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The Project Gutenberg EBook of The pleasant historie of the conquest of
the VVeast India, now called new Spayne, by Francisco López de Gómara

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Title: The pleasant historie of the conquest of the VVeast India, now called new Spayne
atchieued by the vvorthy Prince Hernando Cortes, marques
of the Valley of Huaxacac, most delectable to reade

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Translator: Thomas Nicholas

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TRANSCRIBER'S NOTE.

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THE
Pleasant Historie of the
Conquest of the VVeast India,
now called new Spayne,

Atchieued by the vvorthy Prince
Hernando Cortes Marques of the valley of
Huaxacac, most delectable to Reade:

Translated out of the Spanishe
tongue, by T. N.

Anno. 1578.

¶ Imprinted at London by
Henry Bynneman.
1578.

¶ TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE,
Sir Francis VValsingham
*Knight, principall Secretary to the
Queenes most excellent Maiestie,
and one of hir highnesse most
Honorable priuie Counsell.*

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hilest I abode (right Honorable) in the Isle of Palma, in affaires of merchandize for the vvorshipfull *Thomas Locke* deceased, and his company, time then permitted me, to haue cōference vvith auncient gentlemen vvhicke had serued in the Conquest of the vveft India, novve called nevve Spaine, vnder the princely Captaine *Hernando Cortez*. By vvhom as present vvitnesses at many of the actes herein contayned, I vvas credibly informed, that this delectable and vvorthy Historie is a most true and iust reporte of matter paste in effect: vvherefore I did the more vvillingly turne ouer and peruse the same, vvhicke is a Mirrour and an excellent president, for all such as shall take in hande to gouerne nevve Discoueries: for here they shall behold, hovv Glorie, Renovvne, and perfite Felicitie, is not gotten but vvith greate paines, trauaile, perill and daunger of life: here shall they see the vvisedome, curtesie, valour and pollicie of vvorthy Captaynes, yea and the faithfull hartes vvhicke they ought to beare vnto their Princes seruice: here also is described, hovv to vse and correct the stubborn & mutinous persons, & in vvhat order to exalt the good, stoute and vertuous Souldiers, and chiefly, hovv to preserue and keepe that bevvtifull Dame *Lady Victorie* vvhe she is obtayned. And vvhere it vvas supposed, that the golden mettall had his beginning and place in the East and VVeast *India*, neare vnto the

hote Zoane, (as moste learned vvriters helde opinion) it is novve approued by the venterous trauellour and vvorthy captaine *Martin Frobisher* Esquire, yea and also through the greate paynes, procurement, and firste inuention of the vvorshipfull *Mychaell Locke* Merchaunt, that the same golden mettall dothe also lie incorporate in the bovvelles of the Norvv east parties, enuironned vvith admirable Tovvers, Pillers and Pynacles, of Rockes, Stone, and Ise, possessed of a people bothe straunge, & rare in shape, attire and lyuing, yea suche a Countrey and people, as all *Europe* had forsaken and made no account of, excepte our moste gracious Queene and her subiectes, vvhome vndoubtedly God hath appoynted, not onely to be supreme Princesse ouer them, but also to be a meane that the name of Christ maybe knovven vnto this Heathenish and Sauage generation.

Not long since (right Honorable) I happened to trauayle from the famous Cittie of *Tolledo* in *Spayne*, tovvarde highe *Castile*, and by fortune ouertooke an auncient Gentlemen, vvorshipfully accompanied, vnto vvho I vvas so bold as to approach, beseching his vvorship to aduertise me of his iourney: vvho (after he had beheld my white head & beard) ansvvered ful gently, that his intēt vvas to trauayle vnto the king of Spaynes Court, and vvelcomed me vnto his company. In shorte space that vve had iourneyed together, and communed of each other his Countrey, it pleased him to say as follovveth: My good friende, if you knevv my sute vnto the Kings maiestie, you vvould iudge that I vv ere a mad man, and therefore to shorten oure vvay, I vvill declare my attempted sute vnto you. You shall vnderstande, that I am a Gentleman of lxx. yeares of age, and sometimes I serued in the ciuill vvarres of *Pirru*, vvhere I vvas vvounded in diuers parts of my body, and am novv thereby lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I haue neyther VVife nor childe, and at this presente (God be praised) I haue in the Contractation house in the Citie of *Siuill*, in golde and plate, the summe of thirtie thousande Duckates: and I haue also in *Pirru* in good lands and possessions, the yearely rente of tvvelue thousande Duckates, vvhicke rentes and readye money is sufficiente to mainteyne a poore Gentleman. But al this notvvithstanding, I do

nowv sue vnto the Kings Maiestie, to haue licence and authoritie to discouer and conquere a certayne parte of *India*, vvhyche adioyneth vvith *Brazile*, and is part of the Empire of *Pirru*, I pray you novve declare what you thinke of my sute. By my troth sir (quoth I) I trust your vvorship vvill pardon a rash and suddaine iudgemēt, which you now demand at my hād: yea truly (quoth he) say vvhat you list. Then (quoth I) my opiniō is, that you are not wel in your wit, for vvhat vvould you haue? vvil not reason suffice you? or else would you now in your old days be an Emperour, considering that your Sepulchre attendeth for you. Novve truly I thanke you (quoth he) for of youre iudgement are most men: but I say vnto you, considering that all flesh must finish, I seeke for no quiet rest in this transitorie life: yea the vvise and Christian Doctors do teach and admonish, that euery true Christian is borne, not for his ovvne priuate vvealth and pleasure, but rather to help and succoure others his poore breethren. Likevvise doe I consider the greate number of Gentlemen, yonger brethren, and other valiāt persons, vvho through vvant of liuing, do fall into many disorders. VVherefore to accomplish my dutie tovvard God and my Prince, and to releue such poore Gentlemen, do I nowv attempte this iourney, vvith the aduenture of my bodye and goodes, and for that purpose I haue in readinesse foure tall Shippes, vvell furnished in the porte of *Saint Lucar de Barrameda*, hoping assuredlye, that before the life depart from my body, to heare these valiante yong Gentlemen (vvhome novv I meane to haue in my company) say, oh happie day, vvhen olde *Zarate* (for so is my name) broughte vs from penurie, yea and from a number of perils that vve vvere like to fall into. I hope also, that the royall estate of my Prince shall be by my paynes and poore seruice enlarged: beleue you me, this is the onely sumptuous Tumbe that I pretende to builde for my poore carkas. But yet I knowv there are some, vnto vvhome I may compare the Bore that lyeth vvallouvyng in his Stye, vvho vvill not lette to saye, vvhat neede vve any other vvorld, honor, or Kingdomes? let vs be contented vvith that vve haue: vvho may easily be aunsvvered, Sir glutton, your paunch is full, and little care you for the glory of God, honor of youre Prince, neyther the neede and necessitie of youre poore neyboures. VVith

this conclusion the Gentleman ended his tale, the iudgement vvhwhereof I leaue to noble Gentlemen his peeres to be determined.

And vvhere oure Captayne *Hernando Cortez*, of vvwhose valiant actes this historie treateth, hathe deserued immortal fame, euē so doubtlesse I hope, that vvithin this happie Realme is novv liuing a Gentleman, vvose zeale of trauayle and valiant beginnings dothe prognosticate greate, maruellous, and happie successe: for perfection of honor and profite is not gotten in one daye, nor in one or tvvo voyages, as the true histories of the East and VVest Conquests by Spanyardes and Portingalles do testifie. And calling to remembrance the greate zeale and good vvill vvwhich your honor hath alvvayes extended to good and profitable attemptes, and especially in the proceedings of the nev v discouery, youre honor hath not only vsed liberalitie in your aduētures, but also taken greate paynes in Courte, to aduance and further the voyage, a number I saye of Gentlemen, Marriners, and other artificers, shal haue great cause to pray for your honor. And vvhere I for my parte haue tasted of your honors goodnesse sundrye vvayes, I am novve most humbly to beseech youre honor to accept this poore gifte, the vvliche I haue translated out of the Spanish tong, not decked vvith gallant coulours, nor yet fyled vvith pleasant phrase of Rhetorike, for these things are not for poore Marchant trauellers, but are reserued to learned VVriters: yet I trust the Author vvill pardon mee, bycause I haue gone as neere the sense of this Historie, as my cunning vvoulde reach vnto. I also craue, that it may please youre honor, vvhen your greate and vvaightie businesse vvill permitte, to beholde this vvorke, and that shall be for me an encouragemente to take in hande the translation of the East *India*, vvliche is novve enioyed by the King of Portingall. Thus I ende, beseeching the Almighty to preserue your honorable estate.

(?)

Your honors most ready at commaundement
Thomas Nicholas.

The Conquest of the *Weast India.*

The Byrth and lynage of *Hernando Cortez.*

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1 the yeare of our Sauour, 1485. being kings of *Castill* and *Aragon*, the Catholike princes *Fernando* and *Isabell* his wyfe, was borne *Hernando Cortez* in a towne called *Medellin*, situated in the prouince of *Andulozia*: his Father was named *Martyn Cortez de Monroy*, & his mother was called Lady *Katherin Pizarro Altamirano*, they were bothe of good byrth, and procéded from foure principall houses, that is to say, the house of *Cortez*, the house of *Monroy*, the house of *Pizarro*, and the house of *Altamirano*, which foure houses are auncient, noble and honorable: yet these parents but poore in goods, but riche in vertue & good life, for whiche cause they were muche estéemed and beloued among theyr neighbours. His mother was of inclination deuoute, but somewhat harde: his father was charitable and mercyfull, who in his youth applied himselfe to the warres, and was Liuetenant to a company of horsemen. *Hernando Cortez* in his childehood was very sickely, so that many tymes he was at the poynt of death: And when he came to .xiiii. yéeres of age, his parents sent him to the Vniuersitie of *Salamanca*, where he remayned twoo yeares, learnyng Grammar, and then returned to *Medellin* werie of his studie, yea possible for want of money: yet his parēts were much offended with him for leauing his studie, for theyr onely desire was to haue had him a student at lawe, whiche is a facultie both riche and worshipfull, consideryng their sonne to be of a good witte and abilitie: Yet he

caused much strife in his Fathers house, for he was a very unhappy ladde, high minded, and a lover of chivalrie, for which cause he determined with himselfe to wander abroad to seeke adventures. And at that instant happened two iorneyes fit for his purpose & inclination. The one of them was to *Naples* wyth *Gonsalo Hernandez* of the Citie of *Cordoua*, who was a worthy man, & named the great captaine. And the other iourney was to the Weast India, with the Lorde *Nicholas de Ouando*, a knight of the order of *Larez*, who was then appointed for gouernour of those parties. And musing with himselfe which waye to take, determined to passe into *India*, chiefly bycause the gouernour was of his acquaintance, and such a one as would haue care of him. And likewise the great desire of gold made him to couet that voyage more than the Iorney vnto *Naples*. Now in the meane while that y^e fleet was preparing for *India*, it chaunced, *Hernando Cartez* pretended to go vnto a certaine house in the night season to talke with a woman, and clyming ouer a Wall whyche was of weake foundation, both he and the Wal fell together: So that with the noyse of hys fall, and ratling of his armour which he ware, came out a man newly married, and findyng him fallen at hys dore would haue slayne hym, suspecting somewhat of his newe married wife, but that a certaine olde woman (being his mother in lawe) wyth great perswasions stayed him from that fact. Yet with the fall he fell into a grievous Ague, and continued sicke for a long season, so that he could not procéde vppon his voyage with the gouernour *Ouando*. And when he had obtained and fullye recouered his health, he mynded to passe into *Italy*, And so toke hys way toward *Valentia*, wandering here and there almoste a whole yeare wyth much necessitye and penurie, and then returned home againe to *Medellyn*, with determination to procéde vppon his pretended voyage of *India*: Wherevppon hys father and mother waying their sonnes estate, desired God to blesse hym, and gaue him money in his purse for his iorney.

The age of Cortez vwhen he passed into India.

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ernando Cortez was of the age of nintéene yeares, in the yeare of Christ 1504. and then he went toward *India*, and agréed for his passage and victual with *Alonso Quintezo* who went in companie of other four shippes laden with merchandise, whiche nauie departed from saint *Lucas de Barramedo*, with prosperous nauigation, vntyll they arriued at the Iland of *Gomera* one of the *Canarie* Ilands, where they did prouide themselues of all things necessarie for so long a voyage as they then had in hand.

Comfort of God.

Alounso Quintezo, being greedie of his voyage, and desirous to come to the Ilande of *Sainto Domingo* before his fellowes, hoping to sel his commoditie the better, departed from *Gomera* in the night season without knowledge giuing vnto his company. But incontinent after he had hoysed vp his sayles, arose vp so great a winde and tempest, that his maine mast brake, whereby hee was forced to retourne backe againe to the Ilande of *Gomera*. And he made earnest requeste to them of the other shyppes to staye for him, vntyl hee hadde mended his Mast, who friendlye and neyghbourlye graunted hys desire, and departed altogether, sayling in sight the one of the other certayne dayes: yet the sayde *Quintero*, seyng the weather stedfast, and harpyng vpon gaynes, flewe from his fellowes agayne. And where as *Frances Ninio de Guelua* his pilote was not experte in that Nauigation, they knew not where they were at length: the Mariners did giue sundry Iudgements: the Pilote was in great perplexitie and sadnesse, their passengers lamented, and bewayled their unfortunate successe: the Master of the shippe layde the faulte to the Pilote, and the Pilote likewise charged the Master, for it did appeare that they were fallen out before. In this meane time their

victuall waxed skant, and their freshe water wanted, so that they prepared themselues to die. Some cursed theyr fortune, others asked mercie at Gods hande, lookyng for death and to be eaten of the *Cariues*. And in this tyme of tribulation came a Doue flying to the shippe, beyng on good Friday at Sunne sette, and satte him on the shippe toppe: whereat they were all comforted, and tooke it for a myracle and good token and some wept with ioy, some sayd y^t God had sente the Doue to comforte them, others sayde that lande was neare, and all gaue hartie thanks vnto God, directing their course that way that the Doue flew: and when the Doue was out of sighte, they sorrowed againe, but yet remayned with hope to see shortlye lande and on Easterday they discouered the Ilande of *Santo Domingo*, whiche was firste discried by *Christopher Zorso*, who cryed, lande, lande, a chéerefull voyce to the saylers. The Pilote looked out, and knewe that it was the poynt, or cape of *Semana*, and within foure dayes after they arriued in the porte of *Santo Domingo*, whiche was long wished for, and there they founde the other shippes of their company arriued many dayes before.

The time that Cortez abode in *Santo Domingo*.

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oone after that the Gouvernoure *Ouando* was in his regimemente and office, *Cortez* arriued at *Santo Domingo*, and the Gouvernours Secretarie, called *Medina*, receyued and lodged him, and also enformed him of the estate of the Iland, and aduised hym what was néedefull to doe, wishing that hée would be a dweller there, and that he should haue a plot to build vpon, with certaine ground for husbandry. But *Cortez* his thought was cleane contrary, for hée iudged, that as soone as he came thither, he should lade with gold, whereby hée did little estéeme his friend *Medina* his couësell, saying, that he had rather goe to gather gold, than to trauell in husbandrie. *Medina* yet perswaded him, that he shoulde take better aduisement, for to finde golde, was doubtfull, and very troubesome. This talke ended, *Cortez* went to kisse the Gouvernours handes, and to declare the cause of his comming, with other newes from *Estremadure* the Gouvernours Couëtre. The Gouvernour friendly welcommed him, and also perswaded him to abide there, the which counsell he accepted, and shortlye after wente to the warres, whereof was Captayne *Iaymes Velasques*, in the prouince of *Anigua Iaqua*, and *Guaca Iarima*, and other Lordships whiche were not as yet pacified wyth the late rebellion of *Anacoana* widdowe, who was a gentlewoman of great liuing. *Ouando* gaue vnto *Cortez* certayne Indiyans in the Countrey of *Daiguao*, and also the office of publike notarie in *Azua*, a towne whyche the Gouvernour had builded, and there dwelt *Cortez* fyue or syxe yeares, and began to play the good husband. Now in this meane season he woulde haue gone to *Veragua*, which was reported to bee maruellous riche, with the Captayn *Iaymes de Nicuesa*: but bycause of an empostume that he had vnder his righte knée, he went not, and as it happened, he was therein fortunate, for that thereby hée

escaped great perils and troubles, whiche happened to them that went on that voyage and iourney.

Things that happened to Cortez in *the Ilande of Cuba.*

Cortez escapeth.

The Gouvernoure vvas sore afrayde.

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he Lorde *Iames Colori* being Admirall and chiefe Gouvernour of the new *India*, sent one *Iaymes Velasques* to conquer the Ilande of *Cuba*, in the yeare .1511. And gaue vnto him men, Armour, and other thinges necessarie. And then *Hernando Cortez* wente to that conquest as a Clearke to the Treasurer called *Michaell de Passamontes*, for to kéepe the accompts of the Kings fiftes and reuenewes, being so intreated and required by the same *Iaymes Velasques*, bycause he was holden for a man both able and diligente. And it followed, that in the repartition of the lands conquered, *Iaymes Velasques* gaue vnto *Cortez* the Indians of *Manicorao*, in coniunct company with his brother in lawe called *Iuan Xuarez*, wherevpon *Cortez* did inhabite in *Saint Iames de Barucoa*, whiche was the first place of habitation in that Ilande, whereas he bredde and broughte vp Kine, Shéepe, and Mares, and was the first that hadde there any heard or flocke, and with his *Indians* he gathered great quantitie of golde, so that in short time he waxed riche, and ioyned in company with one *Andres de Duero* a Merchaunt, and put in two thousande Castlins for his stocke. He was also highly estéemed with *Iaymes Velasques*, and put in authoritie to dispatch businesse, and to giue order for edifices. In his tyme he caused a money house to be built, & also an Hospital. At that time one *Iuan Xuarez* naturall of the Citie of *Granada*, carried to the Ile of *Cuba* his mother and thrée sisters, whiche came to the Iland of *Santo Domingo*, with that vicequéene the Lady *Mary* of *Toledo*, in Anno .1509. hoping to marrie them there with rich men, for they were very poore. And the one of them named *Cathelina* was wont to say, That she shoulde be a greate Gentlewoman: it was eyther hyr dreames and fantasies, or else some Astronomer hadde made hir beléeue so, but hir mother was reported to bée very cunning. The

maydens were beautifull, for which cause, and also being there but fewe Spanishe women, they were muche made of, and often feasted. But *Cortez* was woer to the saide *Cathelina*, and at the ende married with hir: Although at the first there was some strife about the matter, and *Cortez* put in prison, bycause he refused hir for his wife, but she demaunded him as hir husband by faith and troth of hand: wherein *Iaymes Velasques* did stande hir friende, by reason of an other sister of hyrs which he had, but of an euil name. It so fell out that one *Baltazar Bermudez*, *Iuan Xuarez*, and the two *Anthony Velasques*, with one *Villegas* accused *Cortez*, that he ought to marrie with *Cathelina*, yet those witnesses spake of euill will many things, as touching y^e affaires cōmitted to his charge, alleadging y^t he vsed secret dealing with certaine persons. The which causes although they were not true, yet they carried great colour thereof. For why? many wēt secretly to *Cortez* his house, complayning of *Iaymes Velasques*. Some bycause they had not iust repertitiō of the cōquered Indiās, and other some not according to deserte. Contrariwyse *Iaymes Velasques* gaue credit to his talebearers, bicause *Cortez* refused to marrie w^t *Cathelina Xuarez*, & vsed vncourteous words vnto him in y^e presēce of many that stode by, and also commaunded him to warde. And when *Cortez* sawe himselfe in the stockes, he feared some proces of false witsnesse, as many times dothe happen in those parties. At time conueniente he brake the locke off the stockes, and layde hand vpon the Sword and Target of the kéeper, and brake vp a windowe, escaping thereby into the stréete, and tooke the Church for Sanctuary. But when *Iaymes Velasques* had notice thereof, he was greatlye offended with *Christopher Lagos* the Iayler, saying, that for money he had losed him: wherefore he procured by al meanes to plucke him out of the Sanctuary. But *Cortez* hauing intelligence of his dealing, did resiste and withstand his force. Yet notwithstanding one daye *Cortez* walking before the Churche dore, and being carelesse of his businesse, was caught by the backe with a Serieant called *Iohn Esquier* and others, and then was put aboorde a Shyppe vnder hatches. *Cortez* was welbeloued among his neighboures, who did well consider the euill will that the Gouernour bare vnto

him. But nowe *Cortez* séeing himselfe vnder hatches, despaired of his libertie, and did verily thinke, that he shoulde be sent prisoner to the Chancerie of *Santo Domingo*, or else to *Spayne*, who being in this extremitie, soughte all meanes to get hys foote out of the chayne, and at length he gotte it out, and the same nighte he changed his apparell with a ladde that serued him, and by the Pump of the Shippe he gotte out, not heard of any his kéepers, climbing softly along the Shippe syde, he entred the Skiffe and went hys way therewith, and bycause they shoulde not pursue after him, he losed the Boate of another Shippe that roade by them. The Currant of *Macaguanigua* a riuer of *Barucoa*, was so fierce, that he could not gette in with his Skiffe, bicause he had no help to row, & was also very werie, fearing to be drowned if he should put himselfe to the land, wherefore he stripped himselfe naked, and tyed a nyghtkerchiefe aboute hys head, with certayne wrytings apperteyning to his office of Notarie and Clearkshippe to the Treasurer, and other things that were agaynst the Gouvernoure *Iames Velasques*, and in this sorte swamme to lande, and wente home to hys owne house, and spake with *Iohn Xuarez* hys brother in law, and tooke Sanctuarie agayne with Armour. Then the Gouvernoure *Iames Velasques* sente hym worde, that all matters shoulde bée forgotten, and that they shoulde remayne friendes, as in tyme past they hadde bin, and to goe with hym to the Warres agaynste certayne Indians that hadde rebelled. *Cortez* made hym no aunswere, but incontinent married with mistresse *Catalina Xuarez* according to his promise, and to lyue in peace. *Iames Velasques* procéded on hys iourney wyth a greate companye agaynste the Rebelles. Then sayde *Cortez* to hys brother in lawe *Iohn Xuarez*, bryng me (quoth he) my Launce and my Crosbowe to the Townes ende. And so in that euening hée wente out of Sanctuarie, and taking hys Crossebowe in hande, hée wente with his brother in lawe to a certayne Farme, where *Iames Velasques* was alone, with his householde seruantes, for hys armye was lodged in a Village thereby, and came thither somewhat late, and at suche tyme as the Gouvernoure was perusing hys Booke of charges, and knocked at his dore which stode open, saying: Héere is *Cortez* that woulde speake with the Gouvernoure,

and so wente in. When *Iames Velasques* sawe hym armed, and at such an houre, he was maruellously afrayde, desiring hym to rest hymselfe, and also to accepte hys Supper: No Sir (quoth he) my onely comming is, but to knowe the complayntes you haue of me, and to satisfye you therein, and also to bée youre friende and seruitor. They then embraced eache other in token of friendship. And after long talke, they lay both in one bedde, where *Iames de Orrelano* founde them, who went to carrie newes to the Gouvernoure, how *Cortez* had fledde. After this sort came *Cortez* agayne to his former friendshippe with *Iames Velasques*, and procéded with him to the Warres, but afterwarde at his returne, he was lyke to haue bin drowned in the sea: For as he came from the Caues of *Bani* to visite certayne of hys Shepheardes and *Indians* that wrought in the Pines of *Barrucoa* where his dwelling was, his *Canoa* or little boate ouerthrew, being night, and halfe a league from land, with tempeste, wherby he was put to his shiftes, and forced to swimme, and happened to espye lyght that certayne Shepheardes had which were at supper néere the Sea side. By suche like perils and daungers, runne the excellente menne their race, vntill that they arriue at the Hauen where their good lotte is preserued.

The discoverie of newv Spayne.

Men tangled in foolish loue.

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raunces Hernandes de Cordoua did first discover *Xucatan*, going with thrée Shyps for *Indians*, or else to barter. These Shippes were sette forthe by *Christopher Morante*, and *Lope Ochoa de Saizedo*, in Anno .1517. And although he broughte home nothing at that time but stripes, yet he broughte perfect relation, how the Countrey was rich of gold and siluer, and the people of the countrey clothed. Then *Iames Velasques* Gouvernoure of the Iland of *Cuba*, sent the next yeare following his kinsman, called *Iohn de Grijalua*, with two hundred *Spanyardes* in foure Shippes, thinking to obtayne much gold and siluer for his Merchandise at those places, which *Fraunces Hernandez* had enformed him: So that *Iohn de Grijalua* wente to *Xucatan*, and there foughte with the *Indians* of *Champtoton*, and was hurt. From thēce he entred the riuer of *Tauasco*, which *Grijalua* hadde so named, in the whiche place he bartered for things of small value. He had in exchaunge golde, cloth of cotten wooll, and other curious things wrought of feathers. He was also at Saint *Iohn de Vlhua*, and tooke possession for the King, in the name of *Iames Velasques*, and there also exchanged his Haberdashe wares, for Golde, and Couerlets of cotten, and feathers: and if he hadde considered his good fortune, he would haue planted habitation in so rich a land, as his company did earnestly request him, and if he had so done, then had he bin as *Cortez* was. But suche wealth was not for him which knew it not, although he excused himselfe, saying, he went not to inhabite, but to barter onely in traffike of his Marchandise, and to discover whether that land of *Xucatan* were an Ilande, or no. And finding it a mayne land, and populous, he left off for very feare. Likewise, some of his company were desirous to returne to *Cuba*, among whome, was one *Pedro de Aluado*, who was farre in loue with a woman of that countrey. So they determined to returne, with relation to the Gouvernoure

of suche things as hadde happened till that day, and sayled homewardes along the coast to *Panuco*, and so came to *Cuba*, to the greate grieve of many of hys company. Yea some of them wept, with sorrowe that hée would not abide in that rich countrey. He was fiue monethes vpon his voyage homewarde from land to lande, and eyght monethes till his returne to the Citie. But when he came home, the Gouvernoure hauing hearde of his procéedings, would not looke vppon him, whiche was hys iust reward.

The Inuentorie of the treasure that *Grijalua brought for his wares.*

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ohn de Grijalua bought of the Indians of *Potonchan*, *Saint Iohn de Vlhua*, and other places of that coast, suche thynges as made his fellowes farre in loue with the Countrey, and loth to depart from thēce. The workmāship of many of the things that they bought, was more worth than the thing it selfe, as this Inuentory perticularly doth shew.

The Inuentory.

A little Idoll of golde hollowe.

A greater of golde, with hornes and heare, with a string of beadestones aboute his necke, and a Flyeflappe in his hand, and a little stone for his nauell.

A péece of golde, like the patent of a Challice, garnished with stones.

A Skull of golde, with two hornes, and blacke heare.

Two and twenty earerings of golde.

Two and twenty péeces of an other fashion.

Foure bracelettes of golde very broade.

A payre of beades of golde, the stones hollowe, wyth a Frogge of golde hanging at the same.

Another paire, with a Lyon of golde.

A great paire of earerings of golde.

Two little Eagles of golde hollowe.

A little Saltseller of golde.

Two earerings of golde with Turkie stones.

A collar to hang aboute a womans necke, of twelue péeces, with four and twenty stones hanging thereat.

A great collar of golde.

Sixe little collers of golde thinne.
Seauen other collers of gold with stones.
Foure earerings of golden leafe.
Twentie fishinghookes of golde.
Twelue graines of gold, waying fiftie Duckets.
A headlace of gold.
Certaine thinne planches of gold.
A Potedge pot of gold.
An Idoll of golde hollowe.
Certaine thinne brouches of gold.
Nine beade stones of gold.
Two payre of gilt beades.
One payre of wodden beades guilt.
A little cuppe of golde, with eighte purple stones, and twentie thrée stones of
an other collour.
Foure belles of gold.
A little sauser of gold.
A little boxe of gold.
Certaine smal collers of gold of smal value.
A hollow apple of gold.
Fourtie hatchets of gold mixed with copper, valued in two thousand fiue
hundred Duckets.
A whole harneis or furniture for an armed man of gold thinne beaten.
An other whole armour of wood with leaues of golde, garnished with little
blacke stones.
A certaine piece made like vnto a feather, of an hyde and gold ioyntly
wrought.
Foure pieces of armour of wood made for the knées, and couered with golden
leafe.
Two targets couered with feathers of many and fyne colours.
Diuerse other targets of gold and feathers.

A tuffe of feathers of sundry colours, with a little byrd in the midst, very liuely.

A wing of gold and feathers.

Two flyflappes of feathers.

Two little chamberpottes of Allabaster, beset with many trimme stones, and some fyne, & among them there was one esteemed at two thousand Duckets.

Certaine beades of tinne.

Fiue paire of wooden beades rounde and couered wyth a leafe of gold very thinne.

A hundred and thirty hollow bead stones of gold.

Many beades of woodde gilt.

A paire of Sissers of wood gilt.

Two gilt vissors.

A vissor of strange gesture of gold.

Foure vissors of wood guilt.

Foure dishes of wood couered with golden leafe.

A dogges head of gold beset with stones.

An other beastes head garnished with gold.

Fiue paire of rush shooes.

Thrée red hides.

Seuen rasors of flint stone, for to cut vp men that were sacrificed.

Two painted dishes of wood with an Ewer.

A garmēt with halfe sléeues of feathers of excéeding fine colours.

A couerlet of feathers.

Many couerlets of cotten very fine.

Many other couerlets of cotten course.

Two kerchiefs of good cotten.

Many perfumes of sweete odor, much of that countrey fruite.

