



## BOOK VII.

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### THE EXPEDITION UNDER PÁNFILO DE NARVAEZ.

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#### CHAPTER CIX.

How Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba hastened to send his Armada against us with Pánfilo de Narvaez as Captain General, and how there came in his company the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, and what was done about it.



WE must now go a little way back in our story so that what I am about to relate may be clearly understood. I have already said, in the chapter that treats of that subject, how Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, knew that we had sent our Proctors to His Majesty, with all the gold that we had obtained, and the sun and moon and a great variety of jewels and gold in grains brought from the mines, and many other things of great value, and that we were not asking assistance of him [Velásquez] about anything. He also knew that Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano (for so he was called), who at that time was President of the Indies, had everything absolutely under his authority, because His Majesty was in Flanders, and that the Bishop had treated our Proctors very badly.

They say that this same Bishop sent from Castile at that time much help to Diego Velásquez, and advice and orders that he should send and have us captured, and that he, from Spain, would afford him full support for so doing. With this strong support Diego Velásquez got together a fleet of nineteen ships and fourteen hundred soldiers, and they brought with them over twenty cannon and much powder and all sorts of stores of stones and balls, and two gunners<sup>1</sup> (the Captain of the artillery was named Rodrigo Martin) and they brought eighty horsemen and ninety crossbowmen and seventy musketeers. Diego Velásquez, although he was very fat and heavy, himself went about from village to village, and from town to town, provisioning the fleet and inviting the settlers who had Indians, as well as his relations and friends, to go with Pánfilo Narvaez to capture Cortés and us his Captains and soldiers, or at least not to leave any of us alive, and he went about so incensed and angry and with such energy, that he got as far as Guaniguanico which is seventy leagues beyond Havana. When he was going about like this before his armada sailed, it seems that the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and the Geronimite friars, who were the Governors, got to hear of it, for the Licentiate Zuazo sent them the news of it from Cuba, to which island he had come to take the "residencia"<sup>2</sup> of this same Diego Velásquez. When the Royal Audiencia heard of it—knowing as they did of the many and great and loyal services which we had accomplished for God and His Majesty, and how we had sent our Proctors with great presents to our Lord the King, and knowing that Diego Velásquez had no right nor authority to take vengeance on us by force of arms, but that he should ask for it according to law, and that if

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<sup>1</sup> Astilleros in the text, probably in error for Artilleros.

<sup>2</sup> Residencia = an inquiry into official acts.

he came with his fleet it would greatly interfere with our conquest,—they decided to send a Licentiate named Lucas Vázquez de Ayllon, who was Oidor of this same Royal Audiencia, to stop this fleet of Diego Velásquez and not to let it sail, under pain of heavy penalties. The Oidor came to Cuba and took the needful steps and made protest according to the command of the Royal Audiencia in order that Velásquez should not carry out his project, but all the injunctions and penalties that he proclaimed were of no avail, for as Diego Velásquez had the backing of the Bishop of Burgos, and had spent all he possessed in raising that army against us, he did not care a snap of the fingers for all the injunctions issued against him, on the contrary he became very blustering, and when the Oidor saw this he himself accompanied Narvaez so as to keep the peace and to promote agreement between Cortés and Narvaez. There are other soldiers who say that he came with the intention of giving us assistance, and, if he could not do so, that he meant to take the country himself as Oidor in the name of His Majesty. In this way he came to the port of San Juan de Ulúa, and there I will leave him and go on to say what was done about it.

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## CHAPTER CX.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez arrived at the port of San Juan de Ulúa, which is called Vera Cruz, with all his fleet, and what happened to him.

AS Pánfilo de Narvaez came across the sea with all his fleet of nineteen ships, it appears that on nearing the Sierra of San Martin, for so it is called, he was struck by a north wind, which is a head wind on that coast, and during the night he lost one ship of small burden which foundered ; her Captain was a gentleman named Cristóbal de

Morante, a native of Medina del Campo, and a number of other persons were drowned. All the rest of the fleet arrived at San Juan de Ulúa.

When the arrival of this great fleet was known, (for it must be called great as having been equipped in the Island of Cuba,) it came to the ears of those soldiers whom Cortés had sent to look for mines, and these three men, namely Cervantes the jester, and Escalona, and the third called Alonzo Hernández Carretero, came to the ships of Narvaez. When they found themselves safe on board ship and in Narvaez' Company, it is said that they raised their hands to God who had delivered them from the power of Cortés and got them out of the great City of Mexico where every day they expected to be killed. When they had eaten with Narvaez and drunk wine, and were satiated with too much drink, they kept saying to one another before the General himself, "See here, is it not better to be here drinking wine than to be unhappy in the power of Cortés who made such slaves of us night and day that we hardly dared to speak, expecting from day to day to meet death staring us in the face." And Cervantes, who was a buffoon, even said by way of pleasantry, "Oh, Narvaez, Narvaez, how fortunate you are to have come at this time, for this traitor of a Cortés has got together more than seven hundred thousand dollars of gold, and all the soldiers are very discontented with him because he has taken a great part of their share of the gold, and they do not want to accept what he is giving them." So those soldiers who had deserted from us as they were mean and worthless, told Narvaez much more that he wanted to know. They also informed him that eight leagues distant from where he was, a town had been founded named Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and that Gonzalo de Sandoval was in command of it with seventy soldiers, all of them old and invalid, and that if he should send some fighting men there at once,

they would surrender to him, and they told him many other things.

Let us leave all these discussions and relate how the great Montezuma soon got to know that there were ships anchored in the port with many captains and soldiers on board, and he secretly sent some of his chiefs, without Cortés knowing anything about it, and ordered them [the Spaniards in the ships] to be given food, gold and cloth, and the neighbouring villages were told to furnish them with supplies of food. Narvaez sent to tell Montezuma many abusive and many uncivil things about Cortés and all of us, [such as] that we were bad men and thieves who had fled from Castile without the permission of our Lord and King, and that when our Lord the King had heard that we were in this country, and knew about the evil deeds and robberies we had committed and that we had taken Montezuma prisoner, he had ordered Narvaez to set out at once with all these ships and soldiers and horses, to put an end to such evils and to free him [Montezuma] from his prison, and either to kill Cortés and all of us evil-doers, or to capture us and send us back to Spain in these same ships, and that when we arrived there we should be condemned to death ; and he sent to tell him much more nonsense. The interpreters who explained all this to the Indians were the three soldiers who already understood the language. In addition to these messages, Narvaez also sent some gifts of things from Spain.

When Montezuma heard all this he was very well satisfied with the news, for as they said that there were so many ships and horses and cannon and musketeers and crossbowmen, and that there were thirteen hundred or more soldiers, he believed that they would take us prisoners. In addition to this when his chieftains saw our three soldiers with Narvaez and perceived that they said much evil of Cortés, they accepted as the truth all

that Narvaez had told them to say. They brought with them a picture of the fleet painted quite correctly on some cloths. Then Montezuma sent Narvaez much more gold and cloths and ordered all the towns in his neighbourhood to take them plenty to eat, and for three days Montezuma was in possession of this news and Cortés knew nothing at all.

One day when our Captain went to see Montezuma and to pay him court, after the usual civilities had passed between them, it seemed to Captain Cortés that Montezuma was looking very cheerful and happy, and he asked him how he felt, and Montezuma replied that he was better. When Montezuma saw that he came to visit him twice in one day, he was afraid that Cortés knew about the ships, and so as to get ahead of him and to avoid suspicion, he said to him, "Señor Malinche, only just now messengers have come to tell me that at the port where you landed there have arrived eighteen more ships and many people and horses, and they have brought it all to me painted on some cloths, and as you came twice to visit me to-day I thought that you must have come to bring me this news ; now you will have no need to build ships. Because you did not tell me about it, on the one hand I was annoyed with you for keeping me in ignorance, and on the other hand I was delighted at the arrival of your brothers, for now you can all return to Spain and there need be no further excuse."

When Cortés heard about the ships, and saw the picture on the cloth, he rejoiced greatly and said, "Thank God! who at the right moment provides for us," and we soldiers were so delighted that we could not keep quiet, and the horsemen rode skirmishing round about and we fired off shots. But Cortés was very thoughtful, for he well understood that that fleet was sent by Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba against him and against all of us, and,

wise man as he was, he said what he felt about it to all of us captains and soldiers, and by great gifts of gold to us, and promises to make us rich, he induced us all to stand by him. He did not know who had come in command (of the fleet) but we were greatly rejoiced at the news, and at the gold that Cortés had given us by the way of gratuity, as if he had taken it from his own property and not from that which should have been our share. It was indeed great help and assistance that Our Lord Jesus Christ was sending to us. I will stop here and say what took place in the camp of Narvaez.

## CHAPTER CXI.

How Pánfilo de Narvaez sent five persons from his fleet to demand of Gonzalo de Sandoval, who was in command at Villa Rica, that he should surrender himself and all the settlers, and what happened about it.

AS those three scoundrelly soldiers of ours, already mentioned, had gone over to Narvaez, and had given him news of all the things that Cortés and all of us had done since we entered New Spain, and had told him that Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval was about eight leagues distant at a town which had been founded and called the Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and that he had with him seventy settlers, nearly all of them old or invalids, Narvaez determined to send to the town a priest named Guevara, who had good address, and another man of considerable importance named Amaya, a relation of Diego Velásquez of Cuba, and a notary named Vergara, and three witnesses whose names I do not remember. He sent them to give notice to Sandoval to surrender at once to Narvaez, and for this purpose they said that they brought copies of the decrees. It is said that Gonzalo de Sandoval had already

received news from some Indians about the ships and the great number of persons that had come in them, and as he was very much of a man, he always had everything in readiness and his soldiers armed, and as he suspected that that fleet came from Diego Velásquez, and that some of the crew would be sent to that town to take possession of it, and so as not to be hampered by his old and invalid soldiers, he sent them off at once to an Indian town named Papalote, and kept with himself the healthy ones.

Sandoval always set a good watch on the roads to Cempoala, which is the road by which the town is approached, and he called his soldiers together and impressed on them that if Diego Velásquez or any one else should come, they must not surrender the town to him, and all the soldiers answered that they would do as he wished ; he furthermore ordered a gallows to be set up on a hill. The spies whom he had posted on the road hurried in to give him notice that six Spaniards and some Cuban Indians were approaching the town, and Sandoval awaited them in his house, for he would not go out to receive them, and he had already ordered that none of his soldiers should leave their houses or speak to them. When the priest and those whom he had brought in his company met with no Spanish settlers to speak to but only Indians who were working at the fort and did not understand them, they entered the town, and went to the church to say their prayers, and then went to the house of Sandoval as it seemed to them to be the largest in the place. After giving Sandoval a friendly salutation to which he replied, they say that the priest commenced a speech saying that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, had spent much money on the fleet, and that Cortés and all the others whom he had brought in his company had been traitors to him, and that they had come to give notice that they must go at once and give their obedience to Señor Pánfilo de Narvaez



who came as Captain General on behalf of Diego Velásquez. When Sandoval heard these words and the rudeness with which the Padre Guevara spoke, he was biting his lips with annoyance at what he heard, and said: "Señor Padre, you are speaking very maliciously, in using these words about traitors,—we are here all better servants of His Majesty than Diego Velásquez,—but that you are a priest I would chastise you as you deserve for your bad manners. Be off with you and go to Mexico, where you will find Cortés who is Captain General and Chief Justice of this New Spain, and he will give you your answer, here you need say no more."

Then the priest in a blustering way told the notary named Vergara whom he had brought with him, to take out at once the decrees that he carried in his bosom and to notify Sandoval and the settlers who were with him, but Sandoval told the notary that he should not read a single paper, that he did not care whether they were decrees or any other documents. While they were disputing, the notary began to take out from his bosom the documents he had brought, and Sandoval said to him, "Look here, Vergara, I have already told you not to read any papers here, but to go to Mexico, and I promise you that if you do read them I will have you given a hundred lashes, for we do not know whether you are a king's notary or not; show us your title, and if you have got that, read it; nor do we know if these decrees are the originals or copies or other documents." The priest who was a very haughty man, exclaimed, "How are you dealing with these traitors? Bring out the decrees and notify them," and he said this with much anger. When Sandoval heard that expression he told him that he lied like a vile priest, and at once ordered his soldiers to take them all prisoners to Mexico. He had hardly uttered the words when a number of the Indians who were at work at the fort, snatched them

up in net hammocks like sinful souls, and carried them off on their backs, and in four days arrived with them close to Mexico, for they travelled day and night with relays of Indians. They were indeed frightened when they saw so many cities and large towns, and food was brought to them, and one party dropped them and another carried them on their way, and it is said that they were wondering whether it was all witchcraft or a dream. Sandoval sent an alguacil with them as far as Mexico named Pedro de Solis, the son-in-law of Orduña, whom they now call Solis-behind-the-door.

