

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