal de Olid, because if the settlers at the Havana saw the fleet approaching they would raise the price of horses and all the other provisions. He ordered Cristóbal de Olid, on arriving at the Havana to take over all the horses which had been bought, and from thence to shape his course for Higueras, which was an easy passage and quite near by, and he ordered him, as soon as he had disembarked, in a friendly way, and without killing any Indians, to endeavour to found a town at some good harbour and to bring the natives of the province to peace, and to seek for gold and silver, and to make enquiries and endeavour to find out if there was a Strait, and what harbours there were on the South Coast, if he should reach it. He gave him two Clerics, and one of them understood the Mexican language, and he ordered him to preach diligently to the natives on the subject of our holy faith, and not to permit sodomy nor human sacrifices but quietly and in a friendly way to root them out. He also ordered him to break open all the wooden houses where they kept Indian men and women imprisoned, fattening them to be sacrificed and eaten, and to free the unhappy prisoners. He also ordered him to set up crosses all over the country, and he gave him many images of Our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria so that he could place them in the towns, and he said these words to him :

“Brother Cristóbal de Olid, in the manner which you have seen that we have acted in this New Spain, endeavour to act yourself.”

And after embraces and farewells with much affection and good will Cristóbal de Olid took leave of Cortés and all his household and went to Villa Rica where his fleet was stationed fully equipped, and on a certain day of the month and year he embarked with all his soldiers and with

good weather arrived at the Havana. There he found the horses that had been bought and all the rest of the supplies, and five soldiers, who were persons of quality, of the company that had been turned out of Panuco by the orders of Diego de Ocampo because they were such robbers and so turbulent. I have already given the names of some of those soldiers in a former Chapter dealing with the pacification of Panuco, and for that reason I will not name them now. These soldiers advised Cristóbal de Olid, as there was reported to be rich country where he was going, and as he had such a large and well equipped fleet and many horses and soldiers, to revolt at once against Cortés and not to acknowledge him any longer as his superior, or to support him in anything. Moreover, Briones, often mentioned by me before, who accompanied him in the flagship had often said the same thing to him in secret, and as soon as this plot was agreed upon he [Briones] promptly wrote on the subject to the Governor of the Island who as I have already said many times was named Diego Velásquez, the mortal enemy of Cortés.

Diego Velásquez came to where the fleet was stationed, and what was arranged was that he and Cristóbal de Olid should between them take the land of Higuera and Honduras for His Majesty, in his royal name, and that Diego Velásquez would provide what was necessary and would make it known to His Majesty in Castile so that the Government should be given to him [Velásquez]. In this way the partnership in the fleet was arranged.

I wish to state here the quality and demeanour of Cristóbal de Olid; had he been as wise and prudent as he was personally energetic and brave both on foot and on horseback he would have been a perfect man, but he was not fit to command but only to be commanded; he was about thirty-six years of age and a native from near Baeza or Linares and in appearance was tall, brawny, very

robust and broad across the shoulders, he had a good figure and was somewhat ruddy, and he had very good features and his lower lip was always wrinkled as though it were cleft. His speech was somewhat coarse and threatening, but he was a fluent talker and had the additional good trait of being generous.¹ In the beginning when he was in Mexico he was a faithful follower of Cortés, but his ambition to command and not be commanded, added to [the advice of] bad councillors, blinded him, moreover as he was brought up in the house of Diego Velásquez when a youth, and was interpreter in the Island of Cuba, he felt the obligation of the bread that he had eaten in his house, [although] he was more beholden to Cortés than he was to Diego Velásquez.

When this arrangement had been made with Diego Velásquez, many other settlers from the Island of Cuba joined Cristóbal de Olid, especially those who as I have stated, advised a revolt.

As there was nothing further to be done in that Island, for all the stores had been placed on board the ships, he ordered the whole fleet to hoist sail, and with favourable weather, went on to disembark in a sort of bay about fifteen leagues beyond Puerto Caballos. He arrived there on the 3rd May, and for this reason he named the town, which he promptly laid out, Triunfo de la Cruz, and he appointed as Alcaldes and Regidores those to whom (when he was in Mexico) Cortés had ordered him to give appointments and pay respect. He took possession of those lands for His Majesty and for Hernando Cortés in his Royal Name, and he issued other decrees which were necessary, and all this that he did was so that the friends of Cortés should not understand that he was in revolt, and so that if

¹ Blotted out in the original, "he never had anything of his own, for he gave it all away." G. G.

possible he might make good friends of them when the matter came to their knowledge.

Moreover, he did not know if the land would turn out to be rich and productive of mines as they told him. He shot at two marks, the one was, as I have said, that if there were good mines and the country was thickly peopled, to revolt with it, and the other, if it did not turn out so well, to return to Mexico to his wife and assignments and to excuse himself to Cortés by telling him that the partnership which he made with Diego Velásquez was in order that he should supply him with provisions and soldiers and not to support him [Velásquez] in any way, and this he could easily [see], for he took possession through Cortés; and these were his thoughts according to what many of his friends, who have been consulted on the subject have stated.

Let us leave him already settled at Triunfo de la Cruz, Cortés knew nothing about it for more than eight months. And because I shall be obliged to return again and speak about him I will drop the matter at present and relate what happened to us at Coatzacoalcos and how Cortés sent me with Captain Luis Marin to pacify the province of Chiapas.

NOTE TO CHAPTER CLXVI.

THE topography of the States of Tabasco and Chiapas presents great difficulties. The modern maps are very imperfect, and many of the original Indian names have disappeared. The topography of the State of Tabasco will be more fully dealt with in the next Volume (which deals with Cortés's march to Honduras), in which I hope to include the map of the State drawn by Melchior de Santa Cruz in 1579. It will here suffice to say that in the sixteenth century the main stream of the great river of Chiapas, after passing Huimanguillo, appears to have flowed into the sea at the Barra de dos Bocas, by what is now marked on some maps as the Rio Seco, and what is

now the main stream between Huimanguillo and San Juan Bautista, called the Rio Mescapalapa, was then merely a connecting link between the Rio de Chiapas and the Rio Grijalva.

Between Latitude 17° 50' N. and the sea, the rivers Chiapas, Grijalva and Usumacinta are all connected by a network of waterways.

CHAPTER CLXVI.

How those of us who had settled at Coatzacoalcos were constantly going about pacifying the provinces which revolted against us, and how Cortés ordered Captain Luis Marin to go and conquer and pacify the Province of Chiapas and ordered me to go with him and what happened during the pacification.

As many of us old Conquistadores and persons of quality were established in the town of Coatzacoalcos and had large tracts [of land] allotted to us consisting of this same province of Coatzacoalcos and Cintla,¹ Tabasco, Cimatan,² Chontalpa³ and in the mountains above Quechula⁴ and the [land of the] Zoques and Quilines towards Zinacantan⁵ and Chamula⁶ and the City of Chiapas of the Indians and Papanaguastla and Pinola⁷ and on the other side, toward the borders of Mexico, the province of Xaltepec⁸ and Huaspaltepec,⁹ Chinantla, Tepeca and many other pueblos, and as at the beginning most of the provinces of New Spain rose in revolt when we demanded tribute from

¹ Çitla in the text, Cintla near Tabasco, see vol. i, p. 108.

² Çimatan in the text is not marked on the modern maps. In the map of Melchoir de Santa Cruz the cattle ranch of Don Francisco Cimatan is marked on the Rio Mescapalapa and the three pueblos of Oscimatanes on the Rio Acatlapa (Acachapa).

³ Chontalpa, now Cardenas, a province of Western Tabasco.

⁴ Cachula in the text, 40 miles N.W. of Tuxtla Gutierrez.

⁵ Zinacantan, near San Cristóbal, State of Chiapas.

⁶ Chamula, near San Cristóbal, State of Chiapas.

⁷ Pinola, between San Cristóbal and Comitán.

⁸ Xaltepec, or Jaltepec, District of Choapam.

⁹ Guaspaltepec in the text, near Playa Vicente, Dist. of Choapam

them, and even murdered their Encomenderos and killed¹ those Spaniards whom they could capture with safety, it came to pass that there was hardly a province left belonging to this town that was not in rebellion, and for this reason we were always going about from pueblo to pueblo with a company, bringing them to peace. As the people of Cimatan would neither come to the town nor obey the commands that were sent to them, Captain Luis Marin decided, (so as to avoid sending a company of many soldiers against them,) that four of the settlers should go and pacify them. I was one of them and the others were named Rodrigo de Nao a native of Ávila, and Francisco Martin a Semi-Biscayan, and the other was called Francisco Ximénes a native of Ynguejuela² in Estramadura. What our Captain ordered us to do was to summon them firmly and with kindly affection to be peaceable, and not to use language that might offend them. So we went on our way to their province where the pueblos stand amidst great swamps and rapid rivers, and when we arrived within two miles of their pueblo we sent messengers to say we were coming, and the answer they gave was that three squadrons of archers and lancemen came out against us, and in the first skirmish they killed two of our companions with their arrows, and they gave me my first arrow wound in the throat, and with the great loss of blood, (I could neither bind up the wound nor check the flow of blood immediately), my life was in great danger. Then my other companion Francisco Martin the Biscayan, who was wounded, although he and I always kept our faces to the enemy and wounded some of them, decided to cut and run and take refuge in some canoes which were near the great river called the Maçapa.³

¹ Acapillavan in the text. See note, vol. ii, p. 4.

² Herguijuela?

³ Mezcalapa?

As I was left alone and badly wounded, dazed and stupefied I thought of hiding among some high bushes so that they should not quite kill me, but coming to myself with a brave heart I said: "May our Lady avail me, if it is true that I must die here to-day in the hands of these dogs" and I was so emboldened that I sallied out of the thicket again and rushed upon the Indians and after some good cuts and thrusts they made way for me and I got out from among them and; although they wounded me again, I reached the canoes where I found my companion Francisco Martin the Biscayan already in one of them with four friendly Indians, who were those whom we had brought with us to carry our provisions, and those Indians, while we were fighting with the Cimatecs, had abandoned their burdens and taken refuge in the canoes on the river, and what saved my life and that of Francisco Martin was that the enemy stopped to plunder our clothes and boxes.

Let us cease talking any more about this and say that it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ that we should escape death there, and in the canoes we crossed that river, which is very large and deep and has many alligators in it, and so that the Cimatecs, (for so they are called) should not follow us we remained for eight days in the forest.

When a few days later this news was known in Coatzacoalcos, and the Indians who brought the news (who were some of those we had taken with us) reported that we were dead as well as all four Indians who, as I have said, remained in the canoes, but the very Indians who carried this news had fled as soon as they saw that we were wounded and left us to do the fighting. Within a few days they arrived in the town, and as we did not appear, and there was no news of us they thought that we were dead. As is the custom with regard to Indians, and was usual at that time, the Captain Luis Marin had already allotted our Indians to other Conquistadores and had sent

off messengers to Cortés to send the warrants of allotment, and they had even sold our property. At the end of twenty days we arrived at the town, at which some of our friends rejoiced, but those to whom our Indians had been given were sorry

When Captain Luis Marin saw that we could not pacify those provinces I have named, but, on the contrary, they killed many of our Spaniards, he decided to go to Mexico to ask Cortés for more soldiers and assistance and military stores, and he ordered that while he was away none of the settlers should leave the town to go to pueblos far away but should only go to those within four or five leagues and then only to procure food. When he reached Mexico he reported to Cortés all that had happened and he (Cortés) ordered him to return to Coatzacoalcos and sent with him about thirty soldiers and among them Alonzo de Grado, whom I have often mentioned, and he gave orders for us to go with all the settlers in the town and the soldiers that he (Luis Marin) was bringing with him to the province of Chiapas which was hostile, to pacify it and establish a town.

When the Captain arrived with those despatches we all of us got ready, both those who were settled there as well as those he had just now brought, and we began to clear a road through some very bad forest and swamps, and we threw into them logs and branches so that the horses could pass, and after great difficulty we managed to come out at a pueblo named Tepuzuntlan,¹ for up to that time we were accustomed to go up the river in canoes, for there was no other road opened. From that pueblo we went to another pueblo up in the hills called Quechula,² and that it may be clearly understood, this Quechula is in the mountains in

¹ On the Rio Mescalapa or Grijalva.

² Quechula, Cachula in the text, on the right bank of the R. Mescalapa, or Grijalva, dist. of Tuxtla.

the province of Chiapas, and I say this because there is another town of the same name near Puebla de los Angeles. From Quechula we went to some other small towns subject to this same Quechula and we went on opening new roads up the river which comes from the town of Chiapas for there was no road whatever.

All the people in this neighbourhood stood in great fear of the Chiapanecs¹ for certainly at that time they were the greatest warriors that I had seen in all New Spain, although that includes Tlascalans, Mexicans, Zapotecs and Mijes,² and this I say because the Mexicans had never been able to master them. At that time the province was thickly peopled and the natives of it were extremely warlike and waged war on their neighbours the people of Zinacantan³ and all the pueblos of the Quilena language, also against those called the Zoques and continually robbed and took prisoners in other small pueblos where they were able to seize booty, and with those whom they killed they made sacrifices and glutted themselves.

In addition to this on the roads to Tehuantepec⁴ they had many warriors stationed at bad passes to rob the Indian merchants who traded between one province and the other, and because of the fear of them trade between one province and another was sometimes stopped. They had even brought other pueblos by force and made them settle and remain near to Chiapas, and held them as slaves and made them cultivate their fields.

Let us return to our road, we proceeded up the river towards their city, and it was during Lent in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-three, but this matter of the year I do not remember well, and before reaching the town

¹ Chiapanecs, the people of Chiapas (Chiapa in the text).

² Minxes in the text.

³ Zinacantan, near San Cristóbal.

⁴ Teguantepeque in the text.

of Chiapas a review was held of all the horsemen, musketeers, crossbowmen and soldiers who went on that expedition, and it could not be done before this time, because some of the settlers of our town and others from outside had not joined, for they were busy in the pueblos of the allotments of Quechula demanding the tribute that these were obliged to pay, for now that they came under the protection of a Captain and soldiers they dared to go among those who before had neither paid tribute nor cared a snap of the fingers for us.

Let us go back to our story, there proved to be twenty-seven horsemen fit for fighting and another five who were not fit, fifteen crossbowmen and eight musketeers and one cannon and plenty of powder and a soldier for gunner and this same soldier said that he had been in Italy, and I say this here because he was no good at all and a great coward, and we mustered seventy soldiers with sword and shield, and about eighty Mexicans and the Cacique of Quechula with some of his chieftains, and these people of Quechula that I have mentioned went trembling with fear, and by flattering them we got them along so that they might help us to clear the roads and carry the baggage.

As we went along in good order, and were already near to their townships, four of the most active soldiers, of whom I was one, always went ahead as spies and scouts. I left my horse for others to bring along, for it was not [the sort of] country where horses could gallop. We always kept half a league ahead of the Army, and as the Chiapanecs are hunters, they were then out hunting the deer. As soon as they perceived us they were all called together by great smoke signals, and as we arrived at their townships we observed they had very broad roads and large plantations of maize and other vegetables, and the first pueblo we came upon which is called Ixtapa¹, which is

¹ Estapa in the text, about 15 miles N.E. of Chiapas.

about four leagues distant from the Capital, had just then been deserted, and there was much maize and other supplies there and we had plenty to eat for our supper. While we were resting at this spot, and had stationed our sentinels, spies and scouts, two horsemen who had been acting as scouts came in to report, shouting: Alarm! Alarm! they are coming, all the fields and roads are crowded with Chiapanec warriors! We who were always fully on the alert went out to meet them before they reached the pueblo and fought a great battle with them, for they had many fire hardened javelins and their throwing-sticks and bows and arrows, and lances much longer than ours, and good cotton armour and plumes, and others had clubs like *macanas* and where the battle took place stones were plentiful and they did us much damage with their slings, and they began to surround us so cleverly that with the first shower of arrows they killed two of our soldiers and four horses, and wounded over thirteen soldiers and many of our allies, and they gave Captain Luis Marin two wounds. We were fighting that battle from the afternoon until after nightfall, and as it grew dark and they had felt the edge of our swords, and the muskets, crossbows and lance thrusts, they retreated at which we rejoiced. We found fifteen of them dead and many others wounded and unable to get away, and with two of those whom we captured there, who appeared to us to be chieftains, we held conversation and obtained news, and they said that the whole country was prepared to attack us on the following day. That night we buried the dead and looked after the wounded and the Captain who was ill with his wounds, for he had lost much blood because he would not leave the fighting to attend to them or bind them up and they had become chilled.

