

to this command, and Alonzo de Ávila was passed over there arose certain irritation between Alonzo de Ávila and Sandoval.

Then Cortés rode off at once in company with four horsemen, leaving orders for fifty of the most active soldiers to follow him, and he named those of us who were to form this company and that same night we arrived at Villa Rica. What happened there, I will tell further on.

CHAPTER LX.

How Cortés went to where the ship was anchored and how we captured six of the soldiers and mariners who belonged to the ship, and what happened about it.

WHEN, as I have related, we reached Villa Rica, Juan de Escalante came to speak to Cortés and said that it would be as well to go to the ship that night, lest she should set sail and depart, and that he would go and do this with twenty soldiers while Cortés rested himself. Cortés replied that he could not rest, that "a lame goat must not nap," that he would go in person with the soldiers he had brought with him. So before we could get a mouthful of food we started to march along the coast and on the road we came on four Spaniards who had come to take possession of the land in the name of Francisco de Garay the governor of Jamaica. These men had been sent by a captain named Alonzo Álvarez de Pineda or Pinedo, who a few days before had made a settlement on the Rio Panuco.¹ These four Spaniards whom we captured were named Guillen de la Loa, who had come as notary, and the witnesses he had brought with him to take possession

¹ Pinedo had brought his ships right around the Gulf of Mexico from the coast of Florida. See *Orozco y Berra*. vol. iv. p. 176.

of the country were Andrés Nuñez, who was a boat builder, another named Master Pedro, he of the harp¹ from Valencia, and another whose name I cannot now remember.

When Cortés clearly understood that they had come to take possession of the country in the name of Francisco de Garay, and knew that he was staying behind in Jamaica and sending captains to do the work, Cortés asked them by what right and title those captains came. The four men replied that in the year 1518 as the fame of the lands we had discovered by the expeditions of Francisco Hernández de Córdova and Juan de Grijalva and of the twenty thousand golden dollars which we had taken to Cuba for Diego Velásquez had spread throughout the Islands, that then Garay had information from the pilot, Anton de Alaminos, and the other pilot who had accompanied us, that he could beg from His Majesty the right to all the country he could discover from the Rio San Pedro and San Pablo towards the north.

As Garay had friends at Court who could support his petition, namely, the Bishop of Burgos, the lawyer Zapata, and the secretary Conchillos, he hoped to obtain their assistance, and he sent his Mayordomo, named Torralva, to negotiate the matter, and this man brought back a commission for him as Adelantado and Governor of all [the land] he could discover [north] of the Rio San Pedro and San Pablo. Under this commission he at once despatched three ships with about two hundred and seventy soldiers and supplies and horses under the captain whom I have already mentioned named Alonzo Álvarez Pineda or Pinedo, who was settling on the Rio Panuco, about seventy leagues away ; and these Spaniards said that they

¹ Maestre Pedro, el de la Arpa :—another named the shipmaster (or mate) Pedro, he of the harp (probably a musician).

were merely doing what their captain told them to do, and were in no way to blame.

When Cortés had learned their business he cajoled them with many flattering speeches and asked them whether we could capture the ship. Guillen de la Loa, who was the leader of the four men, answered that they would wave to the ship and do what they could, but although they shouted and waved their cloaks and made signals, they would not come near, for, as those men said, their captain knew that the soldiers of Cortés were in the neighbourhood and had warned them to keep clear of us.

When we saw that they would not send a boat, we understood that they must have seen us from the ship as we came along the coast, and that unless we could trick them they would not send the boat ashore again. Cortés asked the four men to take off their clothes so that four of our men could put them on, and when this was done we returned along the coast the way we had come, so that our return could be seen from the ship and those on board might think that we had really gone away. Four of our soldiers remained behind wearing the other men's clothes, and we remained hidden in the wood with Cortés until past midnight, and then when the moon set it was dark enough to return to the mouth of the creek, but we kept well hidden so that only the four soldiers could be seen. When the dawn broke the four soldiers began to wave their cloaks to the ship, and six sailors put off from her in a boat. Two of the sailors jumped ashore to fill two jugs with water and we who were with Cortés kept in hiding waiting for the other sailors to land; but they stayed where they were and our four soldiers who were wearing the clothes of Garay's people pretended that they were washing their hands and kept their faces hidden. The men in the boat cried out: "Come on board, what are you doing? Why don't you come?" One of our men answered:

"Come on shore for a minute and you will see." As they did not know his voice, they pushed off with their boat, and although we shouted to them they would answer nothing. We wanted to shoot at them with muskets and cross bows, but Cortés would not allow it, and said: "Let them go in peace and report to their captain."

So six soldiers from that ship remained in our company, the four we had first captured, and the two sailors who had come ashore. And we returned to Villa Rica without having had anything to eat since we first started.

This is really what happened and not what the historian Gomara relates, for he says that Garay came at this time; but it was not so, for before he himself came he first sent three captains with ships, and later on I will explain at what time they came and what happened to them, and I will tell, as well, about the coming of Garay. But we must get on now and I will relate how we settled to go to Mexico.

THE MARCH FROM CEMPOALA TO TLAXCALA.

Introductory Note to Chapter LXI.