When he sent these men as prisoners, Sandoval wrote in haste to Cortés to tell him who was Captain of the fleet, and all that had happened. As soon as Cortés knew that they were coming as prisoners and were close to Mexico, he sent out horses for the three principal persons and ordered them at once to be released from their confinement and wrote to them that he regretted that Sandoval should have treated them so disrespectfully, as he would have wished him to do them much honour, and when they arrived at Mexico he went out to meet them, and brought them very honourably into the city. When the priest and his companions saw how great a city was Mexico, and the wealth of gold that we possessed, and the many other cities in the waters of the lake, and all us captains and soldiers, and the frank open-heartedness of Cortés, they were amazed, and by the end of the two days they stayed with us, Cortés had talked to them in such a way with promises and flattery and even by greasing their palms with little ingots and jewels of gold, that when he sent them back to their Narvaez with food for the road, although they had set out as fierce as lions, they returned thoroughly tamed, and offered themselves to him [Cortés] as his servants. So when they returned to Cempoala to report to their Captain, they began to persuade all the camp of Nar-

vaez to come over to our side. I will leave off here and relate how Cortés wrote to Narvaez and what came of it.

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## CHAPTER CXII.

How Cortés, after he had been fully informed who was in command, and who and how many had come in the Fleet, and what munitions of war they had brought, and about our three false soldiers who had gone over to Narvaez, wrote to the Captain and to his other friends, especially to Andrés de Duero, the Secretary of Diego Velásquez. He also learnt how Montezuma had sent gold and cloth to Narvaez, and what reply Narvaez had sent back to Montezuma, and how the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santa Domingo, had come with the Fleet, and the instructions that he brought.

As Cortés always exercised great care and forethought and no matter escaped him that he did not try and put right, and as I have often said before, he had trustworthy and good captains and soldiers, who, besides being very valiant, gave him good advice,—it was agreed to by all of us that he should at once write and send the letters by Indians post haste to Narvaez, before the priest Guevara could arrive, and should tell Narvaez with friendly expressions and promises which we one and all made him, that we would do what his honour should command, but that we begged him as a favour not to create a disturbance in the land, or to allow the Indians to see any division among us. This promise was made because we who formed the party of Cortés were only a few soldiers in comparison with those whom Narvaez had brought, and in order to gain his good will, and to see how he would act. So we offered ourselves as his servants, while at the same time, beneath all these good words, we did not neglect any chances to look for friends among the Captains of Narvaez, for the Padre Guevara and the Notary Vergara had told

Cortés that Narvaez was not much liked by his captains, and advised us to send them some slabs and chains of gold, for "gifts break rocks." Cortés wrote to them that he and all his companions were rejoiced at their arrival at the port, and, as they were old friends, he begged Narvaez to do nothing towards the release of Montezuma who was a prisoner, or to cause a rising in the city, for it would involve the destruction of himself and his men as well as all our lives on account of the great power that Montezuma wielded ; that he stated this because Montezuma was very much excited and all the city was in revolt on account of the messages that had been sent to him. That he (Cortés) thought and felt certain that things expressed in such a way and at such a time could never have come from the mouth of such a wise and valiant man as Narvaez, but were such things as Cervantes the jester and the soldiers he had with him might say. Beside other words that were written in this letter, he placed his person and his property at the disposal of Narvaez, and said that he would do whatever Narvaez might command.

Cortés also wrote to the Secretary, Andrés de Duero, and to the Oidor, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and with the letters he sent certain jewels of gold to his friends. As soon as he had sent the letter, he secretly ordered the Oidor to be given ingots and chains of gold, and begged the Padre de la Merced to follow the letters to the camp of Narvaez without delay, and he gave him more golden chains and ingots and some very valuable jewels to give to his friends there. So the first letter which Cortés wrote and sent by the Indians arrived before the Padre Guevara, who was the priest whom Narvaez had sent to us [to Villa Rica], and Narvaez went about showing it to his Captains and jeering at it and even at us. It is said that one of the Captains whom Narvaez had brought with him, named Salvatierra, who had come as Veedor, raised a clamour

when he heard it, reproving Narvaez for reading such a letter from a traitor like Cortés, and saying that he ought to proceed against us at once, and not leave one of us alive, and he swore that he would roast Cortés' ears and eat one of them, and other such ribaldry. So Narvaez would not answer the letter, nor consider us worth a snap of the fingers.

Just at that time the priest Guevara and his companions arrived [in camp], and told Narvaez that Cortés was a very excellent gentleman and a faithful servant of the King, and he told him of the great power of Mexico and of the many cities he had seen on the way, and that they understood that Cortés wished to serve him and do all that he ordered, and it would be a good thing, if, peaceably and without disturbance, an agreement should be come to between them; [he added] that Señor Narvaez should consider that all New Spain lay before him and he could take the people he had brought with him wherever he chose, and leave the other provinces to Cortés, for there were territories and to spare where one might settle. When Narvaez heard this, they say that he was so angry with Padre Guevara and Amaya that he would not see or listen to them again. When the people in the camp saw the Padre Guevara and the Notary Vergara and the others so greatly enriched, and the followers of Narvaez heard from them secretly so much good of Cortés and of all of us, and how they had seen such quantities of gold staked at play in our camp, many of them wished that they were already there. Just about this time our Padre de la Merced arrived at Narvaez's camp, with the ingots of gold which Cortés had given him and the private letters, and he went to kiss hands to Narvaez, and to tell him how Cortés wished for peace and friendship and was ready to obey his orders. But Narvaez who was very obstinate, and felt very aggressive, would not listen to him, and chose to say

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before the Padre himself that Cortés and all of us were traitors, and because the Friar replied that on the contrary we were very loyal subjects of the King, Narvaez used abusive language to him.

Then the Friar very secretly distributed the ingots and chains of gold to those whom Cortés had named, and he got together and won over the chief persons in Narvaez's camp.

I will leave off here, and relate what took place between Narvaez and the Oidor, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and what happened about it.

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### CHAPTER CXIII.

How the Captain Pánfilo de Narvaez had words with the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and how Narvaez ordered him to be seized and sent as a prisoner to Cuba or Spain, and what happened about it.

IT appears that the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon came to favour the cause of Cortés and all of us, according to his instruction from the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, for the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, were aware of the many good and loyal services which we had done, first of all to God, and then to our Lord the King, and of the great present that we had sent to Spain with our Proctors. In addition to what the Royal Audiencia had ordered him to do in his official capacity, the Oidor had [now] seen the letters from Cortés, and with them the blocks of gold; and whereas he had said previously that the despatch of the fleet was contrary to all right and justice, and that it was an evil thing to proceed against such good subjects of the King as we were, from this time forward he spoke so much more clearly and openly, and said so much good of Cortés and of all of those who were with him, that in the camp of Narvaez nothing else was talked about.

In addition to this it was seen and understood, that in Narvaez there was nothing but the utmost stinginess, for he took for himself all the gold and cloths which Montezuma had sent them and did not give a scrap of it either to a captain or a soldier, on the contrary he said very loudly to his steward, with a haughty voice, "See to it that not a mantle be missing, for they have all been noted down."

As they knew him to be so mean, and heard what I have already said about Cortés, and how we who were with him were very generous, his entire camp was more than half mutinous. Narvaez thought that the Oidor was at the bottom of it, and was sowing discord. Beside this, when Montezuma sent them food which the caterer or steward of Narvaez distributed, he did it without paying the attention to the Oidor or his servants that he should have done, and there was some irritation and uproar about it in the camp. Then owing to the advice given him by Salvatierra, who, as I have said, came as Veedor, and of a certain Juan Bono de Cuexo, a Biscayan, and above all [trusting in] the great support that he had received from Castille, from Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Archbishop of Rosano, Narvaez had the daring to seize the King's Oidor and some of his servants and his clerk, and put them on board ship and send them as prisoners to Spain, or to the Island of Cuba. Also, because a gentleman, named something de Oblanca, a learned man, said that Cortés was a very good servant of the King, and all of us who were with him were worthy of much favour, and it seemed to him wrong to call us traitors, and that it was an evil deed to seize an Oidor of His Majesty, for all this that he said, Narvaez ordered him to be imprisoned. As Gonzalo de Oblanca was a very high-bred nobleman, he fretted himself to death within four days. Narvaez also made prisoners of two other soldiers whom he had brought in his ship who knew and spoke well of Cortés, one of

them was Sancho Barahona who was afterwards a settler in Guatemala.

I will go on to relate about the Oidor whom they were carrying as a prisoner to Castille ; he spoke kindly to the Captain and pilot and master who had charge of him on board the ship, but at the same time he frightened them by saying that when they arrived in Spain, that instead of paying them for what they had done, His Majesty would order them to be hanged. When they heard these words they told him that if he would pay them for their trouble they would take him to Santo Domingo, and so they changed their course from what Narvaez had ordered and arrived and disembarked at the Island of Santo Domingo. When the Royal Audiencia, which was stationed there, and the Geronimite Friars, who were the Governors, heard the story of the Licentiate Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, and took into consideration the great disrespect and effrontery [that had been shown] they felt it deeply, and were so much annoyed that they at once wrote to Castile to His Majesty's Royal Council. And as at that time the Bishop of Burgos was President of the Council and managed everything, and His Majesty had not returned from Flanders, no justice was done in our favour, on the contrary they say that Don Rodríguez de Fonseca was greatly rejoiced thinking that Narvaez had already defeated us. When His Majesty who was in Flanders heard our Proctors, and knew what Diego Velásquez and Narvaez had done in sending a fleet without the Royal licence, and imprisoning an Oidor, it did them a great deal of damage in the law suits and claims which, after Cortés had been accused, they preferred against him and all of us, notwithstanding all that they said about having a licence from the Bishop of Burgos who was President of the Council to equip the fleet they sent against us, as I will relate further on.



Then as certain soldiers, friends and relations of the Oidor Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, saw that Narvaez had committed that great disrespect and irregularity against an Oidor of His Majesty and had carried him off as a prisoner, and as they were already in fear of Narvaez who had his eye on them and was on bad terms with them, they agreed to flee from the sand dunes to the town where Captain Sandoval was stationed. He [Sandoval] treated them with much honour, and learnt from them all that I have here related, and how Narvaez wished to send soldiers to that town to capture it. And what else happened I will go on to tell.

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#### CHAPTER CXIV.

How Narvaez, after he had made prisoners of the Oidor Lucas Vásquez Ayllon and his clerk, went with all his forces to a town named Cempoala which at that time was a large town, and what he effected there, and what our Captain Cortés did and all of us who were in Mexico, and how we decided to march against Narvaez.

AS soon as Narvaez had sent away the Oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo as a prisoner, he at once proceeded with all his baggage and supplies and munitions of war to form a camp in the town of Cempoala which at that time had a large population, and the first thing that he did was to take by force from the fat Cacique, for so we called him, all the mantles and cloths and gold which Cortés had given into his charge before we left for Tlaxcala, and he also took the Indian women whom the Caciques of that town had given us, who had been left in the houses of their parents because they were daughters of chieftains, and too delicate to go to the war. When he did this the fat Cacique said many times to Narvaez that he must not

touch any of the things that Cortés had left in his charge for if Cortés knew that anything had been taken he would kill him for it. He also complained to Narvaez himself of the many evil deeds and robberies that his people committed in the town, and told him that when Malinche was there, (for so they called Cortés,) with his people, they had not taken a single thing from them, and that he was very good and just, both he himself and the Teules whom he brought with him, and that Narvaez should at once give him back his Indian women, and gold and mantles, for if he did not, he would send and complain to Malinche. When they heard that, they made fun of what he said, and the Veedor, Salvatierra, who has been mentioned by me before, who was the one who boasted most, said to his friends and to Narvaez himself, "Don't you hear what a fright all these Caciques are in of this nonentity of a Cortés." Now just see what it is worth to speak evil of what is good, for I am telling the truth when I say that when we made the attack on Narvaez, this Salvatierra turned out to be one of the biggest cowards of them all, (not that he did not possess a robust body and strength,) but the defect did not apply to his tongue. They say that he was a native of a town near Burgos.

Let us stop talking about him, and say how Narvaez sent to notify some decrees to our Captain and all of us which were said to be copies of the originals which he had brought from the Governor, Diego Velásquez, appointing him Captain, and he sent them by a notary, named somebody de Mata, in order that he should formally state them to us, and this notary was afterwards a crossbowman and as time went on he became a settler at Puebla. Narvaez sent with him four soldiers, all persons of quality, to act as witnesses. Let us leave them there, both Narvaez and the notary whom he was sending, and let us return to Cortés who received every day letters and warnings both

from the camp of Narvaez and from that of Gonzalo de Sandoval who remained at Villa Rica, and who told Cortés that he had there with him five soldiers, persons of considerable importance, who were friends and relations of the licentiate, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, whom Narvaez had sent away as a prisoner. These soldiers came to him from the camp of Narvaez, and gave as a reason for their coming, that as Narvaez had no respect for the Oidor of the King, he would have still less respect for them who were his relations. From these soldiers Sandoval heard in full all that was taking place in the camp of Narvaez, who had stated that he was going in search of us to Mexico to take us prisoners.