As soon as this was done we stationed good sentinels, spies and scouts and we kept the horses saddled and

bridled and all of us soldiers were on the alert, for we felt sure that they would attack us during the night, and as we had seen their tenacity in the past battle, and that neither with crossbows, lances nor muskets and not even with swordplay could we make them retreat or give way a single step, we took them to be very stout fighters and high spirited in battle.

That night orders were given as to how we horsemen were to attack in parties of five each, with the lances held short, and that we were not to stop to give lance thrusts until they were put to flight, but to hold the lances high, aimed at their faces, and to trample them down and go on ahead. This method I have already said before, Luis Marin and even some of us old Conquistadores, had given as advice to the new comers from Castile, and some of them did not trouble to obey the command, thinking that in giving a lance thrust to the enemy they were doing some good, but it turned out badly for four of them, for the Indians seized their lances and with these they wounded them and the horses. I wish to say that six or seven of the enemy got together and threw their arms round the horses thinking to capture them by hand and they even dragged one soldier off of his horse, and if we had not come to his rescue they would have carried him off to be sacrificed,—he died within two days.

To return to our story, the next morning we decided to continue our march to the city of Chiapas for truly one can call it a city and it was thickly peopled and the houses and streets well arranged, and there were more than four thousand citizens, not counting many other subject pueblos around it. We went on our way in good order, with the cannon loaded and the gunner wide awake to what he had to do, and we had not marched four leagues when we met all the forces of Chiapas, plains and hills were crowded with them, they came on with their great plumes and good

armour, long lances, arrows and javelin throwing-sticks, slings and stones, and with loud shouts, yells and whistles, it was appalling to see how they attacked us hand to hand and began to fight like raging lions. Our negro gunner whom we had brought with us—and well one may call him black—restrained by fear and trembling, neither knew how to aim nor to fire the cannon, and when at last through the shouts we hurled at him he did fire it, he wounded three of our own soldiers and did no good whatever.

When the Captain saw how things were going, all of us horsemen charged, formed in groups as we had arranged, and the musketeers, crossbowmen, and soldiers with sword and shield forming in a body helped us very much, but the enemy who fell upon us were so numerous that it was fortunate that we who were present in those battles were men who were innured to even greater dangers by which others would have been scared, and even we were astonished ourselves, and when Captain Luis Marin said to us “Señores, Santiago and at them, let us repeat our charge once more,” with brave spirit we struck them such a blow that they soon turned their backs. Where this battle was fought there was some rocky ground very bad for galloping horses, so we were not able to pursue them. As we went along after them not very far from where the fight began, and we were going rather carelessly thinking that they would not get together again that day, there were other squadrons of warriors, larger than the last, all fully armed, behind some hills, and many of them carried ropes with which to cast lassos over the horses and tie them so as to pull them over, and on all sides they had stretched many nets such as they use for catching deer, for the horses and for us. All the squadrons that I have mentioned were coming to clash with our army and being very strong and vigorous warriors they gave us such a drubbing with

arrows, javelins, and stones that they wounded nearly all of us, and they captured four lances from the horsemen and killed two soldiers and five horses. Then they brought in the middle of their squadrons a rather aged and very fat Indian woman, and they were said to look on that woman as a goddess and prophetess, and she had told them that as soon as she arrived where we were fighting we should at once be vanquished, and she brought some incense in a brazier and some stone Idols, and all her body was painted and cotton was stuck on to the painting, and without the slightest fear she went among our Indian allies who came on in a body with their captains, and the cursed goddess was promptly cut to pieces.

To go back to our battle, as soon as Luis Marin and all of us saw such a multitude of warriors coming against us and fighting so boldly, we commended ourselves to God and charged upon them in the same order as before, and little by little we broke them up and put them to flight. They hid themselves among some great rocks and most of them threw themselves into the river which was close by and was deep, and went off swimming, for they are especially good swimmers.

As soon as we had defeated them we gave thanks to God, and we found many of them dead where the battle had been fought, and others wounded, and we decided to go to a village on the river (near to the ford [leading] to the city),¹ where there were very good cherries, for as it was Lent it was the time when they were ripe, and in that village they were very good.

There we halted all the rest of the day, burying the dead in places where the natives of the village could not get at them or find them and we attended to the wounded and ten [wounded] horses and there we decided to sleep

¹ The site of the city appears to have been on the left bank of the river.

with every precaution of sentinels and spies. A little after midnight ten Indians crossed over from two villages which were situated near the capital City of Chiapas, and they came in five canoes across the river which is here large and deep and they came rowing in silence, and the rowers were ten Indians, persons of importance, natives of the villages which were near the Rio de los Pueblos, and they disembarked near our camp, and as they jumped on shore they were promptly captured by our sentinels, and they were content to be captured and taken before the Captain and said "Sir, we are not Chiapanecs but belong to other provinces called Xaltepeque, and these evil Chiapanecs in the great wars they have made on us have killed many people and the greater part of our townspeople with their women and children they brought here to settle, and they have taken all the property we possessed and have already held us as slaves for more than twelve years and we work their plantations and maize fields, and they make us go fishing and do other service and they take our daughters and wives from us, and we come to give you notice that to-night we will bring you many canoes in which you may cross the river, and we will also show you a ford although it is not very shallow, and what we beg Señor Captain, if we do this good deed, is that when you have conquered and routed these Chiapanecs you will give us leave to get out of their power and return to our own lands. To incline you the more to believe our statements to be true we are bringing you in the canoes, which have now crossed over and been hidden away in the river with some of our companions and brothers, presents of three jewels shaped like diadems, and we also bring poultry and cherries." Then they asked leave to fetch them and said that it had to be done very silently so that the Chiapanecs who were watching and guarding the passes of the river should not perceive them.

When the Captain understood what these Indians told him and the great assistance they would be in crossing that strong and rapid river, he gave thanks to God, and showed good will to the messengers, and promised to do what they asked him and even to give them clothes and the spoil we might gain in that city. He learned from them that in the two last battles we had killed and wounded more than one hundred and twenty Chiapanecs, and that they had many other warriors ready for the next day and they had made the villages where these messengers lived come out to fight against us, but that we should have no fear of them, on the contrary they would assist us, and that they [the Chiapanecs] would be waiting for us when we crossed the river although they thought it impossible that we should have the daring to cross it, and that when we were crossing it they would there defeat us.

When they [the Xaltepecs] had given this information, two of these Indians stayed with us and the rest went to their pueblo to give orders that very early in the morning twenty canoes should be brought, and they kept their word very well.

After they had departed we rested a little during what remained of the night, but not without caution and patrols, sentinels and spies for we heard the great murmur of the warriors who were assembling on the bank of the river and the sound of their trumpets, drums and horns.

As soon as it was dawn we saw the canoes which were being openly brought, in spite of the Chiapas forces, for it seems that they [the latter] had already found out that the natives of those small pueblos had risen in revolt and had gained courage, and were on our side, and some of them had been captured, and the rest had entrenched themselves in a great Cue, and for this reason there were skirmishes and fights between the Chiapanecs and the small pueblos I have mentioned. They promptly went to show us the

ford, and these allies made us hurry on so as to cross the river quickly for fear lest their companions who had been captured that night should be sacrificed. Then when we came to the ford which they showed us, it was running very deep, all of us formed up in good order, both crossbowmen, musketeers and horsemen, and the friendly Indians from the two small pueblos with their canoes, and although the water reached nearly to our chests we all huddled together so as to resist the force and impetus of the water, and it pleased Our Lord that we crossed nearly to the other side of the river, but before we finished crossing many warriors came against us and poured on us a rain of javelins from throwing sticks, and arrows and stones, and others came with great lances and wounded almost all of us some with two or three wounds, and they killed two horses, and one horse soldier named something Guerrero or Guerra was drowned while crossing the river by falling with his horse into a strong rapid, he was a native of Toledo, and his horse got to land without his master.

To return to our fight, for some time they were attacking us as we crossed the river and we could neither make them retreat nor were we able to reach the land, but just then the people of the small pueblos who had grown valiant against the Chiapanecs came to our aid and fell on the rear of those who were fighting with us in the river, and they killed and wounded many of them, for they were very hostile to them for having kept them captive so many years. As soon as we saw this the horsemen quickly got to land and next the crossbowmen, musketeers, the sword and shield men and the friendly Mexicans, and we gave them a good drubbing and they went fleeing to their pueblo, and no Indian waited for another. Then without further delay we formed up in good array with our banners unfurled, and with many Indians from the two small

pueblos in our company, we entered the city and when we reached the densest part of it where their great Cues and Oratories stood, the houses were so close together that we did not dare to make our camp there but [went out] into the open and a site where even if they did set fire to it, they could do us no damage.

Our Captain at once sent to summon the Cacique and Captains of that town to make peace, and three Indians from the small friendly pueblos went as messengers, one of them was called Xaltepec, and six Chiapanec Captains whom we had taken prisoners in the late battles were sent with them. And he [Luis Marin] sent to tell them to come promptly to make peace and he would pardon them for what was past, but if they did not come, we would go and look for them and make worse war on them than before, and would burn their city. Owing to those hectoring words they came at once and even brought a present of gold and excused themselves for having made war and gave their fealty to His Majesty, and prayed Luis Marin not to allow our allies to burn any houses, for before entering Chiapa they had already burned many houses in a small pueblo situated a short distance before reaching the river, and Luis Marin gave them his promise and he kept it, and ordered our Mexican allies and those we had brought from Quechula not to do any harm or damage. I wish to say that this Quechula that I mentioned here is not the one that is near Mexico but a pueblo of the same name in the mountains on the road to Chiapas over which we passed. Let us leave this and say that in that city we found three prisons of wooden gratings, full of prisoners fastened by collars round their necks, and these were those whom they had captured on the roads, some of them were from Tehuantepec and others Zapotecs and others Quilines and others from Soconusco; these prisoners we took out of the prisons,

and each one went to his own home, and we broke up the gratings.

We also found in the Cues very evil figures of the Idols they worshipped, and many Indians and boys sacrificed two days ago, and many evil things of the sodomy they practise.

The Captain ordered them at once to go and summon the neighbouring towns to come in peaceably and give their fealty to His Majesty.

The first to come were from a township named Zinacantan and Copanahuastla¹ and Pinola, Gueyguistlan² and Chamula³ and other towns whose names I do not remember of the Quilines, and other pueblos of the Zoque tongue, and all gave their fealty to His Majesty, and they were still astounded that, few as we were, we had been able to defeat the Chiapanecs, and they certainly showed great satisfaction for they were ill disposed towards them.

We stayed in that city for five days, and just then one of the soldiers whom we had brought in our army strayed from our camp and went without leave from the Captain, to a pueblo which had made peace, which I have already mentioned, named Chamula, and he took with him eight of our Mexican Indians and he ordered the people of Chamula to give him gold, and said that the Captain commanded it. The people of that pueblo gave him golden jewels and because they did not give him more he took the Cacique prisoner, and when the people of the pueblo saw him commit that excess they wished to kill this daring and inconsiderate soldier and they at once revolted, and not only they, but their neighbours the

¹ Copanahuastla, not marked on the map.

² Gueyguistlan (modern Huistan near San Cristóbal?), spelt in the text Gueguistlan, Quiaguyztlan, Guequyztlan and Gueyguyztlan.

³ Chamula, near San Cristóbal.

people of another pueblo, named Gueyguistlan were also inclined to revolt.

When Captain Luis Marin heard of this, he seized the soldier and ordered him to be taken post haste to Mexico for Cortés to punish him. Luis Marin did this because this soldier thought himself a man of importance and for his honour's sake I will not mention his name, until occasion arises at a time when he did a thing that was worse, and because he was wicked and cruel to the Indians; about a year later he died in the affair of Xicalango in the hands of the Indians as I will tell later on.

When this was done the Captain sent to summon the pueblo of Chamula to come and make peace and sent to tell them that he had already punished and sent to Mexico the Spaniard who demanded gold and did them those injuries, and the reply they gave him was bad, and we thought it all the worse because of the neighbouring pueblos which had made peace, lest they should revolt. So it was decided to fall upon them at once and not to leave them until they were brought to peace. After this the Chiapanec Caciques were spoken to very gently and they were told through good interpreters things concerning our holy faith, and that they must abandon their Idols and sacrifices and sodomies and robberies, and crosses were set up and an image of Our Lady on an altar that we ordered them to make. They were made to understand that we were the Vassals of His Majesty and many other things that were fitting, and we still left more than half their city inhabited.

The two friendly pueblos that had brought us the canoes to cross the river and had helped us in the war were freed from their power, and with all their property and women and children went to settle lower down the river about ten leagues from Chiapas, where the town of Xaltepec is now established. The other small pueblo called

Ystatan¹ went to its own home for they belonged to Tehuantepec.

Let us return to our expedition to Chamula, we at once sent to summon the people of Zinacantan who were sensible people and many of them traders, and he [Luis Marin] told them to bring us two hundred Indians to carry our baggage and that we would go to their pueblo for it was on the road to Chamula. At the same time he demanded from the people of Chiapas another two hundred Indian warriors with their arms to go in his company, and they gave them at once and we set out from Chiapas one morning and went to sleep at some salt pits where they had made us very good ranchos, and the next day at mid-day we arrived at Zinacantan and there we kept the Holy feast of the Resurrection.² Then we again sent to summon the people of Chamula to make peace and they would not come, and we had to go to them and it was a matter of three leagues from where Zinacantan then stood, and the houses and town of Chamula were at that time situated in a fortification very difficult to capture with a very deep fosse on the side where we had to attack, and on other sides it was worse and stronger. Thus as we approached with our army they shot from above so many stones, javelins and arrows that they covered the ground. Then [they had] very long lances with more than two fathoms of flint cutting edge³ which, as I have said before, cut better than our swords, and shields made like *pavesinas* which cover the whole body when fighting, and when they are not needed they roll and double them up so that they are no inconvenience to them. They had slings and plenty of stones and they shot arrows and stones so

¹ Ishuatan (?), near the Laguna Inferior, in the district of Juchitan.

² 5th April, 1523.

³ Dos braças de cuchilla de pedernales in the text.

fast that they wounded five of our soldiers and two horsemen and with so many shouts and loud yells, whistles, howls, and trumpets, drums and shell trumpets it was enough to frighten anyone who did not know them.

When Luis Marin saw this and understood that the horses could be of no use there as it was mountainous, he ordered them to turn and descend to the plain, for where we stood was a steep hill and fortification. He ordered them to do this because we feared that the warriors from other pueblos that were in revolt called Gueyguistlan would come to attack us there, so that the horsemen might oppose them.

Then we began to shoot many arrows and fire muskets at the people in the fort, but we could do them no harm whatever on account of the great barricades they had [erected] but on the contrary they constantly wounded many of our men. We stood fighting in this way all that day and they did not give way at all to us, and if we attempted to get through them to where they had constructed their barricades and battlements, there were over a thousand lancers at their posts for the defence of those whom we were endeavouring to get through. If we should have wished to risk our persons by making a dash into the fortress, we should have jumped from such a height that we must have been smashed to pieces, and it was not worth while to take the risk.

After it was carefully decided how and in what way we were to make the attack, it was settled that we should bring wood and boards from a small deserted pueblo that was near by, and should make *burros* or *Mantas*¹ for so they are called and in each one of them there should be room for twenty persons, and with iron adzes and picks

¹ *Burros* or *Mantas*, movable shelters for battering purposes.

which we had brought with us, and with other wooden adzes of the country that were there, we should excavate and destroy their fortress and break down a small gate to enable us to enter, for in any other way it was useless [to try] because on two other sides they had the same defence and we examined it all for more than a league around. In the neighbourhood there was another very difficult entrance, even harder to capture than where we were, because there was a descent so steep and bad that one could say it was like going into the bottomless pit.¹

To go back to our barricades and mantas, while we were destroying their fortress with them they threw down from above quantities of burning pitch and rosin and blood and water all mixed together, very hot, and at other times fire and hot ashes and greatly impeded us, and then after that such a multitude of very large stones that they broke our engines and we had to retreat and mend them. We promptly returned to the attack, and as soon as and when they saw that we made larger breaches, four priests and other principal persons placed themselves on one of the battlements and came covered with their shields and other *talarbadones* of wood, and said: "If you wish for or desire gold come inside for here we have plenty," and they threw us from the ramparts seven diadems of fine gold and many moulded beads and other beads like shells and four ducks all of gold and after them many arrows, javelins and stones.

