

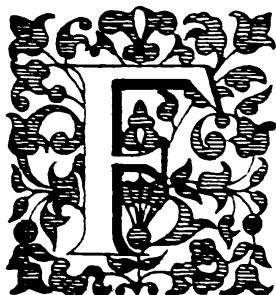


BOOK XVII.

THE RECORD OF THE CONQUISTADORES.

CHAPTER CCV

A record of the gallant Captains and stout and valiant soldiers who left the Island of Cuba with the daring and courageous Captain Don Hernando Cortés, who after conquering Mexico became Marquis del Valle and had other titles.



FIRST of all the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés, who died near Seville in a town or place called Castilleja de la Cuesta.

Then Don Pedro de Alvarado, who, after the conquest of Mexico was Comendador de Santiago and Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala;¹ he died in the affair of Jalisco, when he was on his way to relieve an army which was camped on the rocky hills of Nochistlan.

Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was a prominent Captain and chief Alguazil during the affair at Mexico, and for some time was Governor in New Spain in association with the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada. His Majesty received the highest reports of him, and he died in Castile

¹ Blotted out in the original : "and Honduras and Chiapa."

in the town of Palos when he went with Don Hernando Cortés to kiss the feet of His Majesty.

Cristóbal de Olid, who was a valiant Captain and quarter-master in the wars in Mexico, and who came to his end in the affair at Naco, beheaded as a punishment because he rose in revolt with the fleet which Cortés had given him.

These three Captains I have mentioned were highly praised before His Majesty when Cortés went to Court, and remarked to His Majesty, our Lord, that he had in his army when he conquered Mexico three Captains who might be counted among the most famous in the world. The first was Don Pedro Alvarado, who, besides being very valiant, was elegant both in person and appearance, and [distinguished] for his capacity in training soldiers¹. He said of Cristóbal de Olid that he was a Hector in valour in single combat, and had he been as judicious as he was brave he would have been much more highly esteemed, but he needed to be under orders. Of Gonzalo de Sandoval he stated that he was of such value, as much on account of his bravery as for his counsels, that he was fit to command armies and was competent in all that he dared to say or do.

Cortés also gave praise to the very good and daring soldiers whom he had commanded ; and as to this Bernal Díaz del Castillo, the author of this narrative, remarks, that it would have been as well if Cortés had written thus on the first occasion that he told the story of the events in New Spain, but what he wrote at that time gave all the honour and glory of our conquests to himself alone, and made no mention of us.

To return to my story : Another good and valiant

¹ Blotted out in the original : “and for inciting them to go anywhere however dangerous it might be.”

Captain named Juan Velásquez de Leon died at the bridges.¹

Francisco de Montejo, who after Mexico was captured became Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan, and held other titles, died in Castile.

Luis Marin, who was a Captain in the affairs of Mexico, a distinguished person and very valiant, died a natural death.

A certain Pedro de Ircio, who died, was cunning in disposition, of middle height, and talked much of what he would accomplish and what would happen through his doing, but he was no good at all, and we called him another Agrages [sour grapes] without works, on account of his loquacity; he was a Captain in the Camp of Sandoval.

Another good Captain was named Andrés de Tapia; he was very valiant, he died in Mexico.

One Juan de Escalante, who was Captain at Villa Rica while we went to Mexico, died in the hands of the Indians in what we call the affair of Almeria, which is the name of some pueblos situated between Taxpan and Cempoala; there died in his company seven soldiers whose names I cannot now remember, and they killed his horse; this was the first disaster we suffered in New Spain.

One Alonzo de Ávila was a Captain, and the first accountant appointed in New Spain, a very brave man but somewhat given to turbulence, and Don Hernando Cortés knowing his disposition, in order to avoid discords, managed to send him as Proctor to Hispanola where the Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars resided, and when he despatched him he gave him good bars and jewels of gold so as to content him.²

¹ During the "Noche triste."

² Blotted out in the original: "and the affairs he was charged with concerned the way in which we were to manage our conquests,

A certain Francisco de Lugo, who was in command of expeditions, a very valiant man died a natural death; he was the bastard son of a gentleman named Álvaro

and the branding as slaves of the Indians, who, having first rendered obedience to His Majesty, after so doing should have again revolted, and in time of peace have treacherously killed Christians. After Alonzo de Ávila had returned from this mission in Hispanola, and it was seen that he had obtained favourable results, he [Cortés] then sent him to Castile, for we had meanwhile conquered Mexico. While we were subduing New Spain and capturing Mexico, Alonzo de Ávila took no part in any of the expeditions, except the expedition when we first went to Mexico and when afterwards we fled from it, for, as I have said, he was in Hispanola. Then, so as further to content him and to get him away from himself, [Cortés] gave him a good pueblo named Cuautitlan, and some bars of gold, so that he should conduct the negotiations satisfactorily and should report much that was good of the personality of Cortés to His Majesty. Then Don Hernando Cortés also sent, in company with Alonzo de Ávila, Fulano de Quiñones a native of Zamora, who was Captain of the Guard of Don Hernando Cortés, and he gave them power of attorney to advocate the affairs of New Spain. By them he despatched the great wealth of gold and silver jewels and many other things which we seized on the capture of Mexico, and the equipage of gold which Montezuma and Guatemoc, the great Caciques of Mexico, used to own.

As luck would have it they stabbed Quiñones in the Island of Tercera, over a love affair with a woman, and he died of those wounds. As Alonzo de Ávila continued his voyage, a French fleet met him near Castile, of which Juan Florin was the Captain, and robbed him of the gold and silver and the ship, and carried him off prisoner to France, and he was a prisoner for some time; but at the end of two years the Frenchman who held him let him go free and he came to Castile.

At that time Don Francisco de Montejo, Adelantado of Yucatan, was at Court, and he [Alonzo de Ávila] accompanied him on his being appointed Accountant of Yucatan. About the same time or a little earlier one Gil González de Benavides, a brother of Alonzo de Ávila, who used to reside in the Island of Cuba, came to Mexico, and as Alonzo de Ávila was in Yucatan and Gil González in Mexico, he [Alonzo] sent authority to his brother Gil González de Benavides to hold the pueblo of Cuautitlan for himself and to make use of it. Gil González went with us at that time to the Hibueras (for he was never a conquistador of New Spain), and years went by during which he utilized that pueblo and collected the tributes from it, apparently without any title to it beyond the authority which his brother sent him. When Alonzo de Ávila died, it seems that the Attorney General of His Majesty entered a claim for the pueblo to be restored to his Majesty, as Alonzo de Ávila was dead. Over this lawsuit arose the riots and rebellions and deaths which took place in Mexico, and the exiles which resulted and the evil reputations of others. If all this is thoroughly taken into account the

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de Lugo the elder, the lord of some towns situated near Medina del Campo which are called Fuenencastin.

Andrés de Monjaraz, who was a Captain in the affair of Mexico, died; he was a great sufferer from boils and his ailment did not aid him much in warfare.

Diego de Ordas was a Captain during the first time we attacked Mexico, and after Mexico was captured was created a Comendador de Santiago; he died in the Marañon.

The four brothers of Don Pedro de Alvarado were named:—

Jorge de Alvarado, who was a Captain in the affair of Mexico and in that of Guatemala, who died in Madrid in the year fifteen hundred and forty.

Another brother named Gonzalo de Alvarado who died a natural death in Oaxaca.

Gómez de Alvarado, who died in Peru.

Juan de Alvarado, who was a bastard, died at sea on his way to the Island of Cuba.

Juan Jaramillo, who was Captain of a launch when we were attacking Mexico, and was a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Cristóbal Flores, who was a worthy man, died in the Affair of Jalisco, when he accompanied Nuño de Guzman.

end was a bad one—Quiñones, who went to Castile, ended worse, and died stabbed at Terciera, the gold and silver was robbed by the fleet of the Frenchman Juan Florin, Alonzo de Avila was a prisoner in France, and Juan Florin himself, who committed the robbery, was taken prisoner at sea by Basques and hanged at the port of Pico.

The pueblo of Cuautitlan was taken from the sons of Gil González de Benavides, and over this they were beheaded, for it was found out they did not show the loyalty that they should to the service of His Majesty; other persons were condemned and banished, and others were left with damaged reputations.

I wish to include this in my narrative so that it may be seen what caused the restlessness in Mexico, although I believe there was no necessity for it, for they [the readers] will be tired of hearing these matters. Let us go on and speak of my [proper] subject."

Cristóbal Martín de Gamboa, who was Master of the Horse to Cortés, died a natural death.

A certain Çayzedo, who was a rich man, died a natural death.

Francisco de Sauzedo was a native of Medina de Rio Seco, and because he was very neat we called him "el galan," and they say that he was chief steward to the Admiral of Castile; he met his death at the bridges by the hands of the Indians.

Gonzalo Domínguez, a very valiant man and a fine horseman, died in the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Moron, a very brave man and a good horseman, a native of Gínes, died in the hands of the Indians.

Francisco de Morla, a very valiant soldier and good horseman, a native of Jerez, perished at the bridges.

Another good soldier named Morla, a native of Ciudad Rodrigo, died on the rocky hills in the province of Guatemala.

Francisco Corral, a man of great merit, died in Vera Cruz.

Fulano de Lares, a very brave man and a good horseman, was killed by the Indians.

Another Lares, a crossbowman, died in the hands of the Indians.

Simon de Cuenca, who was Mayordomo to Cortés, died in the affair of Xicalango in the hands of the Indians, and there also died in company with him ten other soldiers whose names I do not remember.

So also Francisco de Medina, a native of Aracena and a Captain on one expedition, fell in the affair of Xicalango and with him other soldiers.

Maldonado "the broad," a native of Salamanca, and a distinguished person who had been in command of expeditions, died a natural death.

Two brothers called Francisco Álvarez Chico and Juan

Alvarez Chico, natives of Fregenal; the former, a business man, was ailing and died in the Island of Santo Domingo, Juan Álvarez fell in the affair of Colima by the hands of the Indians.

Francisco de Terrazas, a man of distinction who had been mayordomo to Cortés, died a natural death.

Cristóbal del Corral, the first standard bearer we had in the battle of Mexico and a very valiant man, returned to Castile and there died.

A certain Antonio de Villareal, the husband of Ysabel de Ojeda, who afterwards changed his name and said he was called Antonio Serrano de Cardona, died a natural death.

Francisco Rodríguez Margariño, a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Francisco Flores of Oaxaca, a nobleman, died a natural death.

Alonzo de Grado, who married a daughter of Montezuma named Doña Ysabel, died a natural death.

Four soldiers whose surname was Solis. One, who was an old man, died in the hands of the Indians; another, called Solis Casquete, because he had rather a passion for asking questions, died a natural death in Guatemala. Another, called Pedro de Solis, "behind the door," because he was always in his house behind the door watching those who passed in the street while he could not be seen, was son-in-law to one Orduña the elder of Puebla, and died a natural death. The other Solis, who was called "he of the orchard," because he had a very good orchard and got a good income from it—and they also called him "silk jacket" because he boasted of the silk he brought—died a natural death.

A brave soldier named Benítez died in the hands of the Indians.

Another brave soldier named Juan Ruano died at the bridges at the hands of the Indians.

One Bernaldino Vásquez de Tápia, a very distinguished and rich man, died a natural death.

A very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea was a native of the land of Medina del Campo, and one can well say that, after God, it was Cristóbal de Olea who saved the life of Don Hernando Cortés the first time in the affair of Xochimilco, when Cortés was seen to be in great danger, for the Mexican squadrons of war had pulled him down from his horse called "el Romo" and this Olea arrived among the first to rescue him, and personally accomplished so much that Don Hernando Cortés had a chance to mount his horse again; and some of us gentlemen and other soldiers who came up at that time promptly assisted him, but Olea was very badly wounded.

The last time this same Cristóbal de Olea rescued him was when the Mexicans defeated Cortés himself on the little causeway in Mexico, and killed sixty-two soldiers; and a squadron of Mexicans already had Don Fernando himself seized and grappled, ready to carry him off for sacrifice, and they had given him a cut on the leg, and that brave Olea with his valiant spirit fought so courageously that he freed Cortés from their hands, and there this gallant man lost his life; and now while I am writing about it my heart is moved to pity, for it seems as though I could see it now and his person and gallant spirit are present with me.

Cortés wrote about that defeat¹ to His Majesty, that not more than twenty-eight died, but as I state they were sixty-two.

There also came with us a brave soldier who had lost one hand which had been cut off in Castile as a punishment; he died in the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Tobilla, who had been

¹ Blotted out in the original: "bloody."

severely injured in one leg, which he said had happened in the affair of Garellano with the Great Captain, died in the hands of the Indians.

Two brothers named Gonzalo López de Gimena and Juan López de Gimena. Gonzalo López died in the hands of the Indians, and Juan López became chief Alcalde of Vera Cruz and died a natural death.

One Juan de Cuellar, a good horseman, first married a daughter of the lord of Texcoco, and his wife was called Doña Ana and was the sister of that Suchel the lord of this same Texcoco; he died a natural death.

One Fulano de Cuellar, said to be a relation of Francisco Verdugo a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Santos Hernández, an old man, a native of Sória, (for nickname we called him "the good old Trooper") died a natural death.

One Pedro Moreno Medrano, who was a settler in Vera Cruz and was repeatedly [chosen as] Alcalde Ordinario of that place, was upright in doing justice; later on he went to live in Puebla; he was a faithful servant of His Majesty both as a soldier and as a judge, and died a natural death.

One Juan de Limpías Caravajal, a good soldier who was Captain of a launch, and grew deaf during the war, died a natural death.

One Melchior de Alavez, a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

A certain Roman López, who after Mexico was captured lost an eye, and was a distinguished man, died in Oaxaca.

One Villandrano, who was said to be a relation of the Conde de Rivadéo, and was a distinguished man, died a natural death.

One Osorio, a native of Old Castile, a good soldier and a person of much importance, died in Vera Cruz.

Rodrigo de Castañeda, who was an interpreter and a good soldier, died in Castile.

One Fulano de Pilar, who was a good linguist, died in the affair of Coyoacan¹ when he went with Nuño de Guzman².

Another brave and good soldier named Fulano Granado, still lives in Mexico.

Martin López, a good soldier who was the shipwright who built the thirteen launches which were such a great help in capturing Mexico, and served His Majesty very well as a soldier, still lives in Mexico.

Juan de Najara, a good soldier and crossbowman, served well in the war.

One Ojeda was a settler among the Zapotecs; his eye was destroyed during the affair of Mexico.

One Fulano de la Serna, who owned some silver mines, had a sword cut on the face which was given him in the war. I do not remember what became of him.

Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero, a cousin of the Conde de Medellin, a distinguished gentleman, went to Castile the first time we sent gifts to His Majesty, and Don Francisco de Montejo went in his company, before he was appointed Adelantado. They took with them much gold in grains [as they were] taken from the mines, as well as jewels of different patterns, and the golden sun and the silver moon. It appeared the Bishop of Burgos, named Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, archbishop of Rosano, ordered Alonzo Hernández Puertocassero to be seized, because he told this same Bishop that he wished to go to Flanders with the gift for His Majesty, and because he advocated the affairs of Cortés,

¹ Is this a mistake and should it be Colima?

² Scratched out in the original: "A good soldier named Francisco de Olmos is a rich man and lives in Mexico."

and the Bishop advanced as a pretext for seizing him that he was accused of having taken a married woman to the Island of Cuba ; he died in Castile. Although he was one of the principal comrades who left Cuba with us I had forgotten to place him in this list¹ until fortunately I remembered him².

Another good soldier died, named Louis de Zaragosa.

Let us get on :—Fulano de Villalobos, a native of Sta. Eulalia, returned to Castile a rich man and died there.

Tirado de la Puebla, a man of business, died a natural death.

Juan del Rio, returned to Castile.

Juan Rico de Alanis, a good soldier, died in the hands of the Indians.

Gonzalo Hernández de Alanis, a very brave soldier, died a natural death.

Juan Ruiz de Alanis, died a natural death.

Fulano de Navarrete, who was a settler at Panuco, died a natural death.

As for Francisco Martin Vendabal, the Indians carried him off alive to be sacrificed, as well as a companion of his named Pedro Gallego, and we laid much blame for this on Cortés, because he intended to arrange an ambush for some Mexican squadrons, and the Mexicans deceived him and planned one against Cortés himself, seized from him the two soldiers mentioned by me, and carried them off to be sacrificed before his eyes, and they could not help themselves.

There were three soldiers surnamed Trujillo, one was a native of Trujillo and was very brave ; he died at the hands of the Indians. Another was a native of Huelva or Moguer ; he also was high spirited, and died at the

¹ Blotted out in the original : "among the first."

² Blotted out in the original : "may he pardon me."

hands of the Indians, as did also the third who was a native of Leon.

A soldier named Juan Flamenco died a natural death.

Francisco del Barco, a native of Barco de Ávila, who was a Captain in the affair of Cholula, died a natural death.

Juan Pérez, who had killed his wife, and they called the woman "the daughter of the cowherd," died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Rodrigo de Jarra, the hunchback, a most sensitive man when his person was concerned, died in Colima or Zacatula, as did another hunchback, a good soldier named Madrid.

Another soldier, named Juan de Ynis, was a crossbowman ; he died a natural death.

Fulano de Alamilla, who was a settler at Panuco, and a good crossbowman, died a natural death.

Fulano Moron, a great musician, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano de Varela, a good soldier, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano de Valladolid, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano de Villafuerte, a person of consequence who married a relation of the first wife of Don Hernando Cortés, and was a settler at Zacatula or Colima, died a natural death.

Juan Ruiz de la Parra, who was a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Fulano Gutiérrez, a settler at Colima or Zacatula, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Valladolid, the stout, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Pacheco, who was a settler in Mexico, a man of distinction, died a natural death.

Hernando de Lerma or de Lema, an old man who was a Captain, died a natural death.

Fulano Juarez the elder, who killed his wife with a stone for grinding maize, died a natural death.

Fulano de Ángulo, and one Francisco Gutiérrez, and another youth named Santa Clara, who were settlers from Havana, all of them died at the hands of the Indians.

One Garci-Caro, a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A youth named Larios, who was a settler in Mexico, who had lawsuits about his Indians, died a natural death.

Juan Gómez, who was a settler in Guatemala, returned to Castile a rich man.

Two brothers named Jimenes, who were natives of Lingujuela in Estramadura ; one died at the hands of the Indians, and the elder a natural death.

Two brothers called the Florianes, died at the hands of the Indians.

Francisco Gonzáles de Najera, and his son whose name was Pedro Gonzáles de Najera, and two nephews of Francisco Gonzáles, called Ramires ; Francisco Gonzáles died in the rocky hills which are in the province of Guatemala, and the two nephews at the bridges of Mexico.

Another good soldier named Amaya, who was a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

Two brothers named Carmonas, natives of Jéres, died natural deaths.

Two other brothers named Bargas, natives of Seville ; one died in the hands of the Indians, and the other a natural death.

A very good soldier named de Polanco, a native of Ávila, who was a settler in Guatemala, died a natural death.

Herman López de Ávila, who was the custodian of the property of deceased persons, returned to Castile a rich man.

Juan de Aragon and Andrés de Rodas, settlers in Guatemala, died natural deaths.

A certain Fulano de Cieza, who hurled the bar very well, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Santistevan the elder, of Chiapa, died a natural death.

Bartolomé Pardo died at the hands of the Indians.

Bernaldino de Sória, who was a settler in Chiapa, the father of a man called Centeno, also died a natural death.

