

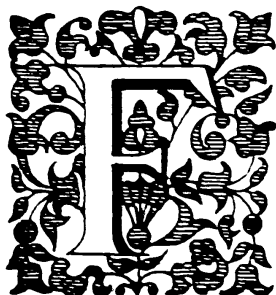


BOOK XVII.

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 Gonzáles 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 Gonzáles in Mexico, he [Alonzo] sent authority to his brother Gil Gonzáles de Benavides to hold the pueblo of Cuautitlan for himself and to make use of it. Gil Gonzáles 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 Gonzáles 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.

Alonso 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 Limpias 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 Linguijuela 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 Martínez, 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 Magallanes, 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.

Alonso 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."