When we had already made two great breaches, and as it was night and it began to rain, at that moment we left the combat until the next day, and slept there that night with every precaution. The Captain ordered some of the horsemen who were on the level ground not to leave their posts and to keep their horses saddled and bridled.

¹ Abismo in the text.

Let us go back to the Chamultecs who were all the night sounding drums and trumpets and shouting and yelling and saying that next day they were going to kill us for so their Idol had promised them. As soon as it was dawn we returned with our engines and Mantas to make larger breaches, and the enemy defended their fortress with great spirit and even wounded five of our men that day, moreover they gave me a good thrust with a lance which pierced my armour and if it were not for the good quilting of thick cotton that it had, they would have killed me. Good as it was, it was pierced and a good wad of cotton pushed out and I received a small wound.

By that time it was past mid-day and a great shower fell and then a very dense mist, for as the mountains are high there are always mists and showers, and as it was raining our Captain withdrew from the fight, and as I was experienced in the late wars in Mexico I fully realised that while the mist was gathering the enemy were not yelling and shouting as much as before, and I noticed many lances close by the battlements ramparts and barbicans and as I could only see about two hundred of them moving about, I suspected what was happening, that they intended to go or were retreating. Then I and another, my companion, quickly entered through a breach, and there were a matter of . . . [two hundred] warriors who threw themselves upon us and gave us many thrusts with their lances, and had we not been promptly supported by some Indians from Zinacantan who shouted to our soldiers who at once entered after us into the fortress we should have there lost our lives. When those Chamultecs who were standing there facing us with their lances saw the supports they turned to flight, for the other warriors had already fled under cover of the mist, and our Captain with all the soldiers and allies entered within. They had already carried off their provisions and even the women

and children and they had gone by that very bad pass which I have said was very deep and had a bad ascent and worse descent, and we went in pursuit and captured many women, boys and children and over thirty men. No spoil was found in the pueblo save provisions.

When this was done we returned with our prisoners on the road to Zinacantan, and it was settled that we should place our camp near to the river where the Ciudad Real is now established, which for another name they call Chiapas of the Spaniards. From this place Captain Luis Marin set free six Indians with their wives from among the prisoners taken at Chamula, in order that they should go and summon the people of Chamula, and he told them to have no fear, and he would give them up all the prisoners, and the messengers set off and the next day they came in peaceably and brought all their people, none were left behind and after giving their fealty to His Majesty, Captain Luis Marin entrusted me with that town, for Cortés had written to him from Mexico that he should give me something good out of what he conquered, also because I was a great friend of Luis Marin, also because I was the first soldier who got into the fortress.

Cortés sent me a Warrant of Allotment, and up to this day I have the Warrant of Allotment well taken care of, and they paid me tribute for more than eight years, during which time the Ciudad Real was not settled for it was founded later and my pueblo was given towards the founding of it.

Let us leave this and return to our story :—As Chamula was already at peace and Gueyguistlan was in revolt and would not make peace although we sent to summon it, our Captain arranged that we should go and seek the people in their pueblos, and I say here pueblos for there were then three villages all standing within forts. We left our wounded and baggage in the place where our

ranchos were, and the most active and healthy soldiers went with the Captain, and the people of Zinacantan gave us over three hundred Indian warriors who went with us. From there to the pueblos of Gueyguistlan was a matter of four leagues, and as we marched towards their pueblos we found the roads blocked, full of timber and felled trees and so much obstructed that the horses could not pass, and we cleared them with the help of the allies we had brought with us and they removed the timber and we went to one of the three pueblos which I have already said was a fortress and found it full of warriors and they began to shout and yell at us and to shoot javelins and arrows and they had great lances and shields and two handed swords [edged] with stones that cut like knives, just like those at Chamula. While our Captain and all of us were ascending to the fortress, which was much stronger and more difficult to capture than that of Chamula, they made up their minds to take to flight and left the pueblo deserted without any food supplies in it. The Zinacantecs captured two of their Indians who were promptly brought before the Captain who ordered them to be released so they could summon all the rest of their neighbours to make peace. We waited there one day for them to come with the reply, and they all came peaceably and brought a present of gold of little value and plumes of Quetzals which are feathers which are greatly valued among them.

We returned to our ranchos, and as many other things happened which do not concern our story I will not recount them, and will relate how as soon as we returned to our ranchos we began to discuss if it would be well to found a town there where we were, in accordance with Cortés's orders that we should make settlements. And many of us soldiers who were there said that it would be a good thing and others who had good Indians at

Coatzacoalcos opposed it and advanced as a pretext that we had no shoes for the horses, and that we were few in number and most of us wounded, and that the land was very thickly peopled and most of the pueblos were fortified and among great mountains and that the horses were of no use or profit to us, and to the same effect they said other things, and the worst was that Captain Luis Marin and Diego de Godoy who was a King's Notary and a very meddling person did not wish to settle but to return to our town. It appeared that Alonzo de Grado, whom I have at other times mentioned in the last chapter, who was more of a bully than a fighting man, had secretly brought a Warrant of Allotment signed by Cortés which gave him the half of the pueblo of Chiapas as soon as it was pacified, and by virtue of that warrant he demanded of the Captain Luis Marin that he should give him the gold that was acquired in Chiapas by gift from the Indians, and the other [lot] which was captured in the Temples of the Idols in this same Chiapas, which amounted to one thousand five hundred pesos. Luis Marin said that was to help to pay for the horses that were killed in the war and on that journey, and over this and over other disputes they were very ill disposed one to the other, and they came to such words that Alonzo de Grado who was ill-conditioned went too far in what he said. The man who interfered and stirred up all the strife was the Notary Diego de Godoy, so that Luis Marin imprisoned both one and the other, and he kept them in fetters and chains for six or seven days, and he decided to send Alonzo de Grado to Mexico, and on account of offers and promises and through kind intercessors he set Godoy free, and that made matters worse, for El Grado and Godoy at once planned to write from there to Cortés post haste saying much evil of Luis Marin, and Alonzo

de Grado even begged me to write myself to Cortés and excuse Grado from blame in my letter, for Godoy told Grado that Cortés would give credit to my letter when he saw it, and that I should not speak well of Marin. I wrote what seemed to me to be the truth not giving blame to Captain Marin.

Alonzo de Grado was promptly sent a prisoner to Mexico and an oath was taken from him that he would present himself before Cortés within eighty days, for from Zinacantan to Mexico by the road we came was over one hundred and ninety leagues.

Let us cease talking of all these broils and embarrassments. When Alonzo de Grado had set off, we decided to go and punish the people of Cimatan who had killed the two soldiers already mentioned by me, at the time when Francisco Martin the Biscayan and I escaped out of their hands. So we went along towards some pueblos called Tapilula,¹ and before reaching them there were some mountains and defiles so difficult both of ascent and descent that we considered it a most arduous task to cross by that pass, and Luis Marin sent to beg the Caciques of those pueblos to clear the road so that we could go to them. This they did and with much labour we got the horses across, and then we went by other pueblos named Sulusuchiapa² and Coyumelapa and thence we went to this Istapangajoya³ and after arriving there went on to other towns named Tecomayacate and Teapa,⁴ which at that time was all one pueblo and stood together, house to house and was one of the largest in that province and was in my allotment, given me by Cortés and even this very

¹ Tapelola

² Silo Suchiapa

³ Panguaxoya

⁴ Ateapan in the text.

} In the text,— all towns on the road from San Cristóbal to Teapa.

day I possess the Warrants of Allotment signed by Cortés.

There were at that time many villages and other towns joined with them, which came out to attack us at the passage of a very deep river which flowed by the town, and they wounded six soldiers and killed three horses, and we were there a good while fighting with them. At last we crossed the river and they fled, and they themselves set fire to the houses and took to the forest. We remained six days attending to the wounded and making expeditions where we captured very good looking Indian women, and he [Marin] sent to summon them to make peace and said that he would give them up the people we had captured and would forgive them for the late war, and almost all the Indians came in and re-peopled their town and demanded their women and children as had been promised, and the Notary Diego de Godoy advised the Captain Luis Marin not to give them up but to brand them with the King's brand which was applied to those who having once given their fealty to His Majesty rose in revolt without any cause, and because those pueblos came out to attack us and shot at and killed three horses, they should pay for the horses with those Indian girls who were prisoners.

I replied that they ought not to be branded and it was not just, because they had come in peaceably. Over this Godoy and I had a great argument and dispute and even to sword thrusts so that both came out wounded when they separated us and made us friends. The Captain Luis Marin who was very good and not suspicious and saw that it was not just to act otherwise than as I asked him, as a favour ordered all the women and all the others who had been captured to be given up to the Caciques of the towns, and we left them in their houses fully pacified. Thence we crossed to the pueblo of Cimatan and to other

pueblos called Talatupan, and before the entrance to the pueblo they had made some loopholed walls and ramparts close to a hill and near some swamps and as we approached they suddenly let fly at us such a flight of arrows with such precision and spirit that they wounded over twenty soldiers and killed two horses, and if we had not promptly routed them and destroyed their palisades and loopholes they would have killed and wounded many more, and they soon sought refuge in the swamps. The Indians of these provinces are great archers and they can pierce with their bows and arrows double folds of well quilted cotton armour which is a great feat. We remained in their pueblo for two days and we sent to summon them and they would not come in peaceably, and as we were tired and there were many swamps which shake, where the horses were not able to go, and indeed no one can go into them without sticking in the mud or get out again unless he should crawl out on all fours, and they are so dangerous that it is a wonder if he gets out at all, and not to waste words about this, we all agreed to return to our town of Coatzacoalcos, and we returned through some pueblos of Chontalpa called Guimango and Nacajuca and Teotitan Copilco¹ and we passed other pueblos and Jalpa² and the river of Agualulco and that of Tonalá and finally reached the town of Coatzacoalcos.

The gold that was acquired in Chiapas and Chamula, rated at so much per pound, went to pay for the horses killed in the war.

Let us leave this and relate how Alonzo de Grado arrived in Mexico and came before Cortés, who when he knew how he had been acting, said to him very angrily: "How is it Señor Alonzo de Grado you cannot fit into

¹ In the text. Guymango Encaxuyxuyca E Teotitan Copileco.

² Ulapa in the text.

one place or another, I am troubled at it, and I beg you to change these bad manners, if not, in truth, I must send you to the Island of Cuba although I will arrange to give you three thousand pesos on which to live there, for I cannot put up with you any longer." Alonzo de Grado humbled himself in such a way that he again became on good terms with Cortés. Luis Marin wrote to Cortés about all that had taken place, and I will leave off here and relate what happened at Court about the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano.

CHAPTER CLXVII.

How our Proctors who were in Spain challenged the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Burgos, and what else happened.

I HAVE already said in former chapters that Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, for so he was called, was greatly interested in the affairs of Diego Velásquez but hostile to those of Cortés and all of us. It pleased Our Lord Jesus Christ that in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty one, our very holy father the Pope Adriano de Lobayna was chosen in Rome for the Chief Pontificate, and at that time he was in Castile as its Governor, and resided in the City of Vitoria, and our Proctors went to kiss his holy feet, and a great German Lord who belonged to His Majesty's cabinet named Mosiur de Lasao came to congratulate him on his pontificate on behalf of Our Lord the Emperor. His Holiness and Mosiur de Lasao already had news of the heroic deeds and great exploits which Cortés and all of us had accomplished in the conquest of this New Spain and the many great and distinguished services which we were always rendering to His Majesty, and of the conversion of so many thousands of Indians to our Holy Faith, and it

seems that this German nobleman begged the Holy Father Adriano to deign to decide very promptly the affairs pending between Cortés and the Bishop of Burgos. His Holiness was much concerned because beside the complaints that our Proctors placed before our Holy Father many other persons of quality had gone to him to complain of the Bishop himself, on account of the many injuries and injustices which they alleged he was committing, for as His Majesty was in Flanders and the Bishop was President of the [Council of the] Indies, he ordered everything, and he was hated, and from what we understood our Proctors found the courage to dare to challenge his jurisdiction. So Diego de Ordás, and the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez a cousin of Cortés and Martin Cortés father of the said Cortés united at the Court and with the support of other gentlemen and great Lords who favoured them, and the one of them who interposed most [actively] was the Duke de Bejar, and with this support with great boldness and daring they challenged the jurisdiction of the Bishop so often mentioned by me, and the reasons they advanced were very well proved:—the first was that Diego Velásquez had given the Bishop a very good town in the Island of Cuba, and with Indians from the said town extracted gold for him from the Mines and sent it to him to Castile, and that no town whatever had been given to His Majesty, although he was under more obligation to him than to the Bishop; the other was that when in the year one thousand five hundred and seventeen we got together one hundred and ten soldiers under the Captain named Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, and at our expense bought ships and ships' stores and all the rest, and set out to discover New Spain, the Bishop of Burgos reported to His Majesty that Diego Velásquez discovered it, and it was not so; the next was that Diego Velásquez sent to the country we had discovered his

nephew named Juan de Grijalva and that they made further discoveries and acquired on that voyage over twenty thousand pesos de oro by barter, and that Diego Velásquez sent the most of it to the Bishop himself, and gave none of it to His Majesty; and that when Cortés came to conquer New Spain and sent a present to His Majesty, which was the Golden Moon and the Silver Sun, and much gold in grains got out of the Mines, and a great quantity of jewels and ingots and objects of gold of different kinds, and Cortés and all of us soldiers wrote to His Majesty giving a report and account of all that happened and sent it by Francisco de Montejo and another gentleman named Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Count of Medellin, he [the Bishop] would not listen to them and took away the entire present of gold which was going to His Majesty, and abused them calling them traitors [adding] that they came to petition in favour of another traitor; and that he suppressed the letters addressed to His Majesty and wrote others very different from them, saying that his friend Diego Velásquez was sending that present, and that he did not send all they brought, for the Bishop kept half or the greater part of it, and because Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, who was one of the two Proctors whom Cortés sent, asked the Bishop to give him leave to go to Flanders where His Majesty was residing he ordered him to be thrown into prison and he died in jail. He [the Bishop] sent orders to the India House¹ at Seville to the accountant Pedro de Ysasaga and to Juan López de Recalte, who were there as His Majesty's officers, not to give any assistance to Cortés either with soldiers or arms nor anything else, and appointed to offices and employments, without consulting His Majesty, worthless men who neither deserved them

¹ Casa de Contratacion.

nor possessed the ability or knowledge for command, such as Cristóbal de Tápia, so as to marry his niece Doña Potronilla de Fonseca with Tápia, or Diego Velásquez [to whom] he promised the Government of New Spain, and approved as correct the false reports and legal documents which the Proctors of Diego Velásquez put forward, such as those of Andrés de Duero, Manuel Rojas and the Padre Benito Martin, and he sent them to His Majesty as reliable, and the reports of Cortés and all of us who were serving His Majesty, which were very truthful, he concealed and twisted and condemned as wrong.

They advanced many other charges all very well supported, and it was not possible to hide anything however much they alleged on his behalf.

After this was done and written out fair, it was taken to Zaragoza where His Holiness was then staying and the complaint was made. As soon as he [the Pope] obtained an insight into the records and legal documents quoted in the accusation, and [saw] that the statements of the partisans of Diego Velásquez were refuted notwithstanding their claims for expenses incurred by him for ships and maintenance, on account of his not having applied to our Lord the King, but only to his friend the Archbishop of Burgos, whilst Cortés had done what was his duty as a loyal servant, His Holiness in his capacity as Governor of Castile . . . as well as Pope, ordered the Bishop of Burgos at once to resign the office of judging in the affairs and suits of Cortés and to have no further intervention in the affairs of the Indies, and he appointed Hernando Cortés as Governor of this New Spain and [said] that if Diego Velásquez had expended anything that we should pay it back to him.