They also brought a gentlewoman that was giuen thē, and other prisoner *Indians*. And for one of them was offered hys weight in golde, but *Grijalua* woulde not take it.

They also brought newes that there were *Amazons* women of warre, in certaine Ilandes, and manye gaue credit, being amazed at the things that they had brought bartered for things of a vile price: as here-vnder appeareth the Merchandise that they gaue for al the aforesaid Iewels.

The Inuentorie of the Spanish Merchandise.

Sixe course shirts.

Thrée paire of Maryners breeches of lynn.

Fiue paire of womens shoes.

Fiue broad leatherne girdels wrought with coloured thréed, with their purses.

Manye purses of shéepes skinne.

Sixe glasses a little gilt.

Foure brouches of glasse.

Two thousand beadstones of glasse greene.

A hundred paire of beades of diuerse colours.

Twenty wooddencombes.

Sixe paire of Sissers.

Fiftéene kniues great and small.

A thousand taylers nedels.

Two thousand pinnes of sorts.

Eight paire of corded shoes.

A paire of pinsers and a hammer.

Seauen red night cappes.

Thrée coates of colours.

A freese coate with a cap of the same.

An old gréene veluet coate.

An olde veluet cappe.

The determination of Cortez to prepare a *Nauie for discouerie.*

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ycause *Iohn de Grijalua* was absent a lōger season than was *Francisco Hernandez de Cordoua*, before his returne, or giuing aduise of his procéedings, the gouernoure *Valasques* prepared a Caruel, and therein sent one *Christofer de Olid*, for to séeke *Grijalua* with succor if néed wer, and gaue *Olid* great charge, that he should returne with newes from *Grijalua* with all spéede. But this messenger taried but a small while vpon his voyage, and saw but little of *Yucatan*, and not fynding *Grijalua*, he returned backe againe to *Cuba*, which returne happed not wel for the gouernour nor yet for *Grijalua*. For if he had procéeded forthe on his way to Saint *Iohn de Vlhua*, hee had then mette with whom he sought for, and likewise caused him to haue inhabited there. But he excused him self, alleaging that he had lost his ankers, and was therfore forced of necessitie to returne.

And as soone as *Olid* was departed on that voyage, *Pedro de Aluarado* returned to *Cuba*, wyth full relation of the discouerie, & brought many things w^t hym, wrought in gold, with strange coloured feathers, and cotton wool. The gouernour *Iames Valasques* reioyced much to behold those principles: And all the Spaniardes of *Cuba* wondered therat, and likewise to heare the whole relatiō of the iourney. Yet the gouernour feared the returne of his kinsman, bycause some of his companye that came sicke and diseased from those parties, saide that *Grijalua* meant not to inhabite there, and that the people and land was great, and also how the same people were warlike: likewise the gouernour feared the wisdom and courage of his kinsman. Wherevppon he determined to send thither certaine shippes, with souldiers and armor and other trifling things, thinking chiefly to enrich himself by barter, and also to inhabite by force. He

requested one *Baltazer Vermudez* to take that voyage in hand, who accepted the offer, but he demaunded thrée thousand duckets for his furniture and prouision. Their gouernour hearing this demaund, answered, that in such sorte the charges would be more than the profite: And so for that tyme lefte off the matter, bycause he was couetous, and loth to spend, thinking to prouide an army at other mēs cost, as he had done before, when *Grijalua* went firste on that voyage, for at that time one *Francisco de Montez* did furnish one shippe. And also certaine gentlemen called *Alaunso Fernādez*, *Porto Carero*, *Alaunso de Auila* & *Iames de Ordas* with manye others, wente with *Grijalua* at theyr proper costes and charges. It followed that the gouernour brake the matter to *Cortez*, & required that the voyage shoulde be set forth betwixte them, knowing that *Cortez* had two thousand Castlyns of gold in the power of one *Andres de Duero*, a merchaunt, and also that *Cortez* was a man diligent, wise, and of stoute courage. *Cortez* being of haughtye stomacke, accepted both the voyage and the charges, thinking the cost would not be much .&c. So that the voyage and agréement was concluded, whervpon they sent one *Iohn de Sanzedo* to the kings coūsel and chauncery, resident in the Iland of *Santo Domingo*, who were then religyous persons to haue and obtain of them licence, fréele to goe and traffike into those parties of newe discouerie, and also to séeke for *Iohn de Grijalua*, for they imagyned that wythout hym small trafficke woulde bee hadde, whyche was, to exchange trifles of Haberdashe for golde and syluer. The chiefe rulers of gouernement at that tyme in y^e kings counsell there, were these following, *Segniour Aloūso de Sāto Domingo*, *Segniour Luys de Figueroa*, & *Segniour Barnardo de Munsanedo*, who graunted the licence, and appointed *Hernando Cortez* for captaine Generall of the voyage, and setter forth in company of *Iames Velasques*. They also appointed a Treasurer, and Surueyour to procure for the kings portion or parte, whych was according to custome one fifte parte. In thys meane season *Cortez* prepared hymselfe for the Iourney, and communed wyth hys especiall friendes to sée who woulde beare hym companie: And hee founde thrée hundred men that agréed to his request. He then bought a Caruell and

Vergantine, and another Caruell that *Pedro de Aluarado* brought home. An other Vergantine he had of *Iames Valesques*: he prouided for them armour, artillery, and other Munition: hee brought also wyne Oyle, Beanes, Pease, and other victuals necessarye: he toke vp also vppon hys credite, of one *Iames Sauzedo* muche Haberdashe, to the value of seauen hundred Castlyns in golde. The gouernour *Velasques* deliuered vnto hym a thousande Castlyns whyche he possessed of the goods of one *Pamfilo de Naruaiz* in hys absence, alleaging that he had no other money of hys owne proper. And beeyng in thys manner agréed, the Articles and Couenauntes were drawen and set downe in wryting, before a Notary, called *Alounso de Escalantes*, the thrée and twenty day of October Anno .1518.

The cōming home of *Grijalua*.

The gouernour an old enemy.

Courage of *Cortez*.

In this meane time arriued at *Cuba*, *Iohn de Grijalua*, vpon whose arriual, the gouernour chaunged his purpose and pretence, for hee refused to disburse any more money, nor yet would consent that *Cortez* should furnish his Nauie. For the onely cause was, that he ment to dispatch backe againe his kinseman and his army. But to behold the stoute courage of *Cortez*, his charges, and liberalitie in expences, it was straunge, and to sée how hee was deceiued. And also to cōsider, the flatterie and deceite of his aduersarie, yea what complaints were made to the Lord Admiral, saying that *Cortez* was subtil, high minded, and a louer of honor, which were tokēs that he wold rebel, being in place conuenient, and that he woulde reuenge olde griefes. Also it grieved *Vermudez* that he had not accepted y^t voyage, vnto whō it was once offered, seing the great treasure that *Grijalua* had brought, & what a rich land the countrey newly discouered was. Also he pretended that y^e gouernor would be chieftain of y^e fléet, although his kinesman were not fit for y^e roome. The gouernor also thought y^t he being slacke, *Cortez* would also be slacke. But yet he séeing *Cortez* earnestly procéed, he sent one *Amador de Larez* a principal mā, to intreate him to leaue off y^e voyage (cōsidering y^t *Grijalua* was returned) and y^t he would pay him al y^e costs & charges y^t he had layd out. *Cortez* vnderstāding the gouernors minde, made answeere vnto *Larez*, y^t he wold not leaue of the Iorney, for very shame, nor yet breake the agrément made. And also if *Valasques* would send a Nauy for his owne account, he woulde be contente, for (quoth he) I haue alreadie my licence and dispatch of the fathers & gouernours. And thē he conferred with his friendes, to knowe their mindes if that they would fauour and beare him cōpany, at whose handes he found both ready helpe and friendshippe. Hee sought then for money, and toke vp vpon his credit foure M. Castlyns in gold, of his friend *Andreas de Duero*, & of *Pedro de Xerez* & others. With y^e which money he bought two ships, 6. horses, & much apparel, & began to furnish a house & kepe a good table for cōmers & goers: he went also armed like a captaine, & many wayting & attēding vpon him, whereat diuerse murmured, saying that hee was a Lord

without rente. In thys meane whyle came *Grijalua* to the Cittie of Sainte *Iames de Cuba*: but hys kinseman the gouernour woulde not loke vppon hym bycause he had lefte and forsaken so riche a lande. Also it griued him inwardlye that *Cortez* procéded thitherward so strong and mightye, and coulde by no meanes disturbe or lette hym, and to see the greate traine that wayted vppon hym wyth manye of them that had byn the other voyage with *Grijalua*: yea if that he should disturbe him, bloud shedde would follow in the Citie. So that he was forced to dissemble his sorow. Yet (as many affyrme) hee commaunded that hee shoulde haue no victuals solde vnto hym. Nowe *Cortez* departed from thence, proclayming himselfe for General, and that the gouernour *Valasques* had nothing to doe wyth hys Nauie, requesting his soldiers to enbarke themselues wyth such victuals as they had. He also bargayned wyth one *Fernando Alfonso* for certaine Hogges and Shéepe that were prepared for the shambles, and gaue vnto hym a chayne of golde and brouches for payment, and also moneye, to pay the penaltie that the butcher fel into for not prouiding the Cittie. And so he departed frō Saint *Iames de Baracoa* the eighteenth of Nouember, with about thrée hundred Spaniardes in sixe shippes.

The nauie and men that Cortez caried
with him to the Conquest.

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Cortez departed from Saint *Iames de Barocoa* with small prouision of victuals for suche a number of men, and also for the nauigation whyche as yet was vncertaine. And beeyng out of that parte, he sent *Pedro Xuarez Gallinato* with a Caruell to *Iaymaica* for vittailles, commaunding him, that those things which he should there buy, to goe therwith to *Cape de Corrientes*, or to *S. Anthonies* point, which is the farthest part of that Iland Westward. And he himselfe wente with his companie to *Macaca*, and boughte there greate quantitie of bread, and some Hogges, of one *Taymaio*. Then he procéded to the Trinitie Ilande, and there boughte an other Shippe of one *Alonso Guillen*. And of perticulare persons he bought thrée Horses, and fiue hundred bushels of Corne. And being there at roade, he had aduice, that *Iohn Nonez Sedenio* passed that way with a Shippe laden with victuals, for to make sale thereof at the Mynes. Wherevppon he sente *Iames de Ordas*, with a Caruel well armed, for to take him, and to bring him vnto *S. Anthonies* point. *Ordas* went and tooke him at the Channell *de Iardines*, and brought him to the place appointed. *Sedenio* broughte the register of his merchandise, whiche was greate store of bread, Bacon, and Hennes: *Cortez* gaue him chaynes of golde, and other pieces for payment, and a bil for the rest. In consideration whereof, *Sedenio* wente with him to the Conquest. In the Trinitie Ilande *Cortez* gathered togyther two hundred men more, who had bin in *Grijalua* hys company, and were dwellers in that Iland, and in *Matancas*, *Carenias*, and other Villages, and sending his ships forward, he went with his men by land to *Hauana*, which was then inhabited on the South side in the mouth of the riuier called *Onicaxinall*, but there they would sell him no prouision, for feare of the Gouvernour *Velasques*. But yet one *Christopher Galsada* rentgatherer to the

Byshoppe, and receyuer for the Popes Bulles, solde to him great store of Bacon and bread of that Countrey called *Maiz*, and other prouision, whereby his fléete was reasonably prouided .&c. And then he beganne to distribute his men and vittayles aboorde eache vessell in good order. Then came *Aluarado* with his caruell, with his other friendes *Christopher de Olid*, *Alonso de Auila*, *Francisco de Monteio*, & manye others of *Grijalua* hys company, who had bin to talke with the Gouvernoure *Velasques*. And among them came one *Garnica* so called, with letters for *Cortez* from *Velasques*, wherein he wrote, desiring him to abide there, for that he meant to come himselfe, or else to send vnto hym, to treat of matters profitable for them both.

A snare layde for Cortez.

Also, the sayd Gouvernour sente other secret letters to *Iames de Ordas* and others, requiring them to apprehende and take prisoner *Cortez*. Nowe *Ordas* did inuite *Cortez* to a banquet aboorde his Caruel, thinking by that meanes to catche *Cortez* in a snare, and so to carrie him prisoner to the Citie of *Saint Iames de Barocoa*, but *Cortez* vnderstood the matter, and fayned hymselfe to be very sicke, and also fearing some vprore, he went aboorde his Shippe Admirall, and shot off a péece of Ordinance, giuing warning to his Nauie to be in a readinesse to make sayle, and to follow him to *Saint Anthonies* poynte, whiche was done with expedition, and there in the Towne of *Guani Guaniga* he mustered his men, and found fiue hundred and fiftie Spanyardes, whereof fiftie were Marriners. He deuided them into eleuen companies, and appointed these persons following for Captaynes, that is to say, *Alonso de Auila*, *Alonso Fernandez Porto Carrero*, *Iaimes de Ordas*, *Francisco de Monteio*, *Francisco de Morla*, *Francisco de Salzeda*, *Iohn de Escalante*, *Iohn Velasques de Leon*, *Christopher de Olid*, and one *Escouar*, and he himselfe as Generall tooke one Company. He made these many Captaynes, bycause his whole fléete was eleuen sayle, and that eache of them shoulde seuerally be Captayne, both of Shippe and men. He also appoynted for chiefe Pilote *Antonio de Alamines*, who had taken charge before with *Francisco de Hernandez de Cordoua*, and *Grijalua*, &c. He carried also 200

Indians, borne in y^e Ile of *Cuba*, to serue and to carrie baggage, & also certayne *Negros* with some *Indian* womē, and sixtéene Horses & Mares, with great prouision of Bacon, corne, bisket, hennes, wine, oyle, pease, and other fruites, w^t great store of Haberdash, as Belles, necklaces, beades of glasse, collers, points, pinnes, purses, nedels, girdels, thredde, kniues, sissers, pinsars, hāmers, hatchets, Shirts, Coyfes, headkerchiefes, handkerchiefs, bréeches, coates, clokes, cappes, Marriners bréeches, all y^e which Merchādise be deuided amōg his nauie. The Ship Admiral was of the burthen of a hūdred Tunnes. Other thrée Shippes of the burthen of eightie Tunnes the péce. All the residue were small withoute ouerloppe, and vergantines. The deuice of his ensigne or aunciente, was flames of fire in white and blewe, with a redde crosse in the midst, and bordred round with letters, in the Lattine and Spanishe tongs, which signified this in effect: friends, let vs follow the Crosse, and with liuely faith with this standerde we shall obteyne victorie. The premisses (as ye haue hearde) was the furniture that *Cortez* prouided for his iourney, and with so small a thing he conquered so greate and mightie an Empire, & strange Countreys, vnknownen at that time. There was neuer Captayne that did with like army ouercome so infinite a people, & bring both thē and their coūtrey vnder subiectiō. He caried no money to pay his souldiers, but was rather much indebted to others at his departure. And to say the truth, there néeded any money to make pay to those souldiers that went to the Cōquest, for if they shuld haue serued for wages, they would haue gone to other places néere hand. But in *India*, euery one pretēdeth y^e state of a noble man, or else great riches. Now all y^e fléete being in readinesse (as ye haue hearde,) *Cortez* began an exhortation to his cōpany as followeth.

The Oration that Cortez made to his Souldiers.

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y louing fellowes and déere friendes, it is certayne that euery valiant manne of stoute courage, doth procure by déedes to make him selfe equall with the excellent men of his time, yea and with those that were before his time. So it is, that I do now take in hād such an enterprise, as godwilling shall be héereafter of greate fame, for myne heart doth pronosticate vnto mée, that we shall winne greate and rich Countreys, and manye people, as yet neuer séene to anye of oure nation, yea and (I beléeue) greater Kingdomes than those of oure Kinges. And I assure you, that the desire of glory dothe further extend, than treasure, the whiche in sorte, mortall life doth obtayne. I haue now prepared Shippes, Armor, Horses, and other furniture for the warres, with victuall sufficient, and all things that are vsed as necessary in Conquestes. I haue bin at greate costes and charges, wherein I haue not onely employed myne owne goodes, but also the goodes of my friendes, yet me thinketh that the employmente thereof dothe encrease my treasure and honor. We ought (louing fellowes) to leaue off small things, when great matters doe offer themselues. And euen as my trust is in God, euen so greater profite shall come to our kings, and a nation of this oure enterprise, than hath héeretofore of any other. I doe not speake how acceptable it will be to God our sauour, for whose loue I do chiefly and willingly hazard my goods and trauel. I will not nowe treat of the perils and danger of life that I haue passed since I began this voyage. This I say, that good men doe rather expect renoune, than treasure. We doe now attempt and begin warre that is both good and iust, and the almighty God in whose name and holy faith this voyage is begonne, will assuredly graunte vnto vs victory, and the time will shew the end of things well begonne. Therefore we will now haue an other manner in our procéedings, than

eyther *Cordoua* or *Grijalua* hadde, whereof I meane not nowe to dispute, for the presente time doth hasten vs away, but at our arriuall, we will do what shall séeme vnto vs conuenient. Héere déere friends do I lay before you great gaynes, but wrapped in greate trauell, yet *Vertue* is an enimie to idlenesse .&c. Therefore if you will accept hope for *Vertue*, or *Vertue* for hope, and also if ye forsake me not, as I will not forsake you, I will with Gods help make you in shorte time the richest men that euer passed this way. I doe sée you are but fewe in number, but yet such men of haughtie courage, that no force or strength of *Indians* can offende. Likewise wée haue experience, that Christ our sauour hathe alwayes fauoured our nation in these parties. Therfore my déere friendes, let vs now in Gods name depart ioyfull, exspecting good successe, according to our beginning .&c.

The entrance of Cortez into the *Iland of Acusamill.*

The feare of the Indians of Acusamil.

Hovv the people vver found

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A facte vvorthy of prayse.

ith the aforesayd communication, *Cortez* gaue great hope to his cōpany of waightie matters, yea and great admiration of his person, so that all his company had an earnest desire to procéede on that iorney. And *Cortez* likewise reioyced, to see his men so willing: and incontinente, they embarqued themselues, and after their prayers made vnto God, hoysed vp their sayles, and with faire winde departed the eighttenth day of Februarie Anno 1519. And beyng at Sea, he willed all his nauie (as the vse is) to haue S. Peter for their patrone, warning them alwayes to follow the Admirall (wherin he went) bycause he carried a light for the night season to guide them the way, whiche was almost East and West from S. *Anthonies* point, being the nerest part of *Cuba* to *Cape de Cotoche*, which is the first lād point of *Yucatan*, whither they were bounde, so y^t being there, they might run alōg the coast, betwene the North point and the West. The firste night y^t *Hernando Cortez* begā to passe ouer the gulfe betweene *Cuba* & *Yucatan*, being little aboue lx. leagues, the winde rose vp at Northeast with much force, so y^t all the Fléete were separated without sight y^e one of the other: yet by the accompt that their Pilots kept, they arriued all sauing one at the Ilande of *Acusamil*, although not at one time, and those that last ariued, wer the Admirall, and Captayne *Morla* his Ship, who had lost his Ruther, but by shoting off a pece, *Cortez* vnderstood his necessitie, and came vering to him, and amayned his sailes to succour him, being in y^e night season. Yet when the day appeared, it pleased God y^t the rage of the tempest ceassed, & being cléere day, they found agayne their Ruther, and trimmed the Ship, and made sayle, and sayled that day and the next following, without sighte of land, or any of the Fléete. But the third

day they arriued at a cape or point of land, called Womens cape. *Cortez* cōmanded *Morla* to follow him, directing his course to séeke the residue of his Fléete, and arriued in this sorte at the Iland of *Acusamil*, and there found all his nauie excepte one, whereof they hearde no newes in many dayes after. The people of that Ilande beholding suche a straunge sight, were in great feare and admiratiō, so that they gathered their stuffe and wente vp into the Mountaynes. *Cortez* caused a certayne number of his mē to goe a land to a Towne which was néere the place where they were arriued, and they foūd the towne wrought with Masons worke, and good building, but they founde no creature therein, yet in some houses they foūd cloth made of cottē woll, and certaine Iewels of gold. Also they entred into a high tower made of stoneworke, néere the sea side, and there they founde nothing but Idols of earth and stone. With this newes they returned to *Cortez*, and enformed him what they had séene, and also many faire sowē fields of *Maiz*, and great store of hiues of Bées, and many trées of fruites, and also presented vnto him the gold and other things that they had foūd. *Cortez* reioyced with y^e newes but yet maruelled that the people were fledde, considering that when *Grijalua* was there, they had not so done, wherby he iudged, that his nauie béeyng greater, caused them to feare and flie, and likewise he feared least a snare were prepared for him. Then he cōmanded to vnship his Horses for thrée causes: the one to discouer the Countrey: and the other to fight if néede were: and also to grase thē, hauing there abūdance. Also he vnshipped his mē of warre, and sent them to discouer the land. And in the thickest of the Mountaynes, they found four women, and thrée childrē, whome they brought to *Cortez*, so that not vnderstanding their language, by signes & tokens they ymagined that one of thē was the mother to the children, & mistresse to the other women. The pore creatures bewayled theyr captiuitie. *Cortez* made much of them, & apparrelled the mistresse as wel as he might with Spanish attire: and to hir seruants he gaue loking glasses and sissers: and to the little children other toyes to play withall, vsing no dishonestie towards thē. And thē he determined to send one of the wenches to call hir maister, and to enforme him how well they

were intreated. In this meane season came certaine spies lurking a farre off, by the cōmandement of their Lord, who was called *Calachuni*, to bring newes of his wife, & what else passed. *Cortez* receyued them gētly, & gaue vnto them certayne trifles, and sent others to their Lord, and returned thē w^t embassage on his behalfe & his wiues, to desire hym to come vnto him, and to sée those folke from whome he had fledde, promising, that neyther his person, nor none of his countrey should receyue anye molestation of him, nor of any of his company. *Calachuni* vnderstāding this friendshippe, and also with the loue hée bare to his wife and childrē, came the next day following with all the Townesmen, in whose houses y^e Spanyards were lodged, who woulde not permitte that their guestes should giue place. And the Lorde commaunded, that they should be wel entertayned, and frō that day forward prouided them of bread, fishe, honey, & fruite. *Calachuni* spake and saluted *Cortez* with greate humilitie and ceremonie, and euen so was he louingly receyued, & wel entertained. *Cortez* did then declare vnto him the commoditie that would ensue vnto him by that nation. And also presented vnto him & his cōpany many toyes, which were vnto thē of small valewe, but muche estéemed among them, yea more than golde. And moreouer *Cortez* cōmaunded, that all the golde and other things that his men had taken in the Towne, shoulde be broughte before him, and placed it so, that euery *Indian* knewe his owne, and was restored vnto them, whereat they were not a little ioyfull, wondering at the liberalitie of the straungers, and departed both merrie and riche with their straunge giftes, and went throughout al the Iland, shewing to their fellowes their presentes, commaunding them in the name of *Calachuni* their Lord, to returne euery man to his house, with ther wiues and children, commending highly the honest and gentle nature of the straungers. With this newes and commaundemente, euery man returned to his house and Towne from whence he had fledde. And after thys sort their feare was past, and they prouided the Camp abundantly of honey, bread, waxe, fishe, and frute, all the time that they abode in that Iland.

The Indians of Acusamil gaue nevves to Cortez of certaine bearded men.

Nevves of bearded men.

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ow Cortez seeing these *Indians* quiet and wel pleased, and also very seruiceable, he did determyne to take away theyr Idols, and to giue them a remembraunce of Iesu Christ borne of the Virgin Mary, by one *Melchior* a fisher man and very rustical, who had bin ther before with *Francisco Hernandez de Cordoua*, who declared vnto them, that *Cortez* his Lord and captaine would enforme them of a better god, and better lawes, than those which they maintained. The *Indians* answered, that they were contented therewith, and went with them vnto their temples, and there brake downe their Idols, and celebrated diuine seruice, teaching them to adore and worshippe Christ crucifyed, so that they were verye attentiuē to the doctrine, and ceased sacrificise of men which they were wōt to vse. These *Indians* did wonder much at the shippes and horses, yea and marueyled as muche at our colour and beardes, so that many times they would come and féele them, and signified vnto them by signes and tokens towardes *Yucatan*, that there were fiue or sixe bearded men. Then *Cortez* considering how profitable it wold be to haue an interpreter to vnderstand and to be vnderstood, he besought *Calachuni* that he would appoint a messenger to carrye a letter to the bearded men, who were in the power of a great Lord and Tyrant, and *Calachuni* found none that durst take that iourney in hand, fearing that they should be slaine and eaten. *Cortez* seing this, entreated with faire words, thrée of the *Indians* that serued him to accept the iourney, and gaue thē rewards for theyr labour: yet the *Indians* excused them, saying that they should be slayne, notwithstanding with faire promises and rewardes, they accepted the voyage, so that *Cortez* wrote with them this letter following.

Worshipful sirs, I departed from *Cuba* with eleuen saile in my fléete,

furnished with fiue hundred and fiftie Spaniardes, and I arriued here at *Acusamil* from whence I write you this letter. The people of this Ilād haue certified me, that there is in that countrey fiue or sixe bearded men, and in al pointes like vnto vs: they can not here enforme me of anye other signes or tokens, but hereby I do coniecture, and certainly beleue that ye be Spaniards. Both I and these gentlemen of my company do come to discouer and inhabit this land, we hartily pray you y^t within sixe days after the receite hereof, ye come vnto vs, w^tout any excuse or delay, and if ye so doe, al we of this nauie wil gratifye your gentlenesse & good seruice y^t ye shal do vnto vs. I do send you a Vergantyn wherin you may come, & two shippes for your safeconduct.

Hernando Cortez.

This letter being written, there was found an inconuenience, which was, they knew not how to carrye the letter so secretly y^t it might not be séene, & they taken for espies, wherof the saide *Indians* stode in great feare. Thē *Cortez* bethought him, y^t the letter wold passe wrapped in y^e haire of the head of one of thē, for ordinarily the *Indians* wear lōg heare, & on their solemn feasts & in wars they vse their haire platted & boūd about their forheads. And he appointed captaine of the Vergantine wherin y^e messēgers wēt, *Iohn de Escalante*, & *Iames de Ordas* for captaine of the other two ships, with fiftie men if any nede should happen. So shortly after the ships arriued at the place appointed, *Escalante* set a land his messengers, and abode there eight days they returne, although he promised thē to abide there but sixe dayes. And thē séeing that they came not, he surmysed y^t they were either slaine or taken captiues: & so returned backe againe to *Acusamill* without his messēgers, wherof al the army were sorowful, & chiefly *Cortez*, thinking that the *Indians* had wrōg enformed him. Nowe in this meane season they trymmed their shippes of the hurte receiued by the late tempest, & at the returne of the two ships and Vergantyne, they hoysed vp sailes and departed.

A miraculous chaunce hovv Geronimo de
Aguilao came to Cortez.

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alachuni and all his subiectes were full of heauinesse (as it semed) with the departure of the Christians, bycause they were wel vsed at their handes. From *Acusamil* the fleete sayled to get the coast of *Yucatan* to the cape called Womens point, with prosperous weather, & there *Cortez* came to an Anker, desirous to see the disposition of the lande, and the manner of the people: but it liked him not, so that y^e next day folowing being shrouetuisday, he departed, meaning to double the sayde cape, and so to passe to *Cotoche* and to viewe it. But before they hadde doubled the poynte, *Peter de Aluarado* shotte off a piece, in token that hee was in great peril, wherevppon the other shippes drewe neare to knowe what hadde happened: And when *Cortez* vnderstoode that *Aluarados* shippe was in so great a leake that with two pumpes they mighte not emptie the water, he found no other remedy but to returne backe again to *Acusamil* with al his fléet. The *Indians* of y^t Ilande came incontinent to y^e water side very ioyfull, and to knowe whether they had left any thing behind thē. The Christiāns enformed thē of their mishap, and came a shore, & in short time found the leake & amended it. The Saterdag following they toke shipping again, al the army excepte *Hernando Cortez*, and fiftie of his company, then the wind arose contrary, and so much, that they could not departe that day: & the furie of the winde endured al that night, but in the morning it waxed calme, so that they myghte proceede on their voyage. But for as much as that was the Sabboth daye, they determined to heare diuine seruice, and after dinner to make saile. When their seruice was ended, and *Cortez* sitting at his meate, there was newes brought him that a little vessell called a *Canoa*, came vnder saile toward the shippes, whiche seemed to come from *Yucatan*: with that newes *Cortez* arose from his meate, to behold whether

the *Canoa* went, and perceiuyng that she left the way toward the shippes, he sente *Andrew de Tapia* with certaine others, as secrete & closely as might be deuised, to lye in ambushe for their comming a shoare. The *Canoa* arriued in a calme place, out of the which came foure men all naked, except their priuie members, and the heare of their heades platted and bound aboute their foreheades like vnto women, with bowes and arrowes in their hands: three of them which were *Indians*, wer afraide when they saw the Spaniards with their drawen swordes, and would haue fled againe to their *Canoa*, but the Christian feared not, and desired his fellowes in the *Indian* tong to abide with hym. And then he began to speake in the Spanish tongue in thys wise: Maisters are ye Christians, yea (quoth they) and of the Spanish nation. Then he reioyced so much, that the teares fell from his eyes, and demaunded of them what day it was, although he had a Primer wherein he dayly prayed.

The cōming of Aguilar to Cortez.