As for Pedro Escudero, and Juan Cermeño, and another the brother of this latter, also surnamed Cermeño, [both] good soldiers — Don Hernando Cortés ordered Pedro Escudero and Juan Cermeño to be hanged, because they mutinied in a ship, intending to go to the Island of Cuba and give information to Diego Velásquez, the governor of it, about when and how we were sending Proctors and gold and silver to His Majesty, so that they might sally forth and seize it at Havana. The man who betrayed it [the plot] was Bernaldino de Sória, who was a settler in Chiapa, and as I have stated they died hanged.¹

Cortés also ordered the toes of Gonzala de Umbria, a very good soldier, to be cut off his feet because he had joined the others [mutineers], and he went to Castile to lay a complaint before His Majesty and was very inimical to Cortés; His Majesty ordered him to be given a royal decree that he should be awarded one thousand pesos of revenue in New Spain, but he never left Castile, and died there.

Rodrigo Rangel, who was a distinguished man, was

¹ See note, vol. i, p. 207.

much crippled by bubos ; he never took part in the wars in a way that is worth mentioning, and he died of his pains.

Francisco de Orozco, was likewise afflicted with bubos ; he had been a soldier in Italy. For some days he was in command during the affair of Tepeaca, while we were warring against Mexico, I do not know what became of him or where he died.

A soldier named Mesa, who had been a gunner and soldier in Italy and was the same in New Spain, died drowned in a river after the conquest of Mexico.

Another very valiant soldier named Fulano Arbolanche, a native of Old Castile, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Luis Velásquez, a native of Arévalo, died in the affair of Higuera [Honduras] when we went with Cortés.

Martin García of Valencia, a good soldier, also died in the affair of Higuera.

Another good soldier, named Alonzo de Barrientos, went from Tuxtepec to take refuge among the people of Chinantla when Mexico rose in revolt, and in that affair of Tuxtepec seventy-six soldiers and five Castilian women belonging to the followers of Narvaez, as well as our own people, died, killed by the Mexicans who were in garrison in that province.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Luis, or Juan Luis, who was very tall of stature (and we gave him as a nickname "el niño") died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Hernando Burgueno, a native of Aranda de Duero, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Monroy, because of a rumour that he was the son of a Comendador of Santistevan, called himself "el manco" (the one handed), so as to avoid being recognised ; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Concerning Almodóvar the elder, and a son of his called Álvaro de Almodóvar, and two nephews that bore the same surname of Almodóvar—one nephew died at the hands of the Indians, and the old man and Álvaro and the other nephew died natural deaths.

Two brothers called the Martínes, natives of Fronegal, good looking men, died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Juan del Puerto died crippled by bubos.

Another good soldier named Lagos died at the hands of the Indians.

A Friar of Our Lady of Mercy, named Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, who was a theologian and a great chanter, died a natural death.

A presbyter named Juan Díaz, a native of Seville, died a natural death.

Another soldier named¹ , a native of Garrovillas. This man, according to report, took five thousand pesos de oro to Castile from the Island of Santo Domingo; this he had extracted from some rich mines, and when he reached Castile he spent it and gambled it away, and he came with us, and the Indians killed him.

Alonzo Hernández Paulo, already an old man, and two nephews; one was called Alonzo Hernández, a good musketeer, I do not remember the name of the other nephew. Alonzo Hernández died at the hands of the Indians, and the old man and the other nephew died natural deaths.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Almestra, a native of Seville or Alxarabe,² died at the hands of the Indians.

¹ Here there is a blank space. Remon fills it in in his edition with the name "Sancho de Avila," Fol. 242 Vto.—G. G.

² Algarve?

Another good soldier named Rabanal Montañez died at the hands of the Indians.

A handsome man named Pedro de Guzman, who married a Valenciana named Doña Francisca de Valterra, went to Peru and gained reputation, and he and his wife were frozen to death.

A good crossbowman named Cristóbal Díaz, a native of Colmenar de Arenas, died a natural death.

Another soldier named Retamales died at the hands of the Indians in the affair of Tabasco.

Another valiant soldier who came was called Gínes Nórtes; he died in the affair at Yucatan, at the hands of the Indians.

A very skilful and valiant soldier named Luis Alonzo, who could cut very well with a sword, died at the hands of the Indians.

Alonzo Catalan, a good soldier, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Juan Ciciliano, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Fulano de Canillas, who was a drummer in Italy and was the same in New Spain, died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro Hernández, who was secretary to Cortés, was a native of Seville, and died at the hands of the Indians.

Juan Díaz, who had a great cloud in his eye, and was a native of Burgos, was in charge of the things for barter and the provisions which Cortés took with him; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Diego de Soria, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Another soldier, a youth named Juan Nuñez de Mercado, was reported to be a native of Cuellar, others said that he was a native of Madrigal; this soldier, who lost his eyesight, is now a settler at Puebla.

Another good soldier, and the richest of all those who came with Cortés, named Juan Sedeño, a native of Arevalo, brought his own ship and a mare and a negro, and bacon and much cassava bread; he was a distinguished man and died a natural death.

Fulano de Baena, who was a settler at Trinidad, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Zaragosa, already an old man, who was the father of Zaragosa the notary of Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Diego Martin de Ayomonte died a natural death.

Another soldier named Cárdenas (he himself said that he was grandson of the Comendador Mayor, Don Fulano Cárdenas) died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier also named Cárdenas was a seaman and pilot, a native of Triana. This was he who said that he never had seen a country where there were two kings as there were in New Spain, for Cortés took his fifth like a king after the royal fifth was taken out; reflecting on this caused him to fall ill, and he went to Castile and made a report of it to His Majesty, and of other injuries which they had done him; he was very hostile to the affairs of Cortés, and His Majesty ordered him to be given a royal decree that he should be given Indians and a revenue of one thousand pesos, but, as soon as he returned with it to Mexico, he died.

Another very good soldier named Arguello, a native of Leon, died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Diego Hernández, a native of Saelyzes de los Gallegos, who helped to saw the wood for the launches, went blind, and died a natural death.

A soldier of great strength and spirit named Fulano Vásquez, died in the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier, a crossbowman named Arroyuelo, reported to be a native of Olmedo, died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Pizarro went on expeditions as a Captain, Cortés said he was his relation; at that time the Pizarros were not known by name, nor was Peru discovered. He died at the hands of the Indians.

Alvar López, a settler in Puebla, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Yañes, a native of Cordova; this soldier went with us to the Hibueras, and, while he was away, his wife married another husband, and when we returned from that journey, he would not take back his wife. He died a natural death.

A good soldier and very active man, named Magalanes, a Portuguese, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another Portuguese, a silversmith, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another Portuguese, already an old man, named Alonzo Martin de Alpedrino, died a natural death.

Another Portuguese, named Juan Álvarez Rubaco, died a natural death.

Another very valiant Portuguese, named Gonzalo Sánchez, died a natural death.

Another Portuguese, who became a settler at Puebla, named Gregorio Rios, a distinguished man, died a natural death.

Two other Portuguese, tall men, named Villanueva, became settlers at Puebla. I do not know what became of them or where they died.

Of three soldiers, with the names of Fulano de Ávila, one who was called Gaspar de Ávila, son-in-law of Ortigosa the notary, died a natural death; the other Ávila joined the Captain Andrés de Tápia, he died at the hands of the Indians. I do not remember where the other Ávila settled.

Two brothers, already old men, named Bandadas, natives of the land of Ávila, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three soldiers, all three of them named Espinosa: one was a Basque, he died in the hands of the Indians; the other was called Espinosa of the Blessing, for he always brought it into his conversation, and his talk was very pleasant, thanks to the good blessing; he died a natural death. The third Espinosa was a native of Espinosa de los Menteros; he died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro Peron of Toledo, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Villa Sinda, a native of Portillo, died a natural death.

Two good soldiers who were nicknamed the "San Juanes:" one we called San Juan the haughty, because he was very pretentious, he died at the hands of the Indians; the other whom we called San Juan de Uchila, a Gallician, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Martin Ysquierdo, a native of Castromocho, was a settler in the town of San Miguel, subject to Guatemala, and died a natural death.

One Aparicio, who married a woman named La Medina, a native of Maria de Rio Seco, settled at San Miguel, and died a natural death.

A good soldier named Cáceres, a native of Trujillo, died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Alonzo de Herrera, a native of Jéres, who was a Captain against the Zapotecs, stabbed another Captain named Figueroa over certain disputes about the command, and from fear that the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, who at that time was Governor, should capture him, joined the expedition to Marañon, and there he died at the hands of the Indians. Figueroa was drowned in the sea on his way to Castile.

A youth named Maldonado, a native of Medellin, fell very ill with bubos, and I do not know if he died a natural death, nor can I assert it of the Maldonado

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of Vera Cruz who was the husband of Doña Maria del Rincon.

Another soldier passed away named Morales, already an old man, who was lame of one leg, and was said to have been a soldier of the Comendador Solis; he was Alcalde in ordinary of Villa Rica and carried out true justice.

A soldier named Escalona the youth, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three other soldiers, settlers at Villa Rica, never went to the wars nor on any expedition in New Spain. One was named Arévalo, the other Juan Leon, and the third Madrigal; they died natural deaths.

Another soldier called by the nickname of "Lencero" [the linen draper], who owned the inn now called "de Lencero," which is between Vera Cruz and Puebla, was a good soldier and died a natural death.

Pedro Gallego, a pleasant man and a poet, who also owned an inn on the direct road from Vera Cruz to Mexico, died a natural death.

Alonzo Duran, who was somewhat cross-eyed and did not see well, and acted as Sacristan, died a natural death.

A soldier named Navarro, who was throughout attached to [the company of] Captain Sandoval, and afterwards married in Vera Cruz, died a natural death.

Another good soldier named Alonzo de Talavera, who was attached to the household of the Captain Sandoval, died at the hands of the Indians.

Two soldiers, one of them named Juan de Manzanilla, and the other Pedro de Manzanilla; the latter died at the hands of the Indians, and Juan de Manzanilla, who was a settler in Puebla, died a natural death.

A soldier named Benito de Bejel, who was drummer and tambourine player to the armies in Italy, as he also was in New Spain, died a natural death.

Alonzo Romero, who was a settler at Vera Cruz, a rich and distinguished man, died a natural death.

Niño Pinto, brother-in-law of Alonzo Romera, was a prominent and rich man in Vera Cruz ; he died a natural death.

A good soldier named Sindos de Portillo, a native of Portillo, who possessed very good Indians and was rich, left his Indians, sold his property and divided it among the poor, and became a Franciscan Friar. This Friar lived a holy life and was appreciated in Mexico, and it was generally known that he died a Saint and performed miracles, and he was almost a Saint.

Another good soldier named Francisco de Medina, a native of Medina del Campo, became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk.

Another good soldier named Quintero, a native of Moguer, who owned good Indians and was rich, gave all up for God, and became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk.

Yet another good soldier named Alonzo de Aguilar, who owned the inn, now called "de Aguilar," between Vera Cruz and Puebla, who was rich and held a good assignment of Indians, sold it all and gave it to God, and became a Dominican Friar and was a good monk. This Friar Aguilar was highly respected and was a very good Dominican Friar.

Another good soldier named Fulano Berguillos held good Indians and was rich, but gave it all up, and became a Franciscan Friar. This Burguillos later on left the Order and was not as good a monk as he ought to have been.

Another good soldier named Escalante, who was very courtly, and a good horseman, became a Franciscan Friar ; he afterwards left the Monastery, but in about a month returned and took the cowl, and became a very good monk.

Another good soldier named Lyntorno, a native of Guadalajara, became a Franciscan Friar and was a good monk; he had held assignments of Indians and been a man of business.

Another good soldier named Gaspar Díaz, a native of Old Castile, who was rich through his Indians as well as from business, gave up everything to God and went to the pine forests of Guaxalcingo¹, in a very solitary part, and made a hermitage and stayed there as a hermit; he led such a good life and so fasted and chastised himself that he became very thin and weak, and it was said that he slept on the ground on some straw. As soon as the² good Bishop, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, knew about this he sent to summon him, and commanded him not lead such a severe life. The hermit Gaspar Díaz had such a good repute that two other hermits joined company with him, and all led good lives, and, at the end of the four years that they remained there, God was pleased to take him to his holy glory.

Another good soldier named Alonzo Bellido died at the hands of the Indians.

Fulano Paynado, who was crippled with the disease of boils after the conquest of Mexico, died in Vera Cruz.

A good soldier named Rivadeo Gallego died at the hands of the Indians, in the affair of Almeria.

Another soldier named Galleguillo, for he was small in stature, died at the hands of the Indians.

A brave and daring soldier named Lerma, who was annoyed because Cortés ordered him to be reprimanded for no fault whatever, went away among the Indians, and nothing [further] was heard of him dead or alive.

¹ Huexotzinco.

² Blotted out in the original: "very reverent."

Another good soldier named Pineda or Pinedo, who had been a servant of Diego Velásquez, Governor of Cuba, when Narvaez came left Mexico to join him, and was killed on the road by the Indians. It was suspected that Cortés ordered him to be killed.

Another good soldier and good crossbowman named Pedro López died a natural death.

Another Pedro López, a crossbowman, went with Alonzo de Ávila to the Island of Hispaniola and remained there.

There were three blacksmiths, one named Juan Garcia, the other Hernan Martyn, who married La Bermuda, and I do not remember the name of the third. One died at the hands of the Indians and the other two natural deaths.

A soldier named Álvaro Gallego, who became a settler in Mexico and was brother-in-law to some Zamoras, died a natural death.

Another soldier, who was already an old man, named Paredes (father of one Paredes who is now in the province of Yucatan), died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Guillermo Mexia Rapalpe [the plunderer] (because he himself said that he was the descendant of a Mexia who went about robbing in the time of the King Don Juan), in company with one Zenteno, died at the hands of the Indians.

Pedro de Tápia died paralysed after the capture of Mexico.

Certain pilots, namely Anton de Alamínos and his son, who also bore the same name as his father, natives of Palos, and one Comacho of Triana, and one Juan Álvarez "el Mariquillo" of Huelva, and one Sopuesta del Condado, already an old man, and one Cárdenas (this was he who was affected in his mind when they took out two fifths from the gold, one of them for Cortés), and one

Gonzalo de Umbria ; and there was another pilot named Galdin, and there were also other pilots whose names I do not remember, except that of one whom I saw remaining as a settler in Mexico, which was Sopuesta. All the rest went to Cuba and Jamaica and other islands and to Castile to get engagements as pilots, through fear of the Marquis Cortés who was not on good terms with them, because they gave advice to Francisco de Garay about the country which he begged His Majesty to grant to him. There were even four of these pilots who made complaints against Cortés before His Majesty, these were the two Alamínos and Cárdenas and Gonzalo de Umbria, and he [His Majesty] ordered them to be given royal decrees that to each of them there should be given in New Spain a thousand pesos of revenue. Cárdenas came back and the others never returned.

A soldier named Lucas Genovés, who was a pilot, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named Juan Genovés died at the hands of the Indians.

A third Genovés, who was a settler in Oaxaca, the husband of an old Portuguese woman, died a natural death.

A soldier named Enríquez, a native of the country of Palencia, was choked by fatigue and the weight of his arms and the heat they caused him.

A soldier named Cristóbal de Jaen, who was a carpenter, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Ochoa, a Basque, a rich and notable man who became a settler in Oaxaca, died a natural death.

A very valiant soldier, named Zamudio, went to Castile because he had stabbed someone in Mexico, and in Castile he became Captain of a company of men at arms, and died in the battle of Castyl Novo with many other Spanish gentlemen.

Another soldier, named Cervantes the crazy, was a buffoon and a knave, and died at the hands of the Indians.

One Plazuela died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Alonzo Pererelmayte, who came married to a very beautiful Indian from Bayamo, died at the hands of the Indians.

Martin Vásquez, a native of Olmedo, a rich and distinguished man who became a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Sebastian Rodríguez, who was a crossbowman and after Mexico was captured became trumpeter, died a natural death.

Another crossbowman named Peñalosa, a companion of Sebastian Rodríguez, died a natural death.

A soldier who called himself Álvarez, a seaman and native of Palos, who was said to have had thirty sons and daughters by Indian women within a matter of three years, died among the Indians in the Higueras.

A soldier named Perez Malinche, whom I afterwards heard called Artiaga, a settler at Puebla and a rich man, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Pedro Gonzáles Sabiote died a natural death.

A good soldier named Gerónimo de Aguilar, whom I include in this list because it was he whom we found at the Punta de Catoche in the hands of the Indians, became our interpreter, and died of bubos.

Another soldier named Pedro Valenciano, who was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Of two soldiers who bore the surname of Tarifa, one became a settler in Oaxaca and husband of La Muñiz, and died a natural death; the other, who was called Tarifa of the White Hands, was a native of Seville, and that name was given him because he was not fit for warfare or hard-

ship, only to talk of past events ; he died drowned in the River of the Golfo Dulce, he and his horse, and they never appeared again.

Another good soldier named Pedro Sánchez Farfan, a man of worth who was Captain in Texcoco while we were attacking Mexico, died a natural death.

A good soldier named Alonzo Escobar, the page, who personally was held in great esteem, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier named the Bachelor Escobar was an Apothecary and effected cures ; he died a natural death.

Another soldier, also named Escobar, was very brave, but of such [a disposition] and so quarrelsome and ill mannered that he died hanged, because he violated a woman and was mutinous.

A soldier named Fulano de Santiago, a native of Huelva, returned to Castile a rich man. Another man, his companion, named Ponce, from Santiago, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Fulano Méndez, already an old man, died at the hands of the Indians.

Three other soldiers died in the wars which we fought in Tabasco. One was named Saldaña, and I do not remember the names of the other two.

Another good soldier and crossbowman, an old man much given to card playing, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another soldier, also an old man, brought his son named Ortequilla, who was page to the great Montezuma ; both the old man and his son died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Fulano de Gaona, a native of Medina del Rio Seco, died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Juan de Cáceres, who after the capture

of Mexico was a rich man and a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

A soldier named Gonzalo Hurones, a native of las Garrovillas, died a natural death.

A soldier, already an old man, called Ramíres the elder, who limped with one leg and was a settler in Mexico, died a natural death.

Another very valiant soldier named Luis Farfan died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Morillas died at the hands of the Indians.

A soldier named Fulano de Rojas afterwards went to Peru and there died.

A certain Astorga, an old man who became a settler at Oaxaca, died a natural death.

Of Pedro Tostado and his son who bore the same name, one Tostado died at the hands of the Indians, and the other died a natural death.

A good soldier named Baldovinos died at the hands of the Indians.

I also wish to place here Guillen de la Loa, and Andrés Núñez, and Maestre Pedro the harpist, and three other soldiers. This Guillen de la Loa was a notable man and was one of those whom Francisco de Garay had sent to explore Panuco; he came to take possession of the country for Garay, and we took him prisoner, him and those in his company, and for this reason I place them in this account among those [the companions] of Cortés. Guillen de la Loa died of a cane thrust which he was given in a game with reed spears. The Maestre Pedro the harpist, who was a Valencian, died a natural death. Andrés Núñez also died a natural death, the others died at the hands of the Indians.

One Porras, very rubicund and a great singer, died at the hands of the Indians.

One Ortiz was a fine performer on the viola, and teacher of dancing; another who came with him as companion, named Bartolomé García, was a miner in the Island of Cuba, and this Ortiz and Bartolomé García owned the best horse that there was in our Company, the one which Cortés took from them and paid them for it; both companions died at the hands of the Indians.

A good soldier named Serrano, a crossbowman, died at the hands of the Indians.

An old man passed away named Pedro de Valencia, a native of a place belonging to Placencia.

A good soldier named Quintero, who was a shipmaster, died at the hands of the Indians.

Alonzo Rodríguez, who left good mines in the Island of Cuba and was a rich man, died at the hands of the Indians at the rocky hills which they now call the Peñoles which the Marquis captured.

There also died at that place another good soldier named Gaspar Sánchez, a nephew of the Treasurer of Cuba, with other soldiers who were followers of Narvaez.