He even sent to New Spain Bulls with many indulgences for the Hospitals and Churches and wrote a letter charging Cortés and all of us Conquistadores who were in his com-

pany always to exercise much diligence in the holy conversion of the Natives, and that it should be done without killing and robbery, but peaceably and as well as it could be done, and that we should prohibit and do away with [human] sacrifices and sodomy and other wickedness and he said in his letter that, on account of the great service we were rendering our Lord God and His Majesty, His Holiness as our father and pastor would undertake to pray to God for our Souls on account of the great good that all Christendom had received at our hands. Moreover he sent us other Holy Bulls for our absolution.

When our Proctors saw what the Holy Father commanded both as Pontiff and Governor of Castile they at once sent messengers past haste to where His Majesty was staying, for he had already returned from Flanders and was in Castile. They moreover took letters from His Holiness for our Monarch, and after being well informed about what I have already spoken about, he [the Emperor] confirmed what the high Pontiff had ordered and declared Cortés to be Governor of New Spain, and that Diego Velásquez should be repaid what he had expended from his property on the fleet. Moreover he ordered the Government of the Island of Cuba to be taken from him inasmuch as he had sent the fleet with Pánfilo de Narvaez without permission of His Majesty, notwithstanding that the Royal Audiencia of the Geroninite Friars who resided in Santo Domingo as Governors had forbidden it, and in order to take it [the Armada] from him had even sent a Judge of the Royal Audiencia named Lucas Velásquez de Ayllon to stop the fleet from sailing, but instead of obeying him [the Judge] they made him prisoner and sent him in chains in a ship.

Let us cease speaking of this and say how when the Bishop of Burgos knew all that I have already stated and what His Holiness and His Majesty had commanded

should be notified to him, he was so angry that he became very ill and left the Court and went to Toro where he had his residence and houses, and for all that his brother Don Antonio de Fonseca Señor de Coca y Alexos made attempts to support him, he was not able to reinstate him in the authority which he formerly held.

Let us stop talking about this and say that after the great prosperity which ensued in favour of Cortés opposition soon followed and overtook Cortés in the antagonism of grave accusations brought against him by Pánfilo de Narvaez, Cristóbal de Tápia and by the Pilot Cárdenas, who, as I have said in the chapter that treats of it, fell ill from brooding because they had not given him a share of gold from the first that was sent to Castile. Gonzalo de Umbria also accused him,—he was the pilot whose feet Cortés ordered to be cut off, because he revolted with his ship, and with Cermeño and Pedro de Escudero whom he (Cortés) ordered to be hanged.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez and Cristóbal de Tápia and a pilot named Gonzalo de Umbria, and another soldier named Cárdenas appeared before His Majesty with the support of the Bishop of Burgos (although he had no authority to interfere in matters concerning the Indies, for they had already taken his authority from him ;) these named by me were all staying in Toro, and they brought before His Majesty many complaints against Cortés, and what was done about it.

I HAVE already said in the last chapter how His Holiness saw and understood the great services that Cortés and all of us conquistadores who fought in his company had performed for Our Lord God and for His Majesty and all Christendom, and how he favoured Cortés by making

him Governor of New Spain, and had sent Bulls and indulgences for the Churches and Hospitals and holy absolutions for all of us. When His Majesty had seen all that the Holy Father ordered, after being well informed about all its truth, he confirmed it with other royal appointments. At that time the Bishop of Burgos was removed from his office of President of [the Council of] the Indies and went to live at the City of Toro. Just then Pánfilo de Narvaez who had been captain of the fleet which Diego Velásquez sent against us, arrived in Castile and Cristóbal de Tápio arrived at the same time, whom the Bishop himself had sent to take over the Government of New Spain, and they brought in their company Gonzalo de Umbria and another soldier named Cárdenas, and they all went together to Toro to demand support from the Bishop of Burgos, so that they could go and complain of Cortés before His Majesty, for His Majesty had already returned from Flanders.

The Bishop wished for nothing better than to lodge complaints against Cortés and against us, and he gave them support and promises to this end, and they assembled the proctors of Diego Velásquez who were at Court, namely Bernaldino Velásquez whom he had already sent from Cuba to represent him, and Benito Martin and Manuel de Rojas, and they all went together before our Lord the Emperor, and complained strongly of Cortés. The Charges they preferred against him were that Diego Velásquez sent to explore and settle New Spain three times, and expended a great sum of pesos de oro in ships and arms and ships' stores, and things that he gave to the soldiers, and that he sent Hernando Cortés in the fleet as its Captain, and that he (Cortés) revolted with the fleet and made him no return whatever. They also charged him that, notwithstanding all this, when Velásquez sent Pánfilo de Narvaez as Captain of more than fourteen hundred

soldiers in eighteen ships with many horses, musketeers and crossbowmen, and with letters and decrees of His Majesty signed by his President of the [Council of the] Indies, who was the Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, [ordering him] to hand over the Government of New Spain, and he (Cortés) would not obey, on the contrary he attacked him [Narvaez], defeated him and killed his standard bearer and other Captains, and put out his eye, and burned all the property he possessed and seized Narvaez himself and other Captains who were in his company. That notwithstanding this defeat the said Bishop of Burgos decreed that Cristóbal de Tápia should go, and he went to take over the Government of those Countries in the name of His Majesty, and he [Cortés] would not obey him, and by force made him embark and return; and they accused him [Cortés] of having demanded much gold from all the cities of New Spain in the name of His Majesty and that he took it and hid it and has it in his possession.

They accused him that to the annoyance of all his soldiers he took a *fifth* like a king of all the country that had been annexed in Mexico; they accused him of having ordered the burning of Guatemoc's feet, and those of other Caciques, so that they should give him gold, and they also advanced the charge of the death of Catalina Juarez la Marcayda the wife of Cortés; they accused him of neither giving nor assisting his soldiers with shares of the gold, but keeping all of it for himself; they accused him of building palaces and fortified houses as big as a village and making all the cities in the neighbourhood of Mexico work at them, and bring great Cypress trees and stone from distant lands: they accused him of giving poison to Francisco de Garay so as to take over his men and fleet, and they advanced many other complaints and accusations so numerous, that His Majesty was angry at

hearing all this injustice that they alleged he had committed, believing it to be true.

In addition to this Narvaez speaking very loudly said these words which you will [now] hear.

“So that Your Majesty may know how things went on the night when they captured and defeated me, having some royal decrees in my bosom, when I drew them out quickly (and my eye was destroyed) so that they should not be burnt, for at that time the chamber in which I stood was on fire, they were forcibly taken from my bosom by one of Cortés’s Captains named Alonzo de Ávila who is now a prisoner in France, and he would not return them to me, and stated publicly that they were not decrees but bills that I came to collect”. Then they say the Emperor laughed. The reply he [the Emperor] gave was that he would order justice to be done, and would do it in the matter; and he promptly ordered certain gentlemen to assemble from his royal Councils and from the royal cabinet, persons in whom His Majesty had confidence that they would do strict justice, and they were named Mercurino Catirinario, Grand Chancellor and an Italian, Monsior de Lasao and the Doctor de la Rocha, Flemmings, Hernando de Vega, Lord of Graxales and Grand Commander of the Order of Castile, the Doctor Lorenzo Galíndez de Caravajal, and the Licenciado Vargas, Treasurer General of Castile.

When they told His Majesty that they were assembled he charged them to examine with full proofs the suits and disputes between Cortés and Diego Velásquez and those complainants and to do justice in all without respect of persons nor favour to any except to Justice.

As soon as those gentlemen had understood the Royal Order they decided to meet in some houses and palaces where the Grand Chancellor was lodged and commanded the appearance of Narvaez, Cristóbal de Tápia, the Pilot

Umbria, Cárdenas, and of Manuel de Rojas, Benito Martin and a Velásquez, these were Proctors for Diego Velásquez. There also appeared on behalf of Cortés, his father, Martin Cortés, the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez and Diego de Ordás, and they ordered the Proctors of Diego Velásquez to bring forward all their complaints, demands and charges against Cortés and they repeated the same complaints they had laid before His Majesty. To this Cortés's Proctors replied that as to what was said about Diego Velásquez being the first to send and discover New Spain having spent many pesos de oro, it was not as they stated, those who discovered it were Francisco Hernández de Córdoba with one hundred and ten soldiers, at their own expense. On the contrary Diego Velásquez deserved heavy punishment because he ordered Francisco Hernández and his companions who made the discovery, to go to the Island of the Guanaxes to capture Indians by force to serve as slaves, and of this they showed proofs and on this point there was no contradiction. They also said that if Diego Velásquez next sent his relation Grijalva with another fleet, Diego Velásquez did not send him to form a settlement but to trade, and the greater part of what was expended on the fleet was found by the Captains who had charge of the ships and not by Diego Velásquez ; that they gained twenty thousand pesos by barter, and that Diego Velásquez kept the greater part of it and sent it to the Bishop of Burgos to get his support, and that he did not give a share of it to His Majesty, only as much as he had a mind to. Moreover he gave Indians to the said Bishop in the Island of Cuba to extract gold for him, and to His Majesty he gave not one town, although he was under greater obligation to His Majesty than to the Bishop ; of this there was good proof and it was not refuted. On this point they also declared that if he sent Hernando Cortés with another fleet it was by the grace

of God and in the interest of the Emperor himself, and it was certain that if he had sent another Captain he would have been defeated on account of the great multitude of warriors who assembled against him, and that when Diego Velásquez despatched him he did not send him to settle but to trade; proofs of this were shown, that if he (Cortés) remained to form a settlement it was at the request of his companions, and seeing that it was to the service of God and of His Majesty he formed settlements, and that it was a very successful matter and a report of it had been sent to His Majesty, and he had sent him all the gold he was able to acquire, and he wrote two letters to him about it, informing him of what has been stated above, and that [he] Cortés and all his companions bowed to the ground in compliance with his royal commands. Then a report was made of all the things that the Bishop of Burgos did for Diego Velásquez, and that we sent our Proctors with the gold and letters, and the Bishop concealed our many services and did not forward our letters to His Majesty, but others such as suited him, and that he kept most of the gold that we sent for himself and distorted nearly everything that His Majesty ought to have known, and he did not tell the truth about anything, as he was bound to do, to our King and Lord, and because our Proctors wished to go to Flanders [to appear] before his royal person, he threw one of them named Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Count of Medellin, into prison and he died there. The said Bishop ordered the officials of the India House at Seville not to give any assistance to Cortés either in the matter of arms or of soldiers, but to thwart him in everything, and he loudly called us traitors. The Bishop did all this because he was arranging a marriage between Diego Velásquez or Tápia and his niece or daughter named Doña Petronilla de Fonseca, and had promised that he would make him

Governor of Mexico, and for all of this that I have stated they exhibited copies of the letters we had written to His Majesty, and other sufficient proofs; and on behalf of Diego Velásquez this was not refuted in any particular because they had nothing to oppose to it.

As to what was said about Pánfilo de Narvaez, that Diego Velásquez sent him with eighteen ships, fourteen hundred soldiers, one hundred horses, eighty musketeers and as many crossbowmen and had been put to great expense, they replied that Diego Velásquez deserved the punishment of death for having sent that expedition without His Majesty's permission, and because when he sent his Proctors to Castile he submitted nothing whatever to Our Lord the King as was his duty, but only to the Bishop of Burgos.

The Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, sent to the Island of Cuba to order Diego Velásquez under pain of heavy punishment not to despatch that fleet until His Majesty should know about it and he had His Royal permission to do so, for to act otherwise was to do a great dis-service to God and His Majesty by raising discords in New Spain during the time that Cortés and his companions were conquering and converting such a great number of natives, who were converted to our Holy Catholic faith; and in order to detain the fleet they sent a Judge of the same Royal Audiencia named the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and instead of obeying him and the royal orders that he brought, they threw him in prison and without any [show of] respect, sent him away in a ship. As Narvaez who was present was the one who committed that irreverent offence touching on the crime of "laesa Magistatis", he (also) was deserving of death, and they begged those gentlemen mentioned by me who were serving as judges to order him to be

punished, and they (the judges) replied that they would see that justice was done.

Let us continue the relation of the refutations made by our Proctors, as to what had been said about Cortés not wishing to obey the royal decrees brought by Narvaez, and having made war on him and defeated him and destroyed his eye and captured him and all his Captains and set fire to his quarters. To this they replied as follows :—

When Narvaez arrived in New Spain and disembarked the first thing he did was to send word to the great Cacique Montezuma, whom Cortés held prisoner, that he had come to release him and to kill all of those who were with Cortés, and he disturbed the country to such an extent that where all had been peaceful it reverted again to warfare. As soon as Cortés heard that Narvaez had come to the Port of Vera Cruz he wrote to him very courteously that if he brought decrees from His Majesty, he wished to see and obey them with the respect he owed to his King and Lord, and he [Narvaez] would not answer his letters but in his camp was always calling him [Cortés] a traitor, which he was not, but a loyal servant of His Majesty, and when Narvaez ordered a proclamation of blood and fire and free loot to be made in his camp against Cortés and his companions, he [Cortés] begged him many times for peace and to be careful not to upset New Spain in a way that would result in all being lost. He offered to go away to such a part of the country as he might wish to conquer and Narvaez should go in any other direction which pleased him best, and that between them they would serve God and His Majesty and pacify those countries, but not even to this would he [Narvaez] give any reply. When Cortés saw that all those acts of courtesy were in vain, and he was not shown the royal decrees, and heard of the great irreverence

Narvaez had committed in seizing His Majesty's Judge, he decided, in order to punish him for that crime, to go and speak to him and see the royal decrees and learn for what reason he had seized the Judge. [Our Proctors also stated] that Narvaez had certainly arranged to capture Cortés and of this they produced proofs and sufficient attestations, and moreover as a witness [they called] Andrés de Duero who was there on the side of Narvaez when that happened, and it was this same Duero who gave notice of it to Cortés. To all this the party of Diego Velásquez could offer no refutation whatever. As to the accusations regarding the coming of Francisco Garay to Panuco with a great fleet and decrees from His Majesty by which he was made Governor of that province, and that Cortés had shown great cunning and assiduity in inducing Garay's soldiers to rise against him, and the Indians of the said province killed many of them, and his taking certain ships from them, and committing other excesses, until Garay saw that he was lost and deserted and without captains or soldiers and went to place himself within Cortés's doors and lodged in his house, and within eight days of breakfasting with him he died of poison that they had then given him,—they replied that it was not so. For there was no need for Cortés to make Garay's soldiers mutiny, because as Garay was not a man suited for warfare he had no skill with soldiers, and because they did not meet with good land when he disembarked, but with rivers and bad swamps and mosquitos and bats, and those whom he brought in his company heard news of the great prosperity of Mexico and the riches and the good report of the liberality of Cortés, there was reason enough for them to go to him to Mexico; and his [Garay's] soldiers wandered about through the pueblos of those provinces robbing the natives and taking their daughters and wives, and the natives rose against them

and killed the soldiers and he [Cortés] did not, as they say, seize the ships, but they were wrecked. If Cortés sent his Captains it was so that they might speak to Garay offering themselves to him on behalf of Cortés, and to examine the royal decrees, whether they were at variance with those which Cortés already possessed, and that Garay seeing himself deserted by his soldiers, and his ships run aground, came to get help in Mexico, and Cortés ordered much honour to be paid to him on the road, and [prepared] banquets in Texcoco, and when he entered Mexico he went out to receive him, and lodged him in his house, and had arranged a marriage between their children, and wished to give him support and assistance to settle at the Rio de Palmas, and that if he fell ill and God was pleased to take him from this world what fault had Cortés in the matter? Great honour was paid to him in his burial, and they put on mourning for him and the doctors who attended him swore that it was pleurisy and that was the truth and there was no refutation. As to what was said about his exacting a fifth like a King, they answered that when they made him Captain General and Chief Justice, until His Majesty might decide otherwise, the soldiers promised to give him a fifth from the shares after the royal fifth was taken out, and he took it because he afterwards spent all he possessed in His Majesty's service, for he went on the expedition to Panuco and paid over sixty thousand pesos de oro from his property, and sent in presents to His Majesty much of the gold that had come to him from his fifth, and they exhibited proofs of all they said and there was no refutation from the Proctors of Diego Velásquez.

