

## CHAPTER CLX.

How Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived with his army at a pueblo called Tuxtepec,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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

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<sup>1</sup> Tuxtepec, in the north of the State of Oaxaca on the River Papaloapan. Tustepeque in the text.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Tiltepec<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> These people were also Zapotecs and they border on other pueblos called those of the Mijes,<sup>3</sup> 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.

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

<sup>2</sup> Xaltepec or Jaltepec in the District of Choapam. Xaltepeque in the text.

<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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,<sup>4</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> El galan.      <sup>2</sup> De los pensamientos.      <sup>3</sup> De lo pensado.

<sup>4</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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 Çitla<sup>3</sup> 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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> 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 Montedoca, 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,<sup>1</sup> Tepeaca,<sup>2</sup> Chinantla<sup>3</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> Guazpaltepeque in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Tepeaca, further on called Tepeca, not to be confounded with Tepeaca near Puebla.

<sup>3</sup> Chinanta in the text.



Tabasco and the mountains of Quechula,<sup>1</sup> all the [land of] the Zoques towards Chiapas,<sup>2</sup> 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,<sup>3</sup> 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,

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<sup>1</sup> Cachula in the text.    <sup>2</sup> Chiapa in the text.    <sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>1</sup> and his children and also the grandmother and many other married women. It also seems to me that Elvira López, [nicknamed] the tall,<sup>2</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup> La Zambrana.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Zacatula<sup>1</sup> and to Juan Álvarez the less<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> In the State of Guerrero.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Tututepec<sup>1</sup> and among its people.

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## 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

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<sup>1</sup> Tututepeque in the text.