One Pedro de Palma, who was the first husband of Elvira López la Larga, died hanged, together with another soldier of Cortés' company named Trebejo, a native of Fuente Ginaldo. Gil Gonzáles de Ávila or Francisco de las Casas ordered them to be hanged, and they hanged a presbyter together with them, as revolters and instigators of mutinies, when they were on their way to New Spain from Naco, after they had beheaded Cristóbal de Olid.

These soldiers and the presbyter belonged to the party of Cristóbal de Olid, and, when I came from the Hibueras in the company of Captain Luis Marin, I was shown the tree, a ceiba, where they were hanged.

Once more to take up my first list: Andrés de Mol, a Levantine, died at the hands of the Indians.

Another good soldier named Albera, a native of Villa Nueva de la Serena, died at the hands of the Indians.

Concerning other very good soldiers who used to be in Cuba, who were sailors, pilots, masters and mates of the artificers of the ships which we destroyed, many of them were very active soldiers in the wars and battles, but as I do not remember them all I do not place their names here.

There were also other soldiers who were seamen named los Peñates, and the Pinzons, the former natives of Gibraltar and the others of Palos; some of them died at the hands of the Indians and others natural deaths.

I also wish to mention myself here in this report, at the end of all, because I came on a voyage of discovery twice before Don Hernando Cortés undertook his voyage, (as I have already stated in the chapter that speaks about it), and the third time with Cortés himself. My name is Bernal Díaz del Castillo and I am a settler and Regidor of the City of Santiago de Guatemala, and a native of the very noble and famous and most celebrated town of Medino del Campo, the son of Francisco Díaz del Castillo, who was Regidor of it, and for another name was called "el Galan," may he rest in holy glory. I give many thanks and much praise to Our Lord Jesus Christ and our Lady the Holy Virgin Mary, His blessed mother, who have protected me so that I have not been offered in sacrifice, as in those times they sacrificed the majority of my companions whom I have named. So now one can understand and see clearly our heroic deeds, and who were the valiant Captains and brave soldiers who conquered this part of the New World, and the honour of us all shall not be attributed to one Captain alone.

CHAPTER CCVI.

About the stature and shape of certain of the Captains and brave soldiers and the age they had attained when we came to conquer New Spain.

I HAVE already spoken, in the chapter that treats of it, of the age and the personal appearance of the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés at the time when he died at Castilleja de la Cuesta, and of the rank he held, and other things which will be found written in this narrative.

I have also said, in the chapter that tells about it, how old Captain Cristóbal de Olid was when he went with the fleet to the Hibueras, and about his disposition and personal appearance, and there [the description] can be seen.

I wish now to record the age and appearance of Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was Comendador of Santiago and Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala, Honduras, and Chiapa. He was about thirty-four¹ years old when he came here, of good size, and well proportioned, with a very cheerful countenance and a winning smile,² and because he was so handsome the Mexican Indians gave him the name of "Tonatio," which means "the Sun." He was very active and a good horseman,³ and above all was very frank-hearted and a good talker, and he was very neat in his attire but with rich and costly clothes. He wore a small gold chain round his neck with a jewel, and a ring with a good diamond. As I have already stated where he died and other things about him, I will say no more here.

¹ Blotted out in the original : "six."

² Blotted out in the original : "but grave when necessary."

³ Blotted out in the original : "and very valiant."

The Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo was of medium height and cheerful countenance ; he liked merriment, and was a man of business and a good horseman, and was about thirty-five years old when he came. He was open-handed and spent more than his income ; he was Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan and had other titles ; he died in Castile.

Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval was a very valiant Captain, and was about twenty-four¹ years of age when he came here ; he was Chief Alguacil of New Spain and for a matter of ten months was Governor of New Spain together with the Treasurer, Alonzo de Estrada. He was not very tall but was very well made and robust, with a broad and deep chest, as were his shoulders. He was somewhat bow-legged, and was a very good horseman. His countenance tended towards the coarse, and his chestnut hair and beard were rather curly. His voice was not very clear, but slightly hesitating and lispng, more or less so. He was not a man of letters but of good average knowledge, nor was he covetous of anything but to be of good repute and act like a good and valiant Captain. In the wars which we waged in New Spain he always showed consideration for the soldiers who appeared to him to be behaving like men, and he protected and helped them. He was not a man to wear rich apparel but was always plainly clad. He owned the best horse, the best galloper and most easily turned to one side or the other, and they said that its like had never been seen in Castile or elsewhere. It was a chestnut with a star on its forehead and a white stocking on its near hind leg. It was named Motilla, and now when men dispute about good horses it is the custom to say in proof of excellence, "It is as good as was Motilla." I must stop talking about horses

and say about this valiant Captain that he died in the town of Palos, when he went with Don Hernando Cortés to kiss the feet of His Majesty. It was about Gonzalo de Sandoval that the Marquis Cortés said to His Majesty, that besides the brave soldiers whom he had in his company, who were so valiant that one might name them amongst the most notable that the world had known, there was above them all Sandoval, who was already [fitted to be] the commander of many armies both in council and in action. He was a native of Medellin and a gentleman by birth, and his father was Alcalde of a fortress.

Let us go on to speak of another good Captain named Juan Velásquez de Leon, a native of Old Castile; he was about thirty-six years old when he came here. He was of good size and robust with good shoulders and chest, all well proportioned and upstanding. His countenance was a strong one and his beard was somewhat curly and well kept, his voice was harsh and coarse and he stuttered a little; he was very spirited and a good talker, and when at that time he had any possessions he shared them with his comrades. It is said that in the Island of Hispaniola he killed a gentleman of importance, a rich man named Rivas Altias or Altas Rivas, in personal combat, and when he had killed him neither the Magistrates of that Island nor the Royal Audiencia were ever able to catch him to execute justice in the case, but although they went to arrest him he defended himself against the Alguacils, and he came to the Island of Cuba, and from Cuba to New Spain. He was a very good horseman and both on foot and on horseback was a very thorough man. He died at the bridges when we went fleeing from Mexico.

Diego de Ordás was a native of Campos de Valverde or Castro Verde; he was probably forty years old when

he came here, and was Captain of sword and shield soldiers, for he was no horseman; he was brave and judicious. He was of good height and sturdy and had a very strong face with a thin blackish beard. In his speech he pronounced certain words imperfectly and with something of a stammer. He was frank and a good talker, a Comendador of [the order of] Santiago, and died in the affair of Marañon when he was Captain or Governor, but I do not know very well about that.

Captain Luis Marin was of fair size, robust and vigorous; he was bow-legged and his beard was reddish and his face long and pleasing, except that he had scars as though he had had smallpox. He was about thirty years old when he came here. He was a native of San Lucar, lisped a little like a Sevillano, was a good horseman, and a good talker¹; he died in the affairs of Michuacan.

Captain Pedro de Ircio was of middle height and limped, he had a cheerful face and talked to excess, and so it would come about that he was always telling stories about Don Pedro Giron and the Conde de Hurueña; he was cunning and so we called him "Sour grapes" without works, and without having done anything worth recording he died in Mexico.

Alonzo de Ávila was a Captain for a certain time in the affair of Mexico, and was the first Accountant that Cortés chose until our Lord the King should choose otherwise. He had a good figure and pleasing face, and in talking he expressed himself very clearly and with good judgment. He was very daring and valiant, and about thirty-three years old when he came here. There was another [good] point, that he was very frank with his comrades, but he was so arrogant and fond of commanding and not being commanded, and somewhat jealous, besides being proud

¹ Blotted out in the original : "he did not know how to read."

and quarrelsome, that Cortés could not endure him, and this was the reason why he sent him to Castile as Proctor, together with one Antonio de Quiñones, a native of Zamora. With them he sent the personal effects and riches of Montezuma and Guatemoc, and the Frenchmen stole them, and they captured Alonzo de Ávila (for Quiñones was already dead in Terceira). Two years later Alonzo de Ávila returned to New Spain and died either in Yucatan or Mexico. This Alonzo de Ávila was uncle to the gentlemen who were beheaded in Mexico, who were the sons of Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, which event I have already spoken about and reported in my history.

Andrés de Monjaras was a Captain during the war in Mexico ; he was of fair height and pleasing countenance with a black beard, he was good company, but because he was very ill with boils he did not do anything worth recording, but I place his name in this report so that it may be known that he was a Captain. He was about thirty years old when he came here, he died from the pain of his boils.

Let us go on to a very valiant soldier named Cristóbal de Olea, a native of the land of Medina del Campo ; he was about twenty six years old when he came here, was well made and robust, neither tall nor short, and had a good chest and shoulders ; he had rather a coarse face, but was amiable, his beard and hair were inclined to be curly, and his voice was clear. This soldier was so valiant in all that we saw him do, and so quick with his arms that we held him in great good will and honoured him. It was he who saved Don Hernando Cortés from death in the affair at Xochimilco, when the Mexican squadrons had dragged him from his horse "El Romo" and had seized him to carry him off to be sacrificed. He also rescued Cortés another time on the small causeway, when a

number of Mexicans had grappled with him to carry him off for sacrifice. They had already wounded Cortés himself in one leg and had carried off sixty-two soldiers, when this brave soldier performed wonders in personal combat, and, although he was very badly wounded, killed and slashed and stabbed all the Indians who were carrying Cortés off and made them release him, and this saved his life, but Cristóbal de Olea gave up his life there through saving him.

I wish to speak of two soldiers named Gonzalo Domínguez and a certain Lares. I assert that they were so valiant and daring that we esteemed them equally with Cristóbal de Olid. They were big men and sturdy, with pleasant faces, good speakers and very well conducted, and, so as not to waste more words in their praise, they may be numbered amongst the most valiant soldiers that Castile has produced ; they died in the battle of Otumba—I speak of Lares—Domínguez [died] in the battle of Huastepaque, from a horse rolling on top of him.

Let us go on to another good Captain and valiant soldier named Andrés de Tápia. He was about twenty-four years old when he came here, his face was rather ash-coloured and not very pleasing, he was well made and had a thin and scanty beard, and was a good Captain both on foot and on horseback ; he died a natural death.

If it were necessary to describe all the features and forms of our Captains, and brave soldiers, who came with Cortés it would be a long story, for as all were valiant and of great repute, we were worthy to be recorded in letters of gold. I do not include here other¹ Captains who belonged to the Company of Narvaez, for my intention since I began to tell my story was to record only the doings and adventures of us who came with Cortés, and I only wish to place

¹ Blotted out in the original: "many valiant."

here [the name of] Captain Panfilo de Narvaez, him who came against us from the Island of Cuba with thirteen hundred soldiers, and with all these¹ [at his back] we defeated him with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers, and how and when and in what way that deed was done, may be seen in my narrative.

To go back to my story, Narvaez was by appearance about forty years old, tall and strong limbed, his face long, with a red beard, and an agreeable presence. His speech and voice was deep as though it came from a cavern. He was a good horseman, said to be brave, a native of Valladolid or of Tudela de Duero, and was married to a lady named Maria de Valenzuela. He was a Captain in the Island of Cuba and a rich man, but said to be very parsimonious. When we defeated him he lost an eye; he made use of good arguments in what he said. He went to Castile to complain to His Majesty of Cortés and of us, and His Majesty granted him the government of certain lands in Florida and there he spent and lost whatever he possessed.

Two interested gentlemen have seen and read the foregoing record of all the Captains and soldiers who came over to New Spain from the Island of Cuba with the daring and valiant Don Hernando Cortés, which I have written down with the qualities both of their bodies and faces, their ages and the rank they held, and where they died and what country they belonged to, and they [the two gentlemen] have told me that they marvel at me, how after so many years I have not forgotten and [still] recollect them. To this I answer that it is no great matter that I now remember their names, although we were five hundred and fifty comrades, for we always

¹ Blotted out in the original: "not counting among them the sailors."

discussed matters together, on expeditions as well as when keeping watch and in the battles and encounters of the wars, and [noted] those of us who were killed in the battles, and how they were carried off to be sacrificed. In this way we told [these things] to one another, especially when we came out wounded from some very bloody and indecisive battles and missed those who remained there dead, and for this reason I include them in this narrative. It is not to be wondered at, for in past times there were great Kings and valiant Captains who, when going to war, knew the names of their soldiers and recognised them and called them by name, and even knew of what provinces or countries or regions they were native. In those days each one of the armies they led often numbered more than thirty thousand men, and the historians who have written about it say that Mithridates, the King of Pontus, was one of those who knew [the men of] his armies, another was the King of Egypt, and another the King of Epirus, otherwise called Alexander. They also say that Hannibal, the great Captain of Carthage, knew all his soldiers, and in our time the valiant and great Captain Don Gonzalo Hernández de Córdoba, and many other brave commanders have done so. Moreover I say that if I knew how to paint and carve as did that famous Apelles or those of our own times Berruguete and Michael Angelo, and the famous man of Burgos whom they say is a second Apelles, I have in my mind and sense and memory their bodies and forms and heights and manners and faces and features [so fixed] that I could draw all those I have mentioned true to nature, and even how each one entered on a battle and the great spirit they displayed. Thanks to God and our Lord Jesus Christ that I escaped being sacrificed to the Idols, and was freed from many perils and snares, so that I can now write this memorial or narrative.

CHAPTER CCVII.

About the matters dealt with herein, concerning the merits which we the true conquistadores possess, which will be pleasant to hear.

I HAVE already enumerated the soldiers who came with Cortés and where they died, and if one wishes to know about us, we were most of us gentlemen, although all could not be of such illustrious lineage, for it is evident that in this world men are not born equal either in rank or in virtue. Leaving this talk aside, in addition to our ancient nobility we performed heroic deeds and great exploits in the wars, fighting by day and night serving our Lord and King, discovering these lands until we conquered New Spain and the Great City of Mexico and many other provinces at our own cost,¹ when we were far away from Castile and had no other help save that of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the true help and support that inspires us more than ever. If we read the ancient scriptures which speak of it, and if it is as they say, many gentlemen were in past times exalted and placed in high position, both in Spain as well as in other countries, serving, as at that time they served, in the wars, and for other duties which were acceptable to the Kings who then reigned. I also have noted that some of those gentlemen, who then rose until they held titles of estates and honours, did not go to such wars, nor did they join in the battles, without first being paid wages and salaries. Besides their being paid they were given towns and castles and great lands in perpetuity, and privileges with exemptions which their descendants hold. In addition to this, when the King Don Jaime de Aragon conquered and captured a great part of their kingdom from the Moors, he

¹ Blotted out in the original : "and reputation."

divided it among the gentlemen and soldiers who were present at its conquest, and since those times they own their coats of arms and they are powerful. The same when Granada was captured, and Naples at the time of the Great Captain. The Prince of Orange in the affair of Naples also gave lands and lordships to those who assisted them in the wars and battles. I have called this to mind so that there can be seen our many good and notable services which we rendered our Lord the King and all Christendom; let them be placed in the balance and everything measured in proportion, and it will be found that we are worthy and deserving to be placed and rewarded like the gentlemen just mentioned by me. Although to the valiant soldiers whom in these latter pages I have called to mind many other brave and vigorous comrades could be added, all gave me the reputation of being a good soldier.

To go back to my story, let interested readers observe my narrative with attention and they will see in how many battles and encounters and wars I have been present since I came to explore,¹ and how I have been twice seized and grabbed by many Mexican Indians, with whom at the time I was fighting, who intended to carry me off to be sacrificed, and at the same moment they carried off many others of my companions, to say nothing of other great perils and hardships, both from hunger and thirst and infinite toil, which are sure to happen to those who undertake similar explorations in new countries, which will be found described point by point in this my story. I do not wish to dip my pen further into this but will record the benefits which have followed on our illustrious conquests.

¹ Blotted out in the original: "and how full of wounds I have been."

CHAPTER CCVIII.

How the Indians throughout New Spain practised many sacrifices and vices, and [how] we did away with these and instructed them in the holy matters of good doctrine.

I HAVE given an account of events which should be clearly told, such as the benefits which have accrued both to the service of God and of His Majesty through our glorious conquests, costly as they were in the lives of the majority of my comrades, for very few of us are still alive, and those who died were sacrificed, and their hearts and blood offered to the Mexican idols named Tezcatepuca and Huichilobos.

I wish to begin by speaking about the sacrifices which we found in the countries and provinces we conquered. These [provinces] were full of sacrifices and iniquities, for they slew every year in Mexico alone, and certain neighbouring pueblos on the Lake, over two thousand¹ persons big and little, as was found from the count which the Franciscan Monks made (and they were the first to come to New Spain, four and a half years before the Dominicans came), and these Franciscans were very good monks and [men] of holy principles.

In other provinces many more would be added to this count, and they practised other vices of sacrifice, and these were in so many ways I should never finish writing about them in detail, but those which I saw and took note of I will call to mind. They were accustomed to sacrifice the foreheads, ears, tongues, and lips, the breasts, arms, thighs and legs, and even the genital parts, and in some provinces they were circumcised and had flint knives with which to circumcise. The oratories,

¹ Blotted out in the original: "and five hundred."

which are Cues, for so they are called among them, were so numerous that I deliver them to execration. Much in the same way as we in Castile have in every city our holy churches and parish churches and hermitages and wayside chapels, so in this country of New Spain they have their Idol houses full of devils and diabolical figures. In addition to these Cues, every Indian man and woman has two altars, one near their sleeping place and the other at the door of the house, and in the houses many little chests and others which they call "petacas" full of Idols, some small and others large, and small stones and flints, and little books of a paper made from the bark of a tree which they call "Amate," and in them are marked the signs of dates and of past events. In addition to this nearly all of them were sodomites, especially those who live on the coast and hot country, to such an extent that boys go about clothed in the dress of women to gain [a livelihood] in that diabolical and abominable employment. Then they ate human flesh, just as we bring beef from the butchers, and they have in all the pueblos prisons of stout beams, made like houses, as cages, and in them they place and fatten many Indian men and women and boys, and when they are fat they sacrifice and eat them. In addition to this, in the wars which some provinces and pueblos wage against others, those who are captured and taken prisoners are sacrificed and eaten. Then sons have carnal connection with mothers, and brothers with sisters, and uncles with nieces; many are found who indulge in this iniquitous vice. About drunkards I do not know what to say, so many obscenities take place among them; I wish to note only one here which we found in the province of Panuco; they make an injection by the anus with some [hollow] canes and distend the intestines with wine, and this is done among them in the same way as among us an enema is applied

Then they have as many women as they wish, and they have many other vices and iniquities. From all these things which I have enumerated it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ that, with his holy aid, we, the true Conquistadores, who have escaped from the wars, battles, and dangers of death, already recorded by me, have freed them, and led them into cleanly ways and taught them holy doctrine.

It is true that when two years had already elapsed and we had nearly all the lands at peace, with the cleanliness and manner of life which I have mentioned, some very good Franciscan Friars arrived in New Spain who set a very good example and doctrine. Four years later other good monks came, of [the order of] Señor Santo Domingo, who have extirpated it [vice] from the very root, and have gained much fruit in the holy doctrine¹. However it should be carefully noted that, after God, it is to us the true Conquistadores who discovered and conquered it [the country], and from the first took away their Idols and taught them the holy doctrine, that the prize and reward for all of it is due, before all other persons, although they be priests; for when a good beginning is made and the middle is [satisfactory] and the end good, the whole is worthy of praise, which interested readers can see in the good order, Christianity, and justice which we show them in New Spain.

I will leave this subject and will relate the other advantages which, after God, because of us, have come to the natives of New Spain.

¹ Blotted out in the original : "and Christianity of the natives."

CHAPTER CCIX.

How we impressed very good and holy doctrines on the Indians of New Spain, and about their conversion, and how they were baptised and turned to our holy faith, and how we taught them the Offices in use in Castile, and to comprehend and secure justice.