Let us go on and say that Cortés promptly took counsel with our Captains, and all of us whom he knew to be his faithful followers, and whom he was accustomed to call in council in such important affairs as this. And it was decided by us all, that at once, without waiting for any more letters or other information, we should fall upon Narvaez, and that Pedro de Alvarado should remain in Mexico to take charge of Montezuma with all the soldiers who were not inclined to go on that expedition, so that all those persons whom we suspected of being friends of Diego Velásquez could be left behind.

About that time, before the arrival of Narvaez, Cortés had sent to Tlaxcala for a large supply of maize, for there had been a bad seed time in the Mexican territory from want of rain, and we were in want of maize, for as we had with us many of our Tlaxcalan friends, there was great need of it. So they brought the maize and fowls and other food and we left it with Pedro de Alvarado, and we even made some barricades and fortifications for him and mounted some bronze cannon, and we left with him all the powder we possessed and fourteen musketeers, eight cross-bowmen and five horses, and we left with him in all eighty soldiers.

Montezuma saw that we meant to go against Narvaez, and although Cortés went to see him every day and paid him court, he never let Montezuma know that he was aware that he was assisting Narvaez and was sending him gold and cloth, and had ordered him to be supplied with food. In the course of conversation Montezuma asked Cortés where he was going, and why he had prepared those armaments and defences, and why we were all in such a state of excitement? How Cortés answered him and what turn the conversation took, I will go on to relate.

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## CHAPTER CXV.

How the great Montezuma asked Cortés why he wished to go against Narvaez, seeing that Narvaez had brought many men with him and that Cortés had but a few, and that he should regret it if any evil happened to us.

WHEN as usual Cortés and the great Montezuma were conversing, Montezuma said to Cortés, "Señor Malinche, I notice that all your captains and soldiers are agitated, and I have also observed that you only come to see me now and then, and Orteguilla the page tells me that you intend to go against those, your brothers, who have come in the ships, and to leave Tonatío here to guard me; do me the favour to tell me if there is anything I can do to assist you, for I will do it with the greatest good will. Moreover, Señor Malinche, I do not wish any calamity to befall you, for you have very few Teules with you, and those who have now come are five times as numerous, and they say that they are Christians like yourselves, and vassals and subjects of your Emperor, and they possess images and set up crosses and say Mass and say and announce that you are persons who have fled from your King, and that they have come to capture and kill you. I

do not understand it at all, so take care what you are doing.”

Cortés answered with a pretence of lightheartedness, and said through Doña Marina, who was always with him during all these conversations, as well as Gerónimo de Aguilar, as interpreters, that they should inform him that if he had not come to tell him all about it, it was because he loved him very much and did not wish to grieve him by our departure, and this was why he had postponed telling him, for he felt certain that Montezuma was well disposed towards him. That regarding what he said as to all of us being vassals of our great Emperor, it was true, also that they were Christians as we were, but as to what they said about our fleeing from our Lord the King, that it was not so, for our King had sent us to see him and tell him all that had been said and done in his royal name. As for what he said about their bringing many soldiers and ninety horses and many cannon and powder, and our being few in number, and that they had come to kill us and take us prisoners, that Our Lord Jesus Christ in whom we believe, and our Lady Santa Maria, his blessed Mother, would give more strength to us than to them, for they were bad people and had come with a bad purpose. As our Emperor ruled over many kingdoms and principalities, there were great differences of race among them, some very valiant, and others even much more so. We came from Castile itself, which is called Old Castile, and we called ourselves Castilians, and the Captain who was now at Cempoala and the people he had brought with him came from another province, named Biscaya, and called themselves Biscayans, and spoke like the Otomis of this land of Mexico, and he would see how we would bring them as prisoners. He need have no anxiety about our departure, for we would soon return victorious, and what he now begged of him was to stay quietly with

his brother Tonatío, (for so they called Don Pedro de Alvarado,) and eighty soldiers. And, so that there should be no disturbance after we left the city, he must not countenance his captains and priests in doing anything for which, as soon as we returned, the rebellious ones would have to pay with their lives, and he begged him to provide our people with anything they might need in the way of food. Then Cortés embraced Montezuma twice, and Montezuma also embraced Cortés, and Doña Marina, who was very sagacious, said to him artfully that he was pretending sadness at our departure. Then Montezuma offered to do all that Cortés had asked him, and even promised that he would send five thousand warriors to our assistance. Cortés thanked him for it, but he well knew that he would not send them, and said that he needed no more than first of all the help of God, and then that of his companions. Cortés also asked Montezuma to see that the image of Our Lady and the Cross should always be decked with garlands, and that wax candles should always be kept burning there by day and by night, and that he should not allow any of his priests to do otherwise, for that would be a proof of his sincere friendship. After turning to embrace him again, he [Cortés] said that he must pardon him for not staying longer with him, for he had to attend to our departure.

Then Cortés spoke to Alvarado and all the soldiers who were remaining with him, and he charged them to take the greatest care that the great Montezuma did not escape, and to obey Pedro de Alvarado, and he promised with the help of our Lord God, to make them all rich men. The Priest, Juan Díaz, also remained behind with them and did not come with us, as did also other suspected persons. Then we embraced one another and without taking any Indian women or any servants with

us, and marching in light order, we set out on our journey for Cholula.

While on the road Cortés sent to Tlaxcala to beg our friends Xicotenga and Mase Escasi, to send us at once five thousand warriors, and they sent to say in reply that if it were against Indians like themselves they would do so, and even much more, but against Teules like us, and against lombards, and crossbows, they had no wish to fight. However they sent us twenty loads of fowls. Cortés also wrote to Sandoval that he should join us with all his soldiers as quickly as possible and that we were going to some towns about twelve leagues from Cempoala named Tanpaniguita and Mitlanguita, which are now in the encomienda of Pedro Moreno Medrano, who lives in Puebla; that Sandoval should take great care not to be captured by Narvaez, and neither fall into his hands nor into those of any of his soldiers.

We kept on our way in the manner I have described, all on the alert to fight should we fall in with Narvaez or any of his soldiers, with our scouts on the look out, and with two of us soldiers, strong men and very trustworthy, always keeping a day's journey ahead. These men did not keep along the direct road, but by tracks where horses could not travel, so as to inquire and find out from the Indians about the troops of Narvaez.

Then as our scouts were marching on the look out, they saw Alonzo de Mata approaching, who said that he was a Notary, and was coming to serve the papers or copies of the decrees, (which I have already spoken about in the chapter that treats of it,) and four Spaniards who came with him as witnesses. Two of our horsemen at once came to give notice, while the other two scouts entered into conversation with Alonzo de Mata and his four witnesses. We hurried up and quickened our steps, and when they came near to us, they made deep bows to Cortés and to all of us, and

Cortés dismounted from his horse, and as he knew why they came and that Alonzo de Mata wished to serve the decrees that he had brought, Cortés asked him if he was a King's Notary, and he replied yes; then he ordered him at once to exhibit his title, and if he had brought it that he should read the messages, and he [Cortés] would do what he should consider would be to the service of God and of His Majesty. That if he had not brought it [his title] he should not read those documents, also that he [Cortés] must see the originals of the documents signed by His Majesty. So Mata, who was somewhat confused and timid, for he was not a King's Notary, and those who had come with him, did not know what to say. Cortés ordered them to be given food, for we were making a halt there, and he told them that we were going to some towns named Tanpaniguita near to the camp of Señor Narvaez, and that there he would be able to proclaim what his Captain might direct. Cortés was so tolerant that he never said a hard word about Narvaez, and he spoke privately with them and took their hands and gave them some gold, and soon afterwards they went back to their Narvaez, speaking well of Cortés and of all of us. As many of our soldiers at that time, out of ostentation, had jewels of gold on their arms and golden chains and collars round their necks, and these men who came to serve the decrees saw them, they told wonderful stories of us in Cempoala, and there were many of the principal people in the camp of Narvaez who wanted to come and make peace, and negotiate with Cortés, because they saw that we were all rich. So we arrived at Tanpaniguita, and the next day Captain Sandoval came with his soldiers numbering about sixty, for he had left behind all the old men and the invalids in a town named Papalote belonging to our Indian allies, so that they could be provided with food. There also came with him the five soldiers who were friends and relations



of the Licentiate, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon, who had fled from the camp of Narvaez and came to kiss hands to Cortés, by whom they were all very well and gladly received.

Sandoval related to Cortés all that had happened about the infuriated priest Guevara and Vergara and the rest of them, and how he had sent them prisoners to Mexico, as I have already related in a former chapter. He also told him that he had sent two soldiers disguised as Indians with Indians clothes, to the camp of Narvaez, and Sandoval said that as they were dark-complexioned men they did not look like Spaniards, but like real Indians, and each one carried a load of plums on his back, for this was the plum season (this happened when Narvaez was still at the sand dunes and before they had moved to the town of Cempoala), and they went to the hut of the fierce Salvatierra, who gave them a string of yellow beads for the plums, and when they had sold the plums, Salvatierra, believing them to be Indians, sent them to bring grass for his horse from the banks of a stream that ran near by the ranches. So they went and brought several loads of grass, and, as it was about the hour of Ave Maria when they returned with the grass, they squatted down on their heels like Indians in the hut until night fell, and they kept their eyes and ears open to what some of the soldiers of Narvaez were saying who had come to pay their respects to and keep company with Salvatierra. They reported that Salvatierra said to them, "Ah! at what a lucky moment we have come, for this traitor Cortés has collected more than seven hundred thousand dollars of gold, so we shall all be rich, and his Captains and soldiers whom he has with him can hardly be less rich for they possess much gold!" and they went on with their conversation. When it was quite dark our two soldiers who were disguised like Indians silently crept out of the hut to where Salvatierra kept his horse,

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and as the bridle and saddle were close by, they saddled and bridled the animal and jumped on its back and rode off towards the town, and on the way they came upon another horse hobbled near the stream, and they took that also.

Cortés asked Sandoval where these horses were, and he replied that he had left them at the town of Papalote where he had placed the invalids, for the road by which he and his companions had come was impassable by horses, for it was very rough and crossed high mountains, and he had come that way so as not to fall in with any of the soldiers of Narvaez. When Cortés heard of the capture of Salvatierra's horse he was perfectly delighted, and said, "Now he will brag all the more since he finds it missing."

Let us go back to Salvatierra who when he woke up to find that the two Indians who had brought the plums for sale were missing, and could not find his horse or his saddle or his bridle, (we were told this afterwards by many of the soldiers of Narvaez,) said things that raised a laugh at his expense, for he soon found out that they were some of Cortés's Spaniards who had carried off his horse; and from that time on they kept watch.

Let us go back to our story. Cortés and all of us soldiers and Captains were discussing how and in what way we should fall on the camp of Narvaez. What was agreed to before we made the attack, I will go on to relate.

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## CHAPTER CXVI.

How Cortés agreed with all of us soldiers that the Fraile de la Merced should be again sent to the camp of Narvaez, for he was very sagacious and a good mediator, and that he should protest himself a good servant of Narvaez, and show himself more in favour of his party than that of Cortés, and that he should secretly summon the artilleryman named Rodrigo Martin and the other artilleryman named Usagre, and that he should speak to Andrés de Duero and get him to come and see Cortés, and he should give into the hands of Narvaez another letter that we had written to him. That he should be ready to take advantage of anything that might happen, and on this account he took with him a large number of ingots and chains of gold for distribution.