As to what was alleged about Cortés having taken from the soldiers the shares of gold which fell to them, they said that they were given to them in accordance

with the account of the gold which was found on the Capture of Mexico, for very little was found, because the Indians of Tlaxcala and Texcoco and the other warriors who were present in the battles and wars had stolen it all; and there was no refutation to this. Concerning what was stated about the death of Doña Catalina Juarez la Marçayda the wife of Cortés, they denied it, for she was already ill with asthma and died the next morning. As to what was said about Cortés ordering the feet of Guatemoc and the other Caciques to be burnt with oil, so as to make them yield up the gold, to this they replied that His Majesty's officers did the burning against the wish of Cortés, to make them [the Caciques] betray the whereabouts of the treasure of Montezuma, and for this they furnished plenty of evidence.

Regarding the charge that he had built very great houses and held court in them¹ and had caused tree timber and cypresses and stone to be brought from distant lands, they replied that the houses were in truth most sumptuous for he had them built for His Majesty's service and in his Royal Name, but that the timber and cypresses grew close to the city and were brought by water, and as for stone, there was so much from the temples of the idols which they destroyed, that there was no necessity to bring it from outside, and in order to dress it, all that was needed was to order the great Cacique Guatemoc to have it dressed by Indian artizans of whom there are many, both builders and carpenters, and Guatemoc had summoned all his towns for the purpose, for it was the custom among the Indians to build the houses and palaces of their Lords in this manner.

As to the complaint of Narvaez, that Alonzo de Ávila

¹ Avia en ellas una villa.

snatched the royal decrees from his breast by force and would not give them back and gave out that they were bills which he had come to collect, and that he did it by Cortés's orders:—they answered that they saw no decrees but only three notes of hand for certain horses and mares which had been sold on credit, and these they gave back to Narvaez. Cortés never saw any such decrees nor ordered them to be taken from him.

As to the complaint of the Pilot Umbria that Cortés had ordered his feet to be cut off and ill treated for no reason whatever:—they answered that they were cut off, according to justice and judgment that was given on the matter, for he tried to revolt with his ship and to desert his Captain in wartime and go to Cuba with two other men whom Cortés justly ordered to be hanged. As to the plea of Cárdenas, that they had not given him his share of the first gold that was sent to His Majesty, they said that he signed [a declaration] with many others that he wanted no share in it, but that it should be sent to His Majesty, and in addition to this Cortés gave him three hundred pesos to take to his wife and children, and that Cárdenas not being a man fit for warfare and crack brained and of no use he was very well paid with the three hundred pesos. And finally they answered that if Cortés went against Narvaez and defeated him and destroyed his eye and took him and his captains prisoners and burnt his quarters, Narvaez himself was the cause of it, according to what they had [already] stated and alleged, and [it was done] as a punishment for the great irreverence he had committed in seizing one of His Majesty's Judges, and as right was on the side of Cortés and his companions in that battle which he fought with Narvaez Our Lord God was pleased to give the victory to Cortés who with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers, without horses or muskets or crossbows but with great

skill and presents of gold, defeated Narvaez and destroyed his eye and captured him and his Captains who brought against Cortés thirteen hundred soldiers and among them one hundred horsemen, and as many musketeers and cross-bowmen, and had Narvaez remained as Captain of New Spain, it would have been lost. As to what was said about Cristóbal de Tápia coming to take over the Government of New Spain with decrees from His Majesty and their refusing to obey him :—to this they answered that Cristóbal de Tápia, who was there present, had been content to sell some horses and negroes, and had he gone to Mexico where Cortés was stationed and shown him his authority, he [Cortés] would have obeyed it, but as all the gentlemen and the municipalities of all the cities and towns saw that it was desirable that Cortés should hold the Government at that time, because Tápia was not fit for it, they protested against the royal decrees to His Majesty, as appears in the deeds which were drawn up on the subject.

After they had finished stating their demands on behalf of Diego Velásquez and Narvaez, and those gentlemen [already] mentioned by me, as Judges had taken note of the replies, and all that was alleged on behalf of Cortés and proved, and had been occupied for five days in listening to one side and the other, they decided to submit the whole matter in a consultation to His Majesty, and after a unanimous decision had been reached, the judgment they delivered was as follows :—

Firstly, they considered Cortés a good and loyal servant of His Majesty, as well as everyone of us the true conquistadores who went with him, and they esteemed highly our great fidelity and they praised and extolled in the highest degree the great battles and the daring we showed against the Indians, and did not omit mentioning how few in number we were when we defeated Narvaez, and

promptly silenced Diego Velásquez as to his claim to the government of New Spain, and that if he had spent anything on the fleets that he might justly demand it from Cortés. They next gave judgment that Cortés should be governor of New Spain according to the orders of the high Pontiff and they approved in the name of His Majesty of the allotments Cortés had made, and gave him authority to grant lands from that time forward, and they approved of all he had done for it was clearly for the service of God and His Majesty.

In the affair of Garay, and in other matters touching the charges they brought against him [such as] the death of his wife Doña Catalina Juarez la Marçayda, they came to no decision with regard to it, it was reserved for a future time when they would send to take his Residencia. As to the charge Narvaez put forward, about their snatching the decrees from his breast, and that it was Alonzo de Ávila [who did it] who was at the time a prisoner in France, for Juan Florin, the great Pirate, had seized him when he stole Montezuma's jewels which we were sending; those gentlemen declared that he [Narvaez] had better go and ask him in France or that they should cite him to appear before His Majesty's Court, so as to hear what he would answer to it. As to the two pilots Umbria and Cárdenas, they ordered them to be given royal grants so that they should each be given Indians in New Spain who would produce an equivalent of a thousand pesos de oro. They ordered that all the conquistadores should receive a preference and that they should give us good allotments of Indians, and that we should be entitled to seats of honour, both within the holy churches as well as in other places.

When this judgment was given and delivered by those gentlemen whom His Majesty had appointed as Judges, they took it to Valladolid where His Majesty was re-

siding, to be signed, for at that time (having come from Flanders) he had ordered all his royal Court and Council to proceed there, and His Majesty signed it, and issued other royal decrees to turn out other renegades from New Spain; so that there should be no obstacle to the conversion of the Natives. He also ordered that no lawyers should go there for some years, for, wherever they are, they stir up lawsuits, arguments and discord. All these decisions were issued with His Majesty's signature and counter-signed by those gentlemen who acted as judges and by Don García de Padilla in this same city of Valladolid on the seventeenth of May in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty something, and they came legalized by the Secretary Don Francisco de los Cobos¹ who was afterwards Comendador Mayor of Leon.

Then His Majesty wrote to Cortés and all of us who had gone with him thanking us for the many good and distinguished services we had performed for him, and at that time also Don Hernando of Hungary, King of the Romans and father of the present Emperor,² wrote another letter in reply to one Cortés had written and sent to him with a present of many golden jewels, and what the King of Hungary said in the letter he wrote, was that he had already heard the news of the many and great services that he had performed first to God and to his Lord and brother the Emperor and to all Christendom and he (Cortés) should let him know of any wishes he might have so that he could intercede for them in favour of their fulfilment with his Lord and brother the Emperor, for his (Cortés') generous personality was entitled to more than that, and he should give his allotments to his valiant

¹ Francisco de los Covos. Marqués de Camerasa.

² Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the Emperor Charles V., succeeded to the Empire on death of Charles V. in 1558.

soldiers who had assisted him. He added other complimentary expressions, and I remember that he signed himself "I, the King and Infante of Castile," and it was countersigned by his Secretary named somebody of Castillejo, and this letter I read two or three times in Mexico for Cortés showed it to me, so that I might see in what high esteem we the true conquistadores were held.

When our Proctors received those warrants they promptly despatched them post haste by Rodrigo de Paz, a cousin of Cortés and a relation of the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez, and there also went with them an hidalgo from Estremadura, also a relation of Cortés, named Francisco de Las Casas and they engaged a quick sailing ship and set their course for the Island of Cuba, and in Santiago de Cuba, where Diego Velásquez was Governor they notified him of the decrees and sentences ordering him to abandon his suit against Cortés, and to demand of him the disbursements he had made. The notification was made by sound of trumpet, and Diego Velásquez fell ill from vexation and died within a few months poor and discontented.

So as not to have to turn back again to recite what Francisco de Montejo and Diego de Ordás negotiated in Castile, I will state it now ; to Francisco de Montejo His Majesty granted the Government of Yucatan and Cozumel and made him Adelantado which conveyed [the titles of] Don and Señoria ; to Diego de Ordás His Majesty confirmed the [grant of] Indians that he held in New Spain, and gave him a Commandery of [the order of] Señor Santiago, and the Volcano which is near Huexotzingo as a coat of Arms, and with this they went back to New Spain, and within two or three years Ordás himself returned to Castile, and petitioned for leave to conquer Marañon, where he lost his life and all his property.

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Let us leave this and say that when the Bishop of Burgos who in due time heard of the great favours which His Majesty bestowed on Cortés and all of us Conquistadores, and how those gentlemen already mentioned by me as Judges had gained full knowledge of the agreements that existed between him and Diego Velásquez and how he took the gold that we sent to His Majesty and concealed and distorted our many services and approved as good those of his friend Diego Velásquez, if he had been very sad and reflective before, he now on this occasion fell seriously ill on account of this and other annoyances which he suffered through a gentleman who was his nephew named Don Alonzo de Azevedo Fonseca, who was Archbishop of Santiago, for Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca claimed that Archbishopric.

Let us stop talking of this and tell how Francisco de Las Casas and Rodrigo de Paz arrived in New Spain and entered Mexico with the royal decrees which they brought from His Majesty to the effect that Cortés was to be Governor, what happiness and rejoicing they caused and what messengers started through all the provinces of New Spain to claim rewards in the towns which had been settled, and what favours Cortés conferred on Las Casas and on Rodrigo de Paz and others who came in their company who were from his home at Medellin. He made Francisco de Las Casas a Captain and at once gave him a town named Aguitlan, and to Rodrigo de Paz he gave other very good towns and made him his chief steward and secretary, and he ended by managing Cortés himself. To all those who came from his home at Medellin he gave Indians, and to the Master of the ship which brought the news that Cortés was governor, he gave gold with which he returned to Castile a rich man.

Let us cease from reciting the rejoicings and rewards

that were given on account of the news I have mentioned, and let me answer what some inquisitive readers have asked me, and they are quite right to bring up the discussion:—how was it possible for me to know what had happened in Spain, both what His Holiness commanded as well as the complaints they made against Cortés and the replies that our Proctors offered for consideration, and the judgment that was given in the matter, and many other particulars which I have here spoken of and stated, and which as I was at the time conquering in New Spain and its provinces, I could neither see nor hear? I answer them that not only did I get to know it, but all the conquistadores [did so] who cared to see and read it in four or five letters and reports which explained in their chapters how and when and at what time all that I have related had taken place, and these letters and reports our Proctors wrote from Castile so that we should know that they were pressing our business with great fervour.

I often said at the time that it looked as though what they obtained was solely on account of Cortés's affairs and their own, and that as for us who had won and conquered it [the country] and placed Cortés in the position that he occupied, we were always left to face one difficulty after another, and as there is much to be said on this subject, let it stay in the inkpot, except to pray our Lord God to remedy it and to incline the heart of our Great Cæsar to order his honest justice which in all things is infallible to be carried out.

Let us pass on and speak of what Cortés was occupied about after he was invested with the Government.

CHAPTER CLXIX.

What Cortés was engaged upon after he was invested with the Government of New Spain, how and in what way he allotted the pueblos of Indians and other things that took place, and a sort of grumbling it led to among the recipients.

THE Government of New Spain had no sooner been conferred on Cortés than it occurred to me and others of the original Conquistadores of most mature and prudent judgment that it would have to be Cortés's duty to bear in mind all the hardships that ensued from the day that he set out from the Island of Cuba onwards, and remember who were the persons who supported him when we disembarked on the Sand-dunes, and when he was chosen Captain General and Chief Justice of New Spain. Who again were those who were always to be found at his side in all the wars, those of Tabasco and Cingapacinga and in the three battles of Tlaxcala, and in that of Cholula, when they had the pots all ready with Chili peppers to cook and eat us, and also who took his side when on account of six or seven soldiers who were not on good terms with him they bid him return to Villa Rica instead of going to Mexico, putting before him the great strength of warriors and the powerful fortification of the city, and who were those who entered Mexico with him and aided in the capture of the great Montezuma. Then when Pánfilo de Narvaez came with his fleet, who were the soldiers whom he took with him to aid him in the capture and defeat of Narvaez, and who were those who returned with him to Mexico to the relief of Pedro de Alvarado and were present at the bridges and the great attacks they made on us until we fled from Mexico, and out of the thirteen hundred soldiers eight hundred and fifty

were left dead, counting those who were killed in Tuxtepec and on the roads, and only four hundred and forty of us through God's Mercy escaped; and he should also be reminded who in that fearful battle of Otumba, after God, helped him to come out a conqueror from that extreme danger, and later on who were they and how many who helped him to conquer Tepeaca and Cachula and their neighbourhood, and Izucar and Guacachula, and how we took the round by way of Texcoco to Mexico, and the many other expeditions we made from Texcoco such as the affair of Iztapalapa when they tried to drown us, letting out (as they did) the water of the lake thinking to drown us in it; and in the same manner of the battles we fought with the natives of that pueblo and the Mexicans who helped them, and then of the expeditions to Zaltocan, and the Peñoles which they now call the Peñoles del Marqués, and many other expeditions; and the round of the great pueblos of the lake, and the many encounters and battles that took place during that journey such as those at Xochimilco and those at Tacuba; and on our return to Texcoco who were those who helped him against the conspiracy which was planned and settled to kill him, on which account he hanged one Villafaña. After this who were those who helped him to conquer Mexico and suffered many battles and wounds and hardships day and night for ninety-three days on end, until Guatemoc, who governed Mexico at that time, was captured. Who were those who helped him and backed him up when a certain Cristóbal de Tápia came to New Spain to take over the Government, and more than all this, who were the soldiers who wrote three times to His Majesty in praise of the many great, good and notable services that Cortés had done him, and [affirmed] that he was worthy of the highest rewards and should be made Governor of New Spain. I do not

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wish now to call to mind other services which we were constantly performing for Cortés, we the manly and hardy soldiers who had gone through all this; but now when the Government had come to him, (and, after God, it was through our help that it was given to him) it would be seemly that he should take count of Dick, Tom and Harry¹ and others who deserved it, and the soldier and comrade who was perchance in Colima or Zacatula, or in Panuco or Coatzacoalcos, and those who fled away when Tututepec was abandoned, and who were poor because the luck of [possessing] good Indians had not fallen to their share, for there was property to dispose of, and [means of] removing them from unprofitable lands, as His Majesty had many times ordered and charged him to do in his Royal letters. Cortés gave nothing from his own property and he should have given what would have supported them and have given them preference in all things. When he wrote to the proctors who were in Castile he should have written in our name telling them to solicit on our behalf, and Cortés himself should have written to His Majesty very graciously begging him to give us for ourselves and our children all the appointments and royal offices that there were in New Spain, but I say other peoples troubles weighed lightly with him², and he solicited for himself alone the Government which they brought him not only before he was made a Marquis, but after he went to Castile and came back a Marquis.

Let us leave this and mention here another proceeding which would have been a very right and just way of apportioning the whole of the Pueblos of New Spain, according to the very learned Conquistadores of prudent

¹ Con Pero y Sancho y Min.