He then besought them earnestlye to assist him with their prayers & thanksgiuing vnto god for his deliuary, & kneeling deuoutly downe vppon his knees, holding vp his handes, his eyes toward heauen, and his face bathed with teares, made his humble prayer vnto God, giuing most hartie thanks, that it hadde pleased hym to deliuer him out of the power of Infidels and infernal creatures, and to place hym among Christians and men of his owne nation. *Andrew de Tapia* holpe hym vppe, and toke hym in hys armes, and so did al y^e others embrace & louingly salute him. Then he commaunded the other thrée *Indians* to follow him, and went talking wyth hys friendes, where *Cortez* abode, who receyued him ioyfully, and gaue vnto hym such apparel as he néeded, and wyth great pleasure hauing him in his companye, hee demaunded the estate of his misfortune, and what was hys name, who aunswered before them al, saying, Sir my name is *Geronimo de Aguilar*, I was borne in the Cittie of *Esija* in the *Andolozia*, and by misfortune I was loste after this sorte. In the warres of *Darien* and in the time of the contentions and passions of *Iames de Nicuessa*, and *Vasco Nonez Balboa*, I came with Captaine *Valdinia* in a little Caruell, toward *Santo*

Domingo, to giue aduice to the Admirall and gouernour, of the troubles which had happned, and my comming was for men and victuals: and likewise we brought twentye thousand Duckettes of the kings in *Anno .1511*. And whē we apported at *Iamayca*, our Caruel was lost on the shallowes whiche were called the Vipars, and with greate pain we entred (about twenty persons) into the boate, w^t out sayle, water or bread, and weake prouision of oares: we thus wander thirtéene or fourtéene dayes, and then the current, whiche is there very great & runneth alway weastward, cast vs a shoare in a prouince called *Maija*, & traueling on our way, seauen of our fellowes died wyth hunger & famin. And captain *Valdinia* & other 4. were sacrificed to the ydols by a cruel and cursed *Cacike*, that is to say, a Lord in whose power we fell .&c.

And after the sacrifice, they were eaten among the *Indians* for a solemne banquet: and I, and other sixe wer put into a Cage or coupe, to be fatned for an other sacrifice. And for to escape suche abhominable death, we brake the prison and fledde through certaine mountaines: So that it pleased God that wee mette with another *Cazike* who was enemy to him that first toke vs, his name was *Quinquus*, a man of more reason and better condition, hee was Lord of *Xamansana*: he accepted vs for his captiues, but shortly after he dyed, and then I aboad with *Taxmar* his heire. Then deceased other fiue of our fellowes, so that there remayned but onely I and one *Gonsalo Guerrer*, a maryner, who now abydeeth with *Nachancan* the Lorde of *Chetemal*, and he married with a rich gentlewoman of that countrey, by whom he hath children, and is made a Captaine, and wel estéemed with the *Cazike* for the victories y^t he hath had in the wars against the other Lords. I sent vnto him your worships letter, desiring him that he would come with me hauing so fit a passage, but he refused my request, I belieue for verye shame, bycause hee had his nose ful boared of holes, & his eares iagged, hys face & handes painted according to the vse of y^t countrey, or else he abode there for the loue he bare to his wife and children. All those whiche stode by & hard this Historie, were amased, to heare *Geronimo de Aguilar* report howe those *Indians* did sacrifice & eate mans flesh. They also

lamented the miserie & death of his fellowes, and highly prayesd God, to see him free from his bondage & from such cruel & barbarous people, & to haue likewise so good an enterpreter with them, for vndoubtedly it seemed a miracle y^t *Aluarados* ship fell into a leak, for with y^t extremity they returned back again to that Iland, whereas with contrarie winde they were constrained to abide y^e coming of *Aguilar*. And certainly he was y^e mean & speech of al their proceedings. And therefore haue I bin so prolixious in y^e rehearsal of this matter, as a notable point of this historie. Also I wil not let to tell how the mother of *Geronimo de Aguilar*, became mad .&c.

When she hard y^t hir son was captiue among people y^t vsed to eate mā's flesh, & euer after whē she saw any flesh spitted or roasted, she would make an open outcrie, saying, oh I miserable woman, behold this is the flesh of my dearebeloued sonne who was all my comfort.

The Iland of Acusamil.

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he *Indians* naturall of that countrey do cal their Ilande *Acusamil*, & corruptlye *Cosumel*. *Iohn de Grijalua* was y^e first Spaniard that apported there, and named it the holy Roode, bycause hee fell in sighte therof on holy roade daye. It cōtayneth ten leagues in length & thrée leagues in breadth, although some say more, some lesse: it standeth twentye degrées on this side the equator, and fiue leagues from the womēs cape: it hath thrée villages, in y^e which liueth nere 3 thousand mē. The houses are of stone and brick, and couered with straw & bowes, & some with tile. Their temples and towers are made of lime & stone very wel built: thei haue no other fresh water but out of welles and raine water. *Calachuni* is their chiefe Lord: they are browne people & goe naked: & if any weare cloth, it is made of cotten wool only to couer their priuie mēbers: they vse lōg hear platted & bound about their foreheads: they are great fishermē, so y^t fish is their chieftest foode & sustenance, they haue also *Maiz* which is for bread: also good fruites: & hony, but somewhat soure: and plots for bées, which contayn .1000 hiues. They knew not to what vse wax serued, but whē they saw our mē make cādels therof, they wōdred therat. Their dogges haue Foxe faces and barke not, these they gelde and fatten to eate. This Iland is ful of high moūtaines, & at the feete of them, good pastures, many Deare, and wilde Boares, Connyes and Hares, but they are not great. The Spaniardes with their handguns and crossebowes prouide them of that victual, fresh salt and dried. The people of this *Iland* are Idolaters, they doe sacrifice children, but not manye. And many times in stead of children they sacrifice dogges. They are poore people, but very charitable and louing in their false religion and believe.

The religion of the people of *Acusamil.*

A straunge Idol.

The God of rayne.

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he temple is like vnto a square Toure broad at the foote, & steps round about it, & from y^e middest vpward very straight: the top is hollow & couered with straw: it hath foure windowes with frontals and galleries. In y^t holow place is their chappel, wheras their Idols do stand. The temple that stoode by the sea side was such a one, in the which was a maruellous straunge Idol, and differed muche from all the rest, although they haue manye and of diuerse fashions. The body of this Idol was great and hollow, and was fastened in that wall with lime: hee was of earth. And behinde this Idols backe was the Vesterie, where was kept ornaments & other things of seruice for y^e temple. The priests had a little secret dore hard adioyning to y^e Idol, by which dore they crept into y^e hollow Idol, and answered the people y^t came with prayers & peticiōs. And w^t this deceit y^e simple soules beleued al y^t the Idol spake, & honored y^e god more thā al the rest w^t many perfumes & swéete smelles, and offered bread and fruite, with sacrifice of Quayles bloud, and other birds, and dogges, and sometime mans bloud. And through the fame of this Idoll and Oracle, many Pilgrimes came to *Acusamil* from many places. At the foote of this Temple was a plotte like a Churchyard, well walled and garnished with proper pinnacles, in the middest whereof stoode a Crosse of ten foote long, the which they adored for God of the rayne, for at all times whē they wanted rayne, they would goe thither on Procession deuoutely, and offered to the Crosse Quayles sacrificed, for to appease the wrath that the God séemed to haue agaynste them: and none was so acceptable a sacrifice, as the bloud of that little birde. They vsed to burne certaine swéete gūme, to perfume that God withall, and to besprinckle it with water, and this done, they beléeued assuredly to haue rayne. Suche is the Religiō of those *Indians* of

Acusamil. They could neuer know the original how that God of Crosse came amōgst them, for in all those parties of *India*, there is no memorie of anye Preaching of the Gospell that had bin at any time, as shall be shewed in another place.

The Battell and vvinning of *Potonchan.*

Policie.

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ortez procéded with his Fléete very ioyfull, bycause he had found one of his Ships which hée thought had bin lost, & aported at the riuier *de Grijalua*, whiche in the *Indian* tong is called *Tauasco*, and anckred at the riuers mouth, fearing to enter in with the bigger vessels ouer the barre: and incontinente came manye *Indians* to gaze at them and theyr Shippes, who were armed with feathers, and suche lyke armour as they vse, séeming a farre off trimme fellowes. They wondered not muche to sée oure Shyppes and menne, bycause they hadde séene before *Iohn de Grijalua* in the same Riuer. The behauiour of that people, and scituation of the Countrey, liked *Cortez* verye well, so that leauyng sufficiente garde in hys Shyppes, he manned hys Vergantynes and Boates, and carried with hym certayne pieces of Ordinance, and with force of oares he entred the Riuer agaynste the streame, whiche was verye greate, and hauyng rowen little more than halfe a league, they espyed a greate Towne walled wyth Timber, and the houses made of mudwall, couered with strawe. The Towne wall was verye strong, with loope holes to offende withall. And before oure menne came néere the Towne, they mette with manye little Boates, whiche the *Indians* call *Tahucup*, full of armed menne, shewyng themselues desirous of battayle. *Cortez* procéded forwardes, and made vnto them signes of peace, declaring vnto them by his interpreter, that hys commyng thither was not to molest or disquiet them, but onely to take freshe water, and to buy victuals, as menne that trauelled by Sea, and stode in néede thereof, promising good paymente for anye thing that they shoulde take. The *Indians* hearyng theyr request, promised to shewe theyr message to the Townesmen, and woulde also returne with theyr aunswere and vittayles, and so departed. In shorte space they returned againe, and broughte

bread and fruite, and eyght Turkie Cockes, and presented it franckely vnto them. *Cortez* gaue them thanks, but (quoth he) the prouision that ye haue brought, is very little, for the néede that I and so manye persons which I haue within yonder greate vessels locked and shutte vp, therefore I pray you to bryng me more vittayles, or else to permitte and suffer mée and my folkes to come vnto youre Towne to séeke oure remedie.

Diligence of a good Captayne.

The *Indians* demaunded one nyghtes space to doe the one and the other, and departed towarde the towne. *Cortez* also went to a little Iland that standeth in the riuier, to abide their aunswere, so that eache pretended to deceyue the other, for the *Indians* demaunded that time, to the intent to carrie that night away theyr goodes, and to put in safetie their wiues and children in the Mountaynes, and likewise to gather their men of warre to defende theyr Towne. *Cortez* also commaunded his Hargabushiers and Crossebowmen to goe a lande vppon the Ilande, and caused the Riuier vpwardes to bée soughte for way, to wade ouer, so that these thyngs were done that nyghte without anye knowledge to the contrarye syde. And all those whyche abode aboorde the Shyppes, came vnto *Cortez*, and those who wente to séeke the passage, founde within lesse than halfe a league vpwardes, a place that was of depth to the girdle of a manne. And likewise founde suche couerte of wooddes, that they myghte come néere vnto the Towne, and not to bée séene.

Thys newes lyked well *Cortez*, wherevppon he appoynted two Captaynes, whose names were *Alonso de Auila*, and *Peter de Aluarado*, and to eache of them fiftie menne. The same nyghte hée sente certayne Souldyers wyth a sea compasse, to lye in ambushe in the woodde whyche stode betwéene the riuier and the towne, for two considerations. The one, bycause the *Indians* shoulde sée, that there were no moe Spanyardes in the Ilande, than were the daye before. And the other was, that hys menne hearing their watchword, shoulde assaulte the towne on the land side. And as soone as the day appeared, came eight boates of *Indians* armed, wheras oure Campe was pitched, who broughte a little victuall,

saying they could get no more, bycause that the inhabitantes of the Towne were fledde, with feare of them, and their deformed vessels, desiring them to returne aboorde their Shippes, and not to disquiet the people of that Countrey. The interpreter aunswered, that it was against humanitie to suffer them to perishe wyth hunger, yea and if they woulde heare the cause of theyr comming, they should shortly see what profite would rebound vnto them. The *Indians* replied, that they woulde take no counsell of straungers and menne whome they knewe not. Lykewise, they thoughte not good to lodge suche gwestes in their houses, for they seemed terrible, and such as would be commaunders. But if they woulde néedes haue water, they mighte take riuer water, or else make welles on the shore, for so dyd they at theyr néede.

Then *Cortez* séeyng that wordes preuayled not, hée signified vnto them that he woulde enter their Towne by force, to see it and their Countrey, for to giue thereof relation to the greatest Prince in the worlde, who hadde sent them thither: requesting them to be therewith contented, considering he meante not to disquiet them: and if they would not permitte the same, he would commend himselfe to his God, and to the strength and force of hys men. The *Indians* aunswered agayne, that they shoulde depart, and not thus bragge in other mens land, for in no wise they woulde permitte them to enter their Towne. And if with this warning they would not departe, they meante to kyl both him and as many as were with him. Yet *Cortez* ceased not to vse all humanitie with those barbarous people, according to the commaundemente and instructions giuen vnto him by the King of *Castill*, whiche was, to require those people oftentimes with peace, before the attempting of warre, or entring perforce into their Townes and Countrey, so that yet agayne he conuited them with peace, promising them libertie with good entertainment, assuring them of things profitable both for body and soule, and that they myghte accompt themselues happie with the knowledge thereof: but if now they would refuse his offer, he did then warne them to make them ready for the euening, for before the going downe of the Sunne, he did hope with the help of his God, to rest and take vp his lodging in

the Towne, in despite of all the inhabitants thereof, who had refused his offer.

The *Indians* laughed at his talke, and skorning at him, they returned to the Towne, to enforme their fellowes of the pride and madnesse that they thought they hadde hearde. Then the Spanyardes wente to dinner, and hauing well refreshed themselues, they putte on their Armour, and went aboorde their Boates and Vergantines, looking for some aunswere from the *Indians*, and séeyng the Sunne decline apace, and no aunswere, *Cortez* aduised the Spanyardes that lay in ambushe in the woodde, to giue assault, and he embarqued himselfe with his rapier and Targette, gyuyng likewise assaulte with néere two hundred men, who comming néere the Towne walles, discharged his Ordinance, and leapt into the water to the knées, and began valiantly to assault the walles and bulwarkes. The *Indians* séeyng their enimies so nigh vnto them, beganne to fighte with courage, shooting arrowes, throwing of dartes and stones, wherewith they hurte about twenty Spanyardes: yea, and though the fearefull noyse of the Ordinance did many times so annoy them, being things so straunge, and neuer before séene of them, yet they fledde not from the walles, but resisted the Christians valiantlye, and suffered them not to enter the Towne that way, if they had not bin assaulted in another place. But when the Company that lay in ambush hearde the shooting of their fellowes, they began likewyse theyr onsette. The *Indians* knowyng nothyng what was prepared behynde theyr backes, and hauing also theyr handes full in defending the entrance by the Riuer: and the Christians fyndyng that parte of the Towne without resistance, entred in wyth a terrible noyse, killing as many as they mette. Then the Townesmen vnderstoode theyr oversyghte, and woulde haue remedied it, and fledde from the place where *Cortez* was gyuing combat, whereby *Cortez* and hys Company entred the Towne at ease, without contradiction, so that hée and the other Companie of his Souldyers mette together at the Markette place, and expulsed all the *Indians* out of the Towne, excepte those that were taken prisoners, and the carkases of the deade. Then the Chrystians soughte the spoyle, and founde nothyng but Turkie Hennes, and some thyngs wrought of Cotten wooll, but verye little Golde.

There was that daye aboue foure thousande *Indians* in fyghte and defence of the Towne: There was much *Indian* bloud shedde, bycause they fought naked, manye were wounded, and fewe Captiue. *Cortez* lodged himselfe wyth hys armie in the chieftest Temple of the Idolles, where was roome sufficiente. They kepte that nyghte good watche, as in a house of enimies, but the poore *Indians* durst not once interrupte them. After thys forte was *Potonchan* taken, béeyng the fyrste Cytie that *Cortez* wanne by force in all hys Conquest.

The Battell of Cintla.

1 y^t nighte *Cortez* slept not, but rather occupied himselfe in carrying the wounded men, & other stuffe aboard y^e Shyps, & also to disenbarke thirtéene Horses, & the residue of his mē y^t he had left aboard, y^t which he brought to passe before the sunne rising, although the *Tauascans* had notice thereof. Whē the sunne was risen, he had with his company made vnto God their prayers, and mustered his men, where were at that time in Campe néere fiue hundred Spanyardes, thirtéene Horses, and sixe péeces of ordinance: These Horses were the fyrste that euer came into that Countrey, whych now is called new *Spayne*. He planted his men and munition in good order, and thus marched forwardes toward *Cintla*. The *Indians* séeyng this preparation, began also to make readie, and to place in good order fortie thousand men in fyue cōpanies: their méeting was in ploughed lande among manye déepe lakes and pondes, very daungerous to passe, so that our men by reason thereof were brought out of order. And *Hernando Cortez* with his horsemen wente to séeke a better passage, and to enclose himselfe among certayne trées on their left hand, for to set vpon the enimies when time should serue. The footemen procéded on, and passed many marishe groundes, vntill they came to the tilled land. The *Indians* were expert in those places wher they beganne the battayle, shooting with their bowes and slings, and throwing of dartes. And although our mē did some hurt among them with their Crossebowes, hādgunnes, and Ordinance, whē they were in place to shoote, yet the *Indians* pursued our men so thicke, that they could not put them off, for by pollicie, the *Indians* of *Potonchan* hadde soughte out that place: and it is to bée thoughte that they were not barbarous, nor of small vnderstanding in warres, yet notwithstanding wyth muche payne, oure men gate out of that place, and obtayned another somewhat better, and more playner grounde, whereas they myghte vse their Ordinance, and fyghte with their weapons bodye to body. But the *Indians* béeyng so greate a number, draue our men to so narrowe a place, that they were fayne to ioyne backe to backe for theyr owne defence, yea & for all

that were in maruellous greate daunger, for they hadde no roome to vse their Ordinance, nor yet Horsemen to make them waye. They béeyng in thys perplexitie, and readie to flye, suddaynely appeared a Horseman with a speckled Horse, whome they iudged to be Captayne *Morla*, whych Horsemanne sette vppon the *Indians*, and made them retyre: and hauyng more space than before, they sette afreshe vppon the enimies, and slewe some of them. In thys meane tyme the Horsemanne vaded away, and was not séene, and wyth hys absence the *Indians* beganne afreshe, and enclosed the Chrystians in the same daunger that they were in before: then the Horsemanne appeared agayne néere oure menne, and made maruellous way among the enimies, wherevpon our menne séeyng this succoure, gaue the onset agayne with great courage, and slewe and hurt many *Indians*, but at the best season, the Horseman vanished away cleane out of sighte, and when the *Indians* sawe not the Horseman, with feare of whome they fledde, thinkyng that he hadde bin a *Centaure*, and that the Horse and man was all one incorporate, they returned agayne with lieueley courage, and vsed our Christians worse than they hadde done before. Then the Horseman returned the third time, and putte the *Indians* to flight with great hurte, whom our footemē pursued with great slaughter.

Now at this instant came *Cortez* with al his company of horsemen, being wearied with the trauaile in passing such strange lakes and wildernesses, wherof the countrey is replenished. Our men being ioyful of his comming, they began to enforme him what wonders they had sene a horseman do, which came to succour them, demanding of him which of their company it was. *Cortez* answered and faithfully assured them, that it was none of their cōpany, bicause it was not possible for any of them to come any sooner: Then they al gaue God praise, belieuing that it was a helpe sent from heauen. *Cortez* said (my deare fellows) forwards, for god is with vs. Then the horsemē set vpon the *Indians*, and with force of lance droue them out of the marish ground, and brake their mayne battel. The *Indians* incontinent left the felde, and fled into the thicke wooddes, the footemen followed them, and slue aboue thrée hundred *Indians*, besides

many other that were hurt. There wer aboute seauenty Spaniardes wounded with arrowes and stones.

A sodaine disease.

And whether it were with labour of the battel, or with excessiue heate, or with drinking the water of that place, there fel such a stitch in their loynes, that about a hūdred of them fel flat vpon the groūd, not able to go nor stand, their fellowes being forced to carry thē on their backes. But it pleased god that the same night the payne wente frō them, being in the morning wel againe. Who séeyng themselues deliuered from so manye perils, gaue moste humble thankes to the almightye god that had miraculously deliuered them. They all agréed that thrée times they had séene the straunge horseman, with the speckled horse, fight in their fauour, as is aforesaid, beléeuing generally it was a miracle, as certainly it did appeare, for the Christians did not alone see this thing, but also the *Indians* dyd muche note it, for the maruelous fiercenesse wherwith he came vppon them, with such great murder, that they were amased, and almoste blynde with hys bryghtnesse, being so trodden vnder hys féete. The captiue *Indians* after the battayle declared the circumstance therof.

The Lord Tauasco submitteth
himselfe to the Christians.

The Cazike enbassadours.

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ortez released some of hys prisoners and sent them to their Lorde, saying that it grieved him the hurt done on both parties, but the fault was theirs. And that god was witnesse of hys innocencie and also of hys curtesie offered vnto thē. But notwithstanding all that was paste, he pardoned their errour with suche condition, That if in continent or within two dayes, theyr Lorde woulde come vnto him, to yælde satisfaction of their malice and stubbornesse, and to treat of peace and friendship, warning and aduising them, that if they came not wythin the time appointed, hee woulde enter into his countrey, burning and spoyling with slaughter both great & smal, armed and vnarmed: with which message the messengers departed, and *Cortez* returned to the towne to cure his wounded men. The next day came fiftie auncient Indians to craue pardon for their offence, and also licence to bury the dead, with likewise safeconduct that their rulers and principal persons myght safely come vnto the towne. *Cortez* graunted their request, warning them to make any lyes or yet to conspire againe: and also if their lords came not personally, he would not heare any more embassadors: with this rigorous cōmaūdemēt & protestation they departed. These *Indians* féeling their strength woulde not preuaile, thinking the christians to be inuincible, their Lords and chieftest persons did determine to goe and visite the christians and their captaine. And according to the time appointed, the Lorde of that town and other foure Lords his neyghbours came vnto *Cortez* with a good trayne of their vessals and seruitours, and presented vnto him, bread, turkie hennes, & fruites, with other like prouision for his host, with four hundred pieces of gold of y^e value of 400. double duckets, w^t other small iewels, and certaine turkie stones of small value. And twentie women slaues, to serue to make breade and dresse

meate for y^e whole army. He craued and beseeched *Cortez* to pardon his former offence. And to accept and receiue them into hys friendshippe. And in token of his obedience, hee and his fellowes dyd willinglye deliuer their bodies, landes and goods into his handes and power. *Cortez* did louingly receiue them, and gaue vnto them certaine trifles of his wares, whiche they estéemed much. And those *Indians* hearing the horses and mares ney, they maruelled at their neying, thinking that the horses could speake, & demaunded of the Christians what they sayd, (mary quoth they) these horses are sore offended with you bycause ye fought with them, & wold haue you corrected and chastened for your so doing. The simple *Indiās* hearing this, presented roses and Gynea Hens vnto the horses, desiring them to eate and to pardon thē.

Certaine questions that Cortez demaunded of the *Cacike Tauasco*.

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any things passed betweene our men & the *Indians*: for where the *Indians* vnderstood thē not, their behauour was much to laugh at. And vsing conuersation with our men, & seeing they receiued no hurte of them, they brought to the towne their wiues and children, which were no smal number. And among many matters that *Cortez* communed with *Tauasco* by the mouth of *Ieronimo de Aguila* his enterpreter:

The first question was: Whether there wer mynes of gold or siluer in that countrey, and from whēce they had that small quantitye that they hadde broughte vnto them?

The secōd question was: Why they denyed him their friendshippe, more than the other captaine that had bin there the yeare before?

The third was: Why they being so many in nūber, fled from them being so fewe?

The fourth was: To giue thē to vnderstād the mightie power of the king of Castill. And last of all to giue them knowledge of the faith of Iesu Christ.

The ansvvere of the *Cacike*.

As touching Sir (quoth he) the Mynes of gold and siluer in our country, we séeke for none, for we séeke not after treasure and riches, but we procure and desire a quiet life. And that golde which we haue, was founde by chaunce: for we know not what Mynes do mean. Yet notwithstanding further within the lande, whereas the sunne doth hide himselfe, ther the people do finde muche gold and are giuen to séeke the same.

And as touching the captaine that was here of late, we seeing the men and shippes to be such as we had neuer before seene, spake vnto them and

demaunded what they would haue, they sayde that their comming was, to chaunge their merchandice for gold and nothyng else, wherefore we graunted to their request. But now séeing greater vessels and moe in number, wee feared least ye came to take our substance. And I knowing my selfe nothing inferiour to any of my neyghbours, would not permit any iniurie to be offered me, and that he and his subiectes did estéeme themselues the most valiant of men of warre in all these parties, and that none durste take away their goods, women, and children, to be sacrificed by force, wherevpon he thought to withstande those fewe Christians, but (quoth he) I founde my selfe deceiued, seeyng we could not kill any of your companye. And likewise the brightnesse of youre weapons dyd blynde vs, and the woundes you made were incurable.

But the noyse and lightning of your ordinance dyd more amase vs, than either thunder-clappes or tempest: and also the great spoyle that you made among vs therewith: likewise your straunge horses made vs greatly to wonder, to behold their open mouthes, wee feared to be swallowed. And then to consider their swiftnesse in running, we knew no creature could escape them. But y^e first horse that fought with vs, put vs in marueylous feare, being but one, but when we espyed many, then all oure helpe was past, for we belieued that the horse and man was al one incorporate.

Hovv the Indians of Potonchan brake
downe their Idols, and worshipped Christ crucified.

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ith the relation of *Tauasco*, *Cortez* sawe that the countrey was not for Spaniardes, nor yet he toke it a thing conueniente to settle themselues where no golde nor siluer was, or other riches. And so pretended to passe forwardes to discouer westward the lande endewed with golde. But before his departure, he declared to those new conquered *Indians*, that the Lord in whose name he and hys company had taken that iourney was king of Spayne and Emperour of Christians, and the greatest Prince in the worlde, vnto whom many kings and Princes dyd homage and obey. And that hys rule and gouernemente in iustice proceeded from God, beeing iust, holy, peaceable, and sweete, and also the *Monarchie* of the vniuersall did appertaine vnto him. And for these causes he required them to yelde themselues as his subiectes. And if they would doe so, there shoulde ensue vnto them great profite, lawes and pollicie. And as touching their religion, he declared their blindnesse & greate abuses which they vsed in worshipping many Gods, and in making sacrifice vnto them with mans bloud, yea & thinking that those images and Idols, did or coulde doe good or euill vnto them, being dūbe, without life or soule, yea and y^e worke of their owne hands. He certifyed them of one god maker of heauen and earth, and all creatures whom the Christians did worshippe and serue, and that all creatures ought to doe the same. In conclusion with thys doctryne they brake downe their Idols, and receyued the crosse, *Cortez* hauing first declared vnto them the great miseries that the son of God suffered on y^e Crosse for mankynde. And in the greatest temple of *Potonchan*, set vp a Crosse in remēbrance of the death of Christ and celebrated the feast vpon their knees, and the multitude of *Indians* likewise, and departed to their meate. *Cortez* desired them within two dayes to come agayne to

theyr diuine seruice. And that day was Palme sunday. And so they did and brought an infinite number of men women and children of other villages with them whych was straunge to behold. And there generally gaue theyr vassalship to the king of Spaine into the handes of *Hernando Cortez*, with protestation of perpetuall friendship with the Spanish nation. So that these were the fyrste vassals that the Emperour had in the new Spayne. And this feast and ceremony ended, our men toke shipping with the palme boughes in their handes. In this doying *Cortez* deserued no lesse prayse than in his victorie, for he vsed wisdom with manhoode in all his doings: he lefte those *Indians* with a newe faith, and the towne frée and without hurt, he toke none for slaues, nor yet any spoyle nor exchāged his merchaundice for any thing although he aboade there twentye dayes. The towne is called in the *Indian* tongue *Potonchan*, that is to saye, a place that stincketh, and our menne named it, the victorie.

The armor of the Indians.

The Lord (as ye haue heard) was called *Tauasco*, and therefore the firste Spaniardes that came thyther, named the riuier *Tauasco*, but *Grijalua* called it after hys owne name, whose name and remembraunce will not so soone be forgotten. And truely all those that do discouer newe countreys, ought to make perpetuall their owne names. This town doth containe neare fiue and twentye thousand houses (as some say) but as euery house stādeth by himselfe like an Iland, it seemeth much bigger than it is in déede. The houses are great, made of lime stone, & bricke: others there are made of mood wal, and rafters & couered with straw or bordes. Their dwelling is in the vpper part of the house, for the greate moystnesse of the riuers and lakes, and for feare of fier, they haue theyr houses separated the one from the other. Without, the towne they haue more fairer houses than wythin for their recreation and pleasure. They are browne people, and go almost naked, and eat mans flesh sacrificed. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, slyngs, darts, and lances. The armour wherwith they defend themselues, are Targets and skulles made of woodde or barke of trées, and some of gold very thinne. They haue also a certayne kinde of harneis made of cotten

wooll wrapped aboute their stomacke.

The good entertainment that *Cortez had in Saint Iohn de Vlhua.*

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aptaine *Cortez* and his company beeyng embarked, sayled weastwards as nye the shoar as thei might. And this coast hauing no harbors, they founde no place where they might Anker safely with their greater vessels, vntil they arriued vpon Mandie thursday at *Saint Iohn de Vlhua*, whiche séemed a good harbor for them. The *Indians* of this place call this harbour *Chalchicoeca*, there the fleete came to Anker. They were not so soone at Roade, but incontinente came two little boates named *Acalles*, enquiring for the Generall of the Fleete, who when they came to hys presence, dyd humble reuerence vnto him, and sayde vnto hym that *Teudilli* the Gouvernoure of that Prouince sente to knowe what people they were, and what they woulde haue, and whether they meante to stay there or procéede farther. *Aguillar* dyd not well vnderstande that language. *Cortez* caused them to come aboorde hys Shyppe, gyuyng them thanks for theyr paynes and visitation. Hée made vnto them a banket of Wyne and Conserua, and sayde vnto them, that the nexte day followyng hee would come alande, and talke with the Gouvernoure, whome hée besoughte not to alter him nor hys people wyth hys commyng a shore, for he meant not to molest hym, but rather to pleasure and profyte hym. To that these messengers were rewarded wyth certayne gyftes, they eate and dranke, but yet suspected euill, although they lyked the Wyne well, wherefore they desired to haue thereof, and also of the Conserua, to presente vnto theyr Lorde, whyche was giuen them, and so departed.