AFTER getting rid of the idolatries and all the evil vices they practised, it pleased our Lord God that with his holy aid and with the good fortunes and the holy Christianity of our most Christian Emperor Don Carlos of Glorious Memory, and of our King and Lord the felicitous and invincible King of Spain, our Lord Don Felipe, his much loved and cherished son (May God grant him many years to live with an increase of more kingdoms, so that he may enjoy them in this his holy and happy [life-]time), there were baptised, after we conquered the country, all, both men and women, and children who have since been born, whose souls formerly went, lost, to the Infernal regions. Now there are many and good monks of [the order of] Señor San Francisco and of Santo Domingo and of other Orders, who go among the pueblos preaching, and, when a child is of the age our holy Mother Church of Rome ordains, they baptise it. Furthermore, through the holy sermons preached, the Holy Gospel is firmly planted in their hearts, and they go to Confession every year, and some of them, who have most knowledge of our holy faith, receive the Sacrament. In addition to this they have their Churches richly adorned with altars and all pertaining to the holy divine worship, with crosses and candlesticks and wax tapers and chalice and patens and silver plates, some large and some small, and censers all worked in silver. Then, in rich pueblos, they have copes, chasubles, and frontals, and often in moderate [sized] pueblos they are of velvet, damask and

satin, and of taffeta of various colours and workmanship, and the arms of the crosses are elaborately embroidered with gold and silk¹, and the crosses of the dead are of black satin, and figured on them is a death's head with its ugly likeness and the bones, and the pall of the bier itself is sometimes good and at other times not so good. Then the necessary bells [vary] with the rank of each pueblo. There is no lack of choir singers with well harmonised voices such as tenors, trebles, contraltos, and basses, and in some pueblos there are organs, and nearly all of them have flutes, oboes, sackbuts and lutes. As for trumpets, shrill and deafening, there are not as many in my country, which is Old Castile, as there are in this province of Guatemala. It is a thing to be grateful for to God, and for profound consideration, to see how the natives assist in celebrating a holy Mass, especially when it is chanted by the Franciscans and Dominicans who have charge of the curacy of the pueblo where it is celebrated. There is another good thing they do [namely] that both men women and children, who are of the age to learn them, know all the holy prayers in their own languages and are obliged to know them. They have other good customs about their holy Christianity, that when they pass near a sacred altar or Cross they bow their heads with humility, bend their knees, and say the prayer "Our Father," which we Conquistadores have taught them, and they place lighted wax candles before the holy altars and crosses, for formerly they did not know how to use wax in making candles. In addition to what I have said, we taught them to show great reverence and obedience to all the monks and priests, and, when these went to their pueblos, to sally forth to receive them with

¹ Blotted out in the original: "and even in some places with pearls."

lighted wax candles and to ring the bells, and to feed them very well. This they do with the monks, and they paid the same attentions to the priests, but after they had seen and known some of these and the covetousness of the rest, and that they committed irregularities in the pueblos, they took no [further] notice of them and did not want them as Curas in their pueblos, but Franciscans and Dominicans. It does not mend matters that the poor Indians say to a prelate that they do not hear him or but what more there is to be said about this subject had better remain in the inkpot, and I will return to my story. Besides the good customs reported by me they have others both holy and good, for when the day of Corpus Christi comes, or that of Our Lady, or other solemn festivals when among us we form processions, most of the pueblos in the neighbourhood of this city of Guatemala come out in procession with their crosses and lighted wax tapers, and carry on their shoulders, on a litter, the image of the saint who is the patron of the pueblo, as richly [adorned] as they are able, and they come chanting litanies and other prayers and playing on their flutes and trumpets. The same thing they do in their own pueblos when the day comes for these solemn festivals. They have the custom of making offerings, on Sundays and at Easter¹ and especially on All Saints Day, and about this custom of making offerings the secular priests hurry them up in their parishes by such means that the Indians cannot possibly forget, for two or three days before the festival takes place they order them to prepare for the offering. The Monks also [seek] offerings, but not with so great solicitude.

Let us get on, and state how most of the Indian

¹ Domingos y Pascuas—Pascua is not only Easter, but any festival lasting three days.

natives of these lands have successfully learned all the trades that there are among us in Castile, and have their shops of the trades, and artisans, and gain a living by it. There are gold and silver smiths, both of chased and of hollow work, and they are very excellent craftsman, also lapidaries and painters. Carvers also do most beautiful work with their delicate burins of iron, especially in carving jades¹, and in them depict all the phases of the holy passion of our Lord Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, such that, if one had not seen them, one would never believe that Indians had done. It seems in my judgment that the most renowned painter, such as was Apelles in ancient times, or in our times a certain Berruguete and Michael Angelo or the other modern now lately become famous, who is a native of Burgos,² who has as great a reputation as Apelles, could not emulate with their most skilful pencils the works of art in jade, nor the reliquaries, which are executed by three Mexican Indian craftsmen of that trade, named Andrés de Aquino, Juan de la Cruz, and El Crespillo. In addition to this nearly all the sons of Chieftains are usually grammarians, and would have become expert, if the holy synod had not commanded them to abandon that which the very reverend Archbishop of Mexico had ordered to be done.

Many sons of Chieftains know how to read and write, and to compose books of plain chant, and there are craftsmen in weaving satin and taffeta and making woollen cloth, from *veintecuatrenos*³ to sackcloth, and cotton cloths and rugs. They are carders, woolcombers, and weavers in the same manner as there are in Segovia and in Cuenca, and others are hat makers and soap

¹ Esmeriles = half precious stones, such as jade, agate, etc.

² In the original there appears blotted out: "who is called . . .," and then follows a blank space.

³ A technical term for a narrow band of twenty-four threads.

makers. There are only two crafts they have not been able to undertake, although they have tried: these are to make glass, and to become druggists, but I believe them to be so intelligent that they will acquire them very well. Some of them are surgeons and herbalists. They understand conjuring and working puppets and make very good guitars, indeed they were craftsmen by nature before we came to New Spain. Now they breed cattle of all sorts, and break in oxen, and plough the land, and sow wheat, and thresh harvest, and sell it, and make bread and biscuit, and they have planted their lands and hereditaments with all the trees and fruits which we have brought from Spain, and sell the fruit which they produce. They have planted so many trees that, because the peaches are not good for the health, and the banana plantations give them too much shade, they have cut and are cutting down many of them and putting in quinces and apples and pears, which they hold in higher esteem.

Let us go on, and I will speak of the laws which we have shown them how to guard and execute, and how every year they are to choose the Alcaldes ordinarios and Regidores, Notaries, Alguacils, Fiscals, and Mayordomos, and have their municipal houses (Cabildos) where they meet two days in the week, and they place doorkeepers in them, and give judgment and order debts to be paid which are owed by one to another. For some criminal acts they flog and chastise, and if it is for a death or something atrocious they remit it [the case] to the Governors, if there is no Royal Audiencia. According to what people, who know very well, have told me, in Tlaxcala, Texcoco, Cholula, Oaxaca and Tepeaca and in other great cities, when the Indians hold Court (Cabildo), Macebearers with gilt maces precede those who are Governors and Alcaldes (the same as the Viceroys of New Spain take with them), and justice is done with as much

propriety and authority as among ourselves, and they appreciate and desire to know much of the laws of the kingdom.

In addition to this, many of the Caciques are rich, and possess horses, and bring good saddles with trappings, and ride abroad through the cities and towns and places where they are going for amusement, or of which they are natives, and bring Indians and pages to accompany them. In some pueblos, they even play at tilting with reeds and have bull fights, and they tilt at the ring, especially on Corpus Christi day or the day of San Juan or Señor Santiago, or of Our Lady of August, or at the removal¹ of the Saint of the pueblo from the Church. There are many who wait for the bulls although they are fierce, and many of them are horsemen, especially in a pueblo named Chiapa of the Indians, and, even those who are not Caciques, nearly all of them own horses, and some own herds of mares and mules, and use them to bring in firewood and maize and lime and other things of the kind which they sell in the Plazas, and many of them are carriers in the same way as we have in our Castile.

Not to waste more words, they carry on all trades very perfectly—and even know how to weave tapestry cloths.

I will stop talking further on this subject and will tell of many other grandeurs which, through us, there have been and still are in New Spain.

¹ Probably the round of visits paid by the image of the saint to the various Cofradias.

CHAPTER CCX.

About other matters and advantages which have followed from our renowned conquests and labours.

THERE will already have been understood from the past chapters all that has been reported by me about the benefits and advantages which have been conferred by our renowned and holy exploits and conquests. I will now speak of the gold and silver and precious stones and other riches, from cochineal to sarsaparilla and cowhides, which have gone from New Spain and are going every year to Castile to our King and Lord, both on account of his Royal Fifths, as well as through many other presents which we sent him as soon as we took possession of these lands for him, not counting the great quantity which merchants and passengers took. Since the wise King Solomon built and ordered to be constructed the Holy Temple of Jerusalem with the gold and silver which they brought him from the Islands of Tarsis, Ophir, and Saba, there has never been reported in any ancient writings more gold and silver and riches than what has gone daily to Castile from these lands. I assert this, although already from Peru, as is notorious, innumerable thousands of pesos of gold and silver have been sent. At the time we conquered New Spain the name of Peru was not known, nor was it discovered or subdued until ten years¹ later. Always from the very beginning we sent very rich presents to His Majesty, and for this reason and for others which I will state I place New Spain first, for we well know that in the events which have taken place in Peru the Captains, Governors, and soldiers joined in civil war, and all has been upset in blood and in the

¹ Blotted out in the original : "two three four."

deaths of many soldier bandits, because they have not had the respect and obedience which was due to our Lord and King, and there has been a great decrease [in numbers] of the natives. In this New Spain we all bow down, and will for ever bend our breasts to the ground, as we are bound to do, to our King and Lord, and place our lives and fortunes, whatever may happen, at the service of His Majesty. Besides, let the interested readers take note that the cities, towns, and villages which are peopled by Spaniards in these parts (and they are so numerous that I do not know their names) keep quiet and pay attention to the bishops, who number ten, not counting the Archbishop of the very distinguished City of Mexico. There are three Royal Audiencias, all of which I will speak about further on, and also of those who have governed us, and of the Archbishops and bishops that there have been. Let them observe the holy cathedral churches and the monasteries where there are Dominican Friars, as well as Franciscans, and those of the order of Mercy, and Augustinians, and let them observe the Hospitals and the great indulgence they receive, and the Holy Church of our Lady of Guadalupe which is at Tepeaquilla, where the camp of Gonzalo de Sandoval used to be stationed when we captured Mexico, and let them observe the holy miracles which she has performed and is still doing every day, and let us give many thanks and praise to God and to His Blessed Mother Our Lady, for granting us favour and help so that we could win these lands where there is [now] so much Christianity.

Moreover, let them take note that there is in Mexico a university where grammar and theology, rhetoric, logic and philosophy, with other arts and branches of science, are studied and learned. They have type and craftsmen to print books both in Latin and in the Spanish, and they graduate as licentiates and doctors.

There are many other grandeurs and riches which one might mention, thus the rich silver mines which have been discovered here and are continually being discovered, by which our Castile is made prosperous and favoured and respected. As enough has been said about the advantages which have followed over and over again out of our heroical conquests, I wish to add that wise and learned persons may read this my story from beginning to end and they will see that in no writings which have been written in the world, nor in the records of human exploits, have there been seen men who have conquered more kingdoms or principalities than we the true conquistadores have done for our Lord and King, and among the brave conquistadores, my comrades, (and there were very valiant ones among them) they included me¹ as being the oldest of them all.

I once more assert, and I repeat it so many times, that I am the oldest of them, and have served as a very good soldier of His Majesty, and I say it with sorrow in my heart, for I find myself poor and very old, with a marriageable daughter and my sons young men already grown up with beards, and others to be educated, and I am not able to go to Castile to His Majesty to put before him things which are necessary for his Royal Service, and also that he should grant me favours, for they owe me many debts.

I will leave this talk, for if I dip my pen in it deeper I shall become very odious to jealous persons. I want to ask one question in the way of a dialogue, and in view of the fair and illustrious Fame that resounds in the world regarding our manifold good and noble services which we have rendered to God, His Majesty, and all Christendom. It [Fame] loudly clamours, saying, that it would be just

¹ Blotted out in the original: "as having the reputation of a good soldier."

and reasonable that we should have good incomes and more advantages than other persons have who have not done service in these conquests nor in other parts for His Majesty. So it [Fame] inquires, "Where are our palaces and mansions, and what coats of arms are there on them distinguishing us from the others?" And, "Are our heroic deeds and arms carved on them and placed as a memorial in the manner that gentlemen have them in Spain?" (who I have said in a former chapter, in years past, served the Kings who reigned at that time, for our exploits are not inferior to those they accomplished, on the contrary they are of memorable fame, and may be counted among the most glorious the world has ever seen.) Illustrious Fame furthermore asks on behalf of the Conquistadores who have escaped from the battles, and for the dead, "Where are their tombs and what blazons are there on them?" These can be answered in all truth with, "Oh Excellent and very Illustrious Fame, longed for and revered by the good and virtuous, your illustrious name is neither desired to be seen or heard among the malicious and among persons who have endeavoured to hide our heroic deeds, so that you should not extol our persons as is deserved.—We would have you know, Señora, that of the five hundred and fifty soldiers of Cuba there are alive in all New Spain, out of all of them, in this year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight, when I am writing this my story, only five! Most of them died in the wars already described by me at the hands of the Indians, and were sacrificed to the Idols, and the rest died natural deaths. If you ask me the whereabouts of their tombs, I say they are the bellies of the Indians who ate their legs and thighs, arms and flesh, and feet and hands, and the rest found sepulchre in, and their entrails were thrown to, the tigers and serpents and falcons which at that time they kept for show in strong houses, and

those were their tombs and there are their blazons. It seems to me that their names should be written in letters of gold, for they died that cruel death in the service of God and of His Majesty, and to give light to those who were in darkness, and also to acquire riches, which all of us men usually came to seek.”

After having given [this] report to Illustrious Fame, she asks me about those who came over with Narvaez and Garay. I reply that the followers of Narvaez were thirteen hundred, without counting among them the sailors, and not more than ten or eleven of them are alive ; all the rest died in the wars and were sacrificed, and their bodies were eaten by Indians just the same as our [comrades] were. Of those who came over with Garay from the Island of Jamaica, according to my calculation, with the three companies which came to San Juan de Ulua before Garay came, and with those whom he brought last when he came himself, in all there would be another twelve hundred soldiers, and nearly all of them were sacrificed to the Idols in the province of Panuco and their bodies eaten by the natives of that province.

In addition to this, Revered Fame asks about those fifteen¹ soldiers who landed in New Spain, belonging to the Company of Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, when he was defeated and died in Florida. As to what had become of them, to this I reply that I have not seen one of them, all are dead ; “and I would have you know, Excellent Fame, that of all those whom I have counted over and over again [only] five of us companions of Cortés are now living, and we are very old and suffering from infirmities and, worst of all, are very poor and burdened with sons and marriageable daughters and grandchildren, and with very little income, and thus we pass our lives in hardship and

¹ Blotted out in the original : “ or twenty.”

privations. I have already given a reply to all you have asked me and regarding our palaces and blazons and tombs, and I beg you, Illustrious Fame, from now onwards to raise higher your excellent and most virtuous voice, so that throughout the world our great prowess may be clearly distinguished, so that ill-disposed men with their harsh disseminating and envious tongues may not obscure or undo it, and to so manage that the reward is due to those who gained these lands for His Majesty, and is not to be bestowed on those who do not deserve it, because His Majesty has no account with them, nor they with His Majesty, for services rendered."

To this [question] which I have put to the most Virtuous Fame, she answers and says that she will very willingly do it, and adds that she is astonished that we do not possess the best assignments of Indians in the land, for we have conquered it, and His Majesty orders them to be given in the same way as to the Marquis Cortés, (it is not to be understood that it would be to the same extent, but in moderation). Moreover, Revered Fame says that the affairs of the brave and gallant Cortés are to be always highly esteemed and counted among the deeds of valiant Captains. Moreover Truthful Fame states that there is no mention of any of us in the books and histories which have been written by the Chronicler Francisco López de Gomara, nor in that of the Doctor Yllescas, who wrote the official report, nor in other recent writers. They say in their books that the Marquis Cortés alone discovered it [the land], and conquered it, and the Captains and Soldiers who gained it are left blank, without mention of our persons or conquests, and that now she is greatly rejoiced to know clearly that all that is written in my story is true, and that the writing itself expresses literally what happened, and not flatteries nor vicious words; nor in order to exalt one Captain alone

does it tend to belittle many Captains and brave soldiers, as Francisco López de Gomara has done, and the other recent chroniclers who follow history as presented by him, without adding to or deducting from anything he says. Good Fame promises me besides that, on her part, wherever she may be, she will proclaim it in a clear and ringing voice, and in addition to this, that she will explain so that, as soon as my history (if it is printed) is seen and heard, all will give it true belief and will cast doubt on the flatteries which the former [historians] have written. Apart from what I have stated in the form of a dialogue, a certain Doctor, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala, asked me how it was that Cortés, when he wrote to His Majesty, and when he went the first time to Castile, did not act as advocate for us, because through us, after God, he became Marquis and Governor. To this I answered then, and repeat it now, that as he took for himself in the beginning, when His Majesty granted him the government, all the best of New Spain, believing that he would always be absolute Lord and that by his hand [at will] he could give us Indians or take them away, for this reason it was supposed that he did not [then] do it, nor did he wish to write about it. Also because at that time His Majesty gave him the Marquisate which he holds, and as he was importuning him to give him back the government of New Spain as he had held it before, and he [His Majesty] answered that he had already given him the Marquisate, he did not seek to ask a single thing for us that might have benefited us, only for himself alone. Furthermore, the Factor and Veedor and other Gentlemen from Mexico had informed His Majesty that Cortés had taken for himself the best provinces and pueblos in New Spain, and had given other good pueblos to his friends and relations who had lately come from Castile, and that little was left as royal patrimony. Later on we got to

know that His Majesty ordered that from what he [Cortés] had in excess he should give to those who came with him, and at that time His Majesty embarked in Barcelona to go to Flanders. If Cortés at the time when we conquered New Spain (as I have said before in the Chapter which treats of it) had divided it into five parts, and had allotted the best and richest province and cities as a fifth part to our Lord the King for his Royal Fifth, he would have done well, and if he had taken for himself one part, and had left half a part for Churches and monasteries belonging to the cities, so that His Majesty should have two and a half parts over, for giving away and making grants and dividing among us. We might have kept these in perpetuity, Cortés his share and we ours, for as our Cæsar was a very good Christian and the conquests had cost him nothing at all, he might have granted us these favours. But as we, the true Conquistadores, at that time did not know what demanding justice meant, nor to whom to apply for it concerning our services, or other matters of grievances and violence that took place during the war, (except to Cortés himself as our Captain who should have settled it,) we were left positively denuded, with only the trifling amounts that had been deposited for us, until we saw that when Don Francisco de Montejo went to Castile into the presence of His Majesty, he appointed him Adelantado and Governor of Yucatan, and gave him the Indians he held in Mexico, and bestowed other favours on him ; and to Diego de Ordás, who also went before His Majesty, he gave an Encomienda of Señor Santiago and the Indians he held in New Spain ; and that Don Pedro de Alvarado, who also went to kiss the feet of His Majesty, was appointed Adelantado and Governor of Guatemala and Chiapa, and Comendador of Santiago, and was given further grants of the Indians ; and at last when Cortés went he gave him the Marquisate

and [made him] Captain General of the South Sea. Then, as soon as we Conquistadores saw and understood that for those who did not appear before His Majesty there was no thought of making grants, we sent to beg that he would order any [Indians] who from that time onward should be unallotted, to be given to us in perpetuity. The justice of our claim was recognised when the first Royal Audiencia was sent to Mexico, with Nuño de Guzman as president, and the Licentiate Delgadillo a native of Granada, and Matienzo of Bicaya, as Oidores, and two other Oidores, who died as soon as they arrived in Mexico. For His Majesty then distinctly ordered Nuño de Guzman to treat all the Indians of New Spain as one body, to the end that all the persons who held large Assignments which Cortés had given them should no longer hold so large [a number] but that some should be taken from them, and that we the true Conquistadores should be given the best and most profitable pueblos, and that for the Royal patrimony there should be reserved the chief towns and best cities. His Majesty also ordered that the Vassals of Cortés should be counted and he should retain those which were within the terms of his Marquisate, and as to the remainder, I do not remember what Nuño de Guzman ordered about it, or the reason why he and the Oidores did not make the Assignment, [but] it was on account of evil advisers, and for their honours sake I will not name them here. For they told him that, should he divide up the land, as soon as the Conquistadores and settlers found themselves possessing Indians in perpetuity, they would not hold them [the Audiencia] in such great respect, nor would they [the Audiencia] be such Lords [have such authority] to give them orders, because they would not possess [the power] to give and to take away, nor would they [the settlers] come to them to beg for something to eat. By [following]

the other course they would have [power] to give of what was vacant [i.e., Indians who were unallotted] to whomsoever they wished, and they [themselves] would become rich and would have the greater authority, and to this end they stopped doing anything.