² Mal ageno de pelo cuelga.

and mature judgment who captured it. What should have been done was this, to divide New Spain into five parts, one fifth part of the best cities and capitals of all the population to be given to His Majesty as his royal fifth, leaving another part for allotment so that the rent should go to the churches, hospitals and monasteries, and to enable His Majesty to grant some favours to gentlemen who had done him service if he wished to do so, and there would have been enough for all; and the three parts that remained should have been divided between Cortés and all of us original Conquistadores according to the rank which he considered that each of us held, and it should have been granted in perpetuity, for at that time His Majesty would have approved of it, as he had expended nothing on these conquests and neither knew nor had heard of this country, (residing as he did at that time in Flanders) and seeing that as loyal subjects we had delivered over to him a considerable part of the lands of the New World he would have been graciously pleased to make us a grant of them, and with that we should have settled down and should not have wandered on as we wander now like a lame mule, dejected and going from bad to worse under Governors who do just as they choose, while many of us Conquistadores have not enough to live on, [nor do we know] what will become of the children we leave behind us.

I wish to state what Cortés did and to whom he gave the pueblos; first of all [he gave them] to Francisco de Las Casas, to Rodrigo de Paz, to the Factor, the Veedor and the Accountant who at that time came from Castile, and to a certain Avalos and Saavedra his relations, and to one Barrios to whom he married his sister-in-law, sister of his wife la Marcayda, so that they should not accuse him of the murder of his wife, and to Alonzo Lucas and to one Juan de la Torre and Luis de la Torre

and to a Villegas and to one Alonzo Valiente and a Ribera the squint-eyed. Why do I count these few when to as many as came from Medellin, and to any servants of great lords who told him stories that pleased him he gave the best of New Spain. I do not say that it was better to abstain from giving to all, for there was plenty, but that he should have first considered those whom His Majesty recommended and the soldiers who helped him to gain the position and power he possessed, and should have assisted them. Now that it is done I do not wish to repeat any more, but I remember that a saying was current among us when there was anything of much importance to be divided that they used it as a proverb when there were debates about it, and they were wont to say "Not to divide it like Cortés who took all the gold and the most and the best of New Spain for himself" while we remain poor in the towns where we settled in the misery which fell to our lot, but when it comes to going on expeditions which suit his purpose he remembers well enough where we are and sends to summon us for battles and warfare as I will relate later on.

I will stop reciting grievances and the oppression to which he subjected us for it cannot now be remedied, and I will not omit to relate what Cortés said after they took the Government from him (which was when Luis Ponce de Leon came, and when Luis Ponce died he left Marcos de Aguilar as his lieutenant as I will report further on) and that is when some of us gentlemen and captains, old companions who had helped him in the conquest, went to Cortés to tell him to give up some of the many Indians that he then possessed, for His Majesty ordered some of them to be taken from him, and they had to be given up and were promptly taken from him, and the answer he gave was that they must suffer as he was suffering, but if His Majesty should again grant him

the Government, by his conscience, (for that was his [customary] oath,) he would not make the mistakes he had done in the past, but would give good allotments to those whom His Majesty should designate, and would amend the great error which he committed in the past, and with such [promise of] allotments and smooth words he thought they were contented but they went about abusing him and even cursing him and his entire family and all that he possessed, and wishing him bad luck with it, him and his daughters.

Let us leave this now and relate that at that time or a few days earlier, the Officers of His Majesty's Treasury arrived from Castile namely Alonzo de Estrada the Treasurer a native of Ciudad Real and the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar who said that he was the eldest son of Cristiano who was born in Granada and they say his ancestors came from Burgos, and Rodrigo de Albornoz also arrived, for Julian de Alderete was dead, and this Albornoz was a native of Paldinas or of Ragama. The Veedor Pedro Almíndez Chirino came, a native of Ubeda or Basca and many other persons came who had official appointments.

Let us leave this, and I wish to state that at this time one Rodrigo Rangel whom I have often mentioned before (who had not been present at the capture of Mexico, nor at any of the battles which had been fought in New Spain) so that he might gain in some repute, begged Cortés to give him a company to go and conquer the Pueblos of the Zapotecs who were at war, and that he might take Pedro de Írcio in his company to act as adviser in what was to be done. As Cortés knew that Rodrigo Rangel was not the man to be entrusted with any task because he was always ailing with great pain from boils and was very feeble and his thighs and legs were very thin, and all his body and head covered with

running sores, he refused him that expedition, saying that the Zapotec Indians were a difficult people to conquer on account of the great and lofty mountains where they lived, so that it was impossible to take horses, and that there were always fogs and mists there, and the roads were narrow and slippery and one could not walk along them unless, so to speak, with the feet of those going ahead on a level with the heads of those who came behind (this is to be understood in the way I here state it, as it is true, because those who go above and those who come behind, go head to foot) and that it was not a suitable undertaking [for him] to go against them, and if they did go they would have to take soldiers who were very active and strong and experienced in warfare.

However, as Rangel was very obstinate and came from the same country as Cortés which is Medellín, he persuaded him to grant his request, and as we afterwards learned Cortés was in favour of sending him to a place where he might die, for he had a bad tongue and said evil things. So Cortés himself wrote to Coatzacoalcos to ten or a dozen of us whom he named in the letter begging us to go with Rangel and assist him; and among the soldiers ordered to go he named me, and all of us went, that is all those settlers to whom Cortés had written.

I have already said that there are great mountains in the land inhabited by the Zapotecs and that the natives are very active and lithe people and that with certain calls and whistles which they give all the valleys resound just like echoes.

As we had to take along Rangel we could not hurry and do what we ought to do, and when we reached a pueblo we found it deserted and as the houses were not close together but one on a hill and another in a valley and it was the rainy season and poor Rangel was crying

out with pain from his boils, and we all disliked marching in his company, and seeing that it was a waste of time we feared that some disaster might happen, if by chance the Zapotecs should wait for us and face us (for they are active and have long lances, much better than ours, and they are great archers and shoot stones from slings and we could only move along the roads in single file,) and as Rangel was worse than when he started he agreed to abandon the black conquest, for black one might call it and return each one to his home. Pedro de Írcio whom he brought as adviser was the first to give this advice and he left Rangel and went off to Villa Rica where he lived and Rangel said that he wished to go with us to Coatzacoalcos as it was a warm country, to be cured of his illness, and the bad luck fell to us residents of Coatzacoalcos who were then present to carry that laggard back with us.

When we arrived at Coatzacoalcos he at once said that he wished to go and pacify the provinces of Cimatan and Talatupan¹ which (as I have already said many times in the chapter that treats of the subject) did not want to make peace because of [the protection afforded them by] the great rivers and quaking bogs among which they lived, and in addition to this stronghold of swamps they were by nature great archers and used very large bows and were excellent shots. To go back to our story, Rangel displayed in that town decrees from Hernando Cortés [to the effect] that he sent him as Captain to conquer the provinces that were at war, especially that of Cimatan and Talatupan and he summoned nearly all the settlers of the town to accompany him, and Cortés was so greatly feared that although we regretted it, we did not dare to disobey when we beheld his decrees, and over one hundred

¹ Tacotalpa?

foot soldiers and horsemen and as many as twenty-six crossbowmen and musketeers set out with Rangel.

We went by [way of] Tonalá, Ayagualulco, Copilco, and Zacualco and we crossed many rivers in canoes and rafts and we passed by Teotitan Copilco and by all the towns we called La Chontalpa which were peaceable and arrived within five leagues of Cimatan, and in some swamps and bad places there were assembled nearly all the warriors of that province and they had erected fences and great barricades of logs and thick timbers, and from within some battlements and loopholes whence they could shoot promptly they gave us such a vigorous attack of arrows and fire hardened javelins from their spear throwers that they killed seven horses and wounded more than eight soldiers and they gave Rangel himself who was on horseback an arrow wound in the left arm, but it only entered a little way.

We old Conquistadores had told Rangel that active men should always go [in advance] on foot examining the road and looking out for ambushades, and had already said at other times that these Indians were used to fight very bravely and with cunning, but as he was a man who talked much he said, curse it all, if he had believed us that would not have happened to him, and from this time onwards that we should be the captains and should command him in the war. As soon as the soldiers were healed as well as certain horses which were wounded in addition to the seven which were killed, Rangel ordered me to go scouting ahead and to take a very fierce lurcher that belonged to him and also two soldiers and crossbowmen, and I told him to keep well back with the horsemen and that the soldiers and musketeers should go with me. On our way to the pueblo of Cimatan which was at that time well populated we met with other barricades and fortifications neither more nor less than those we had already passed,

and they let fly at us who were going ahead such [a number of] arrows and javelins that they promptly killed the lurcher and but for my thick armour I should have fallen there, for seven arrows were hanging from me checked [from piercing me] by the thick wadding of my armour, however, even so I came out wounded in one foot, and all my companions were wounded.

Then I cried out to some friendly Indians who were a little way behind [to tell] the musketeers, crossbowmen and foot soldiers to come at once to our assistance, but the horsemen to stay behind for they could not gallop there nor make any use of their horses and they would have been shot with arrows. And they soon came to my support as I had sent to tell them, for before I had gone on ahead it had all been so arranged that the horsemen should keep well back and that all the others should be on the alert for a signal or order. When the crossbowmen and musketeers came up we drove the enemy from the barricades and they took refuge in some great quaking swamps, and no one could enter them and get out again except on all fours or with much assistance.

At this time Rangel arrived with the horsemen and [as] there were many houses round about abandoned by their owners we rested [there] that day and treated the wounded. The next day we marched on the way to the pueblo of Cimatan and there were great level savannahs, and in the middle of the savannahs most horrible swamps, and in one of them the enemy waited for us, and it was with cunning that they agreed among themselves to await us in the open field of the savannahs, and they foresaw that, in their greediness to overtake them and spear them, the horsemen would come galloping after them full tilt, and would stick in the mud of the swamp, and it happened just as they had planned in spite of all we had told and advised Rangel that he should be on the

look out as there were many swamps, and that he should not gallop over the savannahs with loose reign, for the horses would stick in the mud and that these Indians were known to use these stratagems and make fortifications and places to shoot from near to the swamps, but he would not believe it. The first to get stuck in the swamp was Rangel himself, and his horse was killed [and they would have captured him] if he had not been promptly rescued, for many Indians had thrown themselves into those dangerous swamps in order to seize him and carry him off alive to be sacrificed. However he came out with the ulcers on his head scarified.

As all that province was thickly peopled we went to another small pueblo close by and the inhabitants fled from it, and there we doctored Rangel and the three soldiers who were wounded, and thence we went to some other houses, also without inhabitants for their owners at once deserted them, and we found another fortification well fenced with great baulks of timber and loopholes for arrows, and we had not rested more than a quarter of an hour when so great a number of Cimatec warriors came and surrounded us in the pueblo that they killed one soldier and two horses, and we barely succeeded in driving them off.

At that time our Rangel was suffering greatly from his head and there were many mosquitos so that he could sleep neither by night nor day and huge bats which bit him and sucked his blood. It was always raining, and as some of the soldiers newly arrived from Castile, whom Rangel had brought with him, saw that the Indians of that province had already made a stand against us in three places and had killed eleven horses and two soldiers and wounded many others, they advised Rangel to turn back for it was a very poor country and full of swamps, and Rangel was anxious to do so, but

in order that the retreat should not appear to be of his own free will and wish, but on account of the advice of the majority, he determined to call a council to consider it, [composed] of persons who were of his way of thinking so that the retreat should take place.

At that moment twenty of us soldiers had gone out to see whether we could capture some people in the neighbouring cacao groves and we brought back two Indian men and three women. Then Rangel called me aside and consulted me and spoke of his headache and how the other soldiers had advised him to turn back, and told me all that had happened. Then I censured him about the retreat and said to him "what will they say of your Honour being so near to the pueblo of Cimatan and wishing to turn back? Cortés will not be pleased at it, and evil disposed persons who wish you ill will throw it in your face that neither in the expedition against the Zapotecs nor in this one have you achieved a single good result although you were accompanied by such fine conquistadores, namely, the men of our town of Coatzacoalcos. In so far as our honour and that of Your Excellency is concerned I and other soldiers are of opinion that we should go forward, and I and my companions will go on ahead examining the swamps and forests and with the crossbowmen and musketeers we will go to the Capital of Cimatan, and your Honour can give my horse to some other gentleman who is expert with a lance and has the courage to manage him, for he is of no use to me in what I am doing, and he can come behind with the horsemen."

When Rodrigo Rangel heard this from me as he was a loud voiced man and a great talker he came out from the hut where [he had] been holding council and in a loud voice called together all the soldiers and said "the die is cast that we are to go ahead curse it all

(for this was always his way of swearing and talking) if Bernal Díaz del Castillo has told me the truth it is what suits all of you," and although some soldiers were sorry for it, others thought it right, and we at once began our march with the crossbowmen and musketeers in good order close by me, and the horsemen in the rear on account of the forest and swamps where horses could not gallop, until we reached another pueblo which the natives abandoned. Thence we went to the capital of Cimatan and went through another affray of arrows and javelins, but we soon put the enemy to flight and the native dwellers in that pueblo set fire to many of their houses, and there we captured fifteen men and women, and sent the women to bid the Cimatecs to make peace and we would pardon them for the warfare, and the relations and husbands of the women and common folk whom we held as prisoners came and we gave them up all the spoil, and they said that they would bring the whole pueblo to peace, but they never returned with an answer. Then Rangel said to me "Curse it all, but you have deceived me and you must make an expedition with other companions and find me as many Indian men and women as those you have made me release through your advice."

So fifty of us soldiers with myself as Captain promptly set out and we came on some ranchos placed among quaking bogs which we did not dare to enter, whence [the inhabitants] fled through some great thickets and thorn brakes which they call among themselves Xihuaquetlan, which are very dangerous and pierce one's feet, and in some cacao groves we captured six men and women with their little children and we returned to our Captain and with this we appeased him, and he again set the prisoners free so that they should summon the Cimatecs to make peace, and in

spite of persuasion they would not come, and we resolved to return to our town of Coatzacoalcos.

So ended the expeditions against the Zapotecs and against the people of Cimatan, and this is the report which should have been made of Rangel when he begged this conquest of Cortés.

I wish to relate some things which Rangel did on the march for they are laughable; when they were in the Zapotec mountains, it appears that one of the soldiers newly arrived from Castile made him angry, and Rangel said and swore "Curse it all, he must be tied to a whipping post", and he said, "is there no knave to lend a hand and help me to tie him"? There was a soldier there who now lives in Oaxaca named Hernando de Aguilar and as he was a simple-minded man he said "I want to get away from here, don't ask me to lend a hand," and Rangel laughed so much at this that he promptly pardoned the soldier who had angered him on account of what Aguilar said. Another time a horse broke away from a soldier named Salazar and he could not catch it and Rangel said, "let one of the greatest rogues and swindlers that have come with us help him to catch it," and there came a gentleman, a person of quality, who did not understand what Rangel said and captured the horse, and it sent Rangel into fits of laughter and we were all made to laugh at the things that he said. There was a dispute between two soldiers about a tribute of cacao given to one of them by a small pueblo which Cortés had assigned to them and which they held in partnership between them, and although the partners did not wish it, Rangel made them cast lots [to decide] who should have the pueblo. And he did and said other things which were subjects for laughter rather than for description.

Gonzalo de Ocampo said of this Rodrigo Rangel that

on account of the oaths and imprecations that he swore and things he said, that they examined them in Castile in the Holy Office. I did not wish to write a chapter by itself about this Captaincy which they gave to this Rodrigo Rangel for we did no good for lack of time, and above all, because the Captain was so ill and not able to keep his feet.

Two years afterwards or a little later we returned in earnest to the Zapotecs and the other provinces and conquered them and brought them to peace, which I will relate further on. Let us leave this and tell how Cortés sent to His Majesty in Castile over eighty thousand pesos de oro by the hands of Diego de Soto a native of Toro, and I think by one Ribero the one-eyed, who was his Secretary, and then he sent the very valuable gun made of low-grade gold and silver which they called the bird Phœnix, and he also sent to his father Martin Cortés many thousands of pesos de oro, and what happened about it I will go on to relate.

CHAPTER CLXX.

How Captain Hernando Cortés sent to Castile to His Majesty eighty thousand pesos in gold and silver and sent a cannon which was a culverin very richly adorned with many figures all over it and the greater part of it consisted of low-grade gold mixed with silver from Michoacan, and the name given to it was the Phœnix; he also sent to his father Martin Cortés over five thousand pesos de oro, and what happened about it I will go on to relate.