The nexte daye béeyng good Friday, *Cortez* came alande wyth hys Boates full of menne, and broughte hys Horses and artillerie a shore by little and little, wyth all hys menne of warre, and two hundred *Indians* of *Cuba*, whyche serued to toyle and laboure. Hée planted hymselfe in the best scituation that hée coulde

fynde among the Sandy bankes on the Sea syde, and there pytched hys Campe, and hauyng néere that place manye trées, they builde them Cotages with boughes.

VVisedome.

The comming of the Gouvernor.

A straunge salutation.

From a little Village that was at hand, came many *Indians* to gaze at things so straunge, and the like neuer séene vnto them, and brought with thē gold to barter for suche toyes, as the two little Boates had broughte from them before. They brought also bread and meate readie dressed after their vse likewise to sell. Oure men chaunged wyth them beadestones of glasse, looking glasses, sissers, kniues, pinnes, and suche other wares, whereof the *Indians* were not a little glad, returning home to their houses, shewing their neighbours. The ioy and pleasure that these simple soules tooke with these trifles, was so greate, that the next day they came agayne wyth other *Indians* ladē with Iewels of gold, Turkie Hennes, bread, meate, and fruite, that suffised for all the Campe, and for the same they receyued nedels, and beadestones of glasse, but the poore soules thought themselues therewith so riche, that they knewe not where they were with ioy and pleasure, yea and they thoughte that they hadde deceyued the Straungers. Nowe *Cortez* séeyng the greate quantitie of golde broughte and bartered so foolishly for trifles of no valewe, proclaymed throughout all hys host, that no Christian shoulde take any golde vppon greate penaltie, and that they shoulde all shewe, as though they knewe not to what purpose the golde serued, and that they passed not for it, bycause they shoulde not thynke that the desire thereof had broughte them thither, and so they did dissemble that great demonstration of golde, to see what was meante thereby, and whether the *Indians* hadde brought that golde, to proue whether theyr commyng was for that or no. On Easter day in the morning, came *Teudilli* the Gouvernour to the Campe, from *Cotosta* hys dwellyng place, whyche was eyght leagues from thence. He brought attendyng vpon his person foure thousande men without weapon, and the most part well clothed, some of them with garments of Cotton, riche after their manner. And others naked, laden with victuals in great abundance, whiche was straunge to see. *Teudilli* according

to their vsance, did his reuerence to the Captaine, burning frankinsence, and little strawes touched in bloud of his owne bodye, he presented vnto him the victuals, and certayne Iewels of golde very riche and well wrought, and other things made of feathers very curious straunge and artificiall. *Cortez* embraced him in his armes, and receyued hym ioyfully, saluting all hys company. He gaue to *Teudilli* a coate of silke, a brooche, and a coller of glasse, with many other pièces of Haberdashe wares, whiche was highly estéemed of him.

The talke of Cortez vvith *Teudilli*.

A maruellous happe.

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I the former talke was had without an Interpreter, bycause *Ieronimo de Aguillar* vnderstoode not thys language, bycause it differed muche from the spéeche of the other *Indians*, whereas hée hadde bin captiue: for whyche cause *Cortez* was somewhat carefull, bicause he would largely haue discoursed with *Teudilli*. It chanced that among those twentie women giuen hym in *Potonchan*, one of them stoode talking with a seruaunte of *Teudilli*, bycause she vnderstoode them as menne of hir owne language. *Cortez* espying this, called hir aside, and promised hir more than libertie, so that she woulde bée a trustie and faithfull interpreter betwixte hym and those *Indians*, and that hée woulde estéeme hir as his Secretarie. And further demanded of hir of what lignage she was, then she aunswered, that she was naturall of the Countrey that bordered vpō *Xalixco*, and of a towne called *Viluto*, daughter vnto riche parentes, and of the kinrede of the Lorde of that lande. And béeyng a little girle, certayne Merchantes dyd steale hir away in tyme of warre, and brought hir to be solde at the fayre of *Xicalanco*, whyche is a greate Towne néere *Coasaqualco*, not farre distant from *Tauasco*: and after this sorte shée came to the power of the Lord of *Potonchan*. This woman was Christened *Marina*. She and hir fellowes were the firste Christians baptised in all the newe *Spayne*, and she onely with *Aguilar*, were Interpreters betwixt the *Indiās* and our men.

The aunsuvere of *Teudilli*.

The disease of the Spaniardes.

Nowe *Cortez* béeyng assured of hys true Interpreters, hée celebrated hys accustomed deuine seruice, and *Teudilli* wyth hym, and after they hadde dyned in *Cortez* hys Tente in presence of many *Spanyardes* and *Indians*, *Cortez* enformed *Teudilli* howe that hée was vassall to the Lord *Charles* of *Austria*

Emperour of the Christiās, and King of *Spayne*, and Lorde ouer a greate parte of the worlde, whome great Kings and Princes dyd serue and obey: and that all Princes were glad to bée hys friendes for his Vertue and myghte. And hée hauyng aduertisemente of that Countrey and Lorde thereof, had sente him thither to visite hym on hys behalfe, and to enforme hym of certayne secrete matters, the effecte whereof he hadde in wrytyng. Sir (quoth *Teudilli*,) I am very glad to heare the Maiestie and Vertue of the Emperoure youre maister, but you shall vnderstande, that my Lorde the Emperoure *Melzuma* is as greate and as good a Prince as he. And I doe muche maruell, that there shoulde bée anye so greate a Prince in the whole worlde, but yet according to youre request, I wyll certifie hym, and knowe hys pleasure, for I trust (quoth he) in the clemencie of my Prince, that youre newes and message shall bée acceptable vnto him, and you well recompensed for your paynes. *Cortez* then commaunded al his men to set themselues in order of battayle with fife and drumme, and to skirmishe before *Teudilli*. And that the horsemen shoulde runne, and the ordinaunce shotte of, to the entent that *Mutezuma* shoulde be aduertised thereof. The *Indians* did much beholde the gesture, apparell and beardes of our men, they wondered to sée the horses runne, they feared the brightnesse of the swordes, and at the noyse of the ordinaunce they fell flatte to the ground, thinking that the heauens did fall. And the shippes, they held opinion was the God of the ayre called *Quezalcoualt*, whiche came with the temples on his backe, for they dayly looked for him. *Teudilli* dispatched the poste to *Mexico*, to *Mutezuma*, aduising him of all that he had séene, and demaunded golde of him for to giue vnto the Captayne of that newe people. Bicause *Cortez* had inquired of him, whether *Mutezuma* had gold or no, he answered (yes) mary quoth *Cortez*, I and my fellowes haue a certayne disease of the harte, and golde helpeth vs. This message wente from the campe to *Mexico* in one day and a night, whiche is 210. myle, and the poste caried paynted the horses and horsemen vpon them, the maner of theyr armour, and howe many péeces of ordinaunce they had, & what number of bearded men there were: and as for the shippes he had giuē aduise as soone as they arriued, shewing

the greatnesse and quantitie of them. All these things aforesayde, *Teudilli* caused to be paynted in cloth of Cotten very liuely, that *Mutezuma* mought see it. The cause that this message wente so farre in so shorte a space, was, they had certayne places that postes attended, as we may say horsepostes which gaue alwayes from hand to hande the paynted cloth: they doe runne on foote faster in this sorte, than by horsepost, and is more of antiquitie than horsepost: Also *Teudilli* sent to *Mutezuma* the garments & many other things whiche *Cortez* had giuen him, whiche things were after wardes founde in the tresorie of *Mutezuma*.

The present and ansvvere that
Mutezuma sente vnto Cortez.

The excuse of Mutezuma.

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fter the message sente, and the answere promised, *Teudilli* tooke his leaue, and within twoo flight shoote of *Cortez* his campe, he caused a thousande cotages of boughes to be made, & lefte there twoo principall men as Captaynes ouer two thousande persons men and women, and then departed for *Cotosta* hys dwellyng place. The twoo Captaynes had charge to prouide the Christians of all things necessarie, and the women serued to grynde their corne and make bread of *Maiz*, and to dresse theyr fishe and flesh and other victuals, and the men serued to carrie the dressed meate to the Christians cāpe, and wood, water, & grasse for the horses and al other necessities, and this they passed eight dayes. In this meane season returned the poste with a riche and gentle present, whiche was many couerlets and clothes of cotton, white, and of other colours wrought, many tuffes of feathers very fayre, and some things wrought with golde and fethers, quantitie of Iewels and péeces of golde and siluer, twoo thinne whéeles, the one of siluer whiche wayde .25. markes with the signe of the Moone, and the other whéele of golde which wayed a hundreth markes, made like vnto the Sunne, with many leaues and beasts, a very curious péece of worke: these twoo things they helde for Gods in that countrey, & giueth thē the colours of the metall that is likest thē, euery whéele was two yardes & a half broade, and so proportionally in compasse round aboute, this present was estéemed at 20900. Ducates. This present shold haue bene giuen to *Grijalua*, if he had not so soone departed as the *Indians* reported. He also gaue vnto *Cortez* this answere, that *Mutezumas* his Lorde was very gladde to know, & to be friend to suche a mighty Prince as the king of Spayne was, and that in his time should arriue in his countrey such new people, & the like neuer séene before, & that he was readie to shew them al

pleasure & honour, requesting him to see what things he stood in need of for y^e time that he meant to abide there, as well for himselfe as for his ships, army and decesse, and it should be provided abundantly: yea & also if he could finde any thing in that countrey to his contentment, to present to the Emperour of Christians, he would willingly provide it. And as touching the desire that *Cortez* had to come to visite & to have communication with him, he thought it vnpossible, because that he was sickly and could not come vnto the sea coast, and likewise for *Cortez* to come where he did abide, it was harde, troublesome and difficill, as well for the many and cragged mountaynes, as also the countrey, wilde, desert & without habitation, and shoulde be constrained to suffer hunger, thirst, and other necessitie: and moreover the inhabitants of much part of the way that he should passe, were his enemies, both cruell & cursed people, and knowing the to be his friends, they should not escape with life.

All these excuses did *Mutezuma* by the mouth of *Teudilli* declare vnto *Cortez*, thinkyng to driue him from his purpose & pretended iourney, alleaging the foresayd difficulties and perils, the *Indians* did also hope that with some contrary weather they should be forced to leaue that coast & countrey. Notwithstanding this contradiction, so much the more desire had *Cortez* to visite *Mutezuma*, who was so great a prince in that parties, & throughly to discover the treasure which he imagined to be there. And hauing receiued y^e present, & also y^e answer, he gaue vnto *Teudilli* a garment of his owne wearyng, and many other trifles of his Haberdash, to be sente vnto *Mutezuma*, saying that if it were for no other purpose but onely to see so mightie and vertuous a Prince, it should be requisite and iuste to trauayle vnto his Court, how much the more, he was of duetie constrained to doe the Embassage which the Emperour of Christians had willed and commaunded him to doe, for otherwyse he shoulde incurre the displeasure of the King his mayster, wherefore he besought *Teudilli* yet once agayne to aduertise *Mutezuma* of his constant determination, because hee shoulde vnderstande that he would not leaue off hys pretended purpose for any inconuenience that was objected vnto him. Alleaging moreover, that he who

had cōmen 2000. leagues by sea, mought well goe 70. leagues by lande, and consideryng that he had many at his charge with small prouision, and likewise his shippes in daunger, he required that with all expedition the messengers should be dispatched. *Teudilli* desired him to recreate himself, & not to take any grief, for as much as he himself did dayly aduertise *Mutezuma* of his procéedings, euen so with all expedition the full resolution should come from *Mexico*, although it were somewhat farre off. And as for his victuals, he shoulde take no care, for abundantly he should be prouided. And also desired him for so much as he was not well placed among those sandy bankes, that it might please him to goe with him to certayne townes aboute sixe or seuen leagues frō thence. *Cortez* refused that offer, wherevpon *Teudilli* departed, and he abode there ten dayes looking for answere from *Mutezuma*.

Hovv Cortez knevv of discorde and *dissention to be in the Countrey.*

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1 this meane season certayne *Indians* were espied, that went lurkyng a farre of among the sandy hilles. And those came not neare the *Indians*, that serued the Spaniarde, *Cortez* demaunded what people they were, & for what cause they went lurkyng so farre off, and came no néerer vnto them.

The twoo Captaynes answered, that they were husbandmen, that went aboute theyr husbandry. *Cortez* lyked not theyr answere, but suspected that they had tolde hym a lye: for it séemed vnto hym that those people desired to come among the Christians, and that they durste not with feare of the *Indians* of *Teudilli*, and so it was in very déede. For all that coaste and mayne lande within, as farre as *Mexico*, was full of the newes and straunge things that our men had done in *Potonchan*. Wherefore they all desired to see them and to talke with them, but they durste not for feare of the *Indians* of *Culhua*, who are subiectes vnto *Mutezuma*, wherevpon *Cortez* sente fiue Spaniardes to call them with signes and tokens of peace. This company of *Indians* were in number twentie, and were gladde to beholde those fiue men commyng towards them, and were desirous to see suche straunge people and shippes, wherefore they came willingly altogither vnto *Cortez* his Tente.

The Indiās attyre.

These *Indians* dyd differ muche from all the other *Indians* yet séene, for they were hygher of person, and had the grystels of theyr noses slitte, hangyng ouer their mouths, and rings of Iette and Amber hanging thereat. They had also theyr neither lippes bored, and in the holes rings of golde and turky stones, whiche wayed so muche, that their lippes hanged downe ouer theyr chinnes, and their téeth remayned bare: The whiche custome although they vsed for a brauery, it

séemed a foule and vgly sighte in the Spanyardes eyes, and very lothsome.

The other *Indians* of *Mutezuma*, had theyr lippes and eares bored, with rounde stones hangyng at the iagges thereof, yet they had not suche foule slittes in their noses, but they had suche bored holes that a manne myght put any finger of his hande through them, with rings of golde and stone hanging thereat, the euill fauoured sighte of their faces made our men to muse.

Cortez communed with them by hys interpreter *Marina*, to knowe from whence they were, they answered, that they were dwellers in *Zempoallan*, a Cittie distant from thence one dayes iourney, situated vpon a riuer side, and bordered vpon the Countrey of *Mutezumazin*, and that their *Cazique* or Lorde had sente them, to see what Goddes were comen in those *Teucallis*, that is to say, Temple, saying, also that they durste not come sooner, not knowyng what people they were.

Cortez made muche of them and shewed a chéerefull countenaunce vnto them, for they séemed very bestiall, he declared vnto them that he was gladde of theyr commyng, and to knowe the good will that theyr Lorde bare vnto him, and gaue them Haberdashe toyes, and shewed them the Horses and Armour, a straunge sighte for them. And so they wente through the army lookyng and gasing here and there as menne amazed. And in all the tyme they abode there, they vsed no conuersation with the other *Indians*. *Cortez* enquired of *Maryna* the cause thereof, and shée sayde that those menne did not onely speake an other language, but also did appertayne to another Lorde, who was not vassall to *Mutezuma*, but by force and extortion.

Cortez was very gladde of that newes, for hée coniectured by the talke of *Teudilli* that *Mutezuma* had warres and enimies, wherevppon hée tooke aside thrée of those *Indians* whiche séemed moste wysest, and demaunded of them by *Maryna* what Lordes there were in that Countrey: they answered that *Mutezuma* was Lorde ouer all, although in euery Cittie and Prouince was a Lorde, yet neuerthelesse all in generall dyd paye tribute and serue him as vassals, nay rather lyke slaues. But yet many of them of late dayes did reknowledge hym by force

of armes, and payde vnto him suche tolle and tribute that they were not accustomed to pay, of whiche number their Lorde of *Zempoallan* was one of them, and other his neyghbours, who many tymes helde him warre to be frée from his tiranny and bondage, but yet sayde they, it preuayled not, for his hoste was greate and his warriors valiant.

Cortez receyued greate pleasure to finde in that countrey dissention and discorde among some Noble menne, and at deuision among themselues, thynking thereby the better to bryng his purpose to passe. He gaue thanks vnto those *Indians* for their aduise, offeryng vnto them his fauour, helpe and friendshippe, praying them to come often to his campe, and so tooke his leaue of them, with his commendations to their Lorde, and sente him certayne presents, with aduertisement, that shortly he would come and see him, yea and also serue him.

Hovv Cortez vvent to suruey the *Countrey with foure hundreth men.*

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t the ende of tenne dayes came *Teudilli* backe againe, and brought certaine cloth of Cotten, and other things made of feathers well wrought for recompence of the thyng sente vnto *Mexico*, and warned *Cortez* to departe, for at that tyme there was no remedie to sée *Mutezuma*, and to looke what was necessary for his prouision and furniture, and it shoulde be prouided, offeryng the same seruice at any time that hée shoulde happen to come that way. *Cortez* would not accept the offer, saying: That he would not departe from that countrey, vntill he had bothe séene and talked with *Mutezuma*. The gouernour *Teudilli* yet agayne replied, that he shoulde not contende therein, and with those wordes departed from hym. The nexte night followyng he with all those *Indians* as well men as women whiche attended to serue and prouide the Spanishe campe, wente from thence: so that in the mornyng all the cotages were emptie, where those seruitors had bene.

Cortez suspecting this alteratiō prouided himselfe with preparation for battayle, & finding the matter contrary to his expectation, he deliberated to séeke a sure roade or harbor for his nauie, & also a good plotte or situation to buylde vpon, for then he fully meant to obtayne perpetuitie & to conquere the lande, considering y^t he had found such great tokens of gold, plate, & other riches, & thereabout within a whole league cōpasse was no fit place for y^e purpose: for why? all was sandy ground, & such as tossed too & fro with the winde, with other morish groūd not méete for habitation. In consideration wherof he sent *Francisco de Monteio*, with two vergantines, and fiftie men, to runne along the coast, vntill they should finde some reasonable poart and good scituation to build vpon.

Monteio procéded on his voyage, and sayled in sighte of lande, vntill he

came to *Panuco*, withoute finding anye port or harbor, sauing the shadowe of a Rocke, whyche stode somewhat distant from the land a sea boord, so that at thrée wéeke ende he returned backe agayne with the foresayde newes. Hauing runne so little a way, he fell into suche terrible currants, that although he made waye wyth oares and sayles, yet the sayde Currant forced hym backe agayne. Also he broughte newes, that the *Indians* of that coast did let themselues bloud, offering the same vnto them vpon little strawes, in token of friendship or deitie.

The relation of *Monteio* contented not *Cortez*, yet notwithstanding he pretended to goe to the shade or succoure of the Rocke, bycause hée was enformed, that néere that place, was two fayre Riuers, wyth store of wooddes, necessarye for tymber and fyre woodde, greate quantitie of stones to builde with, fayre pastures, and ground for tyllage, although the harbour was not sufficiente for hys Nauie and contratation, bycause that roade was without defence, and open vppon the Northe, which is the winde that most ruleth with greatest hurte vpon that coast.

And also considering that *Teudilli* and hys menne were departed, fearing also the want of victuals, and likewise, that hys Shyppes myghte perishe vppon the shore, he commaunded to lade aboorde all theyr stuffe, and hée wyth foure hundred menne, and all his Horses, followed on the hygh way that the *Indians* hadde gone.

After hée hadde iourneyed thrée leagues, hée came to a fayre vadeable Riuer, and passing ouer the Riuer, hée found a towne not inhabited, for the inhabitantes thereof were fledde with feare: he entred into a great house, which séemed the place of the Lorde of the Towne, built with timber and earthen walles, the foundation whereof was raysed with handie worke, about a fadome high: the roofe was couered with strawe, but of a fayre & strange workemanshippe inwards, with many greate pertitions, some full of pottes of honey, and Maiz, with other grayne whiche they kéepe in store all the yeare: other roomes had cloth of Cotten wool, wrought with feathers, golde and siluer.

Cortez commaunded Proclamation to be made, that none of his company

shoulde take any thyng away, vppon payne of deathe (onely victuals excepted) to the intente to obtayne the good will and friendship among the *Indians*.

There was in that Village a Temple, whiche hadde a little Tower with a Chappell on the toppe, and twentie steppes to come vnto the Chappell, where they found some Idolles, and many bloudy papers, and much mans bloud of those which hadde bin sacrificed, as *Marina* dyd certifie.

They found also the blocke wherevppon they vsed to cutte open the menne sacrificed, and the razors made of Flint, wherewyth they opened their breastes, and plucked out their heartes béeyng aliue, throwing them vppe toward Heauen as an offering, and after this done, they annoynted their Idolles, and the papers they offered, and then burned them.

This sight put a great compassion, yea and a feare among our *Spanyards*, who did beholde these things. From this Village they went to other thrée or foure, and found none aboue two hundred houses, and all without people, yet well prouided with victuall, as the firste towne was. *Cortez* returned from thence to discharge his Shippes, and to take order to sende for moe men: and with desire to beginne habitation, in these affaires he occupied hymselfe tenne dayes.

Hovv Cortez rendred vp his charge
and office with pollicie.

hen *Cortes* was come where his Ships were, and the residue of his company, hée began this talke, saying:

Now my louing friends and fellowes, ye doe sée what greate mercy God hathe shewed vnto vs, in bringing vs safe and in health to so good and riche a Countrey, as by manifest signes and tokens we haue alreadye séene, yea and howe plentiful of meate, inhabited of people, better clothed, and of more iudgement and reason, than the others whiche ye haue séene, since your firste comming: also better buildings, fieldes of grayne and corne: yea and it is to be thought, that the things not yet séene, doe surmount all that hithervnto ye haue playnely séene. Wherefore wée ought to giue most hartie thanks vnto God, and to beginne oure habitation héere, whereas we shall enioy the grace and mercy of God. And to bryng this matter to passe, me thinke best that we abide héere, vntill we may finde a better port or scituation. Also that we make a wall or Castell for oure defence, if néede shoulde happen, for the people of this land hath little ioy of our comming and abiding héere.

It was then considered that frō that place they might the sooner haue friendshippe and contractation with the *Indians* and Townes nexte adioyning, as *Zempoallan*, and others whyche were enimies to *Mutezuma*, and béeyng in this order once placed, they myghte discharge their Shyppes, and sende them incontinent to *Cuba*, *Santo Domingo*, *Iamayca*, *Borriquen*, and other Ilandes, or else to *Spayne* for more men, armour and Horsses, and for clothing and victuals.

Policie.

Moreouer, it was thought iust and méete, to sende relation of all their procéedings to the Emperoure theyr King and maister, with the demonstration of golde, syluer, and other riches, which they had in their power.

And bycause all these things should be done in good order, *Cortez* determined as Captayne generall, to appoint a Counsell, Aldermen, and Iudges.

And also ordeyne all other offices that shoulde be necessary and néedefull to rule and gouerne a Citie, whych he then pretended to edifie and erecte, the

whiche Magistrates should fully commaund, vntill such time that the Emperour should otherwise prouide in matters conuenient for his seruice.

A good subiecte.

After this diligence put in vre, he solemnely tooke possession of all y^e land, in the name of the Emperour *Charles* King of *Castill*, with all the actes and ceremonies, as to such a matter apperteyned. And demaunded of *Francisco Fernandez* notarie appoynted, that he shoulde gyue vnto him by testimonie in writing, all the actes done therein. All his company aunswered, that they did very well allowe hys procéedings and praysed, and also approued hys determination, besieching hym to procéede accordingly, sithence they were come to serue and obey hym. Then *Cortez* named Iudges, Aldermen, Attorney, Serieant, Notary, and Towneclearke, and all other officers apperteyning to the good gouernement of a Citie, in the name and behalfe of the Emperoure hys naturall Lord, and delyuered incontinent to the Iudges white roddes to beare in their handes in token of Iustice, and named the newe Citie to be builte, The ryche Towne *De la vera Crux*, bycause that one goodfriday they had entred into that land. After these things finished, *Cortez* began before y^e saide Notary, another act in presence of the iudges, who were *Alounso Fernandez Portocarero*, and *Frācisco de Monteio*, in whose handes he made cession, and dyd desyst from all rule and offices whiche heretofore he had receiued, which was his gouernership, captaineship and general discouerer, receiued in the Chauncerie of *Santo Domingo*, at the handes of the presidentes, who were there chiefe of the kings counsell, and presidents, likewise he protested not to vse the power and aucturity of the gouernour of *Cuba*, Admirall of *India*, for so much y^t now none of them had any rule or gouernement in that Countrey which he and his fellowes had newly discouered, and begun to enhabite in the name of the king of Castil, as his naturall subiectes. The which auctoritie he likewise required to be set downe in recorde, and to haue a copie of the same.

Hovv the soudiours chose Cortez
for Captaine generall, and chiefe ruler in Iustice.

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I the newe officers toke possession and charge of their offices, and entred into the towne house to counsel according to the vse and custome of Castill. In the which congregation or counsel then holden, many matters were had in question as touching the good gouernemente of the common weale. And among many other things, they al agréed to electe *Hernando Cortez* for captaine generall and chiefe Iustice, and to giue vnto him full power and authority for all matters appertayning to the wars and conquest, vntill such time as the Emperour should otherwise prouide: with this determination the next day following al the Aldermen, Iudges, and Counsellors, went vnto *Cortez*, and sayde vnto him: Sir we haue greate neede of a guide and captaine for the warres to procéde vppon the conquest of this countrey, wherfore vntil such time as y^e Emperour shall prouide therein, they all besought hym to accepte that office and charge, approuing him a man most fit for the same, both to rule and gouerne, for y^e great experience that they had séene of his courage, wisdome, and pollicie, and by Vertue of their offices, did cōmaund him to accept the same, saying, that in so doing, God and the king shoulde bee faithfully serued. And they woulde thankfully gratify the same, knowing that at his hands they should be ruled with iustice, vsed with humility, & be preserued with diligence and strength. And for that purpose, they had chosen him for that office, giuing vnto him their ful & whole authority, submitting thēselues vnder his hands, iurisdiction & defence. *Cortez* accepted y^e charge at smal entreating, for he desired nothing so much.

Liberality.

And being in this sort elected general, the counsel said vnto him. Sir you do wel vnderstād, that vntil such time as we shal bee better planted in this countrey,

we haue not wherwith to maintaine our selues but only w^t suche things as are aboard our shippes. Therefore it may please you to commaund it to be brought ashore, and that you take therof what shal seme good vnto you, for your houshold and familie, and the residue may be taxed at a reasonable price, and so to be deuided among them: & for payment they wold al binde thēselues, or else y^t presently it should be deducted out of the stocke, after that the kings fift parte were subtracted. Likewise they desired him to value his ships and artillery, bycause they would make like payment for the same, and that frō thence forwards the ships should serue in common, for to passe to the Ilāds for bread, wine, clothes, weapons, horses, and other things which should be néedeful for the new towne and army, for therby they mought be better cheape prouided than if merchants should prouide them, consideryng alway they seke for excessiue gaine, saying that if it would please hym to accepte thys offer and request, they would thankfully requite the same. *Cortez* aunswered, that at y^e time he made his preperation and furniture in *Cuba*, he ment not to sel his prouision as others vsed to do, but he would and did frankely giue it vnto them, although hee had spent his goods and indetted himselfe therin. And incontinent he commaunded the maisters of the ships and pursers, to bring a lād al their victual to the town house, requiring the Aldermen to deuide it equally, to euerye man his part, without making any difference of him or of any other, for (quoth he) in time of neede of victuals y^e yongest hath as much allowance as the eldest. And although I am indetted and do owe more than seauen M. Duckets, I giue this victuall al franckly vnto you. And as cōcerning the ships, I wil do y^t which shal be most cōueniēt for you al. And (quoth he) I wil determin nothing to be done with thē, but wil first giue you aduertisemēt of the same.

Al this did *Cortez* for to get their loue and fauour, bycause there were many that loued hym not, althoughe in very trouth he was of his own nature liberal and large in experiences with al his souldiers in the warres.

The receiuing of Cortez into *Zempoallan*.

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or as much as the situation there was not conuenient to place the newe worke, they determined to go from thence, to *Aguiahuiztlan*, which standeth nere the shadowe of the rocke that *Monteio* had informed them of, wherevppon *Cortez* commaunded the shippes to depart, for that place. And he with his foure hundred men and horses would goe by land, and there mete thē, which may be about ten leagues iorney. In this order the fléete departed, and likewise *Cortez* with his company toward *Zempoallan* which stoode directly weastward. And after he had iourneyed three leagues he came to the riuier which deuided the Lordshippe of *Mutezuma* and *Zempoallan*, & coulde finde no passage, wherefore he was forced to returne to the seaside, where with muche adoe they passed ouer, and so trauayled on that side of the riuier, & found cotages of fishermen and other poore houses, and some sownen ground, and procéding on their iorney at length they came into very faire valleys, wher was great store of deare, and stil they went along the riuier side, hoping to finde some good towne, and in short space, they espied neare twenty persons vppon the toppe of a hill, *Cortez* commaunded foure of his horsemen to fetch them vnto him, willing thē to make signes of peace vnto them, but if they flie (quoth he) then follow them, vntill you ouertake them, for they shall stand vs in steade, as wel to lead vs the way as to serue vs for enterpreters.

Simplicite.