THE Spaniards left Cempoala on the 16th August and crossed the frontier into Tlaxcalan territory on the 31st August.

Bernal Díaz says that they reached Jalapa on the first day, but that is not probable. Between Jalapa and Ixtacmaxtitlan there is no name given by Bernal Díaz or Cortés which coincides with a name on the modern map, although the Socochima of the narrative is undoubtedly Xico Viejo, a few miles from the modern village of Xico. The ruins of Xico Viejo were recently visited by Dr. J. W. Fewkes, who says that "the last half mile of the road is practically impassable for horses, and must be made on foot, justifying the statements of Gomara regarding the difficulties the horsemen of Cortés encountered in reaching the pueblo." (Twenty-fifth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1903-4.)

The Theuhixuacan mentioned by Gomara must be the Ixuacan of the modern map.

The Spaniards passed to the south of the great mountain mass of the Cofre de Perote (13,403 ft.) between that mountain and the

snowcapped volcano of Orizaba (17,365 ft.) to the tableland of Tlaxcala.

There is a considerable rise between Cempoala and Jalapa, which stands at an elevation of 4608 ft.

I am unable to ascertain the height of the pass between Perote and Orizaba, but it probably exceeds 10,000 ft., followed by a descent of about 3000 ft. to the plains of Tlaxcala and Puebla, which are 7000 ft. to 8000 ft. above sea level.

According to Bernal Díaz, the most difficult pass (Puerto de Nombre de Dios) was crossed before reaching the main divide.

After the passage between the mountains the Spaniards came to the salt lakes, marshes, and inhospitable stretches of sand and volcanic ash which extend along the western slope of the Cofre de Perote.

It is impossible to locate the exact route between the mountain pass and Zocotlan, as no names are given and part of the country is uninhabitable. Zocotlan itself was in all probability the Zautla of the modern map, but we are not on secure ground until the Spaniards reach Ixtacmaxtitlan, near the Tlaxcalan frontier. This frontier is still marked by the ruins of the wall built by the Tlaxcalans as a defence against their enemies, but the ruins are not marked on the Government map. However, the natural line of travel would be up stream from Ixtacmaxtitlan, and this would bring us to a place marked on the map Altlatlaya (no doubt *Atalaya*, which means *a watch tower*), and I have taken this to be the spot where the Spaniards passed the wall, and have so marked it on the map which accompanies this volume.

The march from Jalapa to Zocotlan must have been a most arduous one, and all the more difficult from the fact that it was undertaken in the middle of the rainy season. There is a much easier, although somewhat longer, route passing round the north of Cofre de Perote, but this was probably avoided by the Cempoalans as passing through too much of the enemies' country.

Appended is an Itinerary, with dates compiled from the writings of Bernal Díaz¹, Cortés,² Gomara³, and Andrés de Tápia,⁴ with the modern spelling of some of the names taken from Padre Agustin Rivera.⁵

August

16. Leave Cempoala.

17.

18. Jalapa.

19. Xico (modern map), Cocochima (B. D.), Sienchimalen (C.), Sienchimatl (G.), Xicochimilco (R.)

¹ (B. D.)

² (C.)

³ (G.)

⁴ (T.)

⁵ (R.)

20. A high pass and Tejutla (B. D.), Puerto de Nombre de Dios and Ceyconacan (C.), Theuhixuacan (G.), Ceycocnacac, now Ishuacan de los Reyes (note to Cortés' letter in Rivadeneyra Edition), Ixuacan, modern map.
 21. Finish ascent of Mountain (B. D.), Despoblado—uninhabited country.
 22. Despoblado. Lakes of salt water and Salitrales (T.), Salitrales (G.)
 23. Despoblado. Puerto de la Leña. March 2 leagues to
 24. Çocotlan (B. D.), Zaclotan (G.), Xocotla (R.), valley called Caltanmi (C.), Zacatami (G.). Spaniards called it Castil Blanco. Probably the Zautla of modern maps.
 25. Xocotlan.
 26. Xocotlan.
 27. Xocotlan. March 2 leagues up the valley to
 28. Iztacmastitan (C.), Iztacmixtlitan (G.), Ixtamaxtitlan (R.), Ixtacamastitlan (modern map).
Xalacingo of Bernal Dfiaz (evidently an error.)
 29. Ixtacamastitlan.
 30. Ixtacamastitlan.
 31. Cross the frontier into Tlaxcala at the great wall. March 4 leagues, skirmish with force of Tlaxcalans and Otomies.
- September.
2. First battle with the Tlaxcalan army under Xicotenga.
 5. Second battle.
 23. Spaniards enter the city of Tlaxcala.

CHAPTER LXI.

How we settled to go to the City of Mexico and on the advice of the Cacique we went by way of Tlaxcala, and what happened to us in our warlike engagements and other matters.

WHEN our departure for Mexico had received full consideration, we sought advice as to the road we should take, and the chieftains of Cempoala were agreed that the best and most convenient road for us to take was through the province of Tlaxcala, for they [the Tlaxcalans] were their allies and mortal enemies of the Mexicans.

Forty chieftains, all warriors, were already prepared to accompany us and were of great assistance to us on that journey; and they provided us as well with two