It is true that Nuño de Guzman [and the Oidores], when there were any Indians unallotted, promptly handed them over to Conquistadores and settlers, and were not so bad in what they did for the settlers and inhabitants, for they contented them all and gave them food, and if they [the Oidores] were dismissed from out of the Royal Audiencia it was on account of the disputes which they had with Cortés and on account of the branding of free Indians for slaves.

I want to leave this chapter and go on to another and will speak about the perpetual Assignment.

CHAPTER CCXI.

How in the year IVVI [1550] when the Court was at Valladolid there met together in the Royal Council of the Indies certain prelates and gentlemen who came from New Spain and Peru as Proctors, and other noblemen who were present, in order to give the order that the Assignment [of Indians or pueblos] should be in perpetuity, and what was said and done at the meeting is what I shall relate.

IN the year fifteen hundred and fifty the Licentiate de la Gasca came from Peru and went to the Court, which at that time was in Valladolid, and brought in his company a certain Dominican Friar named Don Fray Martin, the Superior, and at that time His Majesty ordered this same Superior to be appointed to the Bishopric of Las Charcas.¹

¹ There is a blank space in the original. The name of the first Bishop of Charcas was Don Fray Tomas de San Martin, of the order of Santo Domingo.—G. G.

Then there came together in [the Court Don] Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, and Don Vasco de [Quiroga, bishop of Michoacan], and other gentlemen who came [as Proctors from New Spain and from Peru], and certain noblemen who came with lawsuits [to bring] before His Majesty. At that time all these were present at Court, and together with them they sent to summon me from New Spain as the oldest Conquistador.

As de la Gasca and all the other Peruvians had brought many thousands of pesos de oro both for His Majesty and for themselves, they sent what they had brought for His Majesty from Seville to Augusta in Germany, where His Majesty was staying at that time, and in his royal Company was his beloved and cherished son our most felicitous and invincible Don Felipe, King of the Spains and our Lord, may God preserve him.

At that time certain gentlemen went in charge of the gold and as Proctors from Peru to beg His Majesty to be pleased to do us the favour of ordering an assignment [of pueblos] to be made in perpetuity.

It appears that this petition had been made at other times, before this, on behalf of New Spain, when one Gonzalo López went, and a certain Alonzo Villanueva went with other gentlemen as proctors from Mexico. On that occasion His Majesty conferred the Bishopric of Palencia on the Licentiate de la Gasca, who was Bishop and Conde de Pernia, for it was his luck that when he arrived in Castile it had become vacant, and it was the gossip of the Court that even in this he had the good fortune I have mentioned, besides what he had in leaving Peru at peace and in recovering the gold and silver which the Coutreras had robbed him of. To go back to my story of what His Majesty decreed about the Assignment in perpetuity of the Indians. He instructed the Marquis de Mondejar, who was President of the Royal Council of

the Indies, and the Licentiate Gutierrez Velásquez and the Licentiate Tello de Sandoval and Doctor Hernan Pérez de la Fuente and the Licentiate Gregorio López and Doctor Rivadeneyra and the Licentiate Birviesca, who were Oidores of this same Royal Council of the Indies, and other gentlemen of the Royal Councils, all to meet together and consider and discuss how and in what manner the Assignment might be made, in such a way that in every respect the service of God and the Royal Patrimony should be carefully considered and in no wise prejudiced. When all those Prelates and gentlemen were met together in the house of Pero González de Leon, where the Royal Council of the Indies was held, what was said and discussed in that most illustrious Meeting [was] that the Indians should be given in perpetuity in New Spain and in Peru (I do not remember clearly whether the New Kingdom of Granada and Bobotan was named, but it seems to me that it also was included with the rest) and the reasons propounded in that affair were holy and good. The first to be discussed was that, being [assigned] in perpetuity, they would be much better treated and instructed in our Holy Faith, and that if some should fall ill they would be attended to like sons and be excused from a part of their tribute, and that owners would persevere much more in bringing the land into cultivation and [planting] vineyards and sowing seeds and raising cattle, and lawsuits and disputes about Indians would cease, and there would be no need for visiting judges in the pueblos, and there would be peace and concord among the soldiers with the knowledge that Presidents and Governors no longer had power when Indians were unassigned to allot them through nepotism, nor in other ways in which they allotted them at that time.

Moreover, the granting them in perpetuity to those who have served His Majesty was a relief to his royal

conscience, and many other good reasons were expressed. Furthermore it was mentioned that it had become necessary in Peru to get rid of those robber men who were found to have disserved His Majesty.

After what I have mentioned had been fully discussed by all those at this Illustrious Meeting, most of the proctors and the other gentlemen gave our opinions and votes that the assignments should be perpetual. But just then most contrary opinions were advanced. The first of these was by the Bishop of Chiapa, and he was supported by his companion Fray Rodrigo of the order of Santo Domingo, also by the Licentiate Gasca who was Bishop of Palencia, and Conde de Pernia, and Bishop Fray Don Martin¹ (for by that time they had given him the Bishopric of Las Charcas,) and by the Marquis de Mondejar, and two Oidores of the Royal Council of His Majesty. What those gentlemen named by me put forward in opposition (except the Marquis de Mondejar who did not wish to show partiality on one side or the other but to observe what they said and who had the most votes) was, how could they [bring themselves] to give Indians in perpetuity or in any other way, on the contrary they ought not to be given but to be taken from those who at that time held them, for there were people among them in Peru drawing a good rent from Indians who deserved to be chopped into pieces, and now as a climax they are to get them in perpetuity, how could they imagine in Peru that peace could be found and the country settled? There would be soldiers who when they saw that there was nothing [more] to be given them would revolt, and there would be even greater discords. Then Don Vasco de Quirova Bishop of Michoacan, who was on our side,

¹ Here again the author leaves a blank space; it must refer, as we point out in a former note, to the Dominican Don Fray Tomás de San Martín.—G. G.

replied and asked the Licentiate de la Gasca why he did not punish the bandits and traitors? for he knew them, and their offences were notorious, yet he himself had given them Indians.

To this de la Gasca answered, and he paused to laugh, and said, will the Señores believe that I performed no small feat in emerging in peace and in safety from among them—some of them I quartered and I executed justice.

Other opinions on the same subject were exchanged and then we and many of the gentlemen who were there present with us said, that they should be given in perpetuity in New Spain to the true Conquistadores who went over with Cortés, and to the followers of Panfilo de Narvaez and those of Garay, for very few of us remained; all the rest had died in the battles fighting in the service of His Majesty, and we had served him very faithfully, and that with the others there could be other arrangements. When we made these statements on our part and took the course which I have mentioned, there were not wanting prelates and lords of His Majesty's Council who said that all should be postponed until Our Lords the Emperor and the Prince, who were daily expected, should come to Castile, so that in a matter of such weight and importance they should be present.

Nevertheless, by the Bishop of Michoacan and certain gentlemen who were from New Spain, and I with them, answer was repeatedly made that, as the votes were already given to that effect, [the Assignments] should be given in perpetuity in New Spain, and that the Proctors from Peru should solicit on their own account, for His Most Christian Majesty had sent a command, and in his royal command showed inclination towards giving them in perpetuity in New Spain. About that matter there was much discussion and argument, and we said that

even if they should not be given in Peru, they should consider the many and great services which we had rendered to His Majesty and all Christendom. However we availed nothing with the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies, and the Bishop Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Fray Rodrigo his companion, and with the Bishop of Las Charcas, Don Fray Martin¹ and they said that as soon as His Majesty came from Augusta it would be adjusted in such a way that the Conquistadores would be very contented, and thus it remained pending.

I will leave this discussion and [say] that we wrote post haste by a ship [going] to New Spain, and when the matters related above, which took place at Court, were known in the City of Mexico, the Conquistadores arranged to send Proctors to His Majesty on their own account alone. Captain Andrés de Tápia and one Pedro Moreno Medrano even wrote to me from Mexico to this city of Guatemala, and Juan de Linpias Carvajal, the deaf, from Puebla—for at that time I had already returned from the court—and what they wrote to me was to give an account and report of the Conquistadores whom they were sending with their power of attorney. In the memorial they included me as one of the oldest of them. I showed the letters in the City of Guatemala to other Conquistadores so that they could help with money to send the Proctors, for it appears their despatch could not be managed for want of pesos de oro. What they next arranged in Mexico was that the Conquistadores together with the whole community should send Proctors to Castile, but such an excellent thing was never effected, and in this manner we proceed, like a lame mule, from bad to worse, and from one Viceroy to another and from Governor to Governor. After this our invincible Lord and King Don Felipe, may God

¹ There is a blank space in the original. See the former note.

guard him, and may he live many years with increase of more kingdoms, commanded, in his Royal Ordinances and Decrees which he has issued for that purpose, that as to the Conquistadores and their children, we are to experience improvement in every sense, and next [in order] that the old married settlers [were to benefit] as will be seen in his Royal Edicts.

CHAPTER CCXII.

About other discussions and stories which are here made known and will be pleasant to hear.¹

WHEN I had finished the fair copy of this my story, two Licentiates begged me to lend it to them for two days so as to know more clearly what we went through during the conquest of Mexico and New Spain, and to see in what way it differed from what the Chroniclers Gomara and Doctor Yllescas had written about the heroic deeds and exploits we accomplished in company with the valiant Marquis Cortés. So I lent them a rough draft, for it seems to me that wise men always [try to] impress a bit of their wisdom on unlearned fools such as I am, and I told them not to alter a single thing,² for all that I write is quite true. When they had seen and read it, one of them who was very eloquent and had a very good opinion of himself, after extolling and praising the good memory I must have not to forget any item of all we went through from the time we came to New Spain in the year seventeen [1517] up to that of sixty-eight [1568], said that, as to the style, it followed the customary speech of Old Castile, and that in these times it is accounted the more agreeable because

¹ See note at end of Chapter.

² Blotted out in the original: "neither to add or to subtract."

there are no elaborate arguments nor gilded elegance such as some writers are wont [to display], but all is in plain simple language, and that all really good narration is comprised in this true statement. However, it seemed to him that I praised myself greatly in the accounts of battles and wars in which I was present and the services which I did to His Majesty, and that other persons should make those statements and not I ; also that in order to give greater credibility to what I write I should cite witnesses, as the chroniclers are accustomed to insert and quote proofs from other books dealing with past events, for I am not a witness for myself. To this one can answer, [as is done in] a chapter of my story, that in a letter which the Marques del Valle wrote to His Majesty in the year forty, giving him a report of my person and services, he informed him how I came to explore New Spain on two occasions before he did, and how on the third time I returned in his company ; and as an eye-witness he saw me fight in the wars like a very brave soldier, and come out of them very badly wounded, as well in the capture of Mexico as in many other conquests ; and after we had won New Spain and its provinces how I went in his company to Honduras and the Hibueras (for so it is called in this country), and other particulars which were contained in the letter which, as it is a long story, I will not repeat here. So also Don Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy of New Spain (of praiseworthy memory for his many virtues), wrote to His Majesty giving him a report of what had been told to him by the Captains in whose company I served as a soldier ; and it all tallied with what the Marquis had written. Moreover there were the very sufficient proofs which were presented on my behalf to the Royal Council of the Indies in the year forty, and I offer these letters as evidence—two of them were placed before His Majesty and the originals are preserved. If the Marquis and the Viceroy and the

Captains and my proofs are not good enough witnesses, I wish to call another witness, and there is no better one in the whole world, that is our very great Monarch the most Christian Emperor Don Carlos, our Lord of most renowned and glorious memory, who about this matter sent his letters with the [Royal] Seal, in which he ordered the Viceroy, presidents, and governors to give me preference and advantage in everything as one of his servants. Other recommendations were contained in the Royal Letters, and for this reason I intended to include them in this story, and I wish they were preserved in my own hands.

To return to the question which the Licentiate to whom I had lent my rough draft addressed to me, "Why did I praise myself so much for my conquests?" To this I reply that there are matters about which it is not well that men should brag, for their neighbours generally report the virtues and good qualities which individuals possess. Moreover I say of those who neither know nor see nor understand nor are present in them, especially in such affairs as wars and battles and the capture of cities, how can they praise or write about them unless they be Captains and soldiers who were present in such wars together with us. For this reason I am able to state so often, and even to boast of it, that, if I were to rob other valiant soldiers who were present in these same wars of their honour and rank and attribute them to myself, it would be an evil deed and there would be cause to blame me; but if I tell the truth (and His Majesty and his Viceroy, the Marquis, witnesses, and evidence attest it, and moreover the story gives evidence of it) why should I not say so? for it ought to be written in letters of gold. Would they wish the clouds or the birds which passed above at the time to report it? and did Gomara wish to state it, or Yllescas, or Cortés when he wrote to His Majesty? From what I have seen of these writings and of

their Chronicles, [they wrote] solely in praise of Cortés, and they were silent about and concealed our illustrious and famous exploits by which we raised the Captain himself to a Marquisate, and to the possession of a great revenue and the fame and renown which is his.

These writers are the same who were not present in New Spain and, not hearing a true account, how can they write it down without going wrong only from the flavour of their palates—unless it were through the conversations they held with the Marquis himself? This I assert that when in the beginning Cortés wrote to His Majesty, instead of ink, pearls and gold flowed from his pen, and all in his own praise and not about us valiant soldiers. Let those who wish to see it observe to whom their histories were dedicated, if not to his son and heir to the Marquisate. Although Don Hernando Cortés was in all things a very valiant and spirited Captain, and may be counted among the most famous the world has seen, the chroniclers of these times should have had the consideration to introduce us, and make a report in their histories about our brave soldiers and not leave us entirely ignored, as we should have remained if I had not taken a hand in recording and assigning to each one his [share of] honour and glory, and, if I had not stated exactly what happened, persons who saw what the Chroniclers Yllescas and Gomara had written would believe that their version was the truth.¹

In addition to what I have recorded it is right that I should again in this place make a statement to ensure noteworthy remembrance of my person, and of the many and distinguished services which I have rendered to God and His Majesty and to all Christendom, in the manner

¹ Blotted out in the original: "just as they wrote it, they being very eloquent."

of the writings and reports of the Dukes, Marquises, Counts and illustrious men who served in wars [in time past]; also in order that my children, grandchildren and descendants can dare to say with truth "my father came to discover and conquer these lands at his own expense and expended what property he possessed in doing it, and was one of the foremost in the conquest." Furthermore I wish here to advance another argument to prove that I do not praise myself as much as I ought, and it is that I was present in many more battles and warlike encounters than those in which the writers say Julius Cæsar was engaged, [that is] in fifty three battles, and to record his exploits he had consummate chroniclers, but he was not satisfied with what they wrote about him, so Julius Cæsar himself with his own hand made a record in his Commentaries of all the wars he was personally engaged in. Therefore it is not unreasonable that I should write down the heroic deeds of the brave Cortés and my own, and those of my comrades who were fighting in [our] company. Moreover I assert that of all those praised and extolled deeds which the Marquis himself accomplished, and of the seven heads of kings which he has on his coat of arms, and of the blazon and inscription which he placed on a cannon called the Phœnix, which was cast in Mexico to send to His Majesty, and was made of gold and silver and copper, and the words on it said

"Esta ave nació sin par
Yo en serviros sin segundo
Y Vos sin ygal en el mundo

This bird born without an equal,
I second to none in serving you,
Your Highness without equal in
the world."

I am entitled to a share of the seven kings' heads, and of what is written on the culverin "I second to none in serving you," for I assisted him in all the conquests and

in winning that honour and glory which is well exemplified in his very valiant person.

Returning to my statement—when I said that I was present in more battles than Julius Cæsar, I again assert it, and interested readers may find and note in this my narrative in the chapters that treat about it, how and in what manner they took place. So that nothing should be concealed which is not stated and made manifest there, and so that it should be more clearly seen, I wish to quote them here as a record, so that it shall not be said that I speak with reserve about myself, for if so many of the Conquistadores had not witnessed them, and if they had not obtained so much fame in this New Spain, malicious slanderers [who are never wanting] might possibly have referred to me in regard to them as an obscure person.

RECORD OF THE BATTLES AND ENCOUNTERS
IN WHICH I WAS PRESENT.

At Cape Catoche when I came with Francisco Hernández de Córdoba the first discoverer — in one battle.

In another battle in the affair of Chanpoton, when they killed fifty-seven of our soldiers and we all came out wounded, in company with the said Francisco Hernández de Córdoba.

In another battle when we went to get water in Florida, in company with the said Francisco Hernández de Córdoba.

In another when I was with Juan de Grijalva on the same errand in Chanpoton.

When the very valiant and courageous Captain Hernando Cortés came, in two battles—in the affair of

Tabasco with the said Cortés, the other in the affair of Cingapacinga with the said Cortés.

Also in three battles which we fought in the affair of Tlaxcala, under the said Cortés.

In the affair of Cholula when they wanted to kill us and eat our bodies—I do not count this as a battle.

Another when Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez came from the Island of Cuba with fourteen hundred soldiers, horsemen as well as musketeers and crossbowmen, and much artillery. They came to seize us and take the country in the name of Diego Velásquez, and with two hundred and sixty-six soldiers we defeated him and captured Narvaez himself and his Captains. I am one of the sixty soldiers whom Cortés ordered to attack and capture the artillery, which was a deed of the greatest danger, which is described in the chapter that treats of it.

Also in three very perilous battles which they fought against us in Mexico as we marched along the bridges and causeways, when we went to the aid of Pedro de Alvarado, and took to flight; for of the thirteen hundred soldiers, including the men of Pánfilo de Narvaez, who went with Cortés to the rescue, as I have already said, the greater number died at these same bridges, and were sacrificed and eaten by the Indians.

Another very hazardous battle which is called that of Otumba, with the said Cortés.

Another when we attacked Tepeaca, with the said Cortés.

Another when we went to scour the neighbourhood of Cachula.

Another with the said Cortés, when we went to Texcoco and the Mexicans and Texcocans came out to attack us.

Another when we went with Cortés to Iztapalapa, and they tried to drown us.

Three other battles when we went with Cortés to make a circuit of all the great pueblos round about the lake, and I was present at Xochimilco in three very perilous battles which I have mentioned, when the Mexicans pulled Cortés off of his horse and wounded him, and he was much exhausted.

Also two other battles at the rocky hills which are named after Cortés, when nine soldiers were killed and all came out of them wounded owing to Cortés's want of forethought.

Another when Cortés sent me with many soldiers to defend the corn fields which the Mexicans were taking from the pueblos friendly to us.