The horsemen tooke on theyr way, and when they came to the hill toppe, they made signes of peace vnto them, but the poore and fearefull *Indians* fledde with spéede, yea being amased and in great feare to beholde suche a monstrous thyng as a horseman, beleuyng assuredly, that horse and man was one thing

incorporate, but in theyr flight they were soone ouertaken, and they yéelded themselues, and so were all brought vnto *Cortez*.

These men had in their eares and noses bored holes, with rings of golde hangyng thereat, for so was the vse of *Zempoallan*: they enformed *Cortez* that the Cittie was neare at hande. *Cortez* demaunded the cause of their comyng thither, they answered to behold and sée so straunge a sight, but why fledde you then (quoth he?) for feare only sir sayde they, of people which we knew not. Then *Cortez* willed them to put all feare aside, and tolde them that he with his small company woulde goe vnto their Cittie to visite their Lorde, and to be acquaynted with him: the *Indians* sayde, that the day was farre spent, and that it was late to goe that night to *Zempoallan*, but if it pleased hym they would conduct him to a village whiche stode on the otherside of the Riuer and within sight, and although it were but a small village, yet there was reasonable lodging with meate sufficiente for his armie: their counsell séemed well, so they wente to that village, and when they were comen thither, the *Indians* craued license to goe & to aduertise their Lorde how the straungers abode in that place, promising to returne the nexte day with answeere. Some of the *Indians* had licence to do the message, the others abode there, attendyng and prouiding for the newe gestes, & in this order they were al lodged and their supper abundantly prouided. That night *Cortez* fortified himselfe as strong as mought be, and the nexte morning came a hundreth men laden with Hennes, saying that their Lord much reioyced of their comming, and bicause he was so grosse and vnwealdie, he came not personallie vnto him, but yet notwithstanding he aboade in the cittie expecting his comming. *Cortez* friendly welcomed them, and with that presente, he and his company brake their faste, and then proceeded with his guides in good order with two fauconets in readinesse, if néede should happen: and from that passage of the riuer they had a faire way vntil they came to another riuer, which being likewise waded ouer, they discried *Zempoallan*, whiche stode a myle distant from them, all beset wyth fayre Orchardes and Gardens, verye pleasaunte to beholde: they vsed alwayes to water them with sluses when they pleased.

There procéded out of the Towne many persons, to behold and receyue so strange a people vnto them. They came with smiling countenance, and presented vnto thē diuers kinde of Floures, and sundry fruites, which none of our menne had héeretofore séene. These people came without feare among the Ordinance, with this pompe, triumph and ioy they were receiued into the Citie, which séemed a beautifull Garden: for the trées were so gréene and high, that scarcely the houses appeared.

Mens folly vvith a great lyr.

At the Citie gate stode many graue persons of nobilitie, as Magistrates of the Citie, who solemnely welcomed the Strangers. Sixe Horsemen, which hadde gone before the army to discouer, returned backe as *Cortez* was entring into the Citie, saying, that they had séene a great house and Court, and that the walles were garnished with siluer. *Cortez* commaunded them to procéde on, willing them not to shew any token of wonder of any thing that they should see. All the stréetes were replenished with people, whiche stode gaping and wondering at the horses and straūgers. And passing through a great market place, they saw on their right hande, a great walled house made of lyme and stone, with loupe holes and towers, whited with playster that shined lyke siluer, being so well burnished and the sunne glistering vpon it. And that was the thing that the Spaniards thought had bene walles of siluer. I doe beléeue that with the imagination and great desire whiche they had of golde and siluer, all that shined they déemed to be the same mettall.

A vigilant Captayne.

Within this great house was a long rew of lodgings, and on the other side sixe or seuen Towers one higher than another. They procéded on, dissimulyng the errour of the siluer walles, and followed their guide vntill suche time as they came to the Lordes lodging, who came forth accompanied with many auncient persons, and better attired than the other Citizens were, with twoo Gentlemen that ledde him by the armes. They saluted eche other according to the vse of their countreys, and then entred into the pallyce, where certayne principall men

conducted *Cortes* and all his trayne to their lodgyng, and Captayne *Cortes* was lodged in the house whiche had the glistering walles, situated in the markette place, whiche house was sufficient for him and all his company. And when they were placed, and behelde the walles, they were ashamed of their owne folly: for where they thought those walles had bene adorned with siluer, they founde them cleane contrary. *Cortes* deuised his men, caused his horses to be trimmed, and planted his ordinaunce at his dore, making himselfe as strong as though he had bene in campe and néere his enimies. And commaunded, that none of his men shoulde goe out of the house without his expresse licence vpō payne of death. The officers of the Lorde prepared a plenteous supper for them, and beddyng according to their vse.

The talke that the Lorde of Zempoallan *had with Cortez.*

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he nexte day in the mornynge came the Lorde, to visite *Cortez* with an honorable company, and presented vnto him many garmēts wrought of Cottē wolle, according to their fashion, with a knot on the shoulder like vnto the Egiptian garments, and certaine iewels of golde that might be worth two thousande Ducates, besechyng both him and his cōpany to recreate themselues and take their reste, and at that present he meante not to trouble him with any matters: And so tooke his leaue for that time as he had done the day before, willing him to demaunde and call for any thing that he should néede. *Cortez* gaue him hartie thāks, and so departed.

Then came moe *Indians* in number than there were Spaniardes, with their courses & seruice of meate ready dressed, and many boughes of daintie fruits. In this sorte they were feasted & bāketed fiftene daies most plētuously. The next day folowyng, *Cortez* sent vnto the Spaniardes certaine olde garments of the Spanishe fashion, and many other trifles, besechyng him to appoynt a day of conference at his owne pallayce: worde was sent agayne that he was ready and very well contented. Wherevpon *Cortez* tooke with him fiftie of his men all armed, and left the residue at his lodgyng in a good readinesse, and appoynted an vnder Captayne to gouerne them. The Lorde hearing of his comming, came out of his Courte into the strete to receyue him. And hande in hand they entred together into a lowe hall, whiche they vse for the extremitie of heate in that countrey, the plotte that they buylde vpon is rayzed a fadome from the grounde, so that they ascende vpon steppes, and the walles plaistered with very white lime, their tile is eyther of straw or leaues of trées, very beautifull and straungely wrought, and a good defence against the rayne. The Lorde and *Cortes* satte them

downe vpon thrée footed stooles made all of one péece, the Lorde commaunded his seruitours to stand aside, and by their interpreters they began to commune of their affayres a great space, in demaundes and answeres, bicause *Cortes* desired to be well instructed of the affayres of that countrey, and lykewise of that mightie kyng of *Mutezuma*.

This *Cacike* or Lord although he were huge and laden with fleshe, yet in his demaundes and questions séemed very wise. The summe of all *Cortes* his talke was to shewe the cause of his comming thither, and who had sente him, euen as he had done in *Tauasco* to *Teudilli* and others.

This *Cacike* after he had heard *Cortes* attentiuely, he began a long communication, makyng his complaynt and opening his grieve in this sorte.

The Indiās complaynt.

Vnder colour of holinesse.

Mightie Sir, my Antecessors liued a long tyme in great peace, libertie and quietnesse, but of late yéeres my countrey and Cittie was destroyed by tyranny, bycause the Lordes of *Mexico Tenuchtitlan* with their men of *Culhua* did not only vsurpe my Citie, but also my lands by force of armes, in suche sorte that my power coulde not resiste them. And in the beginnyng those Princes beganne theyr vsurpation by way and colour of religion and holinesse, and afterwarde with force of armes, and with this title became Lordes ouer vs.

And nowe we seying our errour, haue thought it to late to preuayle agaynst them to take away our yoke of seritude and bondage, although we haue attempted it. And as often as we haue so done, still the victorie was theirs, and the ouerthrowe ours. Nowe all suche as doe submitte themselues vnto them, are taxed with certayne tributes, and reknowlegyng them for Lordes, are defended by them, and estéemed as friendes. But if after such submission made, any chaunce to speake agaynst them, or rebell, then they are terribly corrected, yea murdered, and after Sacrifice made to the Goddes of warre, called *Tezcatlipuca* and *Vitzilopuchtli* of theyr carkasses, then is theyr fleshe eaten in banquet, and those who remayne alyue, doe serue for slaues, yea and the Fathers, Mothers and Children, are compelled to labour and toyle from the Sunne rising to the Sunne

setting, with confiscation of all their goodes and landes. And besides all this crueltie and vituperie, they sende theyr officers and Serieantes to execute the premisses, who without eyther pittie or mercie many tymes suffereth them to sterue with hunger. And beyng thus cruelly punished of *Mutezuma*, who nowe raigneth in *Mexico*, who woulde not suffer to bée Vassall willingly to so good a Prince as you enformed me of the Emperour, although it were but onely to bée frée from suche vexation and robbery whiche suche a mighty King coulde doe. And with these wordes the teares gushed out of his eyes, and pawsing a whyle, he beganne to extoll the strength, magnificence and situation of *Mexico* planted in a greate lake of water: also he exalted the riches, courte, Maiestie and mightie power of *Mutezuma*. Hée sayde also howe *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco* and other prouinces thereabout, as also the people called *Totonaquez* of the Mountaynes were of contrary opinion to the *Mexicans*, yea enimies vnto them, who had intelligence what had happened in *Tauasco*, Yea sir (quoth hée) if it please you, I will treat suche a compact with this people that *Mutezuma* with al his power shall not preuayle agaynst vs.

Cortes reioyced in harte to heare this newes, and sayde vnto him. It griueth mée to heare of the euill vsage of *Mutezuma* towarde his countrey and subiectes. But I assure you with Gods helpe I will deliuer you, yea and reuenge all your iniuries, for my commyng hither is to take away all euill customes, and to helpe the oppressed, to fauour the prysoner, and comforte the afflicted, and chiefly to abolishe tyrannie. And for the good entertaynement that I haue receyued at your handes, I doe remayne yours to doe you any pleasure, and to defende you agaynst your enimies, and the lyke will I doe for your friendes, wherefore I pray you aduertise them thereof as many as are of our confederacie.

Cortes then tooke hys leaue, saying that he had bene many dayes there, and that he had greate néede to goe visite his shippes and menne, who muche desired his returne, and abode in *Aquihuiztlan*, where hée meante to sojourne for a certayne season, and from thence dayly they mighte conferre of their affayres. The Lorde of *Zempoallan* sayde, that if it pleased hym to abyde with him hée

woulde gladly accept it, and if his businesse were suche that he might not, that then he besought him to remember him.

An other gifte.

Then the Lorde commaunded eyght maydens to be called, who were very well apparelled after theyr maner, theyr attyre was muche lyke the *Morisca* fashion, (the one of them was more costely apparelled than the others) and sayde vnto *Cortes*, all these maydens whiche you here see are Gentlewomen, noble and riche, and this mayden whiche is beste attired, is a Lady of Vassals, and my brothers daughter, I doe presente hyr vnto you (meaning that *Cortes* shoulde marrie with hyr,) and the others you may bestow vpon the Gentlemen in your company, in a token of perpetuall loue and friendship.

Cortes receyued the presente with thanks, bycause he woulde not offende the giuer thereof. And so departed with their women ridyng behinde them, with many *Indian* women to wayte vpon them, and many *Indian* men to beare them company, and to puruey all things necessarie.

Things that happened to Cortez in *Chiauiztlan*.

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he same day that they departed frō *Zempoallan* they came to *Chiauiztlan*, and yet the shippes were not arriued. *Cortes* marueyled at their long taryng in so shorte a iourney. Ther was a village within shotte of a hargabushe from the rocke called *Chiauiztlan* standyng vpon a litle hill. *Cortes* hauing little to do, went thither with his men, and the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, who certified *Cortes* that the village was appertayning to a Lorde oppressed by *Mutezuma*. They came to the foote of the hill, without sighte of any man of the towne, excepte twoo, that *Marina* vnderstoode not, and going vp the hill, the horsemen to fauour their horses would alight, bicause the ascending was cragged and euill way, *Cortes* commaunded that they shoulde not alight, bycause the *Indians* shoulde thinke that there was no place highe nor lowe, but that these horses shoulde and could come vnto it. So by litle and litle they came into the towne, and finding no creature there, they feared some deceyte, yet approchyng further, they mette with twelue auncient men, whiche brought with them an interpreter who vnderstoode the language of *Culhua* and the speache of that place, whiche is the language of the *Totonaquez*, or inhabitauntes of the Mountaynes. These auncient menne declared that the cause of theyr goyng out of the towne, was bycause that they had neuer séene anye such men as the Spaniardes were, nor yet heard that any such had passed that way, wherefore with feare they had fledde from thence. But (quoth they) when the Lord of *Zempoallan* aduertised vs, how you did hurt no bodye, but rather being a people good and peaceable, then wee were well assured who ye were, when we saw you come toward vs. And wee are now comen vnto you on the behalfe of the Lorde, to bring you to your lodging.

Cortez gaue them thanks, and went with them to a certaine place where the

Lord was abydyng their comming wel accompanied: he shewed vnto the Christians great good wil, and maruelled to see those straungers with their long beardes.

A straunge salutation.

The Lord toke a little chafyngdishe in his hande, and cast into it a certaine gumme, whych sauoured in swéet smel much like vnto frankinscence. And with a sencer he smoked *Cortez* with this ceremony they vse their salutations to theyr gods and nobilitie.

A straunge hap.

This done they set them down, and *Cortez* enformed him of the cause of their comming into that countrey as he had done in all other places where he had bin.

The *Casike* certified *Cortez* euen as the Lord of *Zempoallan* had done, but he stood in great feare least *Mutezuma* should be offended for receyuing and lodging him within that towne, without his commaundement, and being in thys communication, sodenly appeared twentye men entring where they sate, w^t certain wāds like cudgels in their hāds, which did signify y^t they were rent gatherers & in ech other hand, a fly flap of feathers, the *Cacike* & hys company were soare afrayde. *Cortez* demaunded wherefore he so altered himself, he answered, bicause those twēty *Indians* were collectors of *Mutezuma*, and that he feared that they would complayne of him, hauing founde those Christians there, he feared likewise cruell punishment for the same. *Cortes* comforted him, saying that *Mutezuma* was his friende, and that he would so vse the matter that he shoulde receyue no blame at all, but rather that *Mutezuma* shoulde giue him thanks for that whiche he had done: And if *Mutezuma* did not, or would not so accept it, that then he would defend both him and his subiects, for (quoth he) euery one of my mē is sufficient for a thousand *Mexicans*, as *Mutezuma* himselfe was well enformed by the late warres at *Potonchan*.

Yet for and notwithstanding all this talke, the Lorde and all his folke were in great feare, and meante to arise and to lodge the receyuers. *Cortes* would not suffer him, and bycause (quoth he) thou shalte see what I and my men can doe,

commaund thy seruaunts to apprehend and take prysoners these receyuers of *Mexico*, and I wil abide here with thee, in such sorte that *Mutezuma* with all his power shall not offende thee.

The receyuers put in pryson.

With the courage that he receyued at these wordes, he commaunded to lay hande vpon the *Mexicans*, and bycause they defended themselues, they were sore beaten, and layde euery one in a seuerall prison, and bounde them to a great poste whereat they were tied by the throate, féete, and handes, and beyng in this sorte imprysoned, they asked of *Cortes* whether they should kill them. *Cortes* requested that they should not be slaine, but that they might remayne as they were, with good watch that they might not escape: Then they were brought into a hall in the Spaniardes lodging, and were placed rounde aboute a good fire, but yet bounde hande and foote with garde of watchmen. *Cortes* also appoynted certaine of his men to watch the hall dore, and then went to his lodging to supper, where he and his company was well prouided at the *Caziks* furniture.

The messages sent by Cortez vnto *Mutezuma*.

Pollicie.

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he nighte beyng farre spent, and the *Indians* that kepte the watch being asléepe, *Cortes* sente vnto the Spanyardes that watched at the hall dore where the prysoners were, and commaunded them to let goe twoo of the prysoners, as secretly as they might, and to bring them vnto him. The Spaniardes handled the matter so well, that they fulfilled his desire, and brought twoo of them to *Cortes* his chamber, who looked vppon them as though he had not knowen them, and willed *Aguillar* and *Maryna* to demaunde who they were, and what they would haue, and why they had bene in pryson. They answered, that they were vassals of *Mutezuma*, and that they had the charge to receyue certayne tributes, that those of that towne & prouince payde vnto their Lorde. And also (quoth they) we know not for what cause we are nowe imprysoned and so euelly vsed. We rather wōder to sée this new custome and madnesse, for in time past these men were wont to méete vs and receiue vs with great honour & curtesie, shewing all seruice and pleasure. Therefore we thinke that the cause of this alteration is through the fauour of you and your cōpany, who beare the name of immortalitie. We also feare least our felowes which are in prison shal be slaine, before *Mutezuma* haue knowlege therof. Also said they, these barbarous people dwelling in the Mountaynes, would be glad to rebel if they foūd any succour or ayde, only to put their Prince to cost and charges, as heretofore they haue done. Therefore they moste humbly besought *Cortes* that hée shoulde not permitte them and their fellowes to be slaine, nor yet to abide in the handes of their enimies wherein he should do singular pleasure to *Mutesuma* their lord, & otherwise if they should perish, their Lord would be very sorowfull that his olde, faithful and trustie seruaunts shoulde haue such a reward for their good seruice.

Cortez aunswered that it griued him much, that *Mutesuma* his friend should be misvsed wher he was, no nor yet his seruauntes euill entreated, and that hee woulde haue as muche care ouer them as of his owne, willing them to prayse the god of heauen, and to be thankful vnto him that had commaunded them to be set at liberty, in the grace and friendshippe of *Mutesuma*: he certified that in all haste they shoulde be dispatched, for *Mexico* with certaine busynesse therefore (quoth he) get you to meate, and make you strōg to take in hand that iourney, trusting to your féete least ye should be taken againe to your greate perill and daunger, Iwis their meate was soone eaten with the great hast they had to be gone.

Cortez brought them out of the towne and gaue them victuall to carry with them. And charged for the liberty and curtesie shewed vnto them, that they should signifye to *Mutesuma* their Lorde, howe that he was his assured friend, and that after he had vnderstanding of his fame, goodnes and mighty power, he much desired to serue him yea and that he helde himselfe happy, to fynde himselfe at such a time & season to loose those his seruaunts, and to shew therin his good wil, likewyse he woulde do all that lay in him to preserue the honour and auctory of so gret a Prince as hee was, & also to defende his subiectes and to loke to his affaires as his owne proper, although his highnesse dyd little estéeme hys friendshippe as appeared by *Teudilli*, who departed from him without bidding him farewell, and likewise absenting all the people of the sea coaste: yet thys notwithstanding he would not let to do him seruice at all times when occasion shoulde serue, and to procure by all meanes possible his grace, fauour, and friendship, and that he was fully perswaded, that his hyghnesse woulde not refuse his good will and friendship, considering that with his acquaintance, God had done much for him, to méete with a seruaunte of the Emperoures, for thereby he might know great secretes of holy things, and also receyue greate benefytes, if then he would refuse the same, the fault shoulde be his: but yet notwithstanding he trusted in his wisdom, that considering the

thing well, he woulde be glad both to see hym, and talke with him, and also to be friende and brother with the King of *Spayne*, in whose most happie name, both he and his company were come thither. And as touching his seruauntes that remayned in prison, hee woulde so vse the matter, that they should escape all perill, promising also to set them at libertie to pleasure him, and that incontinente he woulde haue done it, but onely bycause he woulde not offende the Lorde of the Towe, who had friendly entertayned him with greate curtesie, for which cause he would not presume to controll him in his owne house, nor yet to shewe himselfe vnthankfull. The messengers departed with this message very glad and ioyfull, promising to accomlishe faithfully y^e charge committed vnto them.

The confederacy and rebellion *done by the industrie of Cortez.*

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hen the *Cazike* founde missing the two prisoners, he blamed muche the garde or watch, and pretended forthwith to murder those that remayned. Then came *Cortez*, and requested that their deathe shoulde be pardoned, for so muche as they were but officers obediente to their Lorde and maister, and according to iustice they had committed no offence, nor yet deserued anye correction in the facte, whiche was seruice to their King: but for so muche as they shall not flée as the other two haue done, deliuer them vnto mee, and I will take them to my custody and charge.

Diuers opinions in counsell.

Vpon this request the eyghtéene prisoners were delyuered vnto *Cortez*, who sent them aboorde his Shyppes, and there commaunded them to be put in yrons. The Lorde and his counsellors fearing what mighte followe, entred into counsell what was best to doe, consideryng that they certaynely beléeued that the two prisoners whiche were escaped, would certifie in *Mexico* the shame and cruell entertaynemente done vnto them. Some replyed that it was iust and requisite to sende vnto *Mutezuma* hys tribute, with other presentes, to mitigate hys anger, and to excuse them, and accuse the Christians, who were the causes of the apprehension of his officers, and to craue pardon of their erreure and ouersight whyche they hadde committed as madde men, in dishonor of the maiestie of *Mexico*. Others aunswered agayne, that it were muche better to cast off that yoke of bondage and slauery, and to giue no longer obedience to the *Mexicans*, who were both cruell and wicked tyrants, and also considering that now they had on their side those halfe Gods, and inuincible horsemen, saying likewise that they should not wante many others their neyghbours and borderers to help and

succour them.

In this sorte they resolued themselues fully to rebell, and not to lose so good an occasion, wherevppon they besoughte *Hernando Cortes* to bée their defendor and Captayne, considering that for his sake they had begun that enterprise, and whether *Mutezuma* shoulde prepare hys army againste them or no, yet they on their parte were fully pretended to hold hym warre, and to desist from seruitude.

God knoweth how glad *Cortes* was to heare this matter, for he well wayed that it was the high way to hys iourneys ende: yet dissimuling the cause, he aunswered that they should well looke to the thing which they meant to take in hande, bycause (quoth he) I vnderstande that *Mutezuma* is a mightie Prince, but if ye will valiantly procéede, I will be youre Captayne, and safely defende you, for I do more estéeme your friendship, than the good will of *Mutezuma*, whyche I nothing care for: therefore lette me knowe what number of men of warre yée are able to make. Sir (quoth they) among all our friends wée are able to make a hundred thousande menne of warre. I lyke that well quoth *Cortez*, wherefore incontinente sende youre postes, with aduise vnto all your friendes in league againste *Mutezuma*, and certifie them of this agréement and succoure of the Christians, not (quoth he) that I stande in néede of your help, for I alone with my company are able to stande againste those of *Culhua*, although they were as manye more, but reason required that they shoulde be warned of your pretence, and to be in readinesse for the same, fearing least *Mutezuma* mighte sende his army vpon a suddayne, and finde you vnprovided.

With this aduise and encouragement of *Cortez*, & also they themselues being a people heady and of small consideratiō, they dispatched incōtinent their messēgers to all the Townes and Villages of neyghbours and friendes, aduertising them what they hadde determined, exalting the strangers aboue the cloudes.

And by this meanes rebelled many *Cazikes* & townes, and all the whole Mountaynes, so y^t there was not left any collector or other officer of *Mexico* in all those borders, with open proclamation of warres againste *Mutezuma*, and all his

adherentes.

Cortez his intēt was on the other side, to stirre vp these Indians, to get both their goodes, willes, and landes, for otherwise, he could not well bring his matter to passe: he only caused the officers of *Mutezuma*, to be taken prisoners, and to be loused agayne, he fayned a greate loue to *Mutezuma*, and stirred his subiectes agaynste him, he offered to be their defendor, and lefte them rebelled, to the intent that they should stand in néede of him.

The foundation of the riche *Towne called Vera Crux.*

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t this instant the Fléete was arriued at the port, then wente *Cortez* to visit them, and carried with him many *Indians* of the Rebels, both of that Towne, and also of *Zempoallan*, who did good seruice to cutte downe timber, and to carrie stones to the place appoynted, for the building of the Citie, named the riche towne of *Vera Crux*, accordyng to the determination, when the officers were appoynted for the same, and chosen in *S. Iohn de Vlhua*, and in good order made repertition to the inhabitants of the ground, and plottes to builde vpon.

Embassadors.

They appoynted also a place for the high Church, a Market place, a Towne house, a Gayle, store houses, a kay or Wharfe, to lade or vnlade, a butcher row, & other places necessary to the good gouernement and pollicie of a Towne. They also drew out a plot to build the Castel or Fort on, néere the roade in a place conueniente, and in this sort began theyr worke, and their houses made with mudwall, for the earth there is good for that purpose. And euery man being this occupied in this new worke, came from *Mexico* two kinsmen of *Mutezuma*, with other four graue learned menne for Councillors, and many seruing men that attended vppon them, as Ambassadors from *Mutezuma*, they presented vnto *Cortez* certayne cloth of Cotten well wouen, and feathers curiously and fynely wroughte, other péeces of golde and siluer wrought, and a Casket of graynes of golde, as they were founde in the Mynes not molten, which wayed altogyther two thousand & ninetie Castlins, & sayd, y^t *Mutezuma* hadde sente hym the golde in the Casket, to cure theyr disease, and woulde gladly knowe howe they fared, giuing also vnto him most hartie thanks, for loosing his two housholde seruauntes, and preseruing the others from slaughter, besiechyng hym to make

accompte, that hée woulde doe the lyke in anye affayres of his, desiring hym also to procure the libertie of the other eyghtéene Prisoners: and bycause those *Indians* hadde entertayned hym well in their houses, he did pardon their vprore, yet notwithstanding he knewe very well that they were suche a kynde of people, that in shorte space they woulde committe some other offences, whereby they myght bée chastned for all togyther, euen as a Dogge deserueth stripes. And as concernyng the rest of hys request, theyr Lorde was not well at ease, and also occupied in matters of warre of greate importance, whereby at that presente, there was no remedie to visit eache other, but in processe of tyme his desire shoulde be accomplished.

Cortez welcommed them friendly and ioyfully, and also lodged them in Cotages néere vnto the water side, and sent forthwith for the Lorde of *Chiautztlan*, that had rebelled, who came at his commandement. *Cortez* sayd vnto him, lo sée what troth I haue vsed with thée, for *Mutezuma* dareth not to send any army, no nor yet displease anye person where I am. Therefore from this daye forwarde you and all youre lignage and friendes maye accompte your selues frée and exempt from the seruitude of *Mexico*, without rendryng the tributes accustomed. He requested to set at libertie the prisoners, and to restore thē to the Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*. Thys *Cazike* wylled *Cortez* to doe what pleased him, for sayde he, euen as wée haue chosen you for oure Captayne, we will not excéede one iote of youre commaundemente: wherevpon hée returned home to his towne, and the Ambassadors toward *Mexico*, all well pleased and content.

Nowe fame flew abroade, blasing that *Mutezuma* feared the Christians, wherevpon all the *Totonaques* prepared themselues for the warres, taking cleane awaye from *Mexico* their tribute and obedience.

The Ambassadors departed from *Cortez* with theyr prisoners, and manye other things that were giuen thē, of linnen, wollen, skynnes, glasse, and yron, being greatly amazed at the things which they had séene.

Hovv Cortez tooke by force of
armes Tizapansinca.

not long after that these things had happened, the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* sente vnto *Cortes*, to desire him of succour against the garrisō of *Culhua*, which *Mutezuma* mainteyned in *Tizapansinca*, who did greatly anoy them, in spoyling, burning, and destroying theyr corne in the fieldes, and slew their husbandmen, and toke many prisoners. The Towne of *Tizapansinca* doth confine with the *Totonaquez*, and with the grounde of *Zempoallan*, and is a good strong Towne, scituated néere the Riuer, and hath a fort standing vpon a high rocke. And bycause this Towne was strong, and planted among them who were alwayes seditious and Rebelles, *Mutezuma* placed there his garrison, who séeyng the officers of receyuers and auditors come flying thyther for helpe, béeyng persecuted of the Rebels, they wente out to pacifie the Rebellion, and for to chasten them, they burned and destroyed whatsoeuer they found, and also had taken many prisoners.

Cortez hearing this newes, departed towarde *Zempoallan*, and from thence in two dayes iourney with a greate armye of *Indians* to *Tizapansinca*, which stoode eyghte leagues and more from that Citie.

The garrison of *Culhua* came into the fielde, thinkyng to haue hadde battayle onely with those of *Zempoallan*, but when they saw the Horsemen and the bearded men, they lost theyr courage, and beganne to flye as fast as they myghte possible: theyr succoure béeyng néere, they were soone in holde: they woulde haue entred into theyr Castell, but for y^e swiftnesse of the Horses which stopped theyr way.

The valiant courage of Cortez.

And when the Horses coulde not ascende vp vnto the forte, *Cortes* alighted with other foure of hys men, and among the preasse of the Townesmen gotte into the forte, and béeyng within, they kept the dore tyll theyr companye came wyth manye friendes, vnto whome hée delyuered the forte and Towne, desiring to do no hurte to the inhabitantes, but to suffer them to depart fréely without weapon and standerde. It was a newe worlde to those *Indians*, who did fulfyll *Cortes* hys

commaundemente in all poyntes. Thys done, *Cortez* returned agayne to the Sea coast, by the same way whiche hée hadde come.

This was the firste victory that *Cortes* had among the subiectes of *Mutezuma*, whereby all the Mountaynes remayned frée from the vexations of the *Mexicans*, and all our men with great fame and reputation, as well among their friendes, as among their enimies, in so much that afterwarde when any neede did happen among the *Indians*, they would immediately sende vnto *Cortes* for one of his men, saying, that one man alone of the Chrystians, was sufficient to be their Captayne and securitie.

Thys was a good begynnyng for the pretence of *Cortes*. Now when he came to *Vera Crux* wyth hys company triumphantly, he founde there *Francisco de Salzeda*, who was come with his caruell which he had boughte of *Alonso Cauallero*, a dweller in *Saint Iames de Cuba*, and was left there to be grounded and dressed at his departure from thence. He brought with him .70. Spanyardes, and nine Horses and Mares, wherewith they all maruellously reioyced.