As we had now all got together in that town, we agreed that another letter should be written to Narvaez to be carried by the Padre de la Merced, which, after an expression of respect and the utmost politeness, was more or less to the following effect: That we had rejoiced at his arrival and had believed that with his magnanimous character we should do great service to our Lord God and to his Majesty, but that he had replied to us nothing whatever; on the other hand he had called us who were loyal servants of His Majesty, traitors! and had stirred up trouble throughout the land by the messages he had sent to Montezuma; that Cortés had sent to beg him to choose whatever province he might prefer wherein to settle with his people, or that he should advance, and we would go to other territory and would undertake what it was the duty of faithful servants of His Majesty to accomplish; we had also begged as a favour that if he had brought any decrees from His Majesty that he would send the originals to us, so that we might examine them to see whether they had the royal signature and what orders they contained, so that with our breasts bowing before them on the ground, we might at once obey them. However, he would do neither

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one thing nor the other, but merely used abusive language to us and stirred up the country against us; that we begged and entreated him on behalf of our God and of our Lord the King to send within three days and proclaim through His Majesty's Notary the Decrees he had brought, and we would obey, as the orders of our Lord and King, all that he should command in his Royal Decrees; that it was for this reason we had come to this town of Tanpaniguita so as to be nearer to his camp; that if he had not brought the Decrees and wished to return to Cuba, he had better return and not disturb the country any more with threats, for if he made any more trouble, we would come against him and arrest him, and send him a prisoner to our Lord the King, because without the royal permission he had come to make war on us and disturb all the cities, and all the evils and deaths and burnings and losses that might thereon happen would be on his responsibility and not on ours; that he [Cortés] wrote and sent this letter now by hand, for no King's Notary dared to go to Narvaez to proclaim it for fear of being treated with as great disrespect as that with which Narvaez had treated the Oidor of His Majesty; where was there ever seen such audacity as to send him away a prisoner? In addition to what he had already said, he [Cortés] felt bound in duty to the honour and justice of our King to punish that great disrespect and crime, and as Captain General and Chief Justice of New Spain which offices he held, he summoned and cited him on this charge and accused him, as in justice bound, for the crime in which he was involved was that of "laesio Majestatis," and that he called God to witness what he now said. Cortés also sent to tell Narvaez that he must at once return to the fat Cacique the mantles and cloth and jewels of gold which he had taken from him by force, and also the daughters of the chieftains who had been given to us by their parents, and that he must order

his soldiers not to rob the Indians of that town nor of any other. After the usual expressions of courtesy, Cortés placed his signature, as did our Captains and some of the soldiers and I added mine. There accompanied the Friar a soldier named Bartolomé de Usagre, because he was a brother of the artilleryman Usagre who had charge of the artillery of Narvaez.

I will go on to tell what is said to have taken place when our Friar and Usagre arrived at Cempoala where Narvaez was encamped.

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## CHAPTER CXVII.

How the Fraile de la Merced went to Cempoala where Narvaez and all his captains were stationed and what happened when he gave them the letter.

I WILL not waste further words on repeating how the Fraile de la Merced reached the Camp of Narvaez, for he did what Cortés ordered, which was to call together certain gentlemen followers of Narvaez, and the gunner Rodrigo Martin, for so he was called, and Usagre, who also had charge of the cannon. So as to be sure of attracting Usagre, his brother carried some gold ingots which he secretly gave to him. In the same manner the Friar distributed the gold as Cortés had commanded him, and told Andrés de Duero to come to our camp soon to meet Cortés. In addition to this the Friar went to see Narvaez and speak to him and pretend to be his most humble servant. While this was going on they [the partisans of Narvaez] were very suspicious of what our Friar was about and advised Narvaez to seize him at once, and this he was willing to do. When Andrés de Duero heard of it (he was the Secretary of Diego Velásquez and a native of Tudela de Duero, and

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Narvaez and he considered themselves as relations for Narvaez also came from the neighbourhood of Valladolid, or from Valladolid itself) he, Andrés de Duero, who was a person of importance and highly respected throughout the Armada, went to Narvaez and said to him that he had been told that he wished to arrest the Fraile de la Merced who was the messenger and Ambassador from Cortés, and although some suspicions might be entertained that the Friar was saying things in favour of Cortés, it would not be wise to arrest him, for it had been clearly shown what great honours and gifts Cortés bestowed on all the adherents of Narvaez who went to [visit] him; that the Friar had spoken to him [Andrés de Duero] as soon as he had arrived and given him to understand his desire that he himself and other gentlemen from Cortés's camp should come to give him [Narvaez] a reception, and that they should all be friends. Let him observe how good are the words Cortés speaks to the messengers who are sent to him and how neither he [Cortés] nor any of those with him ever mention [him] Narvaez otherwise than as El Señor Capitan, and [moreover] that it would be mean to arrest a cleric. It were better that Usagre the gunner whose brother had come to visit him should invite the Friar to dinner and find out from him what it was that all the followers of Cortés desired. With those and other palatable speeches Andrés de Duero calmed Narvaez, and when this had come to pass he took leave of him and secretly told the priest what had taken place.

Narvaez sent at once to summon the Friar, and when he came he showed him great respect, and the Friar half laughing, for he was very sly and sagacious, begged him to come aside with him in privacy, and Narvaez went strolling with him in a courtyard, and

the Friar said to him "I know well that your Honour wished to have me arrested but I wish you to know, Sir, that you have no better or more devoted servant in the camp than I am, and you may feel sure that many gentlemen and captains among the followers of Cortés would be glad to see him already in your hands, and I think that we shall all see him there; and so as more [surely] to bring about his undoing they have made him write a nonsensical letter which was signed by the soldiers and was given to me to present to your Honour. I have not wished to show it until now, when we can chat together, and I longed to throw it in a river on account of the foolishness that it contains, and the soldiers and Captains of Cortés have done this so as to ensure his undoing." Narvaez said that the letter should be given to him, and the Friar replied that he had left it at his lodging and that he would go for it, and so he took his leave and went for the letter. Meanwhile the blustering Salvatierra came to the quarters of Narvaez.

The Friar quickly called Duero to go at once to the house of Narvaez for the presentation of the letter, for Duero and others among the captains who had shown themselves favourable to Cortés, knew all about it, as the Friar carried it about with him, but he desired that many persons from that camp should be assembled to hear it [read].

When the Friar arrived with the letter he at once gave it to Narvaez himself and said "Do not be astonished at it, Sir, for Cortés talks as though out of his mind, but I know for certain that if your Honour will speak to him with affection he will promptly yield himself up with all his followers."

Let us leave the arguments of the Friar which were very good, and say that the Captains and soldiers told Narvaez

to read the letter. When they heard it, Narvaez and Salvatierra roared with anger, the others laughed as though making fun of it, and then Andrés de Duero said "Now I do not see how this can be, and I do not understand it, for this Cleric has told me that Cortés and all [the rest] would yield to your Honour, and now he writes these ravings." Then one Augustin Bermudez, who was Captain and chief constable of the Camp of Narvaez, ably helped Duero and said, "I certainly learnt from this Friar of the Order of Mercy, in strict privacy, that if we were to send good mediators that Cortés himself would come to visit your Honour in order to give himself up with his soldiers, and it will be a good thing to send to his camp, which is not far off, the Señor Veedor Salvatierra and the Señor Andrés de Duero, and I will go with them," this he said purposely to see what Salvatierra would say. Narvaez at once said that Andrés de Duero and Salvatierra should go, but Salvatierra answered that he was indisposed, and that he would not go to see a traitor. The Friar said to him, "Señor Veedor, it is good to have moderation, for it is certain that you will have him a prisoner before many days."

As soon as the departure of Andrés de Duero was agreed upon, it seems that, in strict secrecy, Narvaez planned with Duero himself and three other Captains, that he should arrange with Cortés for an interview at some farms and Indian houses, which stood between the camp of Narvaez and ours, and that there an arrangement would be come to as to where we should go with Cortés to settle, and where boundaries should be drawn, and that during the interviews he [Narvaez] would arrest him [Cortés] and to this effect Narvaez had already bespoken twenty soldiers who were his friends.

The Friar knew about this at once, and so did Andrés de Duero, and they informed Cortés of everything.



Let us leave the Friar in the camp of Narvaez where he had already made himself a great friend and kinsman of Salvatierra (for both the Fraile de Olmedo and Salvatierra were from Burgos), and he had his meals with him. Let us say about Andrés de Duero that he was getting ready to go to our Camp and take with him our soldier Bartolomé de Usagre so that Narvaez should not be able to learn from him what was going on, and I will relate what we did in our Camp.

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### CHAPTER CXVIII.

How in our Camp we held a Muster of the soldiers who were present, and how they brought two hundred and fifty very long pikes with two copper spikes each, which Cortés had ordered to be made in some towns which they call [the towns of] the Chinantecs and how we taught ourselves to handle them so as to defeat the horsemen of Narvaez, and other things that happened in camp.

LET us go back to say something about what else happened before that which I have already related. As soon as Cortés heard news of the fleet that Narvaez was bringing he at once despatched a soldier who had served in Italy and was very skilful with all arms and especially at making play with a pike, and sent him to a province called the [land of the] Chinantecs, near to where our soldiers had stayed when they went to search for mines, for the people of that province were very hostile to the Mexicans and they had accepted our friendship a few days before. They used as arms very long lances, longer than ours from Castile, with two fathoms of flint and [stone] knives,<sup>1</sup> so

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<sup>1</sup> Dos brazas de pedernal y navajas ; literally, two fathoms of flint and knives. In Chapter CXXIII they are described as having one fathom of flint knives (unc braza de cuchilla de pedernales). They were probably double-pointed spears with two cutting edges of flint knives extending from the points for some distance along each side of the shaft.

he sent to beg them to bring him promptly, wherever he might be, three hundred of them, and to remove the knives, and, as they possessed much copper, to make for each one two metal points. The soldier took with him the model which the points should resemble, and they promptly searched for the lances and made the points, for throughout the province at that time there were four or five towns, not to count many farms, [where] they collected them and fashioned the points far more perfectly than those we sent to order from them. He also commanded our soldier, who was called Tovilla, to demand of them two thousand warriors, and by the day of the feast of Espíritu Santo to come with them to the town of Tanpaniguita, for so it is called, or to ask where we were, and that the two thousand men should bring lances; and the soldier asked for them accordingly. The Caciques said that they would come with the warriors, and the soldier soon came with a matter of two hundred Indians who carried the lances, and another of our soldiers named Barrientos remained [behind] to accompany the other warriors. This Barrientos was at the farm and mines which they were exploring, already mentioned by me, and there it was arranged that he was to come to our camp in the manner stated, for it was a journey of ten or twelve leagues from one place to the other.

When our soldier Tovilla came with the lances they proved to be extremely good, and the order was then given, and the soldier trained us and taught us how to handle them, and how we were to cope with the horsemen. When we had made our muster and the list and record of all the soldiers and captains of our army, we found that there were two hundred and sixty-six including the drummer and fifer, and not counting the Friar. There were five horsemen and two small cannon, a few cross-bowmen and fewer musketeers; what we relied on for

fighting with Narvaez was the lances, and they were very good as will be seen further on. Let us leave the arms at the muster and the lances, and I will relate how Andrés de Duero, whom Narvaez had sent, arrived at our camp and brought with him our soldier Usagre and two Indian servants from Cuba, and what Cortés and Duero said and arranged, as we came to understand later on.

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## CHAPTER CXIX.

How there came to our camp Andrés de Duero and the soldier Usagre and two Cuban Indians, servants of Duero, and who Duero was, and what he came for, and what we accepted as certain, and what was arranged.

I MUST now go far back to relate what happened in time past. I have already stated in a much earlier chapter, that when we were in Santiago de Cuba, Cortés settled with Andrés de Duero and with a King's accountant named Amador de Lares, who were great friends of Diego Velásquez (Duero was his Secretary), that they should use their influence with Diego Velásquez to have [him] Cortés appointed Captain General to go with that fleet, and that he would divide with them all the gold, silver and jewels that might fall to his lot. As Andrés de Duero saw that his partner Cortés was at that moment so rich and powerful, under pretext of making peace and acting in favour of Narvaez, he concealed his real intention, which was to claim his share in the partnership, for his other partner Amador de Lares was already dead. As Cortés was far-sighted and crafty he not only promised to give him [Andrés de Duero] great wealth, but also to give him a command over the whole force neither more nor less than he himself [held], and after New Spain was conquered to give him as many other towns as he himself possessed provided that he

would induce Augustin Bermudez, who was Chief Constable in the camp of Narvaez, and other gentlemen (whom I will not name here), to endeavour at all events to lead Narvaez astray, so that he should not escape with life or honour and should be defeated ; for when Narvaez was dead, or a prisoner, and his expedition wrecked, then they would be left masters, and would divide the gold and the towns of New Spain [between themselves].

The better to lure and bind him [Duero] to what has been said he [Cortés] loaded his two Cuban Indians with gold, and it seems that Duero gave a promise to him, and Augustin had already made the [same] promise by signature and letters. Cortés also sent many ingots and jewels of gold to Bermudez and to a priest named Joan de Leon and the priest Guevara, who was the man Narvaez sent first [of all], and to other friends of his, and he wrote to them what seemed advisable so that they might help him in every way.

Andrés de Duero stayed in our camp from the day of his arrival until after dinner the following day which was the day of the feast of Espiritu Santo. He dined with Cortés and conversed a while with him in private. When dinner was over, Duero took leave of all of us both Captains and soldiers and then, already on horseback, he once more approached Cortés and said : "What are your orders, your honour ; I wish to depart." He [Cortés] answered him, "God be with you, and look to it, Señor Andrés de Duero, that what we have been talking about be well arranged, if not, by my conscience, (for it was thus Cortés swore,) before three days are passed I shall be there in your camp, and, if I find anything contrary to what we have agreed upon, your honour will be the first to be pierced by my lance."

Duero laughed and said, "I shall fail in nothing which concerns my service to your honour," and he set off at

once, and when he arrived at his camp it is said that he told Narvaez that Cortés and all of us who were with him were very willing to go over to Narvaez himself.

