

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 meddlesome 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