AS Cortés had collected and got together a matter of eighty thousand pesos de oro, and the forging of the culverin called the Phœnix was finished and resulted in a cannon of excellent quality for presentation to such an

exalted Emperor as our great Cæsar as an inscription engraved on the culverin itself stated :

Aquesta, ave, nació, sin par	This bird born without an equal,
Yo en serviros sin segundo y	I second to none in serving you,
Vos sin yqual en el mundo	Your Highness without equal in the world.

Cortés sent it all to His Majesty by a gentleman named Diego de Soto a native of Toro, and I cannot remember clearly if a certain Juan de Ribera, who had been secretary to Cortés and who was blind of one eye, which had a film over it, went at that time.

What I felt about Ribera was that he was a bad lot¹ for when he played at cards or dice it did not seem that he played fair, and in addition to this he had many bad qualities and I state this because when he arrived in Castile he went off with the pesos de oro which Cortés gave him for his father Martin Cortés. And because Martin Cortés demanded it [the money] of him Ribera being naturally of evil disposition instead of speaking well of his master [as he should have done] considering the favours that Cortés when a poor man had conferred on him, he said so many evil things and argued in such a way, that as he had great power of expression and had been the Secretary of Cortés himself, he gained credit especially with the Bishop of Burgos as well as with Narvaez, so often mentioned by me, and Cristóbal de Tápia and the Proctors of Diego Velásquez and others who assisted them. And as the death of Francisco de Garay had happened at that time, they all joined in making many complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, so numerous and in such a manner, that His Majesty believed that the judges he had appointed had shown partiality for Cortés on account of gifts he had

¹ Mala yerba.

sent them for that purpose, and the judgment was again reversed and Cortés in such disfavour that had it not been for the Duque de Bejar who took his part and guaranteed that if His Majesty would send and take his Residencia he would not find him guilty [all would have been lost.] The Duke acted thus because a marriage was already being arranged between Cortés and his niece, a lady named Doña Juana de Zuñiga, the daughter of Don Carlos de Arrellano, Conde de Aguilar, and sister of some noblemen and favorites of the Emperor. At that time the eighty thousand¹ pesos de oro arrived and the letter from Cortés giving many thanks to His Majesty, and containing many promises on account of the great favour he had shown to him in giving him the Government of Mexico, and in having been pleased to order that he should be treated with justice in the decision which he gave in his favour at the time of the commission which he ordered to be appointed from among gentlemen of His Royal Council and Cabinet, as has often been mentioned by me before. As the result of further consideration all that had been alleged against Cortés tended to change the intention of having his "Residencia" taken, and nothing more was then said about it.

Let us stop talking about these clouds which were already threatening to burst over Cortés and let us speak of the cannon. When its inscription, in which Cortés described himself as so exalted a servant, became known at court, certain Dukes, Marquises and Counts and men of great importance who looked upon themselves as fully as distinguished servants of His Majesty, and bore in mind that other gentlemen had served the Royal Crown quite as well as they had, began to grumble about the

¹ Blotted out in the original "fifty, sixty, seventy."

cannon and about Cortés because he had written such a motto. I also know that other great noblemen such as the Admiral of Castile and the Duque de Bejar and the Conde de Aguilar said to these same gentlemen who had begun the discussion that the inscription on the Culverin was very plucky and they were not surprised at Cortés putting that motto on the cannon, for what Captain could we see in our time who had [accomplished] such exploits and had gained so many lands without expense to or assistance from His Majesty, and had converted such great numbers of people to our Holy Faith? In addition to this not only he but his soldiers and companions who aided him to capture such a strong city with so many inhabitants and so extensive a territory were worthy the bestowal of many favours by His Majesty, "for if we reflect, it is from our ancestors who performed heroic deeds and served the Royal Crown and the Kings that reigned in their day, as Cortés and his companions have now done, that we inherit our coats of arms our lands and rents," and with these words the matter of the inscription was forgotten. In order that the culverin should not leave Seville, we heard the news that His Majesty presented it to Don Francisco de los Cobos Comendador Mayor de Leon and that they melted it down and refined the gold and smelted it in Seville, and they say that it was worth over twenty thousand ducats. At the time when Cortés sent this gold and the cannon, having sent on the first occasion the treasure including the Golden Moon and the Silver Sun and many other golden jewels by Francisco de Montejo and Alonzo Hernández Puerto Carrero, and also on the second occasion with Alonzo de Ávila and Quiñones the richest treasure ever found in New Spain, for it was the household furniture of Montezuma and Guatemoc and the Great Chieftains of Mexico, (and this was stolen by

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Juan Florin), all this became known in Castile and Cortés won great fame both in Castile and in other parts of Christendom, and was everywhere greatly praised.

Let us leave this and relate how the suit ended between Martin Cortés and Ribera over the many thousands of pesos which Cortés sent to his father, and it was thus,¹— while the suit was in progress Ribera was passing through the Town of the booths² and he lunched there and ate a rasher of bacon and while he was eating it he died suddenly and without confession.— God forgive him, Amen.

Let us leave the events in Castile and return to speak of New Spain, how Cortés was always engaged in endeavours to people the city with native Mexicans as it had been formerly peopled, and gave them freedom and liberty not to pay tribute to His Majesty until they had built their houses and repaired the causeways and bridges and all the buildings and pipes by which the water had formerly come from Chapultepec to enter Mexico, and in the Spanish quarter he had churches, hospitals and dockyards built and other things that were necessary.

At that time there arrived from Castile at the Port of Vera Cruz twelve Franciscan Friars with their Vicar General, a very good ecclesiastic named Fray Martin de Valencia a native of a town of Tierra de Campos called Valencia de Don Juan, and this very reverend ecclesiastic was nominated by the Holy Father as Vicar, and about his arrival and the reception given him I will speak further on.

¹ Blotted out in the original { “que el que con mal anda en peor
acaba.”
“he who begins badly ends worse.”

² Villa del Cadahalso in the text.

CHAPTER CLXXI.

How there came to the Port of Vera Cruz twelve Franciscan Friars, men of very holy lives, and there came as their vicar and guardian Fray Martin de Valencia, a priest so pure that he had the reputation of working miracles. He was a native of a town of Tierra de Campos called Valencia de Don Juan, and about what Cortés did on their arrival.

I HAVE already stated in former chapters which treat of the subject how we had written to His Majesty asking him to send us Franciscan Friars of good and holy lives to help us in the conversion and in teaching the natives of this land the holy doctrines so as to make them Christians, and to preach our holy faith, as we had explained it to them ever since we entered New Spain. Cortés together with us conquistadores who had won New Spain had written about it to Don Fray Francisco de los Angeles, who was general of the Franciscan Order and was afterwards Cardinal, [begging him] to do us the favour to send us friars of holy life so that our holy faith might always be exalted and the natives of these lands might understand what we told them at the time when we were fighting against them, namely that His Majesty would send friars of much better mode of living than ours to teach them the arguments and sermons which we had told them were true; and the General Don Fray Francisco de los Angeles did us the favour promptly to send twelve friars as I have related. Among them came Fray Toribio Motolinia, and the Caciques and lords of Mexico gave him this name of Motolinia which, in their language, means "the poor friar" because whatever was given to him in the name of God he gave to the Indians, so that he sometimes went without food, and wore a ragged habit and walked barefoot, and

always preached to the Indians who loved him greatly for he was a holy man.

To go back to our story, when Cortés knew that they were at the Port of Vera Cruz he ordered all the Indian pueblos as well as the Spanish settlements that, whichever way they came, the roads should be swept, and wherever they halted, even in the open country, ranchos should be built for them, and that when they reached the towns or pueblos of the Indians they should go out to meet them and should ring the bells, (which at that time they had in each pueblo) and that all without exception after they had received them should pay them great reverence and that the natives should carry lighted wax candles and the crosses they possessed—and he ordered the Spaniards with all humility, to fall on their knees and kiss their hands and garments, (so that the Indians might observe it and follow their example) and moreover Cortés sent off plentiful supplies along the road and wrote to the Friars very affectionately. As they came on their way, when they arrived near to Mexico Cortés himself accompanied by us courageous and valiant soldiers went out to receive them, and together with us went Guatemoc the lord of Mexico with all the principal Mexicans there were, and many other Caciques from other cities. When Cortés knew that the Friars were approaching he dismounted from his horse, as did all of us, and when we met the reverend friars the first to fall on his knees before Fray Martin de Valencia and to kiss his hands was Cortés himself, and the Friar would not permit it, so he kissed his garments and those of all the other ecclesiastics and so did nearly all the captains and soldiers who were present and Guatemoc and the Mexican chieftains. When Guatemoc and the other caciques saw Cortés go down on his knees to kiss hands they were greatly astonished, and when they saw that the friars were barc-

foot and thin and their garments ragged, and that they had no horses but came on foot and were very jaundiced looking, and [then] turned to Cortés, whom they looked on as an Idol or one of their Gods, on his knees before the friars, all the Indians from that time forward followed his example, and now when friars arrive they give them a reception and pay them reverence in the way I have described ; moreover I say that when Cortés conversed with those ecclesiastics he always doffed his cap and held it in his hand and in all ways paid them great respect, and certainly those good Franciscan Friars did much to the advantage of all New Spain. Three years and a half afterwards, or a little earlier, twelve Dominican Friars arrived, and there came as their Provincial or Prior a friar named Fray Tomas Ortiz who was a Biscayan, and they said he had been Prior or Provincial in a country called Las Puntas, and it pleased God that when they arrived they fell ill of sleeping sickness¹ and most of them died. I will relate later on, when and with whom they came and the rank which they say the Prior held and other things that happened and how many other good priests came here belonging to the same order of St. Dominic, men of holy life, who impressed by this grand example, are very holy and have successfully instructed the natives of this province of Guatemala in our holy faith and have been very helpful to all.

I wish to leave this holy matter of the friars and state that as Cortés was always in fear that in Castile the proctors of Diego Velásquez governor of Cuba, instigated by the Bishop of Burgos, would again come together and speak evil of him before our Lord the Emperor, and as he had trustworthy news by letters which his father Martin Cortés and Diego de Ordas sent to him, that they were

¹ Mal d' Modorra.

arranging a marriage [for him] with the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga the niece of Don Alvaro de Zuñiga, Duque de Bejar, he endeavoured to send all the pesos [he could collect] from the whole country, on the one hand in order that the Duque de Bejar might know of his great riches as well as his heroic deeds and great exploits, but more especially in order that His Majesty might befriend him and grant him favours, so then he sent His Majesty thirty thousand pesos and wrote to him what I shall go on to state.

CHAPTER CLXXII.

How Cortés wrote to His Majesty and sent him thirty thousand pesos de oro and told him how he was devoting himself to the conversion of the Indians and the rebuilding of Mexico, and how he had sent a Captain named Cristóbal de Olid with a strong fleet to pacify the provinces of Honduras and that he (Olid) had risen in rebellion with it, and he reported other things which had happened in Mexico. In the ship which sailed with the letters the Accountant named Rodrigo de Albornoz sent other very secret letters and said in them many evil things of Cortés and all those who went out with him, and what His Majesty decreed about it.

CORTÉS being now established in the government of New Spain by the command of His Majesty, it seemed to him that it would be well to inform him how he was attending to the conversion of the natives and the rebuilding of the great city of Tenochtitlan¹ Mexico. He also reported how he had sent a Captain named Cristóbal de Olid to make a settlement in some provinces called Honduras and had given him five ships well provisioned and a strong force of soldiers and supplies and many horses, and cannon, and musketeers and crossbowmen and all sorts

¹ Tenustitlan in the text.

of arms, and that he had spent many thousands of pesos de oro in fitting out the fleet—and Cristóbal de Olid had revolted with all of it, and he who advised him to rise in rebellion was Diego Velásquez, the governor of Cuba, who had gone shares with him [Olid] in the fleet. If his Majesty approved, he was determined shortly to send another Captain to capture this same fleet and take him [Olid] prisoner, or to go himself, for if this act remained unpunished other captains would venture to rebel with other fleets which he was obliged to send to conquer and settle lands which were at war with him. For this reason he begged His Majesty that he would grant permission for it. He also sent to complain of Diego Velásquez not only on account of the affair of Captain Cristóbal de Olid but because of his plots and offences in letters sent from the Island of Cuba to the effect that they should kill Cortés. This was the reason why, when he set out from that city of Mexico to conquer certain strong pueblos which had risen in arms, and the partizans of Diego Velásquez made plots to kill him and seize the government, he had executed sentence on one of the most guilty. And it was the Bishop of Burgos President of the Indies, who did him this favour by being a friend of Diego Velásquez.

He also wrote to say how he was ordering to be paid [to His Majesty] thirty thousand pesos de oro and that but for the late sedition and plots that he would have collected much more gold, and that with God's help and some luck he would send all he was able in all the ships sailing from Mexico to His Royal Majesty. So also he wrote to his father Martin Cortés and to one of his relations called the Licentiate Francisco Nuñez who was a reporter of the Royal Council of His Majesty; he also wrote to Diego de Ordas and made clear to them all what I have already related. He also gave

information how one Rodrigo de Albornoz, an accountant, was going about secretly in Mexico grumbling against Cortés because he did not give him the Indians he wanted, and [refused him] the Cacica he asked for, the daughter of the Lord of Texcoco, whom he [Cortés] would not give him because at that time he gave her in marriage to a person of quality. Moreover he [Cortés] told them that he [Rodrigo de Albornoz] had been Secretary of State of Flanders and was a follower of Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, and was a man who was accustomed to retail news even by means of ciphers, and that possibly he might write to the Bishop, as he was President of the Council of the Indies, things that were not true (for at that time we did not know that they had deprived the Bishop of his office) so that he should have notice of everything. He sent these letters in duplicate for he was always in fear that the Bishop of Burgos as President had given orders to Pedro de Ysasaga and Juan López de Recalte, officers of the custom house at Seville that all the letters and despatches from Cortés should be sent to him post haste so that he could know what was in them, (for at that time His Majesty had come from Flanders and was in Castile) in order to report to His Majesty and score first before our proctors could deliver Cortés's letters, for we did not yet know in New Spain that they had deprived the Bishop of his office of President.

Let us leave the letters and I will say that in the same ship in which the parcel of letters was sent, the Accountant Albornoz mentioned by me sent other letters to His Majesty and to the Bishop of Burgos and to the Royal Council of the Indies, and what he said to them by way of accusation was to reiterate all the suits and affairs which Cortés had been accused of before, when His Majesty ordered judges to be appointed from the

gentlemen of his Royal Council, already named by me in the Chapter which treats of the subject, when as a verdict on the case they pronounced us to be very loyal servants of His Majesty. In addition to those charges they now wrote this new one that Cortés demanded of all the Caciques of New Spain many ingots of gold and ordered them to get gold from the mines, and this Cortés said was to be sent to His Majesty, but he kept it and did not send it to His Majesty; and that he had built some strongly fortified houses, and had got together many daughters of Lords to marry them to Spaniards, for honest men to ask them of him as wives, and he refused to give them to them as mistresses. And he said that all the Caciques and notables held him in as great esteem as though he were King, and in this land they know of no other King or Lord than Cortés, and like a King he exacted his fifths, and he has a great number of golden ingots stored in his treasury, and he [Albornoz] has not made sure whether personally he is a rebel or loyal, and there was need that His Majesty should promptly order some nobleman with a great number of soldiers to come to these parts to deprive him [Cortés] of his command and lordship; and he wrote other things on this subject. However I will not go into further particulars about the contents of the letters but will state that they went into the hands of the Bishop of Burgos who resided in Toro. As Pánfilo de Narvaez was then at court as well as Cristóbal de Tápia already mentioned by me, and all the proctors of Diego Velásquez, they advised the Archbishop again to lay complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, including all that he had related previously, and they said that the Judges whom His Majesty appointed showed partiality for Cortés on account of the gifts he had made to them and that His Majesty should deign to see what

the Accountant, his own officer, had now newly written and as evidence of this they presented the letters.