Let us stop talking about this Duero affair and I will relate how Cortés promptly sent to summon one of our Captains named Juan Velásquez de Leon, a person of great importance, and a friend of Cortés, and a near relation of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, whom to the best of our belief Cortés had bound to himself and conciliated by great gifts and promises that he would give him command in New Spain and make him his equal, for Juan Velásquez always showed himself to be his very trusty follower and true friend as will be seen further on. When he had come before Cortés and made his salute he said "what are your orders, sir," and as Cortés at times spoke honeyed words with a smile on his lips, he said half laughingly "what made me summon the Señor Juan Velásquez is what Andrés de Duero has reported [which is] that Narvaez says, and such is the report throughout his camp, that if your honour should go there that I would be at once undone and defeated, for they believe that you would join with Narvaez, and for this reason I have resolved that, for the life of me, if you really love me, you shall go on your good grey mare, and take all your gold and the *fanfarrona*, (which was a very heavy golden chain,) and other trifles that I will give you, in order to give them in my name to whomsoever I may direct. Your heavy *fanfarrona* you shall carry over one shoulder, and another chain which weighs even more than it, you shall wear wound twice round, then you will see how Narvaez loves you. Try to come away again soon, for then the Señor Diego de Ordás may go there, whom they wish to see in his (Narvaez's) camp as he has been a Mayor-domo of Diego Velásquez."

Juan Velásquez answered that he would do what His

Excellency commanded him, but that he would not take his own gold and his chains with him, only such as might be given him with orders to hand over to certain persons, but, wherever he might be, he would be at all times ready to render His Excellency such service as no amount of gold or diamonds could procure. "That was my belief," said Cortés, "and with this confidence in you, sir, I send you, but unless you take all your gold and jewels as I command, I do not wish you to go." Juan Velásquez replied "whatever your honour commands shall be done," but he did not wish to take his jewels. Cortés spoke to him then in private and he at once set out and took with him one of Cortés's orderlies named Juan del Rio to attend on him. Let us leave this departure of Juan Velásquez, for it was rumoured that Cortés sent him to put Narvaez off his guard, and turn to relate what happened in our camp. Within two hours of the departure of Juan Velásquez, Cortés ordered Canillas (for so our drummer was called) to beat the drum and Benito de Beger our fifer to sound his tambourine, and he ordered Gonzalo de Sandoval who was Captain and Chief Constable to summon all the soldiers, and we at once began our march in quick time along the road to Cempoala. While we were on the march two native swine were killed which have the navel<sup>1</sup> on the back, and many of the soldiers said that it was a sign of victory, and we slept on a bank near a small stream, with our scouts on ahead and spies and patrols.

When dawn broke we went straight along and marched until midday when we had a rest by a river where the town of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz now stands,<sup>2</sup> (where the merchant ships that come from Castile unload,) for at

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<sup>1</sup> A scent gland.

<sup>2</sup> The third site of the city, on the Rio Antigua.

that time there was a settlement by the river, consisting of some Indian houses and groves, and as the sun is very powerful in that country we rested, for, as I have said, we were carrying our arms and pikes. Let us now interrupt our march and I will relate what took place between Juan Velásquez and Narvaez, and one of his captains who was also named Diego Velásquez, and was a nephew of Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, for there he [Juan Velásquez] ran against him.

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### CHAPTER CXX.

How Juan Velásquez de Leon and Cortés's orderly named Juan del Río arrived at the Camp of Narvaez, and what happened there.

I HAVE already said how Cortés sent Juan Velásquez de Leon with an orderly to accompany him to Cempoala, to see what Narvaez, who was so anxious to have him in his company, wanted of him. Therefore, hardly had they left our camp when Juan Velásquez made such speed on the road, that he reached Cempoala by dawn and dismounted at the house of the fat Cacique, (but Juan del Río had no horse,) and thence they went afoot to the quarters of Narvaez. The Indians recognized him [Juan Velásquez] and they were delighted to see and speak to him and said aloud to some of the soldiers of Narvaez, who were quartered in the house of the fat Cacique, that this was Juan Velásquez de Leon one of Malinche's Captains. As soon as the soldiers heard this they went running to Narvaez to demand rewards for bringing the good news that Juan Velásquez de Leon had come.

When Narvaez heard of his arrival, before Juan Velásquez could reach his quarters, he went out to receive him in the street accompanied by some soldiers. Juan Velásquez and Narvaez on meeting they made a great show

of reverence to one another, and Narvaez embraced Juan Velásquez and pressed him to be seated on a chair, for they at once brought chairs and seats near to him, and he asked him why he did not dismount at his quarters, and he ordered his servants to go at once for the horse and baggage, if he had brought any, so that all might be placed in his house and stables and quarters. Juan Velásquez replied that he wished to return at once, and that he had only come to kiss his hands and those of all the gentlemen of his camp, and to see if his Excellency and Cortés could agree to keep peace and friendship. Then it is said that Narvaez promptly repelled Juan Velásquez, greatly annoyed that such words should be spoken to him. "What! to make friends and peace with a traitor who had rebelled with the fleet against his cousin Diego Velásquez?" and Juan Velásquez replied that Cortés was no traitor but a faithful servant of His Majesty, and that to appeal to our Lord and King as he had done should not be imputed to him as treason, and he begged him [Narvaez] to use no such word in his presence. Then Narvaez began to bribe him [Juan Velásquez] with great promises to [persuade him to] remain with him and to arrange with the followers of Cortés to give him [Cortés] up and to come at once and place themselves under his command, promising him [Velásquez de Leon] with oaths that he should be the foremost captain in all the camp and be the second in command. Juan Velásquez answered that it would be a greater treason to desert the Captain to whom he had sworn [obedience] during war, and to abandon him knowing [as he did] that all that he had done in New Spain was in the service of God our Lord and His Majesty, and that Cortés could not avoid appealing, in the way he had appealed, to our King and Master, and he begged him [Narvaez] to say no more about it.

By that time all the most important Captains from the



Camp of Narvaez had come to see Juan Velásquez and they embraced him with the greatest courtesy for Juan Velásquez was much of a courtier, well made, robust, of good presence and features and with a becoming beard, and he wore a great golden chain thrown over his shoulder giving it two turns under his arm, and it suited him well in the part of the gallant and brave captain. Let us leave the good looks of Juan Velásquez and how all the captains of Narvaez were admiring him, and even our Padre de la Merced also came to see him and speak to him in private, and there also came Andrés de Duero and the chief constable, Bermudez.

It seems that at that time certain captains of Narvaez, named Gamarra, and one Juan Fuste, and one Juan Bono de Quexo, a Biscayan, and Salvatierra the swaggerer, advised Narvaez to arrest Juan Velásquez at once, for it seemed to them that he was speaking very freely in favour of Cortés. When Narvaez had already secretly ordered his Captains and Constables to take him prisoner, Augustin Bermudez and Andrés de Duero and our Padre de la Merced and a priest named Juan de Leon, and other persons from among those who had professed themselves friends of Cortés, heard about it, and they said to Narvaez that they were astonished at his ordering Juan Velásquez de Leon to be arrested, for what could Cortés do against him [Narvaez] even if he had another hundred Juan Velásquezes in his Company?—that he should consider the honour and respect that Cortés paid to all those who had gone to his camp, and how he goes out to receive them all, and gives them gold and jewels, and other things such as cloths and fly whisks, and how they came back laden like bees to their hives; that he [Cortés] might easily have arrested Andrés de Duero and the priest Guevara and Amaya and Vergara the notary and Alonzo de Mata and others who had gone to his camp, and he did not do so; on

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the contrary, as they have stated, he paid them great honour; and it would be better once again to speak to Juan Velásquez with much courtesy and to invite him to dinner. This seemed to Narvaez to be good advice, and he promptly spoke again to him [Juan Velásquez] in very affectionate terms so that he should be the mediator through whom Cortés might give himself up with all of us; and he invited him to dinner. Juan Velásquez replied that in that case he would do what he could, although he held Cortés to be very obstinate and stubborn in the matter, and that it would be better to divide the provinces, and his honour [Narvaez] should choose the land that pleased him best. This Juan Velásquez said in order to pacify him.

While these conversations were going on the Padre de la Merced whispered to Narvaez, as his confidant and adviser which he had already become, "Order them to muster all your artillery and cavalry and musketeers and crossbowmen and soldiers so that Juan Velásquez de Leon and the orderly Juan del Rio may see them, and so that Cortés may fear your force and your people and may surrender to your Excellency however unwillingly." This the Friar said to him as though he were his faithful servant and friend and to make him exercise all the horsemen and soldiers that were in the camp. So on the advice of our Friar he [Narvaez] held a review before Juan Velásquez de Leon and Juan del Rio, and in the presence of our cleric. When it was finished Juan Velásquez said to Narvaez, "You have brought a great force with you, may God increase it." Then Narvaez replied, "Ah, you can see that had I wished to go against Cortés I should have taken him prisoner and all of you that are with him." Then Juan Velásquez answered and said "Look on him as taken

and us soldiers too, but we shall know well how to defend ourselves," and so the conversation ended.

The next day Juan Velásquez was invited to dinner, and there was dining with Narvaez a nephew of Diego Velásquez the Governor of Cuba, who was also one of his captains, and while they were eating at table he began to talk of how Cortés had failed to surrender to Narvaez and of the letter and summons that he sent him. And from one speech to another, the nephew of Diego Velásquez (who was also called Diego Velásquez like his uncle) exceeded all bounds and said that Cortés and all of us who were with him were traitors, because they did not come to submit themselves to Narvaez. When Juan Velásquez heard this he rose from the chair on which he was seated and with great ceremony said, "Señor Captain Narvaez, I have already told you that I cannot acquiesce in such words being spoken against Cortés or against any of those who are with him, as those that have been uttered, for it is truly malicious to speak evil of us who have served His Majesty so loyally."

Diego Velásquez replied that his words were well said and that he [Juan Velásquez] was upholding a traitor, and that traitors were as worthless as he was, and that he was not a good Velásquez. Juan Velásquez grasped his sword and said that he lied and that he was a better gentleman than he was, and a good Velásquez, better than him or his uncle, and that he would let him know it, if the Señor Captain Narvaez would give him leave. As there were many captains present, followers of Narvaez as well as some friends of Cortés, they placed themselves between them (for Juan Velásquez was actually going to give him a sword thrust) and they advised Narvaez that he should promptly order him [Juan Velásquez] to leave the camp, both him and the Friar and Juan del Rio for they felt sure that they were doing no good there. At once without

further delay they were ordered to leave, and they, who could hardly await the hour of getting back to our camp, complied.

It is said that Juan Velásquez mounted on his good mare in his coat of mail, which he always wore, and helmet and great golden chain, went to take leave of Narvaez, and Diego Velásquez, the youth who had quarrelled, was there with Narvaez, and he [Juan Velásquez] said to Narvaez, "What are your Honour's orders for our camp?" Narvaez replied in a great rage that he should get him gone and that it would have been better had he never come, and the youth Diego Velásquez uttered threats and offensive words to Juan Velásquez, who answered that he was very audacious and deserved chastisement for the words he had spoken, and placing his hand on his beard [he cried] by this [my beard I swear] that I will see before many days whether your courage is as good as your words. As six or seven from the camp of Narvaez who had already been won over to the side of Cortés had come with Juan Velásquez to take leave of him, it is reported that they disputed with him as though they were angry, and told him to be off and not trouble himself to talk any more. So they parted, and keeping their horses at a good pace they set off for our camp, for Juan Velásquez was promptly warned that Narvaez wished to arrest them and many horsemen were got in readiness to follow after them. Keeping on their way they met us at the river I have spoken of which is now near Vera Cruz.

We were halted on this river which I have mentioned, taking a rest (for in that country the heat is very great, and as we marched with all our arms on our backs, each one carrying a pike, we were tired), when at that moment one of our scouts came to give word to Cortés that, a good way off, two or three persons were approaching on horseback, and we at once assumed that it would be

our ambassador Juan Velásquez de Leon and the Friar and Juan del Rio. When they arrived where we were, what delight and happiness we all experienced, and how many caresses and what praise did Cortés bestow on Juan Velásquez, and on our Friar, and he had good cause, for they were his faithful servants.