The presents that Cortez sent to
the Emperour for his fifte.

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ortez made greate hast in building vp the new town and the Castell, bycause the Citizens and souldiers mighte haue succoure againste winde and rayne, and commoditie of householde, and lykewise to bée assured of defence against enimies if néede shoulde happen, pretending lykewise with all expedition, to enter within the land toward *Mexico*, to visit *Mutezuma*, and to leaue in that newe worke all thing in good order, he finished many thinges, touching as well the peace as the warre.

He commaunded to be brought a lande out of his shippes all the armour & other furniture for the warres, with the Merchandise, victuall and other prouision, and to deliuer it to the rulers of the newe Cittie, accordyng to his promisse. He also signified vnto all his company that it was méete and conuenient, to sende relation to the Kyng of all theyr proceedings and dealings in that countrey, with demonstration of Golde and Siluer there founde.

And (quoth he) to deale vprightly in this case, it is necessary to deuide equally our treasure to euery man his portion, accordyng to the vse of the warres, the deuision beyng made, then firste and principally lette vs deduct the Kings fifte parte. And for the better performance therof, I doe name and appoynt *Alounso de Auila* Treasurer for the King, and also I doe elect *Gonsalo Mexia* Treasurer of the armie.

All the newe Magistrates ratified his sayings, and allowed his discretion and wisdom, praying the election of the newe officers as men moste méete for suche an office, and besought them to accept theyr charge.

This diligence done, he commaunded to bring foorth into the markette place all the goodes and treasure which they had gotten, as well cloth of Cotten,

Feathers, Golde, and Plate, whiche mought amount vnto in valew the summe of .27000. Ducates: The same he caused to be delyuered vnto the newe elected treasurers by account, requestyng the whole counsell of the Cittie that they shoulde make deuision thereof. The counsellours and communaltie replied, saying: Sir here is nothing to deuide, for deductyng the fifte parte whiche appertayneth to the King, all the reste shall be to make payment for the furniture whiche you prepared for this voyage, and you beyng satisfied, then the shippes, munition and furniture shall serue in common for vs all, beséeching him with one assent to take all the treasure, and to sende vnto the kings maiestie his portion or fifte parte, euen as shoulde séeme most conuenient vnto him.

Liberalitie of Cortez.

Cortes replied and sayde, that time hereafter shoulde serue to pay him according to their gentle offer: But for this present time my louyng felowes (quoth he) I will receyue no more than the share or portion that appertayneth vnto my office of generall Captayne, and all the residue shal be for the Gentlemen of my company, wherewith yée may beginne to make payment of your debtes, whiche ye ought when ye made your prouision to come with me on this voyage.

And where I haue appoynted certayne things to send to the King, of more value than his fifte parte, it mighte please them, for as muche as they were suche things as coulde not be well deuided, and likewyse the firste fruite of that Conquest, fréely to giue him libertie to vse his discretion in that onely poynt. They al in generall graunted to his request, wherevpon he tooke out of the stocke, these things followyng.

Inuentary.

irste the twoo whéeles of Golde and siluer, whiche *Heudilli* presented vnto him on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*.

A collar of golde of eight pièces, whereat hanged a hūdreth and four score and thrée little Emeraldes, and twoo and thirtie little redde stones, lyke vnto Rubies, of small value: there hanged at the same collar seauen and twentie little belles of Golde, and certayne heads of pearle.

Another collar of foure doubled twiste, with a hundreth and twoo Rubies, and a hundreth and seuentie and twoo Emeraldes, and tenne good pearles well sette, and for border or fringe sixe and twentie belles of golde: both those collars were beautifull to beholde, and had many other fine thyngs wrought in them, than is here declared.

Many graynes of golde of the bignesse of a pease, euen as they were founde.

A Casket of graynes of golde of the same sorte.

A Helmet of woodde champed with golde and besette with stones, and at the beuier fiue and twentie belles of golde, and vpon the toppe a gréene birde, with his eyes, beake, and féete of golde.

A sallet of planches of golde, and belles rounde aboute it, decked with stone.

A bracelet of golde of small weight.

A rodde lyke vnto a roiall Scepter, with twoo rings of golde hangyng thereat, garnished with pearle.

Foure forkes with thrée shepehookes at ech, couered with feathers of sundry colours.

Many payres of shoes made of Déere skinnes, sowed with golde thréede, and in the soales were sette certayne stones of colour white and blewe whiche shyned fayre.

Sixe payre of letherne shoes of diuers colours, garnished with golde, siluer, and pearle.

A Targatte of woodde couered with leather, beset round about with belles of Latton, and the bosse in the midst was planched with gold, and there was engraued vpon the same *Vitsilopucthli*, God of the warres, and also foure heads set crossewise, whiche heades were of a Lion, a Tigre, an Eagle, and an Owle, verye liuely made with feathers.

Many skinnnes of beast and foule, curried and dressed in their feathers and in haire.

Foure and twenty targets of gold feathers, and set with pearle both curious and gallant to behold.

Fiue Targets of feathers and siluer.

Foure fishes of gold wel wrought.

Two birdes called Auades, and other birdes of gold.

Certaine Hatchets and a rod of latten.

Diuerse loking glasses garnished with gold.

Many Myters and crownes of gold & feathers wrought of many colours beset with pearle and stone.

Many faire feathers of sundry colours.

Many tuffes of feathers adorned with siluer and gold.

A garment like a coape of cotten, wouen of sundry coulours, and in the midst a blacke whele made of feathers.

Many surplices, vestments, palles, frontals and ornaments of Idols alters and temples.

Many couerlets of cotten of diuerse colours, whyche shewed like vnto vnshorne veluet.

Manye shirtes, Iackettes, headclothes and other naperie.

Many Carpets and hangings of cotten.

Al these things wer more beautiful than rich, although the whéeles were very rich, the workmanshippe of al the rest, was more worth than the thing it selfe. The colours of the cloth of cotten wool was excéeding fine, and the fethers natural.

Straunge Paper.

The pounced worke in gold and siluer did excéed our goldsmithes, of whiche

things we wil write in an other place. They ioyned with this present certaine *Indian* bookes of figures which serue to their vse for letters: these bookes are folden like vnto clothes, and written on both sides. Some of these bookes were made of cotten & glewe, and others were made of leaues of a certaine trée called Melt, whyche serue for theyr paper, a thyng straunge to behold.

At that time the *Indiās* of *Zempoallan* had many prisoners to sacrifice. *Cortez* demaunded them to send vnto the Emperour, but the *Indians* desired him to pardon them, for if we so do (quoth they) we shall offend our gods, who will take away our corne and children from vs, yea and also our liues in so doing.

Yet notwithstanding, *Cortez* tooke foure of them, and two women which were al yong and lustie.

But it was very strange to sée those that shold be sacrificed, how they wer trimmed and deckt with feathers, and went dauncing through the Cittie, asking almes for their sacrifice & death. It was also strange to sée the offerings y^t were giuen thē. They had at their eares hanging rings of gold beset with turkie stones, & likewise other rings at their lippes, whiche shewed their téeth bare, a griesely sight to sée, but yet estéemed among them a thing beautifull.

Letters from the army and magistrates of *the new towne directed to the Emperour.*

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hen this present and fift part was layde aside for the king, *Cortez* required the magistrats to name and appoint two atturnyes, to carry the Emperors portion vnto Spayne. And that he for his part wold giue vnto them his full power, and letter of attourneye, with also one of his beste Shippes for that voyage.

The Counsell of the newe towne chose *Alounso Fernandez Portocarero*, and *Francisco de Monteio* for that iourneye: whereof *Cortez* was verye glad, and gaue them *Antonio de Alominos* for their pilot, with golde and plate sufficiente for tourne and retourne of the voyage. *Cortez* gaue them instructions, what they shoulde doe particularlye for hym, in the Courte of Spaine as also in Ciuil, and the towne where he was borne. Hee sente to his Father and Mother certaine money, with newes of his prosperitie: hee sente also with them the ordinaunces and actes instituted, and wrote by them a large letter to the Emperour, in the whiche hee gaue full aduertisemente of all things whyche hadde passed from the time of his departure from the Ilande of *Cuba* vntil that day, and of the discord betwéene hym and *Iames Valasques*, and of their greate traueyle and paynes, with the greate good will whiche they all bare vnto hys royall seruice: hee certified likewise of the riches of that countreye, with the maiestie and power of *Mutezuma*. Hee offered to bring in subiection vnto his royall Crown and state of Castil, al that Empire, & to winne also the greate Citie of *Mexico*, and to bring that mightie king *Mutezuma* to his handes quicke or deade.

Beséeching the Emperours maiestie to haue hym in remembraunce when offices and prouisions shoulde bee sente vnto that newe Spayne latelye discouered at hys great costes, and in recompence of hys paines and trauell.

The Counsell and magistrates of *Vera Crux* wrote also two letters to the

Emperour, the one was touching the successe of their procéedings in his royall seruice. In that letter, went onely the Aldermens firmes, and Iudges.

A good protestatiō.

The other letter was firmed by the generalitie and chiefest of the army, the contentes whereof was in substance, that they would holde and kepe that towne and countrey wonne, in his royall name, or ende theyr lyues in the quarrel, if his maiestie did not otherwise determyne.

They also moste humblye besought him, that the gouvernement thereof, and of al that hereafter shoulde bee conquered, might be giuen to *Hernādo Cortez* their guide, generall captaine, and chiefe Iustice by them electe and chosen, saying, that wel he had deserued the same, for that he alone spent more than the whole army vpon that iourney. And that it might please his maiesty to confirm that, which they generally of fréewill had done for theyr owne safegard and securitye, in the name of his royall maiestie.

And if by chaunce his maiestie had already giuen the sayde office of gouvernement to any other person, that it might please him to reuoke it.

For so should it be expedient for his seruice, and quietnesse of the countrey. And thereby might be excused, rumours, slanders, perils, and slaughters, that myght ensue, if any other should gouerne and rule as captaine general.

And moreouer they besoughte hys maiestie to graunte them aunswere with breuity, and good dispatch of theyr attourneys, who departed from the porte of *Aguiahuistlan* in a reasonable shippe the twenty sixe day of July, *Anno* .1519.

They touched by the way at *Marien* a port of *Cuba*, declaring that they went to *Hauana*: they passed through the chanell of *Bahama* without disturbaunce, and sayled with a prosperous winde, till they arriued in Spayne.

The cause why the generaltye had written these letters was, suspecting *Iames Velasques*, who had frends and great fauour in the Court and counsel of *Indias*, and also some secrete friendes in *Cortez* his campe. For *Francisco Salzeda* brought newes that *Iames Velasques* had already obteyned a graunt of the Emperour for the gouernment of that land by the meanes of one *Benito Martinez*

going into Spayne. And although they knew not the certainty thereof, yet it was most true, as shal appeare in another place.

An vproare among the souldiers against *Cortez, and the punishment for the same.*

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here wer some in the host y^t murmured against the election of *Cortez*, for thereby was excluded *Iames Valasques*, vnto whō they bare good wil.

Some were *Valasques* friends, and other some his kinesfolkes, who letted not to say openly, that *Cortez* by flattery, suddeltie and giftes had gotten and obtayned his purpose.

Mischeffe.

Tvvo hanged, and tvvo whipped.

And that the dissimulation in makyng hym selfe to bee entreated and prayed to accepte that charge and office, was a thing craftily fayned, whereby suche election coulde not bee of anye value, and chieflie without any such authority of the Ierome Friers dame, who ruled and gouerned the *Indians* as chiefe presidents: how muche more they hadde newes that *Iames Velasques* had already obteyned the gouernement of that land, and *Yucatan*. Then *Cortez* began to vnderstande in those matters, and made informatiō who had rayseed vp this rumoure, and béeing knowen, he apprehended the chieftest, and sent them prisoners aboorde his Ship: and to molifye their wrath, he shortly releassed them agayne, the which afterwards was cause of more mischief, for these his enimies woulde haue fledde with a Vergantine and killed the maister, pretending to flye vnto the Ilande of *Cuba*, for to aduertise *Iames Velasques* of the great present sent vnto the Emperour, to the intent it shoulde be taken from their attorners passing néere the porte of *Hauana*, with all the letters and relations of their businesse, bycause the Emperoure shoulde not sée it, to conceyue well of their procéedings. Then *Cortez* began to be agréued in earnest, and apprehended diuers of them, whose confessions being taken, the matter was manifestly knowen to be true, and therevppon according to the processe, hée condemned

those that were most culpable, and caused forthwith two of them to be hanged, who were *Iohn Escudero*, and *Iames Cermenio* pilot, and condemned *Gonsalo de Vmbria* and *Alonso Penate* to be whipped, and incontinent execution was done, all the rest being pardoned.

With this correction *Cortez* was more feared, and also estéemed, than before he was, for certainly if he hadde vsed gentlenesse, he should neuer haue tamed them, yea and if he had not loked to them in time, he had bin spoyled: for their pretence was, to haue aduertised *Iames Velasques*, who would haue preuented them of their Shyps and present, and yet afterwarde he sente a Caruell after the sayd Ship, although it were too late.

Cortez caused all his Shippes to be
sunke, and broken vpon the shore, a most worthy facte.

A famous facte.

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ortez purposed to goe vnto *Mexico*, and would not gyue his Souldyers to vnderstand it, bycause they shoulde not refuse the iourney, through the talke of *Teudilli*, especially hearing that the Citie of Mexico was situated vpon water, whyche they imagined to be excéeding strong, as in effect it was: and to the intent that they should all follow hym, although againste their willes, he determined to spoyle all his Shyppes, which was a strange case, perillous, and a great losse. His intent throughly weyed, he little estéemed the losse of his Shippes to withstand his men from disturbance of his enterprise, for doubtlesse they woulde haue stayed him, yea and rebelled, if they hadde knowen his minde and pretended purpose. He did secretly accord with one of the Maisters of hys Fléete in the nighte season to bore holes in them, that thereby they myghte synke, wythoute anye remedie to recouer them agayne.

Also he requested the other Maisters and Pylots to publish among the army, that the Shyppes were so rotten and wormeaten, that they were not fytted to goe to sea agayne, and that they shoulde, when they chanced to espye him and many of his Souldies together, come and certifie him openly of the estate and force of the sayde Shippes, bycause that afterwarde they shoulde not laye any fault to his charge.

According to this instruction, the Pylots and Maisters did accomplish his commaundemente: for shortlye after they espyed him among a flocke of his companie, and then came they vnto him, saying: Sir, your nauie is not to make any moe voyages, by reason that they are all leake, and spoyled, rotten, and worme eaten, wherfore according to our duetie, we do certifie you thereof, to prouide therein as you shall see cause. All the Souldiers gaue credite to their tale,

bycause the Shippes had bin there more than thrée monethes. And after long talke aboute the matter, *Cortez* commaunded that they shoulde profite themselues of them the best that they myght, and as for the Hulles, let them sinke or runne a shore, fayning great sorrow for so great a losse, and want of such prouision. And in this manner they lette runne a shore fyue of the best Shyppes, sauynge theyr Ordinance, vittayles, sayles, Cables, Ankers, ropes, and all other tacle: and shortely after they spoyled other foure vessels, but that was done wyth some difficultie, bycause they beganne to surmise the intente of *Cortez*, and beganne openly to saye, that *Cortes* meant to carrie them to the slaughter house. He then pacified them wyth gentle wordes, saying, what is he that will refuse the warres in so riche a Countrey? if there be any of you that wyll leaue my companye, hée or they may (if please them) returne to *Cuba* in a Shyppe that yet remayneth. And this hée spake, to knowe howe many were the cowards, meanyng in tyme of néede to haue no trust or confidence in them. Then dyuers shamelesse persons demaunded licence to returne to *Cuba*, but they were suche as loued no warres. There wer also others that said nothing, who woulde gladly haue retourned, séeyng the greatnesse of the Countrey, and the multitude of the people, but yet they were ashamed to shewe cowardise openlye.

Cortez knowing his souldyers mindes, commanded the other Ship to be sunke, so that then they were all without hope to goe out of that Countrey at y^t time, exalting and praying the noble minde of *Cortes* shewed in that worthy facte. Certaynely it was a déede necessary for the present time, and done by the iudgement of a stout Captayne, although he lost much by his Shyppes, and abode without succour of the sea. There are few of these examples, which are not of valiant personages, as was *Omiez Barbaroza* with the cut arme, who a few yeares past brake seauen Galleys and Foystes, to winne thereby *Bugia*, as largely I do write thereof in battayles of y^e sea in our dayes.

Hovv the inhabitants of Zempoallan brake downe their Idolles.

Nevves for Cortez.

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uery day séemed long to *Cortes*, with the desire to see *Mutezuma*. He nowe began to publishe openly his iourney and departure, and chose out of the body of his host a hūdred and fiftie mē, which he thought sufficient to leaue for safegard of the new towne and fort, which was almost finished, and appoynted *Pedro de Hircio* their Captaine, leauing with them two Horses, and two small péeces of Ordinance, wyth many *Indians* to serue them, and fiftie Townes round about them in faithfull friendship and league, out of the which Townes they might alwayes haue at their néede fiftie thousande men of warre: and he departed with the residue of his Spanyardes towarde *Zempoallan*, whyche mighte be foure leagues from thence, and was scarcely come to the Towne, when newes was broughte hym that foure Shippes of *Francisco Garray* sayled along hys coast, and were in sight of *Vera Crux*. With this newes he returned incontinent with a hundred of his men, suspecting euill of those Shippes. At his comming to *Vera Crux*, his Captaine there enformed him how he had gone himselfe to know what they were, and from whence they came, and what they would, but coulde speake with none of them. *Cortes* beyng informed how they roade at anker, toke Captaine *Hircio* and certaine of his company to expect their commyng ashore, suspectyng them muche, bicause they roade so farre off, being by signes and tokens willed to come into the Harbor. *Cortes* hauing wandered neare thrée miles, mette with thrée Spaniardes whiche came from the shippes, the one of them sayde that he was a Notary, and the other twoo were to serue for witnesses in their affayres, which was, to ascite and notifie certaine wrytings, whiche they shewed not: and also to require *Cortes* by vertue of the same, to come and make repartitiō of that countrey with captayne *Garay* their generall, for theyr sayd

Captaine pretended that conquest (as first discoverer of the same,) certifying moreouer that hée was determined to inhabite twentie leagues distāt from that place Westwarde neare vnto *Nahutlan*, whiche nowe is called *Armeria*. *Cortes* answered, that they should returne vnto their shippes, and to will theyr Captayne to come to *Vera Crux* with his nauie, and there they woulde commune together aboute his comming, and if he stode in néede of any thing it shoulde be prouided. And if it were (as they reported) that he was comen on the Kings affaires, he woulde gladly fauour his procéedings, considering that he and all his were there in seruice of his highnesse, how muche more beyng all of one nation.

They answered, that in no wise their captaine nor none of his army would come ashore, nor yet come where as *Cortes* was. With this answeere *Cortes* vnderstood the matter, and layde holde of them, and went and placed himself in ambushe behinde a little hill of sande, whiche stode right ouer agaynst the shippes, beyng neare sunne sette, & slepte there that night till daye approched, and the mornyng farre spent, hopyng that *Garay* his Pilote or some of his company woulde come ashore, meanyng likewise to apprehende them for to be certified what course they had made, and what hurte they had done, and findyng them guiltie, to sende them prysoners into Spayne, likewise he desired to knowe whether they had spoken with any vassals of *Mutezuma*, and seyng they came not a lande his suspicion was the greater.

A vvise practise.

Cortes commaunded thrée of his men to chaunge apparell with the thrée messengers that came from *Garay*, and this done, caused them to goe to the Sea side, wauyng with theyr clokes, and callyng for the shippe boate, nowe those of the shippes thought by theyr apparell that they were their owne menne, and came with a dozen persons in the skiffe with Crossebowes and Handgunnes. Then *Cortes* his men whiche were clothed in other mens garments hidde themselues among bushes, as who woulde say, they were gone into the shadowe, for to flée from the great heate of the Sunne, being at that time highe noone, and bicause they should not be knowen.

The Mariners of the skiffe set a lande twoo men with Hargabushes, and other two mē with Crossebowes, and and *Indian* who went straight way to the bushes, thinkyng to finde their fellowes. Then stept forth *Cortes* and caught them before they could gette aborde the skiffe, although they meant to haue defended themselues, so that one of them who was a Pilote, hauing his Hargabushe ready charged, & would haue shot at captaine *Hircio*, & assuredly if his match and powder had bene good he had slayne him. When the general aborde the ships perceiued this deceit, would abide no longer, & cōmaunded to make saile, not taryng for his skiffe. By these seuen mē taken at two times *Cortes* was satisfied, & also certified how captain *Garay* had sayled along the coast séeking *Florida*, and arriued in a riuer, the King of that prouince was called *Panuco*, where they founde little golde, barteryng aborde their shippes, all theyr golde passed not thrée thousande Castelins, but in exchaunge of things of small value, nothing contented *Garay* on that voyage, bycause the quantitie of golde was small and not fine.

With this newes *Cortes* returned to *Zempoallan* with his men which he brought in his company: and there concluded and fully agreed with those *Indians* to pull downe theyr Idols & sepulchres of their *Cassikz*, whiche they did reuerence as Gods, perswading them to worship the God of heauen. And after this doctrine their league of friendship was effectually established, and with other townes adioyning against *Mutezuma*. Those *Indians* gaue vnto him gagues to be alwayes faithfull of worde & promisse, and offered vnto him as many men fitte for warre & seruice as he would require. *Cortes* receiued the gagues which were of the principallest persons of the townes, as *Mamexi Teuch*, and *Tamalli*, he tooke also a thousand *Tamemes*, that is to say, men that are carriars, who ordinarily taketh his burden vpon his backe which is halfe a hundred waight, and those fellowes followe the campe with their bagge & baggage: These men serued for horses to draw the ordinance, and to carrie other munition and victuals.

Hovv Olintlec exalted the mightie
power of Mutezuma.

[TOC](#)

ortes departed frō *Zempoallan*, leauing that towne named *Siuillia*, towarde *Mexico* the sixtene day of August of the same yéere, with 400. Spaniardes and fiftene horses, & sixe péeces of ordinance, and 1300. *Indians* w^t the carriers & mē of *Cuba*. And whē *Cortes* departed frō *Zempoallan* he had not one vassall of *Mutezuma* in his campe to leade them the way towarde *Mexico*, for al were fledde, seing the new league, or else by commaundement of their Lord, and the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* knew not well the way.

The first thrée dayes iourney the army passed through countrey of their friendes, and were louingly receyued and lodged, especially in *Xalapan*. The fourth day they came to *Sicuchimatl*, whiche is a strong place situated on a hill side very craggy, and the way to passe therevnto is made with force of mans hande as a stayre. And if the inhabitants thereof would haue resisted the entraunce, with greate difficultie bothe footemen & horsemen mought haue entred the towne, but as afterwarde appeared, they were commaunded by *Mutezuma* to lodge them and also to honour them. The rulers of that towne sayde to *Cortes*, that for as muche as he wente to visite their Prince *Mutezuma*, he should assure himselfe that they were and would be his friendes. This towne hath many villages and farmes beneath in the playne, for *Mutezuma* was alwayes prouided there of .5000. men of warre.

Cortes gaue great thanks to the Lorde for his curtesie and good entertaynement, muche estéeming the good will of his Lorde *Mutezuma*, and so departed from thence, and wente to passe ouer a mountayne very high, the passage whereof he named *Nombre de dios*, bycause it was the first that he had passed, beyng so asperous and highe, that there is none suche in all Spayne, for it

conteyned directly vpright thrée leagues, and hath in many places grapes and trées with hony. And discendyng downe on the other side of that hill, they came to a towne called *Theuhixuacan*, whiche is a forte and friende to *Mutezuma*, where our army was receyued and entertayned as in the other towne behinde.

Troubles.

And from thence he traueled thrée dayes in a countrey inhabitable, and passed some necessitie of hunger, & much more of thirst, bicause all the water that they founde was saltishe, and many of his men for wante of other dranke thereof, whereof they fell into sicknesse: and sodainely fel a meruaylous Hayle with great colde, whiche increased their grieve, yea and the *Indians* of their company thought there to ende theyr liues, & some of the *Indians* of *Cuba* died there through nakednesse, not being accustomed to so cold a countrey. After the fourth iourney of euill way they ascended vp an other hil, and vpon the toppe therof, (to their iudgement) they founde a thousande carte loade of wood ready cut, neare to a little tower of idolles: they named that place the porte of wood: & hauing passed twoo leagues from the porte of wood, they founde the countrey barren and poore, but soone after the army came to a place whiche they named white Castell, bicause the Lordes house was of stone very white and newe, and the beste that they had séene in all that countrey, and so curiously wrought, that they meruayled thereat: that towne in their language is called *Zaclotan*, and the valley neare vnto it is name *Zacatami*, and the Lordes name is *Olintlec*, who receyued *Cortes* honorably, and prouided for him and his company abundantly, being so commaunded by *Mutezuma*, as hée reported afterwarde.

A straunge ioy.

And in token that he had receyued that cōmission from his Lorde, he commaunded fiftie men to be sacrificed for ioy, whose bloud they sawe newe and freshe. The townes men of that towne caried the Spanyardes on their shoulders, on suche beares as we carry dead men to Church. *Cortes* enformed them (by his enterpreters) of the cause of his comming into that countrey, as he had vsed in other places, & demaunded whether he the Lorde of this towne were

tributary to *Mutezuma*. This *Cazike* being amazed at his question, answered, saying: What is he that is not eyther slaue or vassall to the great *Mutezuma*. Then *Cortes* certified him, who and what the Emperour king of Spayne was, willing him to be his friend and seruitour, & further enquired if he had any golde to sende him some. This *Cazike* answered that he would do nothing without the commaundement of his Lorde, nor yet send his king any golde although he had inough. *Cortes* dissimuled the matter, and helde his peace, yet by and by he desired to knowe the Maiestie and mightie power of *Mutezuma*, the *Cazike* answered, that *Mutezuma* was Lorde of the whole worlde, and that he had thirtie Vassals who were able to make a .100000. men of warre: eche one of them he also certified that he sacrificed .20000. men yerely to his Goddes: And also his dwellyng was in the most beautyfullest and strongest cittie of al that euer was enhabited, likewise (quoth he) his house and courte is moste greate, noble, and replenished with Gentlemen, his riches incredible, and his charges excessiue. And truely therein he sayde the very troth, excepte in the sacrifice wherein he something enlarged, although the slaughter of men for sacrifice in euery temple was very great, yea and some hold opinion, that some yéeres were sacrificed aboue .50000. men. Being in this conuersation, came two Gentilmen of that valley to see the Spanyardes, and eche of them presented vnto *Cortes* foure women slaues, & certayne collers of golde of small price. *Olintlec* although he was vassall to *Mutezuma*, was a greate Lorde, and had .20000. vassals, and thirtie wiues altogither in his house, beside a hundreth other women that attended vpon them. And had for his garde and houshold .2000. persons, his towne was great, & had .13. temples in it, & eche temple many idolles of stone of diuers fashiōs, before whom they sacrificed men, doues, quayles, & other things w^t perfumes & great veneratiō. In this place and territorie, *Mutezuma* had .5000. souldiers in garrison, and ordinarie postes from thence to *Mexico*. Vntill this time, *Cortez* had not so amply vnderstoode the mighte and power of *Mutezuma*, yea and though many inconueniences, difficulties, feare, and such like, did represent it selfe vnto him in his iourney to *Mexico*, whiche perhaps

would haue amazed some valiāt persons, yet he shewed not one iote of cowardise, hauyng hearde suche a reporte of that mightie Prince, but rather his desire was so much the more to sée hym.

Considering now that he shoulde passe through *Taxcallon* to goe to *Mexico*, being *Taxcallon* a greate & strong Citie, and warlike people, he dispatched four *Zeampoallanezes* to the Lordes and Captaynes of that Citie, on the behalfe of *Zempoallan* and his owne, offering vnto them his friendship and fauour, giuing them to vnderstande, that those few Christians woulde come vnto their Citie to serue thē, desiring thē to accept the same, thinking assuredly that those of *Taxcallon* would haue done with him as the *Zempoallanezes* had done, which were both good and faithful, who had always vsed trouth with him, euē so he thought that now he moughte credite them, for they had enformed him, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were their friendes, and so would be his, considering that they were vtter enimies to *Mutezuma*, and willingly would goe with him to the siege of *Mexico*, with desire of libertie, and to reuenge olde iniuries and griefes, whiche they had susteyned many yeares before of the people of *Culhua*. *Cortez* refreshed himselfe in *Zaclotan* fiue dayes, where is a fresh riuer and quiet folke, pulling downe the Idolles, and placed a remembrance of Christ crucified, as he hadde done in all the Townes that he had passed.

He toke his leaue of *Olintlec*, leauing him wel pleased, & went to a town two leagues frō thēce along y^e riuer side, whereof was Lorde *Iztacmixtlitan*, one of the Gentlemen who had giuen him the slaues and collers of golde.

This towne standeth in a playne ground of two leagues compasse, which is replenished with so many houses as doth séeme to touche one an other, in that way that our army passed—and the towne it selfe doth contayne fiue thousande householdes, standing on a hill, and on the one side thereof is the Lordes house with a strong forte, being the beste yet séene in those parties, walled with good stone with barbucan and déepe ditche. There *Cortes* rested himselfe thrée dayes, abiding the foure messengers whiche he sent from *Zacloton*, to knowe the answere that should be brought.

The first encounter that Cortez had with the men of *Tlaxcallan*.

A straunge vvall.