Besides all of these, when we invested Mexico and during the ninety-three days we besieged it, I was present in more than eighty battles, for a great multitude of Mexicans attacked us every day; we estimate that they [the combats] numbered eighty.

After the conquest of Mexico in company with Captain Luis Marin, I was present at two battles in the province of Cimatan, which is in the land of Coatzacoalcos; I came out of one of them with three wounds.

In the Sierras of the Zapotecs and Mijes, with Captain Luis Marin, I was present in two battles.

In the affair of Chiapa in two battles against the Chiapanecs with Luis Marin.

Another with Luis Marin in the affair of Chamula.

Another when we went to the Hibueras with Cortés—a battle we fought in a pueblo named Zulaco where they killed my horse.

After returning to New Spain from the expedition to Honduras and Hibueras, (for so it is called) I went to assist in bringing to peace the province of the Zapotecs and Mijes and other lands. I do not count the battles and skirmishes which we had with them, although it

would be well to mention them, nor the skirmishes at which I was present in this province of Guatemala, for they certainly are not warriors but only shout and yell and make a noise and dig pits¹ in very deep ravines ; but notwithstanding all this they gave me an arrow wound at a ravine between Petapa and Joanagasapa,² for there they waited for us. In all these battles in which I have recorded that I was present, there were also present the valiant Captain Cortés and all his Captains and brave soldiers, and most of them died there. Others died in the affair of Panuco, at which I was not present, and at Colima and Zacatula. I was not present in the affair of Michoacan, [when] all those provinces were made peaceable, nor in the affair of Tututepeque, nor in that of Jalisco, which they call New Galicia, which also became peaceable ; nor was I present in all the south coast, for we had plenty to do in other parts, for New Spain is so large that we soldiers were not able to go all together to one part or the other, but Cortés sent to conquer the districts that were at war.

So that it may be clearly understood when the greater number of Spaniards were killed, I will state it step by step. In the battles and skirmishes³: at Cape Catoche and in the affair of Chanpoton, when I came with Francisco Hernández the first discoverer, they killed fifty-eight soldiers in two battles, which was more than half of those who came.

In another battle in Florida, when we went to get water, they carried off one soldier alive, and we were all wounded.

¹ Blotted out in the original : "hidden."

² Cuajiniquilapa ?

³ Blotted out in the original : "when I was present."

In another when we went with Juan de Grijalva to this same Chanpoton, ten soldiers [were killed] and the Captain was badly wounded and his teeth were broken.

When we came with the very brave and spirited Captain Hernando Cortés, six or seven soldiers died in two battles in the affair of Tabasco.

In the three very hazardous and perilous battles we fought in Tlaxcala four soldiers died.

Again when Captain Narvaez came from the Island of Cuba with fourteen hundred soldiers, cavalry, musketeers, and crossbowmen, we defeated them and captured Narvaez and his Captains; with the artillery which Narvaez had posted against us, he killed four soldiers.

In three very hazardous battles which they fought against us in Mexico at the bridges and causeways, and in that of Otumba, when we went to rescue Pedro de Alvarado and we fled from Mexico, of the thirteen hundred soldiers, counting those of Narvaez who went with Cortés, after nine days fighting there remained alive only four hundred and sixty-eight, all the others died at the bridges and were sacrificed and eaten by the Indians, and nearly all the rest of us were wounded; may God have compassion [on us].

In another battle when we went with Cortés against Tepeaca they killed two soldiers.

In another, when we went to scour the neighbourhood of Cachula and Tecamachalco, two more Spaniards died.

In another, when we went with Cortés to Texcoco and the Mexicans and Texcocans sallied out to meet us, they killed one soldier.

In another, when we went with Cortés to Iztapalapa, and they tried to drown us, two or three died of their wounds, but I do not remember clearly how many they were.

In three other battles when we went with Cortés to

all the great pueblos round about the lake—and these battles were very dangerous, for the Mexicans pulled Cortés off of his horse and wounded him and he was very much exhausted (this was at Xochimilco)—eight Spaniards died.

In two other battles on the rocky hills named after Cortés, they killed nine soldiers and we all were wounded through the carelessness of Cortés.

In another, when Cortés sent me with many soldiers to defend the cornfields which the Mexicans were seizing, which [fields] belonged to our friends at Texcoco, one Spaniard died of his wounds within nine days.

Besides all this that I have recorded above when we invested Mexico during the ninety-three days of the siege, I was present in more than eighty battles, for every day from dawn until dusk we had against us a great host of Mexican warriors who attacked us, and of all the soldiers who were present in those battles there died sixty-three of the company of Cortés, nine in that of Pedro de Alvarado, six in that of Sandoval—we calculate that they fought eighty battles against us in ninety-three days.

After the Conquest of Mexico I was present in two battles in company with Captain Luis Marin in the province of Cimatan, which is in the land of Coatza-coalcos, in which three soldiers were killed.

In two other battles, in company with Luis Marin in the Sierras of the Zapotecs and Mijes, which are very lofty, and where there are no roads, they killed two soldiers.

In the Province of Chiapa, when in company with Luis Marin, in two very perilous battles with the Chianecs two soldiers were killed.

In another battle, when in company with Luis Marin, in the affair of Chamula, one soldier died of his wounds.

Again when we went to Hibueras and Honduras with Cortés, in a battle with a pueblo named Zulaco they killed one soldier.

I have already recounted [the names of] those who died in the battles at which I was present. I do not include the battles at Panuco because I was not present, but there is trustworthy report that they killed more than three hundred soldiers of the company of Garay, and others who had lately come from Castile, [including those] whom Cortés took with him to pacify that province, and those taken by Sandoval when the province again rose in rebellion.

I was not present at what we call the affair of Almeria, but I know for certain that they killed the Captain Juan de Escalante and seven soldiers. I also state that in the affairs of Colima, Zacatula, Michoacan, Jalisco and Tututepeque certain soldiers were killed.

I have forgotten to mention sixty-six soldiers and three Castilian women, whom the Mexicans killed in a pueblo named Tustepeque¹; they stayed in that pueblo in the belief that they would be provided with food, for they belonged to the company of Narvaez and they were invalids. So that the names of the pueblos may be clearly understood one is Tustepeque . . . north, and the other is Tututepeque on the south coast; so that it may not be argued that I make a mistake and give one pueblo two names. It will also now be said that there is great prolixity in what I write about, placing in one section the battles at which I was present, and then again reporting [the names of] those who died in each battle, which I might have given at the same time. Interested readers will also ask, how was I able to know [the names of] those who died in the battles which took

¹ Tuxtepec.

place in each part [of the country]. To this I reply that it is very easily understood. Let us make a comparison. Let us say that a valiant Captain leaves Castile to make war on the Moors and Turks and fight battles against other enemies, and takes with him more than twenty thousand soldiers. When he has fixed his camp he sends off one Captain in one direction and another in another direction and goes with them as Commander, and after the battles and skirmishes he returns with his men to camp, then they render an account [to him] of those who were wounded or died in the battle or were taken prisoners. So we that accompanied the valiant Cortés into battle knew who had fallen and who had returned wounded, and in a like manner about the others who were sent to other provinces, and thus it is no great thing that I have a remembrance of all that I have stated, and write it so clearly. Let us leave this part.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo.
[rúbrica.]¹

This history was finished in Guatemala on the 14th November, 1605.²

NOTE TO CHAPTER CCXII.

The following rough draft of this Chapter is added to the original.—G. G.

CHAPTER CCXII.

About other discussions and stories which are here made known and will be pleasant to hear.

WHEN I had finished the fair copy of this my story, two Licentiates begged me to lend it to them, so as to know more completely what happened in the Conquest of Mexico and New Spain, and to see in

¹ Rúbrica = the flourish which is an essential part of a Spanish signature.

² One can read the same statement written in modern script a little lower down.

what [points] the writings of the Chroniclers Francisco López de Gomara and Doctor Yllescas on the heroic exploits achieved by the Marquis del Valle differs from what I write in this narrative. So I lent it to them, for it seems to me that some of the sense of wise men may adhere to unlearned fools such as I am. I told them not to touch, in way of emendation, anything about the conquests, nor to add or delete, for all that I write is quite true. When the two Licentiates to whom I lent it had seen and read it, one of them, who was very eloquent, and has a very good opinion of himself, after extolling and praising the good memory I must have not to forget a single item of all we went through from the time when we twice came to discover before Cortés came, and the last time when I came with Cortés himself. (The first time was in the year seventeen [1517] with Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, and in the year eighteen with one Juan de Grijalva already often mentioned by me, and in the year nineteen I came with the good Captain Hernando Cortés who afterwards as time went on became Marques del Valle.)

To return to my story, the Licentiates told me that, as to the style, it followed the customary speech of Old Castile which in these times is accounted the more agreeable because there were no flowery arguments nor ornamental phrases such as the Chroniclers who have written of wars and battles are wont to employ, but all is written in a straightforward way and by speaking truthfully the best arguments are included. Moreover they also told me that it appears to them that I praise myself a great deal [when speaking] of the battles and warlike skirmishes at which I was present, and about the great services I have rendered to his Majesty, and that other persons ought to say that and write about it first, and not I.

Also that in order to give more credit to what I have stated I should cite witnesses and quote the accounts of such Chroniclers as may have written about it, as those who write and prove by other books about past events are accustomed to insert and quote, and not to say so curtly as I do, "I did this," and "such a thing happened to me," for I am not a witness for myself. To this I answered and now repeat [what I said] in the first Chapter of my Narrative, that in a letter which the Marques del Valle wrote from the great city of Mexico to His Majesty in Castile in the year fifteen hundred and forty giving him an account of my person and my services, he told him how I came to explore New Spain twice before he did, and the third time returned in his company, and as an eye-witness he very often saw me fighting in the Mexican wars, and at the capture of other cities, like a brave soldier doing many notable deeds, and often coming out of the battles badly wounded, and how I went in his company to Honduras and Hibueras (for so they call it in this country),

and other things were contained in the letter which to avoid prolixity I will not quote here.

In the same way the Most Illustrious Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza wrote to His Majesty reporting to him what he had been told by the Captains in whose company I had at that time served as a soldier, and it agreed with all that the Marques del Valle had written. Moreover very sufficient proofs were presented on my behalf in the Royal Council of the Indies in the year five hundred and forty [1540]. So the Señores Licenciados can see whether the Marques del Valle and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and my proofs are sufficient evidence. If this is not enough I wish to call another witness, and there is none better in the world, which is the Most Christian Emperor our Lord of Glorious Memory, Don Carlos the fifth, who by his Royal letter, closed and sealed with his Royal Seal, orders the Viceroys and Presidents to have respect for the many good and loyal services which it is clear to him that I have rendered, that I and my children should have preference and advantage ; which said Royal letter he sent to me, and I have all the originals of these letters preserved, and the copies remain at the Court in the archive of the Secretary Ochoa Luyando. I say this as an excuse and a witness of what the Licentiates represent to me.

To return to my argument, by chance the Chronicler Francisco de Gomara wished [so] to write it, [but neither he] nor the Doctor Yllescas in what they wrote about the heroic deeds of we should remain unmentioned if I had not told this true story. As to what they say that I praise myself too much and that others should do that, I answer there are occasions when certain neighbours are wont to praise the virtues and goodness of others and not their own, but for one who is not present in a war, and does not see it or understand it, how is he able to do it? Are the clouds to utter praise or the birds that flew over us when we were fighting our battles? Only the Captains and soldiers who were present [could do so.] If in my story I had taken the honour and glory from some of the valiant Captains and brave soldiers who were my companions and were present at the Conquest and given it to myself, it [the allegation] would be right, and would take away my standing ground, but I have not even praised myself as well as I ought.

The Marquis Cortés says, and an inscription which he placed on the Culverin of the bird Phœnix, which was a cannon cast in Mexico of gold, silver and copper, which we sent to His Majesty : the letters of the inscription said

Esta ave nació sin par
Y yo en serviros sin segundo
Y Vos sin igual en el Mundo.

This bird born without an equal,
I second to none in serving you,
Your Highness without equal in
the world.

I am clearly able to say that I am entitled to part in this praise and inscription, for I helped Cortés to accomplish those loyal services. In addition to this, when Cortés went the first time to Castile to kiss the royal feet of His Majesty, he reported to him that he had such valiant and brave Captains and comrades that he believed none more spirited had been heard of in past history than those with whom he conquered New Spain and the great City of Mexico. I am also entitled to a share of this praise. When he went to serve His Majesty in the affair of Algiers, and certain things happened about striking camp on account to the great tempests which occurred, it is said that he spoke many praises of his valiant companions. So I also claim a share of that.

It is for this reason I write and wish to place here a comparison, although it is a comparison between a very distinguished man and a soldier like myself. I assert that I was present in New Spain fighting in more battles than the great Emperor Julius Cæsar was present in, and his historians say of him that he was very ready with his arms and very valiant in giving battle—and when he had time he wrote down his heroic exploits, for although he had many and great chroniclers he was not satisfied with these, so himself wrote them with his own hand. It is not unreasonable that now in this story I mention the battles myself, for I was present at all the battles in which the Marquis Cortés took part, and many others, when he sent me with other Captains to conquer other provinces and cities, which will be found noted in this my chronicle and narrative, when and where, and in what provinces I was fighting, and at what times. Moreover I say that if [in addition to] all the praises and eulogy which Francisco de Gomara and Doctor Yllescas repeat in their books, they wish for further evidence, let them look at New Spain which is four times as large as our Castile! and let them observe the many cities and towns that are inhabited and

CHAPTER CCXIII.

Why many Indian men and women were branded as slaves in New Spain, and the story I tell about it.

CERTAIN monks have asked me to tell them and explain why so many Indian men and women were branded for slaves throughout New Spain, and whether we branded them without reporting it to His Majesty. To this I replied, and repeat it now, that His Majesty sent twice

to order it, and, that this may be clearly understood, interested readers should know that this was the way of it:—Diego Velásquez, Governor of the Island of Cuba, sent a fleet against us, and as Captain of it one Pánfilo de Narvaez, who brought with him thirteen hundred soldiers, among them ninety horsemen, and ninety small cannon (they were called Espingardas at that time), and eighty crossbowmen. He came to capture us and take the country for Diego Velásquez, as I have already stated in my narrative in the chapter that treats of it, and it is necessary that I should now refer to it again so that it may be clearly understood.

To go back to my subject: as soon as our Captain and all of us soldiers knew how Narvaez came in a fury, and about the insolent speeches he was uttering against us, we decided to set out from Mexico and meet him with two hundred and sixty soldiers, and endeavour to defeat him before he could capture us. And because at that time we held the great Montezuma, the Lord of Mexico, prisoner, we left him in charge of a Captain often mentioned by me before, named Pedro de Alvarado, and we left in his company eighty soldiers, for it seemed to us that some of them were suspected of not being willing to help us, as they had been friends of Diego Velásquez, and would be hostile to us.

While we were going against Narvaez the City of Mexico and its subjects rose in revolt, and I wish to recount the cause and reason given by the great Montezuma why they rebelled, and what he said was true. It appears the Mexicans were accustomed at that time to hold a great festival to [in honour of] their Idols called Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, with rejoicings and dances, and to come out with their treasures of jewels and gold and plumes. The great Montezuma asked permission of Pedro de Alvarado, and he gave it with evidence of

goodwill, but as soon as he saw that nearly all the Caciques of that city were dancing, and other chieftains who had come from other parts to see the dances, Pedro de Alvarado came out suddenly from his quarters with all his eighty well-armed soldiers, and fell on the Caciques who were dancing in the principal court of the great Cue, and killed and wounded some of them [although] they had asked his permission to dance. As soon as the great Montezuma and his chieftains saw this, they were very greatly angered at such a breach of faith, and at once at that very moment¹ they attacked him [Pedro de Alvarado].

The first day they killed eight of his soldiers and wounded nearly all the rest, and burned their quarters, and surrounded him in such a way that he found himself in great straits. They certainly would have succeeded in killing them [all] if they had pressed the attack one day longer. At that moment the great Montezuma commanded his chieftains and Captains to cease the attack, because at that time Pedro de Alvarado threatened to kill Montezuma there where he was in prison, if the attack were continued. Moreover they stopped the attack because his [Montezuma's] spies and chieftains (whom he always sent after us, from the time we left Mexico to go against Narvaez, to ascertain how things turned out) came post haste to tell him how we had defeated him [Narvaez], which he and all his chieftains considered to be most important, for they looked upon it as certain that as we who were with Cortés were few in number, and the followers of Narvaez four times as numerous as we were, they would take us prisoners as scoundrels.

To return to my story : I will state that after we had

¹ Scratched out in the original : "they rose in rebellion in Mexico."

captured Narvaez we returned to Mexico to rescue Alvarado, and Cortés knew that the great Montezuma had asked permission of Pedro de Alvarado to hold that display¹ and festival; and as soon as he saw that . . . he reprimanded him very severely with very sharp words, and a Captain named Alonzo de Ávila often mentioned by me, who was on bad terms with Pedro de Alvarado, also told him that there would remain in New Spain an evil memory of having done such an unjust deed. To this Pedro de Alvarado made the excuse, taking his oath to it, that he knew for certain from three priests and Caciques,² and from other Caciques who were in the company of the great Montezuma, that the festival they were celebrating to their Huichilobos, who was the God of War, was in order that he might give them victory against him and his soldiers and free Montezuma from prison, and afterwards they would make war on those who were coming with Narvaez and those belonging to Cortés who might still be living, and as he [Alvarado] knew for certain that they were going to attack him the next day he got ahead by attacking them first, so that they should be cowed and have to attend to the wounds inflicted on them.

I want to get back to my story: when we came to know how they had him hemmed in and [reduced him to] such straits, we decided to go in haste and rescue him, and we made friendship between the followers of Cortés and those of Narvaez, and went to his [Alvarado's] rescue with more than thirteen hundred soldiers, ninety horsemen and more than a hundred gunners and ninety crossbowmen, and nearly all those I now mention were of the company of Narvaez, for we of Cortés's company did not number more than three hundred and fifty; and

¹ Areyte.


Blotted out in the original: "whom they captured when ."

it must be remembered that the eighty with Pedro de Alvarado are included in the count. There were also with us two thousand friendly Tlaxcalans, and with this force we entered Mexico with Cortés, who was greatly elated with his victory over Narvaez.

The day after we arrived the Mexicans made so many attacks on us and wars, that of the thirteen hundred soldiers who came in [with us], within eight days they had killed, sacrificed and eaten over eight hundred and sixty-two Spaniards, both those who had come with Cortés and those whom Narvaez brought, and they also sacrificed and ate over a thousand Tlaxcalans. This took place in the city and on the causeways and bridges and in a pitched battle which in this country we call [the battle of] Otumba.


From that rout [only] four hundred and forty soldiers and twenty-two horses escaped, and if we had not taken to flight in the middle of the night we should all have been left there [dead]. We who escaped were [all] badly wounded, but, with the help of God who favoured us, we went to [seek] aid at Tlaxcala, which received us like good and loyal friends.