Then Juan Velásquez related, step by step, all that I have already stated had happened to them with Narvaez, and how he sent secretly to give the chains and ingots and jewels of gold to the persons whom Cortés had indicated. Then you should have heard our Friar! Being of a merry disposition, he well knew how to mimic his own behaviour as Narvaez's faithful servant, and [to tell] how, in sheer mockery, he advised him to hold the review and call out his artillery, and with what astuteness and cunning he gave him the letter. Then he next related what happened to him with Salvatierra, with whom he claimed close relationship (the Friar being a native of Olmedo and Salvatierra from beyond Burgos), and [told us] what fierce threats Salvatierra uttered as to what he would do and what would happen when he captured Cortés and all of us, and that he even complained to him about the soldiers who had stolen his horse and that of the other captain, and we were all as delighted at hearing about it as though we were going to a wedding or a merry-making, [although] we knew that the next day we should be going into battle and must conquer or die in it, we being but two hundred and sixty six soldiers and those of Narvaez being five times as numerous as we were. Let us go back to our story, which is that we all marched at once towards Cempoala, and we went to sleep near a small stream about a league from Cempoala where there was a bridge at that time, and where now there is a cattle ranch. Let us leave off there, and I will relate what was done in the camp of Narvaez after the departure of Juan Velásquez and the

Friar and Juan del Rio and then I will at once return to relate what we did in our camp. As two or three events took place simultaneously I am obliged to leave some of them so as to relate what is most pertinent to this story.

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## CHAPTER CXXI.

What was done in the camp of Narvaez after our ambassadors had left it.

IT seems that when Juan Velásquez and the Friar and Juan del Rio went back, Narvaez was told by his captains that a belief had arisen in the camp that Cortés had sent many jewels of gold, and had gained friends to his side in the camp itself, and that it would be well to be much on the alert, and to warn the soldiers to have their arms and horses ready. In addition to this the fat Cacique, already mentioned by me, was in great fear of Cortés because he had allowed Narvaez to take the cloths and gold and to seize the Indian women, moreover he always had spies out [to see] where we slept and by what road we were coming, for so Narvaez had compelled him to do by force. When he knew that we were already arriving near to Cempoala the fat Cacique said to Narvaez: "What are you about? you are behaving very carelessly; do you think that Malinche and the Teules that he brings with him are the same as you are? Well, I tell you that when you least expect it he will be here and will kill you." Although they made fun of those words that the fat Cacique said to them, they did not fail to get ready, and the first thing they did was to declare war against us with fire and sword and free loot. This we heard from a soldier called El Galleguillo,<sup>1</sup> who came fleeing from the camp of Narvaez,

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<sup>1</sup> El Galleguillo—the little Galician.

(or Andrés de Duero sent him,) and he informed Cortés about the proclamation and about other things that it was as well to know.

Let us return to Narvaez, who ordered all the artillery, horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen to be taken out to a plain about a quarter of a league from Cempoala to await us there, and not to let one of us escape either death or capture. As it rained hard that day the followers of Narvaez had already had enough of waiting for us in the wet, and as they were accustomed neither to rain nor hardships and did not think we were of any account, his captains gave him notice that they would return to their quarters, as it was an outrage to be kept there waiting for two or three [men], as they said we were. [They further advised] that he should place his artillery, which numbered eighteen large cannon, in front of their quarters and that forty horsemen should remain all night waiting on the road by which we had to come to Cempoala; furthermore that he should station his spies by the ford of the river which we would have to cross, selecting good riders and lithe runners to carry messages, and that twenty horsemen should patrol throughout the night in the courtyards of the quarters of Narvaez. This plan which they communicated to him was to induce him to return to his quarters. Moreover, his captains said to him, "What, Señor? do you take Cortés to be so valiant as to dare with the three cats which he commands to come to this camp merely because this fat Indian says so? Don't you believe it, your Honour, he has only made this fuss and pretence of coming so that your Honour may grant good terms." It was in this way, as I have said, that Narvaez returned to his camp, and after his return he publicly promised to give two thousand pesos to whoever should kill Cortés or Gonzalo de Sandoval. He at once placed as spies at the river one Gonzalo Carrasco, who lives in Puebla, and

another man named something Hurtado, and the cry and countersign that he gave when they should fight against us in the camp was "Santa Maria, Santa Maria."

In addition to making these arrangements, Narvaez ordered many of the soldiers to sleep in his quarters, both musketeers and crossbowmen and others with halberds and he ordered as many more to be posted in the quarters of the Inspector Salvatierra and of Gamarra and of Juan Bono. Now that I have told about the arrangements Narvaez had made in his camp, I will turn to relate the orders that were given in ours.

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## CHAPTER CXXII.

About the plan and commands that were issued in our camp for the march against Narvaez, and the speech which Cortés made to us, and what we replied.

WHEN we arrived at the stream which I have already noticed and spoken about, which was about a league from Cempoala, where there were some good meadows, after having sent out our Scouts who were trustworthy men, our Captain Cortés (who was on horseback) sent to summon us, both Captains and soldiers, and when he saw us assembled, he said to us that he begged the favour of silence. Then he began a speech in such charming style, with sentences so neatly turned, that I assuredly am unable to write the like, so delightful was it and so full of promises, in which he at once reminded us of all that had happened to us since we set out from the Island of Cuba until then, and he said to us, "You well know that Diego Velásquez, the Governor of Cuba, chose me as Captain General, not that there were not many gentlemen among you worthy of the post, and you knew and believed that we were coming to settle, for thus it was published and



proclaimed ; however, as you have seen, he was [merely] sending to trade. You are already aware of what happened about my wishing to return to the Island of Cuba to render an account to Diego Velásquez of the task that he entrusted to me, in accordance with his instructions ; but Your Honours ordered and obliged me to form a settlement in this country in His Majesty's name, and thanks to our Lord the settlement has been made and it was a very wise decision. In addition to this you made me your Captain General and the Chief Justice of the settlement until His Majesty may be pleased to order otherwise. As I have already mentioned there was certain talk of returning to Cuba among some of you, but I do not wish to dwell further on that ; it is, so to say, a bygone and our staying was a blessed and good thing, for it is clear that we have done great service to God and His Majesty. You already know what we promised in our letters to His Majesty after having given the report and story of all our doings omitting nothing, [stating] that this land is, so far as we have seen and known, four times larger than Castile and has great cities and is very rich in gold and mines and that other [rich] provinces lie near it ; and how we sent to beg His Majesty not to give it away to be governed or [held] in any other manner by any one whosoever, for we believe and know for certain that the Bishop of Burgos, Don Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, (who was at that time President of the Indies, and had great authority) would ask it from His Majesty for Diego Velásquez, or for some relation or friend of the Bishop's own. This land is so good that it would be proper to bestow it on an *Infante* or great Prince, and we are determined not to give it up to any one until His Majesty shall have heard our Proctors, and we behold his royal signature and approval, so that in all humility [we may do] what he may be pleased to order. You also know that we sent with the letters and placed at

His Majesty's service all the gold and silver and jewels and everything that we possessed or had acquired, moreover you will well remember, gentlemen, how often we have been at the point of death in the wars and battles we have passed through; let me also remind you how inured we are to hardship, rains, winds and sometimes hunger, always having to carry our arms on our backs and to sleep on the ground whether it is snowing or raining, and if we examine it closely our skin is already tanned from suffering. I do not wish to refer to over fifty of our comrades who have died in the wars, nor to all of you who are bandaged in rags, and maimed from wounds which are not even yet healed. I should like to remind you of the troubles we had at sea and in the battles of Tabasco, and, those who were present at them, of the affairs of Almería or Cingapancinga, and how often in the mountains and on the roads attempts were made to take our lives. In what straits they placed us in the battles of Tlaxcala and how they handled us; then in the affair of Cholula, they had even prepared the earthen pots [in which] to cook our bodies; at the ascent of the passes you will not have forgotten the forces that Montezuma had gathered to exterminate us and you saw all the roads blocked with felled trees. Then during the dangers of the entry into and stay in the great City of Mexico, how many times did we look death in the face? who is able to count them?"

"Then look at those among you who have come here twice before I did, first with Francisco Hernández de Córdoba and the other time with Juan de Grijalva; [consider] the hardships you underwent in discovering these countries, the hunger and thirst of the wounded and loss by death of so many soldiers and all the property of your own that you expended in those two voyages, and I say that I do not want to relate many other things that I ought to speak of in detail, for there would not be time to

finish talking about them," (because it was already late and the night was falling,) and he continued: "Let us add now, gentlemen, that as Pánfilo de Narvaez marches against us with great fury and desire to get us in his power, calling us traitors and malefactors even before he had landed, and sends messages to the great Montezuma, not in the words of a wise Captain, but of a mischief-maker, and as in addition to this he had the audacity to arrest one of His Majesty's Judges, for this great crime alone he deserves condign punishment. You have already heard how in his camp he has proclaimed war against us, and outlawed us as though we were Moors." Soon after saying this Cortés began to extol our appearance and courage in the late wars and battles [saying] that then we were fighting to save our lives, and that now we had to fight with all our strength [both] for life and honour, for they were coming to capture us and drive us from our houses and rob us of our property, "moreover," [he added] "we do not [even] know if he brings authority from our King and Lord or only support from our opponent the Bishop of Burgos, and if by ill luck we should fall into the hands of Narvaez, which God prevent, all the services that we have done both to God and His Majesty will turn to disservice, they will bring law suits against us, saying that we killed and robbed and destroyed the land, where [in truth] they are the ones to rob, brawl and disserve our Lord and King [but] they will claim that they have served him"; then [he said] that all that he had related we had seen with our own eyes, and that as true gentlemen we were bound to stand up for His Majesty's honour and our own homes and properties; he left Mexico on that understanding with confidence in God and in us, that first he trusted everything in the hands of God and next in our hands, and let us consider what we thought of it.

Then one and all we answered him, jointly with Juan

Velásquez de Leon and Francisco de Lugo and other captains, that he might feel sure that, God helping us, we would conquer or die over it, and he should look to it that they did not persuade him to terms, for if he should do anything underhand that we would stab him.

Then when he saw our determination he rejoiced greatly and said that it was because he had confidence in us that he had come, and he there made us many offers and promises that we should all of us be very wealthy and powerful. When this was over he turned to beg us as a favour to keep silence, for in wars and battles we had greater need of prudence and knowledge (so as to conquer the enemy thoroughly) than of daring, and because he had experience of our great bravery, and that each one of us would want to push forward among the first to get at the enemy and so to gain honour, therefore we should be arranged in order and in companies. As the first thing to be done was to seize their artillery, which numbered eighteen cannon, and was posted in front of the quarters of Narvaez, he appointed a relation of his own to go as Captain, whose name was Pizarro (I have already said before, that at that time neither Pizarros nor Peru were known to fame, for Peru had not been discovered). This Pizarro was an active youth, and he assigned to him sixty young soldiers, and he named me among them, and ordered that after the artillery was taken, we should all run to the quarters of Narvaez which were on a very lofty Cue. For the capture of Narvaez he named as Captain Gonzalo de Sandoval with sixty companions, and as he was Chief Constable he gave him an order which read thus :—Gonzalo de Sandoval Chief Constable of this New Spain, in His Majesty's name I command you to seize the person of Pánfilo Narvaez, and should he resist, to kill him, for the benefit of the service of God and the King, insomuch as he has committed many acts to the disservice of God and of

His Majesty, and arrested an Oidor. Given in this camp and signed Hernando Cortés, countersigned by his Secretary Pedro Hernández.

After issuing the order, he promised to give three thousand pesos to the soldier who first laid hand on him [Narvaez], and to the second two thousand, and one thousand to the third, and he said that what he was promising was as a reward, so that we could easily see the riches that were within our reach. Then he chose Juan Velásquez de Leon to arrest the youth Diego Velásquez with whom he had had the quarrel, and gave him another sixty soldiers, and he likewise named Diego de Ordás to arrest Salvatierra and gave him another sixty soldiers, and [there was] Cortés himself ready for an emergency with another twenty soldiers, to hasten to where he was most needed, and where he intended to be present was at the capture of Narvaez and Salvatierra.

As soon as the lists were given to the Captains, as I have related, he [Cortés] said, "I well know that the followers of Narvaez are in all four times as numerous as we are, but they are not used to arms, and as the greater part of them are hostile to their captain, and many of them are ill, and we shall take them by surprise, I have an idea that God will give us the victory, and that they will not persist much in their defence, for we shall procure them more wealth than their Narvaez can. So, gentlemen, our lives and honour depend, after God, on your courage and your strong arms, I have no other favour to ask of you or to remind you of but that this is the touchstone of our honour and our glory for ever and ever, and it is better to die worthily than to live dishonoured." And as at that time it was raining and was late he said no more. There is one thing I have thought about since, he never told us "I have such and such an arrangement in the camp made with so and so, which is in our favour" nor anything of

that kind, but merely that we were to fight like brave men ; and this omitting to tell us that he had friends in the camp of Narvaez, was the action of a very astute Captain, so that we should not fail to fight as very valiant men, and should place no hope in them, but only, after God, in our [own] great courage.

Let us leave this and relate how each of the Captains I have named was busy with the soldiers told off to him, [instructing them] how and in what way we were to fight, and encouraging one another. Then my captain Pizarro with whom we were to capture the artillery, (which was an affair of great danger, as we were to be the first to break through to the guns,) also explained with much spirit how we must force our way in and charge with our pikes until we had overpowered the artillery, and, as soon as we had captured it, our gunners (who were named Mesa, the Sicilian, Usagre and Arvega) with these same cannon and with the cannon balls which were ready to be discharged, should attack the enemy in the quarters of Salvatierra. I also wish to mention how greatly we stood in need of arms; thus for a breastplate, helmet or headpiece, or iron chin guard we would have given on that night whatever might be asked for it, and all that we had [already] gained.