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Cortes seying the long taryng of the messengers he departed from *Zaclotan* without any intelligence from *Tlaxcallan*. Our cāp had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a great circuite of stone made without lyme or morter, being of a fadom and a half high, and twentie foote brode with loupe holes, to shoote at: that wall crossed ouer all the valley from one mountayne to another, and but one onely entraunce or gate, in the whiche the one wall doubled against the other, and the way there was fourtie paces brode, in such sort, that it was an euill and perilous passage, if any had bene there to defend it. *Cortes* demaunded the cause of that circuite, and who had buylte it, *Iztacmixtlitan* that wente to beare him company, tolde him that it was but a deuision from their countrey and *Tlaxcallan*, and that their antecessors had made the same to disturbe the entrance of the *Tlaxcaltecas* in time of warre, who came to robbe and murther them, bycause of the friendship betwixte them and *Mutezuma*, whose vassals they were.

That strange and costly wall, séemed a thing of greate maiestie to our Spanyardes, and more superfluous than profitable, yet they suspected that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were valiant warriors, who had suche defense made agaynst them. And as *Cortes* and his army stode beholding thys worke, *Iztacmixtlitan* thought he had bin afrayde to procéede forward, and prayed him (for so much as he was his Lordes friend) not to passe that way, nor yet through the Countrey of *Tlaxcallan*, for so muche as he wente to visite his maister, for (quoth he) if they knowe you to be my Lordes friende, they will séeke youre displeasure, as they haue done to others, and I will prouide you of guides to leade you continually through the dominion of *Mutezuma*, where you shall be well receyued and

prouided, vntil you come to *Mexico*.

But *Mamexi* and the others of *Zempoallan* willed hym to refuse that offer and counsell in any wise, alleadgyng that it was an onely pretence to separate them from the friendship of that prouince, whose people were good, honorable, and valiant, and that *Iztacmixtlitans* perswasion was to prohibite theyr helpe and succoure agaynst *Mutezuma*, willing hym earnestly to giue no credite vnto hys sayings, for he and his allyes are false Traytors, and meante to bryng hym into some snare, where they myghte kill both him and his company, and féede vppon theyr fleshe.

Cortes for a space was amazed at y^e talke of y^e one and the other, but in conclusion he accepted the counsell of *Mamexi*, for that he hadde conceyued a better opinion of the *Zeampoallanezes* his allyed friendes, than of the others. And setting all feare asyde, he tooke the way to *Tlaxcallon*, byddyng *Iztacmixtlitā* farewell, and with thrée hundred Souldyers on a ranke, he entred the way in the wall, and procéded in good order all the way forwardes, carrying the Ordinance ready charged, and he himselfe the leader of all his army, yea and sometimes he woulde be halfe a league before them, to discouer and make the way playne.

And hauing gone the space of thrée leagues from that circuite, he commaunded his footemen to make hast, bycause it was somewhat late, and he with his Horsemen went to descrye the way forwardes, who ascendyng vp a hyll, two of the formost horsemenne mette with fiftéene *Indians* armed with swordes and Targets and tuffes of feathers, whiche they vse to weare in the warres. These fiftéene were spyes, and when they sawe the Horsemen, they beganne to flye with feare, or else to gyue aduise.

Then approched *Cortez* with other thrée horsemen, calling to them to stay, but by no meanes they woulde abyde: then syxe Horsemen ranne after them, and ouertooke them, & ioyned all together, with determination rather to dye than to yéelde, shewing them signes to stande still: yet the Horsemen comming to lay handes on them, they prepared themselues to battayle, and foughte, defendyng

themselves for a while. In this fight the *Indians* slew two of their Horses, and as the *Spanyardes* do witness, at two blows they cut off a Horse head, bridle and all. Then came the rest of the Horsemen, and the army approached, for there were in sight néere five thousande *Indians* in good order, to succoure their fiftéene fighting men, but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slayne with the anger that was taken for the kiling of the two Horses, and would not render themselves in time: yet notwithstanding their fellows fought, vntill they espyed our army commyng, and the Ordinance, then they returned, leauyng the field to our men, but our Horsemen followed them, and slew aboute 70. persons of them, without receyuing any hurt.

A subtil message.

This done, the *Indians* sente vnto *Cortes* two of the foure messengers which had bin sente thither before with other *Indians*, saying, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* knewe nothyng of the thynges that were happened, certifying lykewyse that those with whome hee had fought were of other communities, and not of their iurisdiction, béeyng sorowfull for that whyche had passed: and for so muche as it happened in their Countrey, they would willingly pay for the two Horses whyche were slayne, praying them to come in good time to their Towne, who would gladly receyue them, and enter into their league of friendship, because they séemed to bee valiente men: but all was a fayned and a false message.

Yet *Cortes* beléued them, and gaue them thanks for their curtesie and good will, and that accordyng to their request he would goe vnto their Towne, and accepte their friendship. And touchyng the deathe of his Horses, he required nothyng, for within shorte space he expected many moe: but yet God knoweth how sorowfull he was for the want of them, and not only so much for thē, as that the *Indians* shoulde thinke that Horses could dye, or be slayne.

Cortez procéded forwardes aboute two leagues where the Horses were kyllled, although it was almost Sunnesette, and his men wéeried, hauing trauelled farre that day.

His will was, to haue pitched his Camp in a strong place of water: wherefore he planted his army by a Riuer side, whereas they remayned all that night with good watche both of footemen and horsemen, fearing some assault: but there was no attempt giuen that night, whereby they might haue taken better rest, than they were aware of.

Hovv there ioyned a hundred and fiftie
thousand men against Cortez.

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he next morning at Sunne rising, *Cortez* departed with his army in good order, and in the midst of them wente the fardage and artillerie, and as soone as they were come to a little Village there néere at hande, they mette with the other two messengers of *Zempoallan*, who departed from them at *Zaclotan*: they came with pitifull chéere, exclayming of the Captaynes of the power of *Tlaxcallan*, who had bounde them, and deteyned them from returning: but with good fortune, that nighte they hadde broken loose, and escaped, for otherwise in the morning following, they had bin sacrificed to the God of Victory, and after the sacrifice, to be eaten, for a good beginning of their warres, protesting the like to be done with the berded men, and with as many as came with them.

They had no sooner tolde their tale, when there appeared behinde a little hill about a thousande *Indians*, verye well appoynted after their fashion, and came with suche a maruellous noyse and crye, as though theyr voyces shoulde haue pearced the Heauens, hurling at oure menne stones, dartes, and shotte wyth bowes and arrowes.

First battayle.

80000. mē.

Seconde battayle.

Cortes made many tokens of peace vnto them, and by his interpreters desired them to leaue the battell. But so much the more as he entreated for peace, the more hastie and earnest were they, thinkyng either to haue ouercomen them, or else to holde them play, to the entēt that the Spanyardes should haue folowed them to a certaine ambushe that was prepared for them, of more then .80000. men, whiche they had planted in a créeke of a riuer which abutted vpō the high way. Then our men began to cease from wordes, and to lay hande vpon their weapons, for that company of a thousande were as many, as on our side were

fighting men, they were well practised in the warres, very valiāt, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battell endured certaine houres, and at the ende the *Indians* being eyther wearied, or else meanyng to take our men in the snare appointed, began to flie toward theyr maine battell, not as ouercome, but to ioyne with their owne folke. And our men being hote in the fight and slaughter whiche was not litle, followed them with all their fardage, and vnwares fell into the ambushe among an infinite number of *Indians* armed, they stayde not bycause they would not put themselues out of order, and passed through their campe with great haste & feare. The enimies began to sette vpon the horsemen, thinkyng to haue taken their lances from them, their courage was so stoute: many of the Spaniardes had there perished, had it not bin for the *Indian* friends. Likewise the courage of *Cortes* did much animate them, for although he ledde his army making way yet, diuers times, he turned him backe to place his men in order and to comforte them, and at length came out of that daungerous way into the playne felde, where the horses mought helpe, and the ordinaunce stande in stéede, whiche two things did greatly anoy the enimie to their great wonder and maruell, and at the sight thereof began to flie.

In bothe encounters remayned many *Indians* slayne and wounded, and of the Spaniardes some were hurt, but none killed, giuyng moste hartie thanks vnto God for their deliury from so great a multitude of *Indians* their enimies with muche ioye and pleasure of the victory. Then they wente to pitche their campe in a village called *Teoacazinco*, where was a little Tower and a Temple, and there fortified themselues, and buylte cotages of bowes and strawe. The *Indians* of *Zeampoallan*, and those of *Iztacmixtlitan* did play the valiant men that day, wherfore *Cortes* honoured them with harty thanks.

The care of good souldiers.

This day was the first of September. The night followyng our men slepte not quietly with feare of inuasion of their enimies, but they came not, for they neuer vse to fighte in the nighte season. And as soone as it was day *Cortes* sente to the Captaynes of *Tlaxcallan*, to requyre them of peace and friendshippe, willyng them quietly to suffer the passage through their countrey to *Mexico*, for that they meant them no hurte but rather good will. This done, hée lefte twoo hundreth Spanyardes and the Carreirs in the campe. And tooke with him other twoo hundreth, with seuen hundreth *Indians*, and wente with them abroad to skirmishe in the face of their enimies, and at that tyme burned fiue or sixe villages, and returned with foure hundreth prysoners, without receyuyng any hurte, although they followed him to his campe. At his returne he founde the answere of the Captaynes his enimies, whiche was, that the next day they would come and talke with him and declare theyr mindes.

150000. men.

Cortes was well preuented that night, for the answere liked him not, but rather séemed braue, and a matter determind to be done as they had sayde: lykewise those whiche were taken prysoners, certified that his enimies were ioyned together to the nūber of a .150000. mē to giue him battaile the next day folowing, & to swallow thē aliue whom so mortally they did hate, thinking thē to be friēds to *Mutezuma*, vnto whom they wished all euil & mischief.

Indian armour.

It was moste true that the *Tlaxcaltecas* had gathered all their whole power to apprehende the bearded menne, and to make of them a more solemne sacrifice vnto their Goddes, than at any time heretofore they had done, with a generall banquet of their flesh, which they called Celestial. The Captaines of *Tlaxcallan* deuided their souldiers into foure battayles, the one to *Tepeticpac*, another to *Ocotelulco*, the third to *Tizatlan*, and the fourth to *Quiahuiztlan*, that is to say, the men of the Mountaynes, the men of the Lymepittes, the men of the Pinetrées, and the water men, euery of these had their Lardes and Captaynes whome they

shoulde repayre vnto and obey, and all these foure sortes of men dothe make the body of the common weale and cittie, and also commaunde both in tyme of warre and peace. So that euery of these Captaynes had his iust portion or number of warriors, but the general of al the whole army was called *Xicotencatl*, who was of the Limepits: and he had the standart of the cittie, which is a Crane of gold with his wings spred, adorned with Emeralds & siluerworke, which standart is according to their vse, either caried before the whole host or else behinde thē all. The second Captaine or Lieuutenant was *Maxixcazin*, & the number of the whole army was .150000. men. Such a great number they had ready against .400. Spaniardes & yet at length ouercome: neuerthelesse after all this broyle, they were most greatest friends. These foure captains came w^t their cōpany that the fields where they were séemed a forest. They were trimme felowes & well armed according to their vse, although they were paynted so that their faces shewed like diuels with great tuffes of feathers and triumphed gallantly. They had also slinges, staues, speares, swordes, bowes and arrowes, skulles, splintes, gantlettes all of wood, gilte or else couered with feathers or leather, their corselets were made of cotten woolle, their targettes and bucklers gallant and strong, made of woodde couered with leather, and trimmed with laton and feathers, theyr swordes were staues with an edge of flint stone cunningly ioyned into the staffe, which woulde cutte very well and make a sore wounde.

The host (as is declared) was deuided into foure parts, their instrumentes of warre were hunters hornes, and drummes called attabals made like a caldron and couered with vellam. So that the Spanyardes in all the discouery of *India* did neuer see a better army together nor better ordered.

The threatning of the Indian campe *agaynst the Spanyardes.*

A present.

A reckning made before the hoste.

Battayle.

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These *Indians* were great braggers, and sayde among themselues, what madde people are these that threatneth vs and yet knoweth vs not. But if they will be so bolde to inuade our countrey without our licence, let vs not sette vpon them so soone, it is méete they haue a litle reste, for we haue tyme inough to take & binde them, let vs also sende them meate for they are commen with empty stomackes: And againe they shall not say that we do apprehende them with wearinesse and hunger. Wherevpon they sent vnto the Christians thrée hundreth Gynnea cockes, and two hundreth baskets of bread called *Centli*. The whiche present was a great sucker for the néede that they stode in. And soone after (quoth they) nowe let vs goe and sette vpon them, for by this time they haue eaten their meate, and nowe wée will eate them, and so shall they pay vs the victuals that we sent: likewise we wil know if *Mutezuma* commaunded them to come into our countrey, or who else. And if he sente them, then let him come and deliuer them: and if it be their owne enterpryse, they shall receyue theyr reward accordingly. These and such like bragges they vsed, seing so fewe Spaniardes before them, and not knowyng their strength. Then the foure Captaynes sente twoo thousande of their valiantest men of warre and olde Souldiers, to take the Spanyardes quietly, with commaundement that if they did resist, either to binde them or else to kill them, meanyng not to sette their whole army vpon them, saying that they shoulde gette but small honour for so great a multitude, to fight agaynst so fewe. The twoo thousande Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the twoo campes, and came boldly to the Tower where the Christians were. Then came foorth the Horsemen, and after them the footemen, and at the first encounter they made the *Indians* feeble howe the yron

swordes woulde cutte: and at the seconde, they shewed of what force those fewe in number were, of whome a little before they had so iested: But at the thirde brunte they made those lusty Souldiers fly, who were come to apprehende them, for none of them escaped, but onely suche as knewe the passage of the trenches or ditche.

Then the mayne battell and whole army sette foorth with a terrible and maruellous noyse, and came so fierce vppon our menne, till they entred into our campe without any resistaunce, and there were at handye strokes and wrastlyng with the Spanyardes, and in a good space coulde not gette them out, killyng many of them whiche were so bolde to enter: and in this sorte they fought foure howers, before they coulde make way among their enimies. And then the *Indians* began to faynt, seyng so many dead on theyr side, and the greate woundes they had, and that they coulde kill none of the Christians: yet the battayle ceased not till it drewe neare night and then they retyred. Whereof *Cortes* and his Souldiers were excéedyng gladde, for they were fully weried with killyng of *Indians*, so that all that nighte our men triumphed with more ioy than feare, considering that the *Indians* fought not by night, they slepte and tooke their reste at pleasure, whiche they had not done til that tyme, but alwayes kept bothe watche and warde.

The *Indians* finding many of their hoste missyng, yet they would not yéelde themselues as ouercome, as after did appeare. They coulde not well tell howe many were slayne, nor yet our men had leasure to count them.

Cortes vvas a painfull man.

The nexte day in the mornyng *Cortes* wente forth to runne the fieldes as he had done before, leauing halfe his menne to kéepe the campe, and bicause he shoulde not be espied he departed before day, & burned aboute .x. townes, and sacked one towne, whiche was of thrée thousande houses, in the whiche were founde but few folke of fight, bycause the moste of them were gone to their campe: After the spoyle, he set fire on the towne and came his way to his campe with a great pray by noone time. The enimies pursued thinkyng to take away

their pray, and followed them into the camp, where they fought fiue houres and could not kill one Spaniarde, although many of their side were slaine: for euen as they were many and stode on a throng together, the ordinaunce made a wonderfull spoyle among them, so that they lefte off fighting, and the victory remayned for our men. The *Indians* thought that the Spanyardes were inchaunted bycause their arrowes could not hurte them.

A straunge presente.

The nexte day followyng, the foure Captaynes sente thrée seuerall things in present to *Cortes*, and the messengers that brought them sayd: Sir behold here fiue slaues, and if thou be that rigorous God that eatest mans fleshe and bloud, eate these whiche we bring vnto thée, and we will bring thée moe. And if thou be the gentle and méeke God, beholde here Franckinsense and Feathers. And if thou be mortal man, take here foule, bread, & Cherries.

Cortes answered, that both he and his were mortal men euen as they were. And bicause that alwayes he had vsed to tell them trouth, wherfore did they vse to tell him lies, and lykewise to flatter him, for he desired to bée their friende, aduising them not to be madde and stubborne in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they shoulde receyue great hurte and dammage. Likewise (quoth he) it is apparant vnto you how many of your side are slayne without the losse of one of mine, and with this answer sent them away. Notwithstanding the answer sent, there came aboute .30000. of them euen to *Cortes* his campe to proue their Corselettes, as they had done the day before, but they returned with brokē pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole host of *Indians* came to combat with our men, & finally all they came to fight, yet the next day they did not so, but euery seuerall captaine by himselfe, for to deuide the better the trauayle & paynes equally amōg them: & bicause that one should not disturbe another through y^e multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, & in a narrow place, & for this consideration, their battayles were more fresher & stronger, for eche captaine did contende who should do most valiantly, for to get honour, & especially in killyng one Spaniarde, for they thought that all their

hurtes shoulde be satisfied with the death of one Spaniarde, or taking one prisoner.

Indian policie.

Likewyse is to bée considered, the straungenesse of their battayle, for not withstandyng their controuersse all those fiftene dayes that they were there, whether they fought or no. The *Indians* sente vnto the Spanyardes cakes of breade, Gynnea cockes and Cherries. But this polycie was not to giue them that meate for good will, but onely to espie and sée what hurte was done amongst them, and also to sée what feare or stomacke they had to procéede: but the Spanyardes fell not into that reckenynng, for the espies of *Tlaxcallan* sayde, that none had fought with them but certayne outlawes and knaues called *Otomies*, who lyued as vagaboundes without a Lorde or other ruler: And that they were théeues, who had theyr abyding behinde a hill, whiche they poynted vnto with their hande.

Hovv Cortez cut off the handes
of fiftie Indian espies.

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he nexte day after these presentes were sente vnto them as Goddes, whiche was the sixte of September, there came to the Campe fiftie *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, whiche séemed after theyr sorte honest menne, and gaue vnto *Cortes* bread, cherries, & Gynnea cocks, as they ordinarily vsed to do, enquiring how all his Spaniardes did and what they meant to doe, and whether they stode in necessitie of any thing. And after this communication they went vp and downe the camp, gasing and beholding the horses, armour and artillery, and seemed amased to see such things. But the effect of their cōming was the office of espies.

The good aduise of a friende.

Teuche of *Zempoallan* marking these things, who being of a childe brought vp in wars, by reason wherof he was expert and wise, came vnto *Cortes*, saying, sir it semeth not well, y^t these *Tlaxcaltecas* wander vp & downe your campe beholding the entrance and going out of the same, to beholde likewise the fortitude and weakenesse of youre power, I like it not: It may please you to make enquirie whether they be espies or no. *Cortez* hauing heard hys tale, gaue him hartie thanks for his good aduice, yea and maruelled, that neyther he himselfe, nor none of his Spaniardes had noted the thing, the *Indians* hauing so many dayes come vnto them after this sort, yea and that only *Indian* of *Zempoallan* had considered it.

Confessiō.

Nowe the originall cause was not bycause *Teuch* was more wise than the Christians, but by reason that hée had séene and heard those *Indians* commune with the subiectes of *Iztacmiltitan* to feele their mindes, and wyth craft and

subtiltie to obteyne their desire: whereby *Cortez* vnderstoode that those fellowes came not to any good purpose: he apprehended that *Indian* whiche stooode nexte vnto him, and hauing him alone from his fellowes, by his interpreters examined him effectually, who incontinent confessed that he was a spye, and that his comming thither was to view the way how to enter their Campe for to spoyle and burne their Tentes: and for so much as they hadde proued fortune all the houres of the day, and all happened contrary to their desire, against their auncient fame and glory which they hadde obteyned by noble exploytes in warres, they now meant to proue their successe by nighte, hoping of better fortune: and also bycause their souldiers shoulde not feare the Horses, with the darkenesse of the nighte, nor the blowes or stripes of the bright swordes, nor yet the fire and terrible noyse of the Ordinance: and that Captayne *Xicoteucatl* was alreadye appoynted for that enterprise, with prouision of manye thousand souldiers which lay in ambush in a vale behind certayne hilles, right ouer against their Campe.

A good correction.

After this confession taken, *Cortes* full prudently commaunded to take also the severall confessions of other foure or fyue, who likewise confessed that they were all espies, vppon whose confessions the were al fiftie taken prisoners, and iudgmente giuen, that their one hande should be cut off, which was forthwith executed, and then were returned to their Camp, signifying vnto them that the like iustice should be executed vpon as many espyes as they might take. And also they were charged to shew vnto their Generall who had sente them, that both daye and night he would be ready for them.

When the *Tlaxcaltecas* sawe their espyes come in thys pickle, they were in a maruellous feare, and it séemed a newe world vnto them: they also beléeued that oure men hadde some familiar spirites that did instructe them of their thoughtes, and with feare of cutting off hāds, there went no moe espies with victuals.

An embassage that Mutezuma sente to *Hernando Cortez*.

A carefull Captayne.

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hen these espyes were gone, oure men espyed out of our Campe a great multitude of men goe crossing ouer a hill, and it séemed that they were those that the Captayne *Xicotencatl* hadde in ambush: and although it was néere night, *Cortes* determined to followe them, and not to abide their comming, fearing that at a first brunt they mighte set fire among his cotages, as was pretended among them, whiche pretence hauing taken effecte, myght haue bin the destruction of all his men, eyther by the fier or otherwise: wherefore he put all his men in good order, and commaunded the Horsemenne to decke the brest plates of hys Horses with belles, and then procéded towarde their enimies, who durst not abide their comming, hauing intelligence of the cutting of their espyes hands, and likewise hearing the new noyse of belles: yet oure men followed them tyll two houres within night, through many sowed fieldes of *Centli*, and slew many of thē, and then returned with victorie to the Campe.

Ambassage from Mutezuma.

At that season were come sixe noble men from *Mexico*, who brought two hundred seruing men to wayt vpon them. They brought vnto *Cortes* a present, whiche was a hundred garments of cotten, and some of feathers, and a thousand péeces of golde.

Excuses.

These ambassadors on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, declared, that their Lord would be friende with the Emperoure, and also with him, and his company, requestyng to knowe what tribute he would yearly demaunde, in golde, plate, pearles, slaues, or garments, or of any other thing that was within his kingdome, and the same tribute he would well and truly pay without delay, wyth such

condition, that neyther he nor his company shoulde come vnto *Mexico*. And this request (quoth they) is not only bycause you should bée disturbed to come into hys countrey, but chiefly bycause the waye is euill, barren, and full of euill rockes, whyche lette dothe gréeue *Mutezuma*, that suche valiant menne as ye be shoulde suffer in his Countrey, lying not in hys power to remedie it.

Cortez dyd thankfully receyue the present and gentle offer for the Emperoure King of *Castile*, but (quoth hée) my earnest desire is, that you depart not til ye sée the end of these warres whyche I haue now in hande, bycause yée shall carrie newes thereof to *Mexico*, what I pretende to doe againste these mortall enimies of *Mutezuma*.

Then *Cortez* fel into an ague, for which cause he went not out to skymish as he was wonte to do, but only prouided to make his Camp strong against certayne flockes of *Indians*, whiche came dayly to skirmishe, for that was as ordinarie, as the meate that was wont to be broughte to thē: but yet these skirmishes nor furie of y^e *Indiās* were not like to their fierce beginning.

Cortez now meaneth to take a purgation for his ague: and tooke certayne pilles whiche he broughte with him from *Cuba*, at suche houre of the nighte as is vsed for purgations.

It happened that the nexte daye following, before hys purge had wrought, came thrée great companies of *Indians* to besiege his Camp. It should séeme that those *Indians* had some intelligence of his sicknesse, or else thinking with feare that he durst not come abroade as he was wont to doe.

A valiant Captayne.

Cortes being aduertised of this newes, withoute anye more respect to his purgation taken, tooke his horse, and with his menne came to the encounter, and foughte with his enimies all day till it was nighte, and draue them a good way off, to their great hurt, and then returned to his Camp, and the next day following, he purged as fresh, as though it had bin newly taken. I doe not rehearse thys for a miracle but to declare what he passed: for *Hernando Cortez* was a greate sufferer of trauell and paynes, and one of y^e firste that alway was at

any assay or brunt of enimies, and he was not onely a good man of his handes, but also graue in counsell. And hauing thus purged hym selfe, and taken rest those dayes, he watched euery night that fell to his lotte, as well as any other souldier, and so continually he vsed to do. He was not for this the lesse estéemed, but rather muche the more beloued among hys men.

Hovv Cortez vvan a great Citie called Zimpanzinco.

An euill Spirite appeared.

A couragious Captayne.

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1 an euening *Cortes* went vp to the toppe of his Tower, and looking rounde aboute hym, he espyed aboute foure leagues distant in the Mountaynes among rockes and procéding out of a wodde dyuers smokes, whereby he ymaged people to be there: he opened not his minde to anye man, but commaunded two hundred of his men to followe hym, and some *Indians* hys friendes, and within thrée or foure houres of the nyghte he toke hys iourney towarde the Mountaynes, béeing very darke. He had not fully gone a league, when suddaynely appeared the lykenesse of a great Bull whiche ouerthrewe them that they could not stirre. The firste Horseman béeing fallen, they aduysed *Cortes* thereof, who aunswered, that he shoulde returne wyth hys Horse to the Campe: and incontinente fell another, *Cortes* commaunded hym the lyke: and when thrée or foure were fallen, his company retyred, saying, it was an euill token, desiring him to returne and abyde the morning, that they myghte see whether they wente. He aunswered, saying, yee oughte to gyue no credite to witchcraftes or fantasies, for God, whose cause we take in hande, is aboue all nature: wherefore I will not leaue my pretended iourney, for I doe ymagine that of thys nyghtes trauell shall come greate ease and pleasure, saying, that the Deuill hathe in this forme of a Bull appeared, to disturbe vs. He hadde no sooner ended his talke, when hys Horse fell likewise: then counsell was taken what was best to be done.

It was determined that the Horses which were fallē, should be returned to the Campe, and that of the residue, eache Horseman should leade hys Horse by the bridle, and so proceede on theyr way, and shortly after the Horses were well agayne, but they neuer knewe of what motion they hadde fallen: wyth the darkenesse of the nyghte they lost theyr way to the Mountaynes, and chanced

into a cragged rockie waye, that they thoughte neuer to haue come out thereof.

A famous Cortez.

And after a whyle that they had gone this euill waye, wyth their heare standing with very feare, they espyed a little lyghte, and tooke the way thyther, where they founde a little house, wherein were two Women, and those Women, with other two women that afterwards they mette, conducted them to the Wildernesse, where they had espyed the smoke, and before day they sette vpon certayne Villages, and slewe many, yet they burned not those Villages, bycause they should not be perceyued through the lyght thereof. They receyued there aduyse, that néere at hand were great populations and soone after he came to *Zimpanzinco*, a towne of twenty thousand houses, as after dyd appeare by the visitation of *Cortes*. These inhabitantes béeyng vnaduised of this suddayne happe, were taken in their beddes, and came out all naked through the stréetes to knowe what the great mourning and lamentation meante: at the first entrance many were slayne, but bycause they made no resistance, *Cortez* commaunded to ceasse from killyng, nor yet to take any of theyr goodes, or women.

The feare of these poore inhabitantes was so greate, that they fledde without respect of the father to the child, or husbände to the Wyfe, or yet eyther of house or goodes.

Cortes commaunded sygnes of peace to be made vnto them, and with that they stayed, and before the Sunne rising, the Towne was pacified.

Cortez went vp into a Tower to descry the Countrey, and there espyed a moste greate population: he then demaunded what it was: aunswere was made that it was called *Tlaxcallan*, and the Townes therevnto apperteynyng. Then he called hys Spanyardes, and sayd vnto them: beholde, what woulde it haue preuayled vs to kyll these poore soules, hauyng yonder so manye enimies? and wythoute doyng anye more hurte in that Towne, hée wente to a fayre Fountayne there at hande, and thyther came the Rulers of that Towne, and other foure hundred menne withoute weapon, and broughte wyth them muche victuall, most humbly they besought *Cortes* to doe them no more hurte, gyuing hym likewise greate

thankes, that hée hadde so fauourablye vsed them, offering both to serue and obey hym, and from that daye forwarde they woulde not onely kéepe hys friendshippe, but also trauell wyth the Lordes of *Tlaxcallan* and others, that they should doe the same. *Cortez* replyed, that sure he was, howe they had foughte agaynste hym before that time, although that nowe they broughte hym meate, yet notwithstanding hée pardoned them, and also receyued them into hys seruice and friendshippe, to the vse of the Emperoure.

Wyth thys communication he departed from them, and returned to the Campe verye ioyfull wyth so good successe, hauyng such a daungerous beginning, wyth the suddayne fall of theyr Horses, wherein the Prouerbe is fulfilled, whyche sayeth, Speake not euill of the daye, till it be at an ende.

They hadde also a greate hope, that those newe friendes woulde bée a meane, to cause the *Tlaxcaltecas* to leaue from Warre, and to become theyr friendes.

From that day forward he commaunded that none of hys Campe shoulde doe any hurte to any *Indian*, and certified his men that the same daye his warres were at an ende with that prouince.

The desire that some of the Spanyardes
had to leaue the warres.

Murmuration.