Within five months we got certain reinforcement of soldiers, which came in three vessels with Captains sent by Don Francisco de Garay from the Island of Jamaica to the Rio Panuco, to assist his fleet. Three months later we received other reinforcement from two other ships which came from Cuba, and in them came twenty and odd horses which Diego Velásquez sent for the use of his Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez, he thinking that he had already defeated and taken us prisoners. When we possessed the reinforcements and ships already mentioned, and with the gold saved in the flight from Mexico, Cortés decided, with the consent of all of us Captains and soldiers, that we should send a report of

all our conquests to the Royal Audiencia and Geronimite Friars who were the Governors in the Island of Santo Domingo. For this purpose we sent two ambassadors, persons of quality, named Captain Alonzo de Ávila and one Francisco Álvarez Chico, who was a man of business. We sent them to beg consideration of the reports already mentioned, and of the attacks made on us, and that they should grant us permission to make slaves of the Mexican Indians and natives of the pueblos who had risen in revolt and killed Spaniards¹ (and who after we had summoned them three times to make peace, would not come in, but [continued to] make war,) and to brand them in the face [with a mark] like this . What the Royal Audiencia and the Geronimite Friars decreed about this was to grant us permission (subject to a warrant with certain chapters of the order which were to be obeyed) to brand slaves; and according to the directions laid down in the warrant slaves were branded in New Spain. In addition to this which I have stated, the Royal Audiencia and Geronimite Friars informed His Majesty, who was in Flanders, what had been done, and he approved of it, and the members of his Royal Council of the Indies sent another decree on the subject.

I wish here also to call to mind how within about a year we sent our Ambassadors from Mexico to Castile, and report was made to His Majesty how before we came to New Spain with Cortés, and also at that very time, the Indians and Caciques commonly held a number of Indian men and women as slaves, and sold them and traded with them as one trades with any merchandise, and Indian merchants went from place to place and from market to market selling them and bartering them for gold and cloths and cacao, and brought batches of fifteen

¹ Blotted out in the original : "and made war."

to twenty or more for sale¹ tied together with collars and ropes [in a] much worse [way] than the Portuguese bring the Negroes from Guinea. Our Ambassadors took proofs of good faith and credit for all this, and took certain Mexican Indians as witnesses, and with these preparations we sent to beg His Majesty that he would do us the favour to grant us permission to pay them as tribute, and to buy them by barter in the same way as the Indians bought and sold them, and His Majesty was pleased to grant it, and ordered honest and competent persons to be appointed to take charge of the iron with which the branding was done. After the royal decree which His Majesty had ordered about this had been brought to New Spain or Mexico, it was arranged, so that there should be no misunderstanding² about the branding, that an Alcalde and the senior Regidor and a Priest should have charge of the branding iron in each city or town, and that they should be persons of good repute. The iron which they then used for branding the slaves which they received in barter was like this .

I also wish to write down here, that it would have been more profitable we should send to beg His Majesty to grant us favour, for if as was most Christian, or the Lords who at that time directed the Council of the Indies could know what afterwards happened about it, and as in all that they decreed they desired to do right, His Majesty would never have given such permission nor would it have been agreed to by the Royal Council of the Indies, for certainly great frauds were perpetrated over the branding of the Indians.

Men are not always very just, on the contrary there

¹ Blotted out in the original: "Some merchants more and others less."

² Scratched out in the original: "and that there should be exactitude."

are many of evil disposition, and at that time there came from Spain and from the Islands many poor Spaniards, greatly covetous and insatiable and ravenous to acquire riches and slaves, who took such measures that they branded the free.

So that this matter may be more clearly understood, at the time that Cortés was governing, before we went with him to the Hibueras, there was justice about the branding of slaves, for they were not branded without ascertaining quite clearly whether they were free [or not]. After we set out from Mexico and went with Cortés to Honduras (for so they call it in this country), and were delayed in going and returning to Mexico two years and three months while we were conquering those provinces and bringing them to peace, during the time we were absent there took place in New Spain so many injustices, and revolts, and scandals among those whom Cortés had left as his Lieutenant-Governors that they took no care whether Indians were branded with good or bad title, but only looked after their own parties and interests. The persons who then governed did not look to see whether those who at that time had charge of the branding were of evil repute and covetous, and they gave the office to their friends to make profit for themselves, and these branded many free Indians who were not slaves.

In addition to this there were other evils among the Caciques, who, in paying tribute to their encomenderos, took poor Indian boys and girls and orphans and gave them as slaves. So great was the disillusion that resulted from this that the first to break away from the branding for barter was the town of Coatzacoalcos, where at that time I was a settler, for when this happened more than a year had elapsed since we had returned to that town from the journey we had made with Cortés.¹

¹ Scratched out in the original : "to the Hibueras."

As the Senior Regidor and a person of trust, they had handed over the branding iron to me, and to a Curate of that town named Benito López, so that I should have charge of it. When we saw how the [natives of] the province were decreasing and the cunning which the Caciques and some encomenderos were practising to induce us to brand Indians as slaves (and they were not doing it very secretly), we broke the branding iron, without informing the Chief Alcalde or the Cabildo, and sent a messenger post haste to the President Don Sebastian Ramírez, then Bishop of Santo Domingo, who was a good President and an upright man of cleanly life, and informed him how we had broken the branding iron, and implored him, as a matter of sound counsel, at once to order distinctly that no more slaves should be branded in any part of New Spain. When he had seen our letters, he wrote to us to say that we had acted as very trustworthy servants of His Majesty and, sincerely thanking us, made offers to assist us.

In agreement with the Royal Audiencia he promptly ordered that no more Indians should be branded in any part of New Spain, nor in Jalisco, Tabasco, Yucatan or Guatemala, and this which he decreed was good and holy.

As there are men who do not possess that zeal which they ought to have for the service of God and of His Majesty, and who would not consider the wrong which was being done in branding free Indians as slaves, when they got to know in our town of Coatzacoalcos that I and my companion the Curate Benito López had broken the branding iron, they asked why we prevented them enjoying the favours which His Majesty had vouchsafed us, and they went on to say that we were bad citizens and did no benefits to the town¹ and that we ought to

¹ Blotted out in the original : "and commonwealth."

be stoned. We laughed at all they said and took no notice of it, and took pride in having done such a good deed. Then the same President, together with the Royal Audiencia, sent a commission to me and to the Curate already named by me, as Inspectors-General of two towns, namely Coatzacoalcos and Tabasco, and sent us instructions as to the manner of our inspections and how many pesos we were authorized to inflict [as fines] in the judgments we should give, which amounted to fifty thousand maravedis, and that we should refer crimes and murders and other atrocious acts to the said Royal Audiencia. They also sent us a commission to prepare a description of all the lands and pueblos of the two towns which we visited, as well as we were able, and to send them a copy of the judicial records and the description of the provinces and a report of all we had done. In reply he [the President?] stated that he was very well satisfied and that he would inform His Majesty of it [what we had done], so that he might grant us favours, and that if anything occurred to me he would report it, because he always had a strong desire to assist me. At that time His Majesty sent to summon him [the President, to Castile], and he went there.¹ When I was in Mexico as Proctor-Syndic of the town of Coatzacoalcos talking to him [the President] about the business of the conquest of New Spain, [going] from one subject to the other, he told me that before he became Bishop of Santo Domingo he had been Inquisitor in Seville.

¹ Blotted out in the original: "So when he arrived in Castile they gave him the bishopric of . . . Tuy, and he was President of the Royal Audiencia of Granada, and at that time the bishopric of Leon fell vacant and they promoted him, and then the bishopric of Cuenca was vacant, so that the mails met which brought him the Bulls of the bishoprics one with the other, and then they passed him on to the Royal Audiencia of Valladolid, and at that time and season our Lord Jesus Christ was pleased to take him to His holy Glory."

I wish to leave this subject which has been very long and prolix, but in it can be seen the permission we had from His Majesty and the Lords of his Royal Council to brand slaves.

Let us leave this and I will speak of the Governors who ruled New Spain.¹

CHAPTER CCXIV.

About the Governors who have been in New Spain up to the year fifteen hundred and sixty-eight.

THE first Captain and Governor was the valorous and good Captain Hernando Cortés, who as time went on became Marques del Valle and held other titles, and all three were well deserved. He governed very well and peaceably for more than three years, [and then he went to the] Hibueras and Cape of Honduras [and left behind as Governors] and lieutenants to carry on the Government the Treasurer Alonzo de [Estrada, a native] of Ciudad Real, in company with the Accountant Rodrigo de Albornoz or of Ramaga, and they ruled for a matter of three months. Then the Factor Gonzalo de Salazar, a native of Granada, in company with the Veedor Peralmirez Chirinos² of Ubeda, assumed the Government, and the way in which they ruled I have already described in the chapter which tells about it, and the scandals that arose in Mexico over the question whether or no they should govern; they remained Governors for more than a year and a half.

When Cortés came to know about the strife that had

¹ Immediately after this last line there is a note which says "this is not to be written below," it is the beginning of the following chapter.

² Scratched out in the original: "Native."

arisen in Mexico through their bad government, he sent from the province of Honduras to revoke the authority [he had given] them, and the Treasurer and Accountant returned to govern again, according to the authority which Cortés had left with them. Then these said Governors imprisoned the Factor and Veedor in some cages of stout beams, and within about a year and a half Cortés returned to Mexico from Honduras, and when he arrived he took over the Government himself.

Before fifteen days had passed, during which he was occupied over necessary matters¹ touching the past squabbles, at that moment there arrived from Castile as Governor, a certain Licentiate named Luis Ponce de Leon, a native of Córdoba, who brought a commission to take the Residencia of Cortés and of the Captains and Magistrates who were in New Spain at the time. While he was taking the Residencia, he died of sleeping sickness, and left his powers, by will, to the Licentiate named Marcos de Aguilar, whom the said Luis Ponce had brought in his company when he came from the Island of Santo Domingo. Other persons whom Luis Ponce brought with him called him the Bachelor Aguilar, and the powers which he [Luis Ponce] left him by his will [stated] that he was to make no change whatever in the Government, and should not take away Indians from any Encomendero, nor should he release the Factor and Veedor from prison, but that they should remain prisoners in the way he had found them. Moreover he charged him at once to report the matter to His Majesty so that he could send and order what would be best for his service. In this way Marcos de Aguilar ruled more than ten months, and he died of consumption and from a boil

¹ Blotted out in the original: "for the service of God and of His Majesty."

disease, and left authority by his will for the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada to assume the government. So the Treasurer governed for the third time, and when he was given the government, he arranged with the Proctors of New Spain, in order that he should exercise more authority in the Government, that he should rule, jointly with Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was Chief Alguazil and had been a Captain — a very distinguished person. Some persons said the Treasurer did this because he wished to marry his daughter to him [Sandoval]. When the two had been governing jointly about ten months, an order came from His Majesty that the Treasurer should govern alone, and they removed Sandoval from the Government. A royal Cedula also came [to the effect] that the Factor and Veedor should be released from prison and their property which had been sequestrated should be returned to them.

Within a few days His Majesty appointed a Royal Audiencia, and as President of it came one Nuño de Guzman, a native of Guadalajara, who was at that time Governor of the Province of [Panuco]. There also came as Oidores four Licentiates, named [Delgadillo, a native] of Granada, and Matienzo, whom they say came from the neighbourhood of Biscay, and a Licentiate [Parada] to be in the Island of Cuba, and one Maldonado of Salamanca (I do not speak of the Licentiate Maldonado the Good, for so we called him, who was Governor of Guatemala and Adelantado of Yucatan). To return to my story : when the Licentiates whom I have mentioned, who came as Oidores, arrived in Mexico, Parada and Maldonado died, and the Royal Audiencia held session with the President, whom I have already mentioned, and the two Oidores, for more than two years. Because His Majesty was informed that they did not do their duty, he distinctly ordered them to resign, and there promptly

came as President Don Sebastian Ramírez of Villa Escusa, who at that time was Bishop of the Island of Santo Domingo, and four Oidores named the Licentiate Salmeron, from Madrid, Alonzo Maldonado of Salamanca, and the Licentiate Ceynos of Zamora, and the Licentiate Bernaldo de Quirova of Madrigal, and they were very good and upright judges. After some years His Majesty sent for the President Don Sebastian Ramírez to give him information about the affairs of New Spain, and as soon as he arrived they gave him the Bishopric of Tuy, and appointed him President of the Royal Audiencia of Granada, and at that time the Bishopric of Leon became vacant, and they promoted him and transferred him to the Chancery of Valladolid. Then the Bishopric of Cuenca became vacant, and it was given to him, and at that moment it pleased God to take him to His holy glory.

Let us speak now of the Licentiate Salmeron, who remained in New Spain, as Oidor, for more than four years, and became rich; he sent to ask leave to return to Castile, and after he had rendered his accounts with satisfaction, he departed and was appointed to the Royal Council of the Indies; and when he was old His Majesty ordered him to be pensioned. To the Licentiate Bernaldo de Quirova was given the Bishopric of Michoacan, and the Licentiate Maldonado because he was a very good and upright judge, came as President and Governor to this province of Guatemala and Honduras, and served His Majesty very efficiently in the offices he held.

I must go back to say that at this time,¹ His Majesty ordered Don Antonio de Mendoza, brother of the Marquis of Mondejar, to come as Viceroy and President of New

¹ Scratched out in the original: "when the President Don Sebastian Ramírez arrived in Castile."

Spain, and [sent] as Oidores four Licentiate, named Tejada of Logroño, and an elderly Licentiate Loayza of Ciudad Real, and the Licentiate Santillan, a native of Seville, who was afterwards a Doctor, and the Doctor Quezada Ledesma, and a few days later came the Licentiate Mexia, a native of San Martin de Valde Yglesias, who was afterwards a Doctor, and the Doctor Herrera, said to be native of the neighbourhood of Guadalajara. I do not remember how long they remained as Oidores, for some went to Castile and some came and others remained—as it makes little difference to my story, I do not record it.

At that time there came as Inspector of the whole of New Spain, and as Guardian of the Royal Decrees, the Licentiate Tello de Sandoval, a native of Seville, and he took the Residencia of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, and of the Oidores, and found that they were upright judges, although he raised some punctilios and slight suspicions against the Viceroy. After he had finished the examination he returned to Castile to become an Oidor, and, a short time afterwards, President of the Royal Council of the Indies, and later on Bishop of Osuna or of¹

Then there came to Mexico as Judge [of the Residencia] of Nuño de Guzman, and to make certain investigations into the Jalisco, a Licentiate named De la Torre, a native of Badajos, Licentiate as he came with great desire to do justice in the matters which he had [to investigate]; this was he in the sleeves of whose gown they placed the playing cards, as I have related in the chapter that treats of it, of the annoyance from which he died.

There also came from Castile at that time a Licentiate

¹ A blank space is left here in the original.—G. G.

named Vena, who made the Viceroy and all the Royal Audiencia believe that His Majesty was sending him to take the Residencia of the Licentiate Tejada, and to remain as Inspector of New Spain. About this he practiced such frauds that the Viceroy and Royal Audiencia believed it, and one day they ordered him to take his seat together with them in the Law Court. When, however, they observed that he could show no commission, but only some fraudulent papers which he brought sealed up, which said on them and on their dockets "Titles and Decrees which His Majesty had given him as Inspector and to take the Residencia of Tejada," and they saw that all the enclosure was blank, and [thus] understood his frauds, they ordered him to be given two hundred lashes well laid on. In addition to this he had another way of cheating, in that certain persons who had lawsuits gave him money, and for all this they banished him from Mexico after he had been flogged.

At this time His Majesty ordered the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza to go to Peru and pacify that kingdom, which was disturbed, and when he arrived there and began to do justice, it pleased God to take him to His holy glory. Great grief was felt at his death, and there was much reason for it, for from what we could see, when he was Viceroy of New Spain, he governed very well, and is worthy of very meritorious regard for his many virtues.

There promptly came in his place, as Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, a native of Palencia of Tierra de Campos.¹ I never communicated with him except by letters which I wrote to him, which he answered, about

¹ Scratched out in the original : "He had the reputation of being very just in all that he did."

a son of mine who lived in his house. It is said that he occupied the post of Viceroy and Governor for sixteen years, at the end of which he died.

A few months before God took him from this life, His Majesty had sent to Mexico a Licentiate or Doctor named¹ de Valderrama, a native of Talavera. It is said that he came as Inspector of New Spain, and, from what I have heard, after the death of the Viceroy Don Luis Velasco, he wished to be in supreme command, but the Señores Oidores of the Royal Audiencia would not consent to it, and reported it to His Majesty, who sent to order him back to Castile to be Oidor, as before, in the Royal Council of the Indies; and as soon as he arrived [in Castile] he died. Also about that time, or half a year earlier, the Licentiate Zaynos returned to Castile to be an Oidor [of the Royal Council] as he had been before of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico.

To return to my story: when it was known in Castile that Don Luis Velasco had died, His Majesty appointed as Viceroy and Governor a gentleman named Don Gaston de Peralta, Marques de Falces, Conde de Santistevan, and chief Mayordomo of His Majesty of the Kingdom of Navarre, who remained for a certain time in the City of Mexico. They say² he was amiable and had good manners, and during the time he remained in Mexico there did not occur so many disturbances³ about the affairs of the Marquis Don Martin Cortés, and of one Alonzo de Ávila, and his brother named Gil Gonzáles de Benavides who were sons of Gil Gonzáles de Benavides the elder, and nephew of a Captain named Alonzo de

¹ A blank space is left in the original. The Licentiate Valderrama was named Jerónimo, according to León Pinelo.—G. G.

² Blotted out in the original: "that he governed very well."

³ Blotted out in the original: "as after His Majesty had sent to summon him to come to Castile to report to him."

Ávila, already often mentioned by me, who came among the first with Cortés to New Spain. Returning to my subject: these two nephews of his [Alonzo de Ávila] were those whom they beheaded, and much other justice was done over the disturbances and rebellions.

So that it should be more clearly understood who these were, it is as I now state:—The Captain Alonzo de Ávila, uncle of the two nephews on whom justice was executed, held entrusted to him under the Law of Assignment a good pueblo of Indians near Mexico, named Guautitlan, which the Marquis Don Hernando Cortés had given him; and when Alonzo de Ávila, to whom the pueblo first belonged, died, the Fiscal claimed it for His Majesty as being vacant and belonging to the Royal Crown, because Gil Gonzáles de Benavides, the brother of Alonzo de Ávila, had neither title nor charter of assignment of the pueblo, but exploited it on the strength of a Power of Attorney which his brother the Captain Alonzo de Ávila had given him. Moreover Gil Gonzáles de Ávila de Benavides, the father of those who were beheaded, was never a Conquistador of Mexico (when he came to Mexico New Spain was already conquered) except that he went in company with Cortés when we went to the Hibueras. However, as other persons know much more fully how to relate the dangers that arose in Mexico over this [than I do], it is better that I should not refer to what has been written on the subject. Moreover I live in the city of Santiago de Guatemala, where I am Regidor, and do not go to Mexico, nor have anything to do with Viceroy's there, nor the Royal Audiencia, so we will not touch on these points.

Let us turn now to the Province of Jalisco. The first Captain who was [sent] there was called Nuño de Guzman . . . that province was subject to the Royal Audiencia of . . . years, His Majesty ordered that there should be a

Royal Audiencia in it without things which were suitable, had supreme command Now they have told me at this time that it is independent and with provinces, I have no further news of them, of what I here state of Yucatan which is on the North Coast, that the first Captains named the Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo, and his son Montejo, natives of Salamanca, and he was for some years and in the year fifteen hundred and fifty His Majesty ordered that it [was to be subject] to Guatemala, and after it had been in the way I have said for four or five years, His Majesty ordered that it should return to be subject to Mexico.

At that time the Licentiate named Quijada, a native of Seville, who was afterwards a doctor, went to Castile, he used to be a settler in Guatemala, and held pueblos of Indians in assignment who gave him a revenue of seven hundred pesos, and through desire of being a Governor he begged His Majesty to grant him the Government of Yucatan, with the result that he left his Indians and they reverted to the authority of His Majesty. He held the Government [of Yucatan] for some years, and when his Residencia was taken it appears that as he had not governed as he should have done they deprived him of the Government; so that in his anxiety to hold rule he lost the Indians which he held for certain, and was condemned in costs, and went to Castile on this account and died there.

There came in his place as Governor of Yucatan one Luis de Cespedes, a native of Ciudad Real, who held the Government for four years, and, as I understand, he did not govern well and they dismissed him, and they say that he fled to Castile.