Later on they secretly gave us the password that we were to use while fighting, which was "Espíritu Santo, Espíritu Santo," this is usually kept a secret in war time so that they may recognise and call each other by the password and the opposing side may not learn it. The followers of Narvaez had as their password and battle cry "Santa Maria, Santa Maria."

When all this was finished, as I was a great friend and servant of Captain Sandoval, he begged me as a favour to keep by him that night and follow him if I were still alive after capturing the artillery, and I promised him that I would do so, as will be seen later on.

Let me say now that we spent part of the night in preparations and in thinking about what we had before us, for we had nothing at all on which to sup, and our scouts set off promptly and spies and sentinels were stationed. I myself and one other soldier were posted as sentinels, and before long a scout came to ask me if I had perceived anything, and I said "No." Then came an officer and said that the Galleguillo who came from the camp of Narvaez had disappeared and that he was a spy sent by Narvaez, and that Cortés ordered us to march at once on the road to Cempoala, and we heard our fife and the beating of the drum and the Captains getting their soldiers ready, and we began to march. The Galleguillo was found asleep under some cloths, for as it was raining and the poor fellow was not accustomed to be in the wet and cold he went there to sleep. Then going along at a good pace, with the Captains looking after their men, we began our march as has been said, and without any playing on the fife or drum, and with the scouts reconnoitring the road, we reached the river where the spies of Narvaez were posted. These, as I have already said, were named Gonzalo Carrasco and Hurtado, and they were so little on the look out that we had time to capture Carrasco, and the other fled shouting to the camp of Narvaez, crying "To arms! to arms! Cortés is coming."

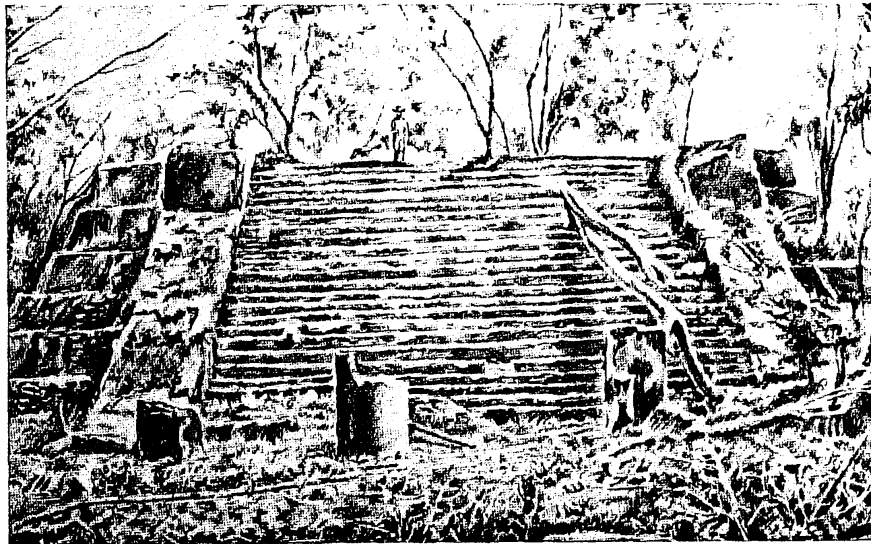
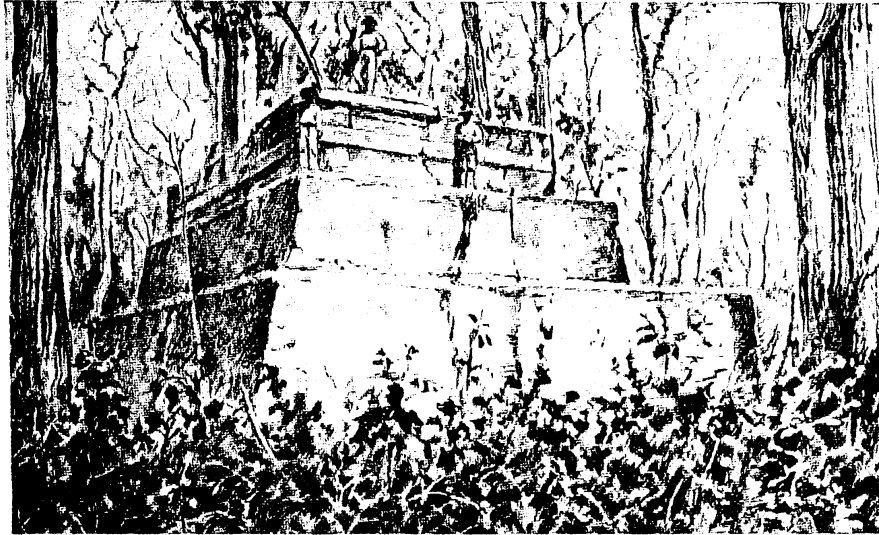
I remember that when we passed through that river, as it was raining, it had become rather deep and the stones were slippery and we were much encumbered with our pikes and our arms, and I also remember that when Carrasco was captured he said to Cortés in a loud voice "Take care, Señor Cortés, don't you go [on] there, for I swear that Narvaez is waiting for you in camp with all his army." Cortés gave him in charge of his secretary Pedro Hernández, and as we saw that Hurtado went to give the alarm we did not delay at all, so that Hurtado's going and

shouting the order "To arms, to arms" and Narvaez calling to his captains, and our charging with our pikes and engaging the artillery, happened simultaneously, and the gunners had time only to fire four shots, and some of the balls passed overhead but one of them killed three of our comrades.

At that moment all our Captains came up with the fife and drum beating the charge, and as many of the followers of Narvaez were mounted, they were delayed for a few moments by them, but they promptly unhorsed six or seven of them. Then we who had seized the guns did not dare to leave them, for Narvaez was shooting at us with arrows and muskets from his quarters and wounded seven of us. At that moment Captain Sandoval arrived and made a rush to scale the steps, and, in spite of the strong resistance which Narvaez made with muskets, partisans and lances and flights of arrows, he and his soldiers still gained ground. Then as soon as we soldiers saw that the guns were ours and no one was left to dispute possession of them, we gave them over to our gunners already named by me, and Captain Pizarro and many of us went to the assistance of Sandoval, for the soldiers of Narvaez had driven them back down two of the steps. On our arrival he turned to ascend the steps [again] and we stood for some time fighting with our pikes which were very long, and when I was least expecting it we heard shouts from Narvaez who cried "Holy Mary protect me, they have killed me and destroyed my eye."

When we heard this we at once shouted "Victory, Victory for those of the password of Espíritu Santo, for Narvaez is dead; Victory! Victory! for Cortés, for Narvaez has fallen!" but for all this we were not able to force the entrance to the Cue where they were posted, until a certain Martin López, (he of the launches) who was very tall, set fire to the thatch of the lofty Cue and all the companions





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### RUINS OF TEMPLES AT CEMPOALA.

Where the fighting between Cortés and Narvaez took place.

*After photos by Dr. J. W. Fewkes.*



of Narvaez came tumbling down the steps. Then we seized Narvaez, and the first to lay hands on him was Pedro Sánchez Farfan, a good soldier, and I gave him to Sandoval and the other Captains who were with him, and we were still shouting and crying "Long live the King, long live the King, and in his Royal Name, Cortés, Cortés, Victory, Victory for Narvaez is dead!"

Let us leave this struggle and return to Cortés and the other Captains who were each one of them still fighting against the Captains of Narvaez who had not yet yielded, notwithstanding the shots that our gunners fired at them, and our shouts and the death of Narvaez, for they were posted in very lofty temples. As Cortés was very sagacious he promptly ordered it to be proclaimed that all the followers of Narvaez should come at once and yield themselves up under the banner of His Majesty, and to Cortés in his Royal name, under pain of death. Yet with all this the followers of the youth Diego Velásquez and those of Salvatierra did not give in, for they were in very lofty temples and could not be reached until Gonzalo de Sandoval went with half of us who were with him, with the cannon and the proclamation, and forced his way in and seized Salvatierra and those in his company as well as the youth Diego Velásquez. Then Sandoval came with all those who had gone to capture Narvaez to put him in a safer place. And after Cortés and Juan Velásquez and Ordás had made prisoners of Salvatierra and the youth Diego Velásquez and Gamarra, and Juan Yuste and Juan Bono the Biscayan and other persons of importance, Cortés came, without being recognised, in company with our Captains to where we held Narvaez. As the heat was great, and as Cortés was burdened with his arms, and had been going from place to place shouting to our soldiers and giving out proclamations, he arrived sweating and tired and panting for breath, and he spoke to Sandoval twice,

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and did not succeed in saying it [what he wanted] on account of the trouble he was in ; and he said " What about Narvaez, what about Narvaez ? " and Sandoval said, " He is here ; he is here and well guarded. " Then Cortés, still much out of breath, turned to say " Take care, my son Sandoval, that you do not leave him, and that you and your comrades do not let him break away while I go and attend to other matters, and see to it that these other captains who are prisoners with him are guarded in every way. " Then he promptly went off to issue other proclamations to the effect that under pain of death all the followers of Narvaez should at once come to that place to surrender themselves under the banner of His Majesty and in his royal name to Hernando Cortés his Captain General and Chief Justice, and that no one should carry arms, but that all should give them up and hand them over to our Constables.

All this was done in the night, for it was not yet dawn and it still rained from time to time ; then the moon came out, but when we had arrived there it was very dark and was raining. However, the darkness was a help, for as it was so dark there were many Cucuyos,<sup>1</sup> for so they are called in Cuba, which give light by night, and the soldiers of Narvaez believed that they were the match [fires] of muskets.

Let us leave this and go on [to say] that as Narvaez was very badly wounded and had lost an eye, he asked leave of Sandoval for his surgeon named Maestre Juan, whom he had brought in his fleet, to attend to his eye and to the other captains who were wounded, and permission was given. While they were being doctored, Cortés came near by, on the sly, so that they should not recognise him, to see him [Narvaez]. Some one whispered to Narvaez that

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<sup>1</sup> Fire-flies.

Cortés was there, hardly was this said to him than Narvaez exclaimed, " Señor Captain Cortés, you must consider this a great feat, this victory which you have won over me and the capture of my person"; and Cortés answered him that he gave many thanks to God for giving it [the victory] to him and to the gallant gentlemen and comrades who had a share in it, but that to capture and defeat him [Narvaez] who had seen fit to dare to arrest one of His Majesty's Judges, was one of the least important things he had done in New Spain. As soon as he had said this he went away and said no more, but ordered Sandoval to place a strong guard over him [Narvaez] and to stay with him himself and not leave him in charge of others. We had already placed two pairs of fetters on him, and we carried him to an apartment and stationed soldiers to guard him, and Sandoval designated me as one of them, and privately he ordered me not to allow any of the followers of Narvaez to speak to him until it was daytime and Cortés could place him in greater security.

Let us leave this, and relate how Narvaez had sent forty horsemen to wait for us on the road, when we were on our way to his camp, as I have said in the chapter that treats of the subject, and we were aware that they were still wandering in the country and were fearful lest they should come and attack us, and rescue their captains and Narvaez himself whom we held prisoners. So we kept much on the alert, and Cortés determined to send and beg them as a favour to come into camp, and made great offers and promises to them all.

He despatched Cristóbal de Olid, who was our quartermaster, and Diego de Ordás, to bring them in, and they went on horses that we had captured from the followers of Narvaez (for our horsemen brought no horses with them but left them picketed in a small wood near Cempoala; we brought no horses, only pikes, swords, shields and

daggers) and they went out into the country with one of the soldiers of Narvaez who showed them the track by which they had gone, and they came upon them, and gave expression to so many offers and promises on behalf of Cortés that they won them over, but some gentlemen among them bore him [Cortés] ill will.

Before they reached our camp it was broad daylight, and the drummers brought by Narvaez, without word from Cortés or any of us, began to beat their kettledrums and play on their fifes and tambourines and cry "Viva, Viva the gala of the Romans! who few as they are have conquered Narvaez and his soldiers"; and a negro named Guidela whom Narvaez had brought with him, who was a very witty jester cried out and said "Behold! The Romans never accomplished such a feat"; and although we told them to keep quiet and not to beat their drums, they would not do so until Cortés sent to arrest the drummer, who was named Tápia and was half crazy. At this moment came Cristóbal de Olid and Diego de Ordás and brought in the horsemen whom I have mentioned, and among them came Andrés de Duero and Agustin Bermúdez and many of our Captains' friends, who as soon as they came went to kiss hands to Cortés who with us around him was seated on an armchair, wearing a long orange-coloured robe with his armour beneath it. Then to see the graciousness with which he addressed and embraced them, and the flattering words that he said to them were matters worthy of note, and how cheerful he was, and he had good cause in seeing himself at that moment such a lord and so powerful, and so after kissing his hands each one passed to his quarters.