When His Majesty took into consideration the letters, and the statements and complaints which Narvaez pronounced so haughtily, for that was his manner of speaking when he demanded justice, he believed them to be true and the Bishop seconded with other letters to support them. His Majesty then said "I wish to send and punish Cortés, as they speak so much evil of what he does, and although he should send more gold, there is greater riches in doing justice than in all the treasure he can send." And he decreed that the Admiral of Santo Domingo should be despatched at the expense of Cortés with two hundred soldiers and if he should find him [Cortés] to be guilty he should cut off his head and punish all those of us who defeated Narvaez. To induce the Admiral to go, they had promised him the post of Admiral of New Spain and at that time disputes arose at Court about it. After all the instructions had been completed, it appears that the Admiral tarried some days and did not dare to come because he had no money, and also because they advised him to beware of the good fortune of Cortés, for although Narvaez had brought such a large army Cortés had defeated him, and he would be risking his life and position, and he had better not carry out the order, especially as no fault could be found with Cortés nor in any of his companions but great loyalty. In addition to this it seems that they told His Majesty that it was too much to give the post of Admiral of New Spain for the small service which he would be able to do by the journey on which he was sending him. While the Admiral was getting ready to start, the Proctors of Cortés and his father Martin Cortés and a Friar named Fray Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea got to know about it, and as they had the letters which Cortés

had sent them in duplicate and understood from them that the Accountant Albornoz was playing double, they all went together to the Duque de Bejar and gave him an account of all I have related above and showed him the letter from Cortés. When the Duke knew that they were sending off the Admiral with many soldiers so suddenly he was greatly concerned at it, for it had already been arranged to marry Cortés to the Señora Doña Juana de Zuñiga the Duke's niece, and promptly without further delay he went into the presence of His Majesty accompanied by certain Counts his relations, and with them went the old Martin Cortés father of Cortés and Fray Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea, and when they arrived before our Lord the Emperor they humbled themselves and paid all the reverence which they ought to pay to our Lord and King. And the Duke himself spoke and begged His Majesty not to give ear to the letter of such a man as Albornoz who was very hostile to Cortés, until he had received other trustworthy and credible evidence, and not to despatch a fleet. Moreover he said that His Majesty being such a good Christian for doing rightful justice with great deliberation, [yet] he was sending to capture Cortés and his soldiers who had done good and loyal service such as no others in the world had done, nor could there be found in any histories accounts of vassals who had done so much for the Kings of past times, and that already he had once pledged his head for Cortés and his soldiers who were very loyal and would be so in the future, and that now he would again pledge himself and all his estate that they would always remain loyal as His Majesty would see later on, and in addition to this he showed him the letters Cortés had sent to his father in which he gave the reason why the Accountant was writing evil things against him, Cortés, which as I have already stated was because he had not

given him good Indians, such as he demanded as well as the daughter of a Cacique. Moreover the Duke told His Majesty that he should note the number of times Cortés had sent him a great quantity of gold, and he made many other excuses for Cortés, and His Majesty seeing that Cortés and all of us clearly had right on our side, decreed that a person who was a gentleman of position and knowledge and one who feared God should go to take his Residencia. At that time there was at the Court in Toledo as the assistant Corregidor of the Conde de Alcaudete a gentleman called the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon a cousin of the Count Don Martin de Córdoba himself, for so he was called for at that time he was Corregidor of that City. His Majesty sent to summon this Licentiate Luis Ponce and ordered him to go at once to New Spain and take the Residencia of Cortés, and if he was guilty of any of the things of which they accused him to punish him with rigorous justice. The Licentiate replied that he would carry out the Royal Command, and began to get ready for his journey, but he did not come in great haste for he delayed his arrival in New Spain more than two years.

Let us leave them here, both the partisans of Diego Velásquez who brought charges against Cortés as well as the Licentiate Luis Ponce de Leon who was preparing for his voyage.

Although it is outside my story reaching far ahead, what I shall now say is that at the end of two years we came to know all that I have here related about the letters of Albornoz. Moreover interested readers should know how this same Albornoz was always in the habit of writing to His Majesty about things that never happened, as must be well known to persons who have been in New Spain and the City of Mexico at the time when Don Antonio de Mendoza was Viceroy of Mexico, who was an illustrious

man worthy of being well remembered (may he rest in glory) and who governed most fairly and with such impartial justice. Yet this Rodrigo de Albornoz wrote to His Majesty evil things about his government, and the very letters he sent to the Court, returned to New Spain to the hands of this same Viceroy, and as soon as he understood them he sent to summon Rodrigo de Albornoz and with very leisurely words, for that was his way of speaking, the Viceroy showed him the letters and said to him "As you are in the habit of writing to His Majesty, write the truth and get you gone" and the Contador was very much ashamed and confounded.¹

Let us stop talking of this matter and I will state how Cortés, not knowing at that time all that had happened at Court and how they had worked against him, sent a fleet to Honduras against Cristóbal de Olid and what happened I will go on to tell.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

How when Cortés learnt that Cristóbal de Olid had rebelled with his fleet and had entered into partnership with Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, he sent against him a Captain named Francisco de Las Casas, and what happened to him I will go on to relate.

I MUST go a long way back in my story so as to be clearly understood. I have already related in the Chapter that treats of the matter how Cortés sent Cristóbal de Olid

¹ Blotted out in the original :—

"A certain Gonzalo de Campo whom I have frequently mentioned before, the composer of defamatory libels as I have said on former occasions, who knew the disposition of Albornoz, stated in his libel 'Fray Zarzapelete': Beware of Fray Rodrigo de Albornoz, but not because he is a savage who never kept a secret; a good preacher had well informed me that he was a bad visitor and a very double dealing fox."

with a fleet to Honduras and how he rose in revolt. When Cortés realized that Cristóbal de Olid had rebelled with his fleet with the support of Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, he became very thoughtful, but as he was high spirited and did not permit such matters to get the better of him besides he had already reported to His Majesty, (as I have stated) in the letter he wrote, that he intended to go himself or send other Captains against Cristóbal de Olid. About that time a gentleman named Francisco de Las Casas had come from Castile to Mexico, a trustworthy person and a relative of Cortés, whom he decided to send against Cristóbal de Olid with five ships well armed with cannon and provisioned and one hundred soldiers, and among them some of the Conquistadores of Mexico, those whom Cortés had brought in his company from the Island of Cuba, namely one Pedro Moreno Medrano, and Juan Nuñez de Mercado, Juan Bello and others who died on the voyage whom I do not name here so as to avoid prolixity.

When Francisco de Las Casas had been despatched with ample authority and orders to capture Cristóbal de Olid, he set out from the port of Vera Cruz with his ships well found and swift sailing, and his banners bearing the royal Arms, and with good weather he reached a bay called El Triunfo de la Cruz, where Cristóbal de Olid kept his fleet, and near by had founded a town called Triunfo de la Cruz, as I have already stated in the Chapter that treats of it.

When Cristóbal de Olid saw those ships anchored in the port, although Francisco de Las Casas as soon as he arrived ordered flags of truce to be hoisted, Cristóbal de Olid did not feel certain about it, on the contrary he ordered two caravels well armed with cannon and many soldiers to be got ready and he guarded the port so that they could not land,

As soon as Las Casas saw that, as he was a spirited man, he ordered his boats to be got out and launched in the sea with many men well armed with some falconets, muskets and crossbows, and he went with them thinking one way or the other to get ashore, and Cristóbal de Olid in order to prevent it fought a good fight in the sea, and the boat of Las Casas sank one of the caravels of the enemy and killed four soldiers and wounded others. However Cristóbal de Olid reflected that he had not all of his soldiers there, for a few days before he had sent them in two companies to follow up a river called Pechin and to capture another Captain named Gil Gonzales de Ávila who was conquering that province, for the river Pechin was within the government of the Golfo Dulce, and he was hourly expecting his people to arrive. So Cristobal de Olid decided to ask the favour of peace of Francisco de Las Casas, for Cristóbal de Olid firmly believed that if he should come ashore they would come to blows, and as he had not got his soldiers near by he asked for peace. Las Casas decided to stay that night on board his ships at sea away from the land, either anchored or lying to, with the intention of going to another bay to disembark, for when they were skirmishing and fighting certain soldiers, partisans of Cortés, who were with Cristóbal de Olid secretly gave Las Casas a letter to say they would aid him, and that he must not fail to come by land to capture Cristóbal de Olid.

This agreement having been made, such was the luck of Cristóbal de Olid and the misfortune of Las Casas, that on that night a strong northerly gale arose and as it is a foul wind on that coast the ships of Francisco de Las Casas were driven ashore so that he lost all he had brought with him. Thirty soldiers were drowned and all

the others were taken prisoners, and they were two days without food and wet through with salt water, and at that time it rained heavily and they suffered hardship and cold. Cristóbal de Olid was joyful and triumphant at holding Francisco de Las Casas a prisoner and the other soldiers whom he had captured, and presently he made them swear that they would always be on his side and against Cortés if he should come to that land in person. As soon as they had taken the oath he freed them from prison and held only Francisco de Las Casas prisoner. After a few days his captains arrived whom he had sent to seize Gil Gonzales de Ávila. It appears that Gil Gonzales had come as Governor and Captain of the Golfo Dulce and had founded a town which they called San Gil de Buena Vista which was about a league from the port which they now call Golfo Dulce, for the river Pechin at that time was settled with good pueblos. Gil Gonzales had only a few soldiers with him for most of the rest had sickened and this same town of Buena Vista had been garrisoned with other soldiers. As soon as Cristóbal de Olid had news of it, he sent to have them taken, and as they would not allow themselves to be captured, eight soldiers followers of Gil Gonzales de Ávila, and his nephew named Gil de Ávila, were killed. When Cristóbal de Olid found himself with two prisoners who were Captains he was very cheerful and contented, and as he had a reputation for valor and certainly was personally brave, in order that it should be known throughout the Islands, he wrote to his friend Diego Velásquez, and then went from Triunfo de la Cruz inland to a good pueblo which at that time had a large population, (and there were many other pueblos in that neighbourhood) and this pueblo was called Naco which is now destroyed, as well as all the others, and this I state because I saw it and

was myself in it and in San Gil de Buena Vista and on the river Pechin and the Rio de Baama, and I was there at the time when I went with Cortés as I will relate more fully in its proper time and place.

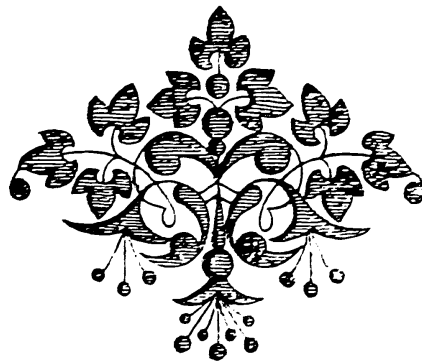
To go back to my story. Cristóbal de Olid was already stationed at Naco with his prisoners and a large company of soldiers and thence he despatched expeditions to other parts and sent as Captain one Briones, mentioned by me before, and this Briones was one of the first to counsel Cristóbal de Olid to revolt. He himself was a turbulent man, and had had the lower lobes of his ears cut off. Briones himself said that they had been cut off when he was a soldier in a fortress because he would not surrender, neither he nor other captains. This same Briones was afterwards hanged in Guatemala as a mutineer and inciter to rebellion in the army.

To go back to my story, when this Briones set off with a large company of soldiers, a rumour arose in the Camp of Cristóbal de Olid that Briones with all the soldiers that he had in his company had revolted and were going off to New Spain, and it turned out to be true. When they knew this, Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila who were prisoners thought the time was ripe to kill Cristóbal de Olid, and as they went about free without fetters because he considered them of no importance (for Cristóbal de Olid thought himself to be very powerful), they arranged with the soldiers and friends of Cortés that when they cried, "Here for the King and for Cortés in the King's name against this tyrant" they should stab him. As soon as this plan was made Francisco de Las Casas laughing and joking said to Cristóbal de Olid "Señor Capitan, let me free to go to New Spain to speak to Cortés and tell him the reason of my defeat, and I will be a mediator so that

your honour may retain this government and its captaincy, for look you, it is your own doing, my imprisonment does you no good, on the other hand it checks you in your conquests." Cristóbal de Olid replied that it seemed to him all right as it was and that he was delighted to have the company of such a valiant man. When Francisco de Las Casas heard that, he said "Then look out well for yourself, for one day or another I must endeavour to kill you" and this he said to him half in joke and laughing, and Cristóbal de Olid made no reply to what he said, and took it as a joke. The plot I have mentioned had been made with the friends of Cortés, and when they were supping at a table, and the cloth had been removed and the attendants and pages had gone to their supper, and Juan Nuñez de Mercado and other soldiers who were partizans of Cortés and were in the plot stood around, Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila (who had each concealed a scrivener's knife as sharp as a razor, for they were not allowed to carry arms,) as they stood talking to Cristóbal de Olid about the Conquest of Mexico and the good fortune of Cortés, (and Cristóbal de Olid was quite unsuspecting of what was coming to him,) Francisco de Las Casas seized his beard and struck him in the throat with the blade which he carried shaped like a clasp knife for that purpose, and together with Gil Gonzales de Ávila, and the soldiers of Cortés they quickly gave him so many wounds that he could not defend himself, but as he was very vigorous and impetuous and of great [personal] strength he slipped through their hands shouting "To me, my friends" but as they were all at supper, or his luck was so bad that they did not come quickly enough, he took to flight and hid himself in a thicket believing that his partisans would come to his assistance, and although many of them did come quickly to help him, Francisco de

Las Casas was shouting and crying "To me those for Cortés and the King against this Tyrant, for we can no longer endure his tyranny." Then when they heard the name of His Majesty and of Cortés none of those who came to support the cause of Cristóbal de Olid dared to defend him, on the contrary Las Casas promptly ordered them to be seized, and as soon as this was done proclamation was made that whoever might know where Cristóbal de Olid was hidden and did not disclose it would suffer death for it. It was soon known where he was hidden and they captured him, and a charge was brought against him and in accordance with the sentence pronounced by the two Captains he was beheaded in the Plaza at Naco. Thus he died because he rebelled, for he followed bad counsellors and although a very valiant man he did not remember that Cortés had made him his Maestre de Campo and had given him very good Indians; he was married to a Portuguese lady named Philipa de Arauz and had a daughter. Because in a former chapter I have already spoken of the height and the features of Cristóbal de Olid, and of the country he belonged to, and the rank he held, I will say no more here. But as soon as Francisco de Las Casas and Gil Gonzales de Ávila found themselves free from their dead enemy, they assembled their soldiers and as both were true captains, Las Casas formed a settlement at Trujillo, and called it by that name because he was a native of Trujillo in Estremadura, and Gil Gonzales sent messengers to San Gil de Buena Vista, which he had founded, to let the people know what had happened and to order his lieutenant named Armenta to preserve the settlement as he had left it and not to embark on any new enterprise because he [Gil Gonzales] was going to New Spain to beg for help and a reinforcement of soldiers from Cortés and he would soon return.

When all that I have stated was settled it was arranged between the two captains that they should go to Mexico to inform Cortés of all that had happened, and I will leave off here until the proper time and place and will relate what Cortés arranged [meanwhile], without knowing anything of what had happened in Naco as detailed above.



A P P E N D I X.

DIARY OF THE SIEGE OF MEXICO.

IN compiling a Diary of the Siege many difficulties are met with. Neither Cortés nor Bernal Díaz are accurate in the matter of dates, and they not only contradict one another but often contradict themselves.

In the year 1521 Easter fell on the 31st March.

One point on which both are agreed is that the division of the forces and the announcement of the commands was made on the second day of the feast of Espiritu Santo, which feast in the year 1521 fell on Sunday, 19th May. The second day of the feast would therefore be the 20th May, and Bernal Díaz says that the companies of Alvarado and Olid had orders to start on the day following (21st May), but on account of the defection and execution of Xicotencatl (of which Cortés makes no mention) that their departure was delayed until the next day (22nd May). Nevertheless, Bernal Díaz says the companies of Alvarado started on the 13th May, and Cortés gives the date as the 10th May.

Then, again, Bernal Díaz, twice over, mentions ninety-three days as the length of the siege. The siege, we know for certain, ended on the 13th August, so that to make up ninety-three days he must have begun his count on the 13th May.

It is impossible to reconcile these various statements, and in the following Diary the departure of Alvarado and Olid from Texcoco is assumed to have taken place on the 22nd May, as that date fits in best with the events that follow.