Let us leave the affairs of Yucatan, which from the beginning had gone from bad to worse through bad government, and turn to the Government of Guatemala.

The first Governór who was appointed was named Pedro de Alvarado, a native of Badajos, and in the year twenty-six [1526] he went to Castile to beg His Majesty to grant him the Government of these Kingdoms, and while he was gone he left as his lieutenant his brother, named Jorge de Alvarado, who at that time had married a daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada (and the Treasurer was at that time Governor of Mexico). Within about a year from the time he was governing Guatemala His Majesty sent the first Royal Audiencia that was appointed to Mexico (as I have noted and stated), and when they arrived in Mexico they sent to take [the Residencia] of Jorge de Alvarado, and he who came to take it was named Francisco Orduña, an old man, who was a native of Tordesillas. I do not know what took place in the Residencia except that they have told me that he ruled as a Governor [should rule]. Within three months of the time that Orduña was taking the Residencia, Don Pedro de Alvarado returned from Castile with the title of Governor, and he brought a Commandry of the order of Santiago. He came married to a lady named Doña Francisco de la Cueva, who died on arriving at Vera Cruz.

To return to my story: when the Adelantado arrived in Guatemala he at once in great haste fitted out a good fleet, with which he went to Peru, and while he was away he left his own brother Jorge de Alvarado as Lieutenant-Governor. After some years the Adelantado returned from Peru a very rich man; and about that time the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent again to take a Residencia, and, as judge of complaints, sent the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado, a native of Salamanca, who was an Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico. It appears that concerning the Residencia and the things of which the Adelantado had been accused he found it necessary

to return to Castile [and to appear] before His Majesty, and as our Lord and King was most Christian, and had received reports of the services which he [the Adelantado] had rendered, he acquitted him of the complaints and claims payable to His Majesty which they had brought against him in the affairs in question.

At that time he [the Adelantado] married another lady, the sister of his first wife, named Doña Beatriz de la Cueva, and as the Duque de Alburquerque, Don Pedro de la Cueva, the Comendador Mayor de Alcántara and Don Alonzo de la Cueva, his wife's relations, supported him, His Majesty granted him the Government [of Guatemala], as before, for some years. When he came to Guatemala he prepared a very large fleet to go to the West, to China and the Spice Islands, all of which I have reported in the [chapter that treats of it] fleets, and while he was away with the fleet he left as lieutenant Governor [Francisco de la Cue]va who was a Licentiate and a cousin of his wife, and I have even been told that know something certain of the Government, if it was not with appearance and consent Don Francisco Marroquin, and the Adelantado having already set out with thirteen ships and over six hundred soldiers, arrived with all his fleet at the province of Jalisco.

Just as he was ready to set sail and follow on his course, they brought letters to him, sent by a Captain named Cristóbal Doñate, to beg him with great entreaty and prayers, in the name of His Majesty, to come to his rescue, as he and his army of Spaniards were on the point of disaster at some pueblos or fortresses named Nochiztlan, and that both by day and night they [the Indians] wounded and killed many Spaniards and he could not hold out, and that he was in the greatest exigency and need, for if the Indians of Nochiztlan were victorious the whole of New Spain would run a risk.

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As soon as Don Pedro de Alvarado heard and understood the news, which was beyond all question, he ordered his Captains and soldiers with all despatch to go with him to the rescue, and in great haste he went to the rocky hills, and with his help the attack which the Indians of that province were making on the Spaniards slackened somewhat, but not so much that it stopped them attacking with great valour, like brave warriors, and in spite of the assistance [rendered] the Spaniards were in great danger, for many of their soldiers were killed. Then, from the time their ill-fortune began, one disaster followed on another, for, while Don Pedro de Alvarado was fighting against the squadrons of Indian Warriors, it seems that while a soldier was fighting, a horse stumbled with him, and came rolling down the hill with great impetus to where the Adelantado was standing, so that he was not able to move aside at all, and the horse carried him down so that his body was mangled in such a way that he felt very ill from it. So as to take care of him and cure him they carried him away in a litter to a town named La Purificacion, which was the nearest to those rocky hills. As they went on their way he began to faint, and when they reached the town, after he had confessed and received the sacrament, he gave up his soul to God who created him. Some persons say that he made a will.¹

When the Adelantado died the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent as Governor the Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado, already mentioned by me, and about a year's time after this happened, His Majesty ordered a Royal Audiencia to come to this province of Guatemala, and the said Licentiate Alonzo Maldonado came as its President, and they settled in a town called

¹ Scratched out in the original: "May God pardon him, Amen. To return to my story."

Gracias a Dios. Three Oidores came named the Licentiate Rogel de Olmedo, and the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones, a native of Leon, and Doctor Herrera of Toledo, and some time later His Majesty ordered the same Audiencia to move to this City of Santiago de Guatemala.

Because the Licentiate Alonzo de Maldonado had been for many years Oidor in Mexico and President in these provinces he felt it necessary to go and plead with His Majesty to grant him [the office] of Adelantado of Yucatan, and the pueblos of Indians which had belonged to his father-in-law, the Adelantado Don Francisco de Montejo, who died at that time. He sent to beg His Majesty to give him leave to go to Castile, and leave was given him, on the condition that he should first undergo his Residencia, by which they established the fact that he was a very good Judge.

His Majesty sent as President in his place the Licentiate named Alonzo López Çerrato, a native of Estremadura, and as Oidores, the Licentiate Tomas López, a native of Tendilla, and the Licentiate Çorita of Granada, and as I have already stated the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez de Quiñones was already Oidor. When the President Çerrato had remained four years and was old, and a Church-man, he sent to beg was well instructed in the Royal Council another earnest prayer that he might on condition that he should undergo his Residencia, and to undertake it Quesada a native of Ledesma and being God was pleased to take him from this life and Doctor Quesada who was undertaking it, and there remained as President the Senior Oidor who was the Licentiate Pedro Ramírez.

A short time afterwards His Majesty ordered the Licentiate Juan Martinez de Landecho, a native of Biscay, to come as President. At that time or a few months

earlier the Licentiate Loaysa, a native of Talavera, came as Oidor, and at the same time the Doctor Antonio Mexia, a native of San Martin de Val de Yglesias, came as Oidor, who used to hold the same office in the Royal Audiencia of Mexico. Because Doctor Mexia and another Doctor named Herrera, who was also an Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, had some differences of opinion or squabbles, in order to make peace between them, His Majesty ordered Doctor Mexia to come to this province as Oidor, and the Doctor [Herrera?] went to Castile. It appears that some time later His Majesty ordered Doctor Mexia's Residencia to be taken, and the President Landecho undertook it, and on account of certain charges which were brought against him he deprived him of the Royal office for some years. About this he [Mexia] went to Castile and was acquitted of the charges so clearly that they appointed him to another Royal office, as Corregidor of Talavera, and afterwards he was appointed President of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, when he died holding the office of President. In place of Doctor Mexia, Doctor Barros de Sanmillan, a native of Segovia, came as Oidor of this Royal Audiencia, and if he had had as much beard¹ as it was said he had learning it would have added dignity to his presence.

After the Licentiate Landecho had been President for a few years, His Majesty ordered the said Royal Audiencia which was established in this City of Santiago to move to Panama, because it is said information had been received that it would be more convenient there, and for other reasons which I could not clearly understand. In addition to this, His Majesty ordered the Residencia of the Licentiate Landecho to be taken, and of all the other Oidores who resided in it [the city], and

¹ An allusion to his youthful appearance.

if they were found to be culpable that they should be dismissed.

The Licentiate Francisco Briseño, a native of Corral de Almaguer, who had formerly been Oidor in the kingdom of New Granada, came by appointment to take the Residencia, and he brought a commission to take this Residencia and to transfer the Royal Seal to Panama, and to appoint the Oidor who should be least occupied, and whom he should consider best qualified, to take charge of it. He also brought a commission to examine the officers of the Royal Treasury, and of the property of defunct persons, and to bring to an end and conclude the lawsuits which had been begun by the late Royal Audiencia.

To go back to my story: He took the Residencia of the Licentiate Landecho, who was President, and of the Oidor the Licentiate Loayza, and of Doctor Barros, and after reviewing the charges and replies, he deprived the President Landecho and Loayza of Royal office for some years, and fined them a certain sum of money, but he acquitted Doctor Barros. On this account they had to go to Castile, and His Majesty ordered the Licentiate Landecho to go with the appointment of Oidor to Peru (I do not know about the other office he is said to have held), and when he reached Panama he died. The Licentiate Loayza came to this city as Oidor, and from here His Majesty sent him as Oidor to Chili. His Majesty appointed Doctor Barros to go with the Royal Seal to Panama, and to remain there as President of the Royal Audiencia, until he should order otherwise. The reason why he sent him with the Royal Seal was, because they found that he had the least official work to do.

After the Licentiate Briseño had sent off the Royal Seal (and he set out with the illustrious Cabildo of this

city and other gentlemen), he went to the town of Trinidad to decide certain boundaries and jurisdictions, and then he went to see some lands sown with wheat, which had been taken from certain pueblos, and he had them restored to their owners, and he visited the whole of his province, and this he did without taking payment from any place whatever. If one were to relate all the good he did during the time he was Governor it would be a long story, and I must be silent about it. Moreover, what to me . . . that he should have patience and with the merchants . . . he was a good Judge, but he obliterated it all with his . . . which appeared to him to be well said.

In the year fifteen hundred and sixty-six being . . . the month of May, between one and two o'clock in the day, the ground began to shake in such a way that it lifted the houses and walls and even the roofs so that many of them fell to the ground, and others remained roofless lying over on one side, and we thought the earth would open and swallow us up. Although we all went out into the open we were not safe nor did we dare to sleep in our houses, but we set up our ranchos in the fields, and in the courtyards, and the plaza of this city. Much could be said about these violent earthquakes which lasted nine days, and the whole city with the clergy and the monks and all the ladies [set out] in great processions, most of us doing penance and praying to God for pity, and they set about making peace and friendship and other holy and pious work. It was wonderful to see how when we went in these pious processions groaning and weeping, with blood running down our backs, we were not able to advance nor keep on our feet, for as it was midnight the houses with tiled roofs fell with the great noise which the earth made when it shook, and the walls fell upon us, although we walked in the middle of the streets, and we

thought that our last days had come. With prayers, contrite confessions, and penances, which we made throughout this time, it pleased God that [when] we cast lots to many saints, and among them to Señor San Sebastian, to beg our Lord God's pity for us, that the lot fell to our advocate the fortunate martyr Saint Sebastian, and from this time the extreme earthquake began to slacken, and we promised to go every year in procession to a church which we built in the field of San Sebastian, and to celebrate his festival on the eve and day. Much could be said about these severe earthquakes and how there came suddenly a great flood of water which came out from a watercourse and threatened to swamp the city, and after that time we made a very good bridge.

Let us leave this talk, and speak of the rebellion and revolts which took place in Mexico City, at this time, over the affair of the Marquis Don Martin Cortés, and the sons of Gil Gonzáles de Ávila, whom they beheaded. As in this city we are very good and loyal vassals and servants of His Majesty, the illustrious Cabildo, together with all the other gentlemen, offered all our property and persons, if necessary, to go against those in rebellion, and we placed guards and ambushes and a goodly company of soldiers on the roads, so that if any of the enemies of His Majesty should happen to come there we might seize them. In addition to this we held a Royal camp muster to see and ascertain what musketeers and horsemen with all their arms there were ; and certainly it was a wonderful thing to see the rich arms with which they turned out, and moreover the willingness which we all showed to go to Mexico if it was necessary, in the service of His Majesty, and it seems to me that this city is so loyal through nurturing the sons of the Conquistadores, who have inscribed on their breasts and hearts the loyalty they ought to bear to our Lord the King.

When we were already fully prepared, as I have stated, trustworthy letters came from Mexico [to say] that the two brothers named Alonzo de Ávila and Benavides had been beheaded, and that the others concerned in the rebellion had been banished and punished, and that everything was more or less safe, but not very peaceable. When the illustrious Cabildo of this city knew of this, although as Christians we grieved point our hearts were at rest few days there came to us other letters advice persons of quality how much and for what reason found them guilty, should be acquitted very upright justified Oidores to do justice to the Judges who was Oidor in Castile and punished certain men declared on his honour that he had service which he owed to His Majesty and was bound to it always endeavoured to be did not remain with a good reputation, may God remedy it, both the one and the other. These lawsuits took place in Castile, and they will know more about it there, than what I write.

I have delayed greatly in calling to mind what happened during the five years that the Licentiate Briseño governed this province. Let us leave it here and I will go on to tell of the governors of the province of Honduras sent by the Geronimite Friars who were Governors of the Island of Santo Domingo—and pray God they will never send such men [again]—for they were very bad and never did any justice at all; for besides illtreating the Indians of that province, they branded many of them as slaves, and sent them to be sold to Hispaniola and Cuba, and to the Island of San Juan de Baraquen.

These evil governors were named :—the first Fulano de Arbitez, and the second Cereceda, a native of Seville, and the third Diego Días de Herrera, who was also from Seville, and these three commenced the ruin of that

province, and what I here state I know, for when I came with Cortés on the expedition to Honduras I was present in Trujillo, which was called by the Indian name of Guaimura, and I was at Naco and the Rio de Pichin, and that of Balama, and that of Ulua, and in nearly all the pueblos of that neighbourhood, and it was thickly peopled and at peace [and the people were living] in their houses with their wives and children ; but as soon as those bad governors came they destroyed them to such an extent, that in the year fifteen hundred and fifty-one, when I passed through there on my return from Castile, two Caciques who had known me in the old days told me with tears in their eyes of all their misfortunes and the treatment [they had received], and I was shocked to see the country in such a condition.

In the year fifteen hundred and fifty a gentleman named Juan Perez de Cabrera had been governor ; he died within two years, and he did neither good nor evil, and that province again became subject to Guatemala, and the Presidents and Governors of Guatemala did all they could to help and protect it. At that time there came as its governor a Licentiate named Alonzo Ortiz de Argueta, a native of Almendralejo, who governed for some years and left a good reputation at the Residencia which they took of him. Afterwards came another Governor, named Juan de Vargas Carvajal ; from what they say he did worse than his predecessors, and had he not died before they took his Residencia he would have come out of it very badly.

Let us turn to the province of Soconusco which lies between Guatemala and Oaxaca. I say that in the year twenty-five [1525] I was travelling through it for eight or ten days, and it used to be peopled by more than fifteen thousand inhabitants¹ and they had their houses

¹ Vecinos ; probably here meaning households.

and very good orchards of Cacao trees, and the whole province was a garden of Cacao trees, and was very pleasant, and now in the year [one thousand] five hundred and seventy-eight it is so desolate and abandoned that there are not more than twelve hundred inhabitants in it. They tell me that some died of a pestilence, and the others were allowed no rest by the principal Alcaldes, Corregidors, and Alguacils, and by the numerous clergy and Curas imposed on them by the prelates, and certainly there are too many, where the half would more than suffice.

Would that for my sins they were not as covetous as they are. On account of the trade in a kind of almond which is called Cacao, from which they make a sort of beverage which they drink and is very good, wholesome and strengthening, and as it is very good in that province, many traders go among the to buy it from them, and so the Curas, priests and alcaldes alguacils to this effect, nor do they give them any rest and it is so destroyed to the Lords who give orders in the Royal and as I was not present in the and every day they go from bad of the Governor Oñez de Villa Quixan a native punishment and stop the trade of the clergy and Alguacils did so said that it was he who wine and many other articles of merchandise at very high prices, and committed some atrocities and ill treatments which the Indians could not endure from them, because it was all the more demanded that he would secure justice for them. Thus when the Illustrious Marques de Falces etc. arrived in New Spain as Viceroy, he heard of what they said about that Pero Hernández who was the Governor, and he sent to take his Residencia, and while it was being taken he [Hernández] fled to where they could not quickly find him,

for he had committed many crimes which were fully proved, and I have been told that he took flight to Castile.

After this one Pedro de Pacheco, a native of Ciudad Real, came as Governor of the said province, and he had the reputation of being a good Governor. The Royal Audiencia of this city sent to take his Residencia on certain matters, and on account of traffic which they say he had with the Indians they ordered him to come as a prisoner to this city, and they say that he died of the dishonour and annoyance. In the way I have described things happened in this province and government.

Let us go on to the province of Nicaragua. The first to commence peopling it and conquering it was a Captain whom Pedrarias Davila sent there at the time he was Governor of Tierra Firme. This Captain was named Francisco Hernández, a man of distinction. It must be understood that I am not speaking of the first discoverer of Yucatan, who was also named Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, but of him sent by Pedrarias Davila, who ordered him to be beheaded in the year fifteen hundred and twenty-four, because he received trustworthy information that he was rising in rebellion with that province, on account of support promised him by Cortés, when we were on the Honduras expedition, as I have stated in the chapter that speaks of it. Thus Pedrarias Davila had already beheaded two Captains; the first was named Vasco Nuñez de Balboa who was married to his daughter, and the second was this Francisco Hernández of whom we have made mention, and after he had ordered him to be punished he sent to beg His Majesty the grant of that Government of Nicaragua for his son-in-law, named Rodrigo de Contreras, a native of Segovia, to whom a short time previously he had married his daughter named Doña Maria Arias de Peñalosa.

After Rodrigo de Contreras had ruled for some years, an order came from His Majesty depriving him of the Government, and it remained for some time subject to the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala. Some years later His Majesty granted the Government of it, and of the province of Costa Rica, which was not yet conquered, to a gentleman named Juan Vásquez Coronado, a native of Salamanca, and on his way by sea the ship in which he sailed was lost, and he was drowned—May God pardon him. Since then there have been other Governors whom I will not mention here, because as that province contained very few Indians and they decrease every day, it would have been better if it had not had so many Governors.¹ I will omit relating the many things that happened in that province, nor [will I speak] of its volcanoes, which emit great flames of fire, nor will I call to mind the expedition which Francisco Vasquez Coronado made from Mexico to the cities which they call Cibola, for as I did not go with him I have no right to speak of it. The soldiers who went on that journey will be better able to report it. However it is said that in that great city months before and beautiful carried to the province with which he found to persons they say that fell ill of this in there are not wanting those who say the Trojan war and on that expedition that pesos de oro of of the other fleet deaths and hardships of hunger and other bad fortune property of His Majesty and theirs, and they returned to Mexico lost. I have related the best that I am able of all the Governors that have been in this province of New Spain, and it will be well to speak in another chapter about the Archbishops and Bishops that have been here.

[*Here the manuscript ends.*]

¹ Blotted out in the original : “ as came to it.”

APPENDIX A.

THE MARCH OF HERNANDO CORTÉS FROM MEXICO TO HONDURAS.

THE march of Hernando Cortés from Mexico to Honduras was not the least important exploit of that great Captain, but it has received comparatively little attention at the hands of historians. Prescott devotes a few pages to it, but makes no attempt to follow it in detail; he states in a note:¹ "I have examined some of the most ancient maps of the country by Spanish, French, and Dutch cosmographers in order to determine the route of Cortés. . . . I can detect on them only four or five of the places indicated by the General."

Don Pascual de Gayangos, in an Introduction to his translation of the Carta Quinta, the Fifth Letter of Cortés to the Emperor Charles V, says that "few are the indications—and those very slight—of the route they (the Spaniards) followed," and he makes no attempt to define it. However, a careful comparison of the only two accounts of the march, that by Cortés himself in the Carta Quinta, and that given by Bernal Díaz, and some personal knowledge of the country traversed, makes it possible to trace the line of march for a considerable part of the way with some hope of accuracy.

Cortés left the City of Mexico on the 12th October, 1524. The Carta Quinta was written on his return to the City, and is dated 3rd September, 1526. Bernal Díaz wrote his account of the march about 1566, when he was