Let us speak now of those who were killed and wounded on that night. The standard-bearer of Narvaez named something de Fuentes, a gentleman from Seville, died. Another of Narvaez' captains named Rojas, a native of Old Castile also died, and two of the other followers of

Narvaez died. There also died one of the three soldiers who had belonged to us and had gone over to him [Narvaez], whom we called Alonzo García the Carter. Many of the followers of Narvaez were wounded, and four of our men died and more were wounded, and the fat Cacique also was wounded, for when he knew that we were nearing Cempoala he took refuge in the quarters of Narvaez and there he was wounded, and Cortés at once ordered him to be well attended to and placed him in his house so that he should not be molested. Then the mad Cervantes and Escalonilla, who were those who had been of our party and had gone over to Narvaez, fared badly, for Escalona was severely wounded and Cervantes well beaten, and I have already mentioned that the Carter was dead.

Let us go to those in the quarters of Salvatierra the fierce, of whom his soldiers say that never in all their lives did they see a more worthless man, or one so much alarmed at death when he heard us beat to arms. It is reported that when we cried out "Victory, Victory for Narvaez is dead," he promptly said that he was very sick at the stomach and was no good for anything. This I have related because of his threats and bravado; some of the men of his company were wounded.

Let us speak of the quarters of Diego Velásquez and the other captains who were with him, who were some of them wounded. Our Captain Juan Velásquez de Leon captured Diego Velásquez, him with whom he had the strife when he dined with Narvaez, and he took him to his quarters and ordered him to be cared for and treated with all honour.

Now I have given an account of all that happened in our battle, let us now relate what else was done.

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## CHAPTER CXXIII.

How after the defeat of Narvaez in the way I have related, there arrived the Indians of Chinantla<sup>1</sup> whom Cortés had sent to summon, and about other things that happened.

I HAVE already said in the chapter that treats of the subject that Cortés had sent to advise the towns of Chinantla (whence they had brought the lances and pikes) that two thousand of their Indians with their lances (which are much longer than ours) should come to aid us, and they came late in the afternoon of this very day after Narvaez had been made prisoner. They came under the command of the Caciques of their own towns and of one of our soldiers named Barrientos who had remained in Chinantla for that purpose. They entered Cempoala in good array, two by two, and they carried their very long lances of great thickness, which have on them a fathom of stone knives which cut like [steel] knives, as I have already said, and each Indian carried a shield like a *pavesina*, and with their banners extended and many plumes of feathers and drums and trumpets, and between every two lances an archer and shouting and whistling and crying "Long live the King, long live the King our Lord and Hernando Cortés in his Royal Name" they made their entrance so gallantly that it was an affair worthy of note. They were fifteen hundred in number and, from the manner and good order with which they came in, it looked as though there were three thousand of them. When the followers of Narvaez beheld them they were astonished, and it is reported that they said to one another, if those people had caught them in the rear or had come in with us, what could have stopped them? Cortés spoke to the Indian

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



Captains very affectionately, thanking them for coming, and he gave them beads from Castile and ordered them to return at once to their towns, and not to injure other towns on the road, and he sent back this same Barrientos with them. I will stop here and will relate what else Cortés did.

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#### CHAPTER CXXIV.

How Cortés sent Captain Francisco de Lugo to the port, accompanied by two soldiers who had been masters of ships [with orders] to bring at once to Cempoala all the Masters and mates from the ships of the fleet of Narvaez, and to remove the sails, rudders and compasses, so that they could not go to Diego Velásquez in the Island of Cuba to report what had taken place; and how he appointed an Admiral of the Sea, and other things that happened.

AFTER Pánfilo de Narvaez had been defeated, and he and his Captains made prisoners, and all the rest of his followers disarmed, Cortés directed Captain Francisco de Lugo to proceed to the port where the fleet of Narvaez, which numbered eighteen ships, was lying, and to order all the mates and masters of the ships to come up to Cempoala, and to remove the sails, rudders and compasses, so that they should not carry the news to Diego Velásquez in Cuba, and that if they refused to obey him, he was to make them prisoners. Francisco de Lugo took with him two of our soldiers, who had been sailors, to assist him. Cortés also ordered one Sancho de Barahona, whom Narvaez held as a prisoner with two other soldiers, to be sent to him at once. This Barahona was [afterwards] a settler in Guatemala and a rich man, and I remember that he was very ill and thin when he came before Cortés who ordered him to be treated with honour.

Let us go back to the Masters and mates who promptly

came to kiss hands to Captain Cortés, and he made them take an oath that they would not leave his command, and would obey whatever orders he gave them.

Then he appointed as Admiral and Captain of the Sea one Pedro Cavallero who had been master of one of the ships of Narvaez, a person whom Cortés thoroughly trusted and to whom it is said he first gave some good ingots of gold, and him he ordered not to allow any ship to depart from that port in any direction whatever ; and he ordered all the other masters, mates and sailors to obey him, and [added] should Diego Velásquez send more ships from Cuba, (for he had news that there were two ships ready to come) that he must have the means and discernment to make a prisoner of the captain who would come in either of them, and should remove the rudder, sails and compasses, until [he] Cortés should decide otherwise. Pedro Cavallero accomplished all this as I shall relate further on.

Let us now leave the ships and the safe harbour and speak of what was planned between our camp and the followers of Narvaez. To begin with, orders were given that Juan Velásquez de Leon should proceed to conquer and form a settlement in the region of Panuco, and for this Cortés allotted him one hundred and twenty soldiers, one hundred were to be followers of Narvaez with twenty of our men mixed with them as they had more experience in war. They were also to take two ships, so that they might explore the coast beyond the river Panuco.

He also gave another command to Diego de Ordás of another hundred and twenty soldiers to go and settle in the region of Coatzacoalcos, again one hundred were to be followers of Narvaez and twenty of our own men, in the same way as with Juan Velásquez de Leon. He also was to take two ships to despatch from the Rio de Coatzacoalcos to the Island of Jamaica for brood mares, calves

and swine, sheep, and chickens of Spanish breed, and goats to multiply in the country, for the province of Coatzacoalcos was well suited for it.

In order that those Captains and their soldiers could set out fully armed, Cortés had them equipped, and ordered all the prisoners who were captains under Narvaez to be set free, except Narvaez [himself] and Salvatierra who said that he was ill of the stomach. Now as to furnishing them with all their arms, as some of our soldiers had already taken some of their horses, swords and other things, Cortés ordered them all to be given back to them, and over our refusal to give them up there occurred certain angry discussions, for we soldiers said that we held them very rightfully and that we refused to give them back to them, for in the Camp of Narvaez war had been proclaimed against us with free loot, and they came to capture us with that intention and to seize what we possessed, calling us, who were such faithful servants of His Majesty, traitors, and we would not give the things back to them. Cortés still contended that we must give them up, and as he was Captain General we had to do what he ordered. I gave them a horse which I had hidden away saddled and bridled, and two swords and three poignards and a dagger. Many others of our soldiers also gave up horses and arms. Alonzo de Ávila was a captain and a person who dared to speak his mind to Cortés, and he and the Padre de la Merced together spoke privately to Cortés, and told him that apparently he desired to imitate Alexander of Macedon, who after he had accomplished with his soldiers some great exploit, was more solicitous to honour and show greater favour to those whom he had conquered than to his captains and soldiers who had gained the victory. This they said on account of what they observed during those days that we remained there after Narvaez was made prisoner, (namely) that all the golden jewels

that the Indians had presented to Cortés and all the food he gave to the Captains of Narvaez, forgetting us as though he had never known us, and it was not well done, but a very great ingratitude after we had placed him in his present position.

To this Cortés replied that all that he possessed both his person and his property was ours, but for the present he could do no more than propitiate the followers of Narvaez with gifts, good words and promises, for they were many [in number] and we were few, lest they should rise against him and us and kill him.

To this Alonzo de Ávila replied and made use of somewhat haughty expressions, so much so that Cortés told him that no one was obliged to follow him against his will, for the women in Castile have borne and still bear soldiers. Alonzo de Ávila answered in very insulting and disrespectful words that it was true enough, "soldiers and captains and governors [as well] and we deserved that he should say so."

As matters stood at that time Cortés could do nothing but keep silence and win him over to his side by gifts and promises, for he knew him to be a man of great daring and, as Cortés was always in fear that possibly some day or other he might do him some harm, he let the matter pass. From that time onward he always employed him (Alonzo de Ávila) on negotiations of importance, thus he sent him to the Island of Santo Domingo, and later on to Spain when we sent the personal property and treasure of the great Montezuma, which that great French Corsair, Joan Florin, stole, as I will relate at the proper time and place.

Let us return now to Narvaez and a black man whom he brought covered with smallpox, and a very black affair it was for New Spain, for it was owing to him that the whole country was stricken and filled with it, from which there was great mortality, for according to what the

Indians said they had never had such a disease, and, as they did not understand it, they bathed very often, and on that account a great number of them died ; so that dark as was the lot of Narvaez, still blacker was the death of so many persons who were not Christians.

Let us leave all that now and relate how the inhabitants of Villa Rica who had remained as settlers, and did not go to Mexico, demanded of Cortés the share of the gold they were entitled to, and told Cortés, that although he had ordered them to remain there at that port and town, they also were serving God and the King, as well as we who went to Mexico, for their task was to guard the country and build the fortress, and some of them had been present at the affair of Almeria and were not yet well of their wounds, and all the others were present at the capture of Narvaez, and he must give them their shares.

Cortés, seeing that what they said was very just, replied that two of the leading settlers of that town, having authority from all of them, should go [for their share,] which he had put aside and would deliver to them ; and it seems to me that he told them that it was stored at Tlaxcala, but this I do not remember clearly. So they at once despatched two settlers of that town for the gold and the shares, the leading man was called Joan de Alcántara the elder.

Let us cease speaking of this, and later on we will relate what happened to Alcántara and the gold.

Let me say how ill luck suddenly turns the wheel, and after great good fortune and pleasure follows sadness : it so happened that at this moment came the news that Mexico was in revolt, and that Pedro de Alvarado was besieged in his fortress and quarters, and that they had set fire to this same fortress in two places and had killed seven of his soldiers and wounded many others, and he sent to demand assistance with great urgency and haste.

This news was brought by two Tlaxcalans without any letter, but a letter soon arrived by two other Tlaxcalans sent by Pedro de Alvarado in which he told the same story. When we heard this bad news, God knows how greatly it depressed us.

By forced marches we began our journey to Mexico. Narvaez and Salvatierra remained as prisoners in Villa Rica, and it seems to me that Rodrigo Rangel was left as lieutenant and captain charged with the duty of guarding Narvaez and protecting many of the followers of Narvaez who were convalescent.

Just at this moment, as we were ready to start, there arrived four great chieftains sent to Cortés by the great Montezuma to complain to him of Pedro de Alvarado, and what they said, with tears streaming from their eyes, was that Pedro de Alvarado sallied out from his quarters with all the soldiers that Cortés had left with him, and, for no reason at all, fell on their chieftains and Caciques who were dancing and celebrating a festival in honour of their Idols Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, Pedro de Alvarado having given them leave to do so. He killed and wounded many of them and in defending themselves they had killed six of his soldiers. Thus they made many complaints against Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortés, somewhat disgusted, replied to the messengers that he would go to Mexico and put it all to rights. So they went off with that reply to their great Montezuma, who it is said, resented it as a very bad one and was enraged at it.

Cortés also promptly despatched letters to Pedro de Alvarado in which he advised him to look out that Montezuma did not escape, and that we were coming by forced marches, and he informed him about the victory we had gained over Narvaez, which Montezuma knew about already, and I will leave off here and tell what happened later on.



## BOOK VIII.

### THE FLIGHT FROM MEXICO.

#### CHAPTER CXXV.

How we went by forced marches, Cortés as well as all his captains and all the followers of Narvaez, except Pánfilo de Narvaez himself and Salvatierra who remained prisoners.



**W**HEN the news came which I have recorded that Pedro de Alvarado was besieged and Mexico in revolt, the commands that had been given to Juan Velásquez de Leon and Diego de Ordás for the purpose of going to form settlements at Panuco and Coat-zacoalcos were rescinded and neither of them went, for all joined with us. Cortés spoke to the followers of Narvaez, for he felt that they would not accompany us willingly, and to induce them to give that assistance, he begged them to leave behind them their resentment over the affair of Narvaez, and he promised to make them rich and give them office, and as they came to seek a livelihood, and were in a country where they could do service to God and His Majesty and enrich themselves, now was their chance; and so many speeches did he make to them that one and all offered themselves to him to go with us, and if they had known the power of Mexico, it is certain that not one of them would have gone.