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hen *Cortez* was returned so ioyfull to his Camp, he founde some of his men discouraged with the suddayne mishappe of the Horses, fearing that likewise some misfortune hadde happened to *Cortes*, but when they sawe him come well and with victorie, their ioy was great, although true it is that manye of his men were not well pleased, but desired muche to leaue the warres, and to returne to the coast, as they had often requested, but nowe chiefly séeyng such a great Countrey, and full of people, who woulde not permitte theyr abiding there, and they béeing so fewe in number in the middest among them withoute hope of succoure, certaynely things to be feared. With this murmuration they thought it good to talke with *Cortes*, & also to require him to procéede no further, but returne backe agayne to *Vera Crux*, from whence by little and little they mighte haue intelligence with the *Indians*, and therevppon procéede according to tyme, and that he mighte prouide more Horses and men, whiche was the chiefest prouision of the warre.

And although some secretly enformed *Cortes* of thys matter, yet he gaue no eare to their talke, but on a night as hée came out of hys Tower to ouerlooke the watche, hée hearde a loude talke out of one of the Cotages, and beganne to hearken what theyr communication was: and the matter was, that certaine souldiers sayde these wordes: If our Captayne be madde, and go where he may be slayne, let him goe alone, what néede we to follow him. *Cortez* hearyng this talke, called twoo of his friendes for witnesse, willyng them to harken his souldiers talke, for he that durst speake suche wordes would be ready to doe it. Also he hearde others say, what shall our iourney be as *Pedro Carbonerotes* was? who went into *Barbaria* to take Mores, and he and all his were there

slayne, wherefore sayde they let vs not follow him but turne in time. It grieved *Cortez* much to heare this talke, who would fayne haue corrected them but it was not then tyme, wherefore he determined to leade them with sufferaunce, and spake vnto them as followeth.

The Oration made by Cortez to his Souldiers.

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aisters and louyng friendes, I did choose you for my fellowes, and ye chose me for your captaine, and all was for the seruice of God, and the augmenting of his holy faith, & also the seruice of our soueraigne Lord the King now Emperour: and next for our owne commoditie, I (as yée haue séene) haue not fayled nor yet displeased yée, nor yée likewise haue otherwise done to me vnto this day. But now I do féele faintnesse in some, yea and an euill will to goe forward in the warres whiche we haue in hande: but (God be prayesd) it is now finished, at the least the ende is vnderstood, what it may be, and also the wealth that may follow, as partely you haue séene, but much without comparison of that you haue not séene, whiche is a thing that doth excéede the greatnesse of our wordes or thoughts.

Feare not my louyng fellowes to goe and abide with me, God forbidde that I should thynke, yea or that any shoulde reporte, that feare vexeth my company, or else disobedience to their Captayne, whiche is a perpetuall infamie, if wée shoulde leaue this Lande, this Warre, this way already made, and returne as some doe desire, shall wée then lyue at reste, loytring as idell and loste folke: God forbidde, that euer oure nation shoulde haue suche a name, hauyng warres of honour. And whether (I pray) shall the Oxe goe where he shall not helpe to ploughe the grounde? doe yée thinke peraduenture that yée shall finde lesse people, worse armed, and not farre from the sea? I doe assure you, that in so thynkyng yée séeke after fiue féete for a Catte, yea and you shall trauell no way, but that you shall méete some euill passage (as the Prouerbe sayth) yea and farre worser than this that we haue in hande. For why (God be thanked) since wée came into this Countrey, we neuer wanted meate, friendes, neyther money nor

honour. For nowe yée sée that yée are estéemed more than menne, yea as persons immortall, and Goddes, if it mighte be spoken, for these *Indians* beyng so many and without number, and so armed as ye your selues affirme, yet can they not kyll one of vs: and as touchyng theyr weapons, you sée that they are not poysoned, as the *Indians* of *Cartagena*, *Veragna*, and the *Caribez* doe vse, whiche haue killed many of our nation therewith, dying as madde menne ragyng.

And if there were no other cause than this onely, you shoulde not séeke others with whome to warre: I doe confesse that the Sea is somewhat farre from vs, and neuer Spaniarde trauelled so farre into the mayne lande of *India*, as wée haue done: for why? nowe we leaue the Sea a hundreth and fiftie myles behinde vs, nor yet euer any hath come to neare *Mexico* where *Mutezuma* dothe reside, from whome suche messages and Treasure wée haue receyued. It is nowe but thrée score myles thyther, and the worste is paste, as you doe sée, if we come thither, as I truste in Iesus wée shall, then shall we not onely gette and winne for the Emperoure oure naturall Lorde a riche Lande, greate Kingdomes, infinite Vassalles, but lykewyse for oure selues muche riches, as Golde, Siluer, Pretious stones, Pearles, and other commoditie, and besides thys, the greatest honour that euer any nation did obtayne. For loke howe great a King this is, howe large his countrey is, and what greate multitude of people hée hath, so muche the more is our glory.

Besides all this, wée are bounde as Christians to exalte and enlarge oure Catholyke fayth, as wée haue begonne, abolishyng Idolatrie and blasphemie agaynst our Sauour Christe, takyng away the blouddy Sacrifice and eatyng of mannes fleshe, so horrible and agaynste nature, and many other grievous sinnes so muche here vsed, for the foulenesse whereof I name them not.

And therefore (I saye) feare you nor yet doubte you the victorie, consideryng that the worste is paste. Of late wée ouercame the *Indians* of *Tabasco*, and also an hundreth and fiftie thousande this other daye of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, who haue the onely name of breakers of Lyons iawes: so with Gods helpe you shal be Conquerers of the reste, if ye faynt not and folowe me.

All hys company was pleased and contente with this comfortable exhortation, and those that were faynt harted recouered strength. And hys valiaunt Souldiers recouered double courage, & those who hated him began to honour him: and in conclusion he departed from thence excéeding welbeloued of all his company. But all his former talke was very néedefull as time then requyred: for why? some of his (as you haue heard) were desirous to returne: likewise vpon dissention, rebellion mought haue growen, and he forced to returne to the sea coaste, where all his toyle and trauell taken had bene lost.

Hovv Xicotencatl came for Embassadour to Cortez his Campe.

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Cortez had not so soone made an ende of his talke, when *Xicotencatl* came entryng into the campe, who was chiefe and generall captayne in *Tlaxcallan*, & of all the warres: he brought in his company fiftie persons of auctoritie to kéepe him cōpany. They approched neare where *Cortes* was, and saluted eche other according to the vse of their countrey. Their salutations ended and the parties setten downe, *Xicotencatl* began the talke, saying: Sir I am come on mine owne behalf and also of my fellow Captaine, and Lieuetenant *Maxixca*, and in the name of many other noble personages, and finally in the name of the whole state and common weale of *Tlaxcallan*, to beséeche and pray you to admitte vs into your friendshippe, and to yéelde our selues and countrey vnto your King, crauyng also at your hande pardon for our attempt in takyng armes agaynst you, wée not knowyng what you were, nor what you sought for in our countrey. And where we presumed to resiste and defende your entrance, we did it as agaynst straungrrs whome we knewe not, and suche menne as we had neuer here tofore séene: and fearyng also that you had bene friendes to *Mutezuma*, who is and alwayes hath bene our mortall enemy. And these things wée suspected, seyng *Mutezuma* his seruaunts in your company, or else we imagined that you were comen to vsurpe our libertie, the which of tyme without memory we haue possessed, as our forefathers did with the shedyng of their bloud. And of our owne naturall prouision we wante cotten woolle to clothe vs, wherfore in tyme paste we wente as naked as we were borne, but some of vs vsed other clothe to couer our nakednesse, made of the leaues of the trée called *Metl*: and Salte also wée wanted, of which twoo things so necessarie to humayne lyfe, *Mutezuma* had greate store, and other our enimies, with whome we are rounde aboute

enuironed. And lykewise where wée haue no gold, stones of value, or any riche thyng to barter with them, of very pure necessitie many times we are forced to sell our owne bodies to buy these wantes. And this extremitie (sayde he) wée néeded not, if that we woulde be subiectes and vassalles to *Mutezuma*. But yet had we rather all in generall to end our lyues, than wée woulde putte oure selues in suche subiection, for we thynke our selues as valiaunt menne in courage as our forefathers were, who alwayes haue resisted agaynst him and his grandfather, who was as mightie as nowe is he: wée woulde also haue withstoode you and your force, but wée coulde not, although we proued all our possibilitie by night and day, and found your strength inuincible, and we no lucke agaynst you. Therefore sithence our fate is such, we had rather be subiect vnto you than vnto any others. For wée haue knowen and hearde by the *Zeampoallanezes*, that you doe no euill, nor came not to vere any, but were moste valliaunt and happie, as they had séene in the warres, beyng in your companie. For whiche consideration, we truste that our libertie shall not be diminished, but rather our owne persons, wyues, and familie better preserued, and our houses and husbandry not destroyed. And in sūme of all his talke, the teares trickling downe his chéekes, he besought *Cortes* to wey that *Tlaxcallan* did neuer at any tyme reknowlege any superiour King or Lorde, nor at any time had commen any person among them to commaunde, but onely he, whome they did voluntarily electe and chose as their superiour and ruler.

It can not be tolde, howe muche *Cortes* reioyced with this Embassage, and to sée such a mighty Captayne come vnto his campe to submitte himselfe: and also it was a matter of great wayght to haue that Cittie in subiection, for the enterprize whiche he had in hande, whereby he fully made an account that the warres were at an ende, to the great cōtentation of him and his company, and with great fame and reputation among the *Indians*.

Cortes with a mery and louing countenaunce answered, laying to their charge the hurte and damage whiche he had receyued in their countrey, bycause they refused at the firste to harken vnto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into

their countrey, euen as he had required and desired by his Messengers of *Zeampoallan* sente vnto them from *Zaclotan*. Yet al this notw^tstandyng, he did both pardon the kyllyng of his twoo horses, the assaultyng of him in the highe way, and the greate lies whiche they had moste craftily vsed with hym, (for where as they themselues fought agaynst him, yet they layde the faulte to others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambush prepared for him, (enticing him to come to their Citie,) without makyng firste defiance according to the law of armes.

These causes notwithstanding, he did louingly receyue their offer made in subiection to the Emperour, and in this sorte departed, saying, that shortely hee woulde be with him in *Tlaxcallan*, and presently he coulde not goe with him for the dispatche of the Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*.

The receyuing and entertaynement of Cortez in Tlaxcallan.

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: grieued muche the Embassadors of *Mutezuma*, to see *Xicotencates* in the Spanishe Campe, and the offer made vnto *Cortes* in the behalfe of his King, of their persons, Cittie and goodes, aduising *Cortes* to gyue no credite vnto them, for all their saying (quoth they) is treason and lies, and to the entent to locke you vp in their Cittie.

Cortes answered, that although their aduise were true, yet he did determine to go thither, for that he feared them lesse in the towne than in the field. They hearyng this answere and determination, besought him to giue vnto one of them licence to returne vnto *Mexico*, to aduertise *Mutezuma* of all that was past, with an answere to their Ambassage, promising within sixe dayes to haue newes from *Mexico*, and till then prayed him not to departe with his Campe.

Cortes graunted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expectyng the answere. In this meane season came many of *Tlaxcallan* to the camp, some brought Ginnea cockes, other brought bread and Cherries, and gaue it for nothyng in comparison, with merry countenance, desiryng them to goe home with them vnto their houses.

A riche present.

The sixth day the *Mexican* came, accordyng to promise, and brought vnto *Cortes* tenne Iewelles of Golde, bothe riche and well wrought, and a fiftene thousand garments of Cotten excéeding gallant, and moste earnestly besought hym on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, that he shoulde not daunger himselfe in trustyng to the wordes of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, who were so poore y^t with necessitie they would robbe him of the thyngs whiche his mayster had sente him, yea and lykewise murder him, knowyng of the friendshippe betwéene his mayster and

him: likewise all the chieftest Lordes of *Tlaxcallan*, came to intreate hym to goe with them to *Tlaxcallan* where he shoulde be cherished, lodged, and well prouided. For it was a greate dishonour and shame for them to permitte suche personages to abyde in suche vyle cotages as they were in. And if (quoth they) you truste vs not, that then wée are ready to gyue you for your securitie what soeuer gages you shall demaunde: notwithstanding they dyd bothe sweare and faithfully promise, that they might safely goe with them, saying also that the Othe and fayth of theyr common weale should neuer be broken for all the goodes in the worlde.

Entraunce into Tlaxcallan.

Wherevpon *Cortez* seyng the good will of so many Gentlemen his newe friendes, and lykewise the *Indians* of *Zeampoallan*, of whome he had good credite, did so importune him and assure him of his goyng, he commaunded his fardage to be laden and also his ordinaunce, and departed towarde *Tlaxcallan*, whiche was sixe leagues from that place, with as good order as it had bene to a battayle: And at the Tower where he had pitched hys campe, he lefte certayne Crosses for a memorie, with a greate heape of stones, and entred into *Tlaxcallan* the eightenth of September. There came out such a multitude of people to see him and to meete him in the way, that it was a wonder to see.

He was lodged in the greatest temple, which had many great and fayre lodgyngs, sufficient for hym and all his companie, except the *Indians* hys friends which were lodged in other Temples. He set certayne limittes, out of the whiche he commaunded straightely that none of hys company should passe, vpon payne of deathe, and also commaunded that they shoulde take nothing, but what shoulde be giuen them. His commaundement was well obserued, for none presumed to goe a stoanes cast without his licence. The *Indian* Gentlemen shewed greate pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and prouided thē of all things necessarie, and manye of them gaue theyr daughters vnto them, in token of true friendshippe, and likewise to haue fruite of their bodyes, to be brought vp for the warres, beyng such valiant men.

This Countrey lyked well oure men, and the greate loue of the people. They abode there at their pleasure twenty dayes, in whiche time they did procure to knowe particularly the estate of their common weale and secretes, and also were sufficiently instructed of the estate of *Mutezuma*.

The description of Tlaxcallan.

tlaxcallan is properly in the *Indian* tong as much to say, as bread well baked, for there is more grayne called *Centli* gathered, than is in all y^e prouince round about.

In times past the Citie was called *Texcallan*, that is to say, a valley betwixt two hilles. It is a greate Citie, and planted by a riuer side, whiche springeth out of *Atlancatepec*, and watreth the most parte of that prouince, and from thence issueth out into the South sea, by *Zacatullan*. This Citie hathe foure goodly stréetes, whiche are called *Tepeticpac*, *Ocotelulco*, *Tizatlan*, *Quiahuiztlan*. The firste stréete standeth on hygh vpon a hyll, farre from the riuer, whiche maye be aboute halfe a league, and bycause it standeth on a hill, it is called *Tepeticpac*, that is to say, a hyll, and was the firste population which was fouñded there on high, bycause of the warres.

An other stréete was scituate on the hill side towarde the Riuer, bycause at the building thereof, there were many pyne trées: they named it *Ocotelulco*, which is to say, a pine apple plot. This stréete was beautifull, and firste inhabited of all the Citie, and there was the chiefest Market place, where all the buying and selling was vsed, and that place they called *Tianquiztli*: in that stréete was the dwelling house of *Maxixca*. Along the Riuer side in the playne standeth another stréete called *Tizatlan*, bycause there is muche lyme and chalke. In this stréete dwelled *Xicotencatl*, Captayne generall of the common weale. There is another stréete named by reason of the brackish water, *Quiahuiztlan*, but since the Spanyardes came thither, all those buildings are almost altered, after a better fashion, and built with stone. In the plaine by the riuer side, standeth the Towne house, and other offices, as in the Citie of *Venice*. This *Tlaxcallan* was gouerned by noble and riche men: they vse not that one alone should rule, but rather flye from that order, as from tyrannie.

In their warres (as I haue sayde before) they haue foure Captaynes, whiche gouerneth eache one stréete, of the whiche foure, they do elect a Captayne generall. Also there are other Gentlemen that are vndercaptaynes, but a small

number. In the warres they vse their standerde to be carried behynde the army, but when the battayle is to be fought, they place the standerde where all the hoste may see it, and he that commeth not incontinent to hys auntient, payeth a penaltie. Their standerd hathe two crossebowe arrowes set thereon, whiche they esteeme as the relikes of their auncetors. Thys standerd two olde souldiers and valiant menne, being of the chieftest Captaynes, haue the charge to carrie, in the which standerde an abuson of southsaying, eyther of losse or victory is noted. In this order they shote one of these arrowes against the first enimies that they méete, and if with that arrow they doe eyther kill or hurte, it is a token that they shall haue the victorie, and if it neyther kill nor hurt, then they assuredly beléue that they shall lose the field.

A strange contractation.

This prouince or Lordship of *Tlaxcallan*, hath .28. Villages and townes, wherein is conteyned 150000. householdes. They are men well made, and good warriors, the lyke are not among the *Indians*. They are very poore, and haue no other riches, but only the grayne or corne called *Centli*, and with the gayne and profite thereof, they doe both cloth themselues, and paye their tributes, and prouide all other necessities. They haue many market places, but the greatest and most vsed dayly, standeth in the stréete of *Ocotelulco*, whiche is so famous, that 30000. persons come thither in one day to buy and sell, whyche is to say, changing one thing for another, for they know not what money meaneth.

They sell such things in that market, as héere we vse, & al thing vnto them néedeful to eate, and cloth for themselues, and necessities for building.

They haue all kinde of good policie in the Citie: there are Goldsmithes, fetherdressers, Barbors, hotehouses, and potters, who make as good earthen vessel, as is made in *Spayne*. The earth is fat and fruitefull for corne, fruite, and pasture, for among the pine trées groweth so muche grasse, that our men féede their cattell there, whiche in *Spayne* they can not do.

Within two leagues of that Citie standeth a rounde hill of sixe miles of heighth, and fiue and fortie myles in compasse, and is now called Saint Bartholmewes

hill, where the snow fréeseth. In times past they called that hill *Matealcucie*, who was their God for water. They had also a God for wyne, who was named *Ometochtli*, for the great dronkenness whiche they vsed. They chiefest God was called *Camaxtlo*, and by another name *Mixcouatl*, whose Temple stoode in the stréete of *Ocotelulco*, in the whiche temple there was sacrificed some yeares aboue eyghte hundred persons. In *Tlaxcallan* they spake thrée languages, that is to saye, *Nahuallh*, whiche is the courtly spéech, and chiefest in all the land of *Mexico*: an other is called *Otomir*, which is most commonly vsed in the Villages: There is one onely stréete that spake *Pinomer*, which is the grosest speache. There was also in that Citie a common Iayle, where fellons lye in yrons, and all things which they held for sinne, was there corrected.

Correctiō.

It chanced at that time a Townesman to steale from a Spanyard a little golde, whereof *Cortes* complayned to *Maxixca*, who incōtinent made such enquirie, y^t the offender was found in *Chololla*, whiche is another Citie fyue leagues from thence: they brought the prisoner with the golde, and deliuered him to *Cortez*, to doe with him hys pleasure: *Cortes* woulde not accepte him, but gaue hym thanks for his diligence: then was he carried wyth a Cryer before hym, manifestyng hys offence, and in the Market place vppon a skaffolde they brake hys ioyntes with a cudgell: our men maruelled to sée suche straunge Iustice.

The aunsvvere of the Tlaxcaltecas *touching the leauing of their Idolles.*

A godly persvvasiō.

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hen *Cortez* saw that these people executed Iustice, and liued in Religion after theyr manner, although abhominable and diuelish: and alwayes when he desired them to leaue off from their Idolatrie and that cruell vanitie, in killing and eating men sacrificed, considering that none among them how holly soeuer he were, would willingly be slayne & eaten, required them to beléeue in the most true God of the Chrystians, who was the maker of Heauen and earth, the giuer of rayne, and creator of all things that the earthe produceth only for the vse and profite of mortall man.

Some of them aunswered, that they woulde gladly do it, onely to pleasure him, but they feared that the commons would arise and stone them. Others sayde, that it was an hard matter to vnbeléeue that which their forefathers had so long beléeued, and that it shoulde be a cause to condemne their forefathers and themselues.

Others sayde, that it mighte be in time they woulde conuert, séeing the order of the Christian Religion, and vnderstanding the reasons and causes to turne Christians, and likewise perceyuing thoroughly the manner and life of the Christiās, with their lawes and customs: and as for warlike feates, they were satisfied, & had séene suche tryall, that they helde them for men inuincible in that poynte, and that their God did help them.

Cortes promised them, that shortlye he woulde bring them suche men, as shoulde instruct and teache them, and then they shouldée which way was best, with the greate ioy and fruite that they shoulde féele. They accepting that counsell which he like a friende had giuen them, and for as much as presently it could not be brought to passe by reason of his iourney to *Mexico*.

He desired them, that the Temple wherein he was lodged, shoulde be made a Church for him and his company, and if it pleased them, they mighte also come to see and heare their diuine seruice.

The *Indians* graunted to his request, and dayly came among them all the time of their abode there, and some came and dwelte with the *Spanyardes*, but the chieftest friende was Captayne *Maxixca*, who neuer went from *Cortez*.

The discord betwene the *Mexicans and Tlaxcaltecas.*

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Cortez being thoroughly satisfied of their hartie good wylls, he demaunded of them the estate and riches of *Mutezuma*. They exalted him greatly, as men that had proued his force. And as they affirmed, it was néere a hundred yeares that they mainteyned warre with him and his father *Axaiaca*, and others his Vnckles and Grandfathers. And saide also, that the golde and treasure of *Mutezuma*, was without number, and his power and dominion ouer all the lande, and hys people innumerable: for (quoth they) he ioyneth sometime two hundreth thousand men, yea and thrée hundred thousande for one battayle. And if it pleased hym, he woulde make as manye men double, and thereof they were good witnesse, bycause they had manye times fought with thē.

Maxixca desired that *Cortes* should not aduenture themselues into the power of the men of *Culhua*, whereat some of the *Spanyardes* feared and suspected euill of the matter.

Cortes tolde him, that notwithstanding all those things whiche they had tolde him, he was fully minded to goe to *Mexico*, to visit *Mutezuma*, wishing him to aduise hym what he mought do, or bring to passe for them with *Mutezuma*, for he woulde willingly do it, for the curtesie shewed vnto him, and that he beléeued *Mutezuma* woulde graunt him any lawfull request.

Then they besought him to procure for them a licence to haue cotten wooll and salte out of his Countrey, for (sayd they) in time of the warres we stoode in greate néede thereof, and that they had none but suche as they boughte by stealthe of the *Comercans* verye déere, in change of golde: for *Mutezuma* had made a straight lawe, whereby all suche as carried anye of those commodities to them shoulde be slayne. Then *Cortes* enquired the cause of their disorder and

euill neyborhood. They aunswered, that their griefes were olde, and cause of libertie: but as the Ambassadors did affyrme, and *Mutezuma* afterward declare, it was not so, but for other matter farre differente. So that eache partye alleadging their causes, theyr reasons were, that the yong menne of *Mexico* and *Culhua* dyd exercise and bryng them vppe in warlike feates néere vnto them, and vnder theyr noses, to theyr greate annoyance, whereas they moughte haue gone to *Panuco* and *Teocantepec*, hys frontiers a farre off.

Lykewyse theyr pretence was, to haue warre wyth them béeyng theyr neyghbors, onely to haue of them to sacrifice to their Gods: so that when they would make any solemne feast, then would they send to *Tlaxcallan* for men to sacrifice, with such a great army, that they might take as many as they néeded for that yeare: for it is most certayne if *Mutezuma* woulde, in one daye hée moughte haue broughte them in subiection, and slayne them all, ioyning his whole power in effecte: but his purpose was, to kéepe them for a pray to hunt withall, for men to be sacrificed to his Goddes, and to eate, so that hée woulde neuer sende but a small armye againste them: whereby it did chance that sometimes those of *Tlaxcallan* did ouercome.

Cortez receyued great pleasure to heare these discordes betwixt his newe friendes and *Mutezuma*, whiche was a thing fitte for his purpose, for by that meanes he hoped to bring them all vnder subiection, and therefore hée vsed the one and the other secretely, to build his pretence vpon a good foundation.

At all this communication there stode by certayne *Indians* of *Vexozinco*, whiche had bin against our men in the late warres, the which Towne is a Citie as *Tlaxcallan*, and ioyned with them in league of friendship against *Mutezuma*, who oppressed them in like effect of slaughter for their Temples of *Mexico*, and they also yéelded themselues to *Cortes* for vassals to the Emperoure.

The solemne receyuing of the *Spanyardes into Chololla.*

A gentle offer.

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he Ambassadors of *Cortes* séeyng the determination of *Cortes* to procéede on his iourney towarde *Mexico*, they besoughte him to goe by *Chololla*, whiche stode fiue leagues from thence, certifying that *Chololla* was a Citie in their friendship, and that there he might at his pleasure abide the resolution of their Lord *Mutezuma*, whether it were his pleasure that he should enter into *Mexico* or no. This request was onely to haue him from thence, for truly it gréeued much *Mutezuma* of theyr new friendshippe and league, fearyng that thereof woulde some great displeasure happen towards him, and therefore procured all that was possible to haue him from thence, sending him alwayes presents to allure him to come frō thence the sooner. But when the *Tlaxcaltecas* saw that he would goe to *Chololla*, it griued them muche, saying vnto *Cortes*, that *Mutezuma* was a liar and fraudelent person, and that *Chololla* was a cittie his friende but not constant, and it mighte happen that they would displease him, hauyng him within their Cittie, wishyng him to looke wel to himself: And if néedes he would goe thither, yet they woulde prouide .20000. men to kéepe him company.

Correction of treason.

The women that were giuen to the Spaniardes at their firste entraunce, had vnderstandyng of a snare that was layde to murder them at their commyng to *Chololla*, by meanes of one of the foure Captaynes, who had a sister which discouered the thing to *Pedro de Aluarado* who kepte hir. *Cortes* incontinent called that Captayne out of his house, and caused him to be choked, and so was the matter kepte close that his death was neuer knowen, whereby the snare was vndone without any rumour. It was a wonder that all *Tlaxcallan* had not made an vprore seyng one of their greatest Captaynes dead. There was inquirie made of

that snare, and the truth being knowen, it was approued that *Mutezuma* had prepared .30000. Souldiers who were in campe for that purpose within twoo leagues of the Citie, and that the streates in *Chololla* were stopped vp with timber and rayles, and the toppes of their houses prouided with stones, which houses are made with playne rooffes or sotties, and the highe way stopped vp, & other false bywayes made with déepe holes pitched ful of stakes very sharpe, to spoyle and lame both horse and man: these engines were finely couered with sande, and coulde not be espied, although the skoute had gone before on foote to discouer. The matter also was very suspitious, for these Citizens of *Chololla* had not at any time come to visite hym, or sente any presente vnto him as others had done.

Wherevpon *Cortez* consulted with the *Tlaxcaltecas* to sende certayne messengers to *Chololla*, to request their Captaynes and rulers to come vnto him, who did their message accordingly, and the *Cholollans* woulde not come, but yet they sent thrée or foure persons to excuse them, saying that they were not well at ease, praying to signifie vnto them what he woulde haue: the *Tlaxcaltecas* enformed *Cortes* that those messengers were menne of small credite and of lowe degré, wishyng hym not to departe till theyr Captayne came. In this sorte *Cortes* returned theyr messengers backe agayne, with commaundement written, declaring that if they came not within thrée dayes, hée woulde proclayme them rebelles and his vtter enimies, and as suche would he chasten with all rigour.

When this commaundement came vnto them, the next day followyng came many Lordes and Captaynes to make their excuse, saying, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were their enimies, and that through them they could not liue in safetie, lykewise they knewe of the euill reporte whiche they had made agaynst them: wherefore they besought him to giue no credite vnto them, for why, they were both false and cruell menne: beséechyng him also to goe with them to their Citie, and then he should sée that all was but a mockery that had bene tolde him, and they his good and faythfull friends: and laste of all they offered to serue him as tributary subiectes.

Cortes commaunded that all this talke should be sette downe in wryting before the Notary and his interpreters, and so tooke his leaue of the Citizens of *Tlaxcallan*. *Maxixca* wepte at his departure, but there wente in his company a hundreth thousande men of warre: there were among them many Marchantes that wente to barter for Salte and Mantels.

Cortes commaunded that those hundreth thousande men should go alwayes by thēselues: that day he reached not to *Chololla*, but abode by a broke side, and thither came many of the citie, to desire him that the *Tlaxcaltecas* should not doe any hurte in their countrey: wherevpon *Cortes* cōmaunded them to returne backe againe all sauing .5000. or there aboute, much against their willes. But they stil required him to take good hēede of those euill folke, who be not (quoth they) men of warre, but pedlers, and men of double harte: and they of their partes would be very loth to leaue him in any peril or daunger, hauing giuen themselues to be his true and faithfull friendes.

The nexte day in the morning the Spaniardes came to *Chololla*, and there came out néere .10000. *Indians* to receyue him with their Captaynes in good order: many of them presented vnto him bread, foule, & roses, and euery Captayne as he approched welcomed *Cortes*, and then stode aside that the reste in order mighte come vnto him. And when he came entring into the Citie, all the other Citizēs receyued him, marueling to sée such men & horses.

After all this came out all the religious menne, as Priests, and Ministers to the idols (who were many and straunge to beholde,) and all were clothed in white lyke vnto surplices and hemmed with Cotten thréede: some brought instrumentes of musicke like vnto Cornettes, other brought instrumēts made of bones, other an instrumēt like a ketel couered with skin, some brought chafing dishes of coales with perfumes, others brought idols couered, and finally they al came singing in their language, which was a terrible noyse, and drew néere *Cortes* and his cōpany, sensing them with swéete smelles in their sensors.

With this pompe and solemnitie (whiche truely was great) they brought him into the Cittie, and lodged him in a house where was rouse enough for him and

his, and gaue vnto eche of them a Gynnea cocke, and his *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, *Zempoallan* and *Iztacmixtlitan*, were prouided by themselues.

The conspiracie of the Cholollans to kill Cortes and his men.

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I that night followyng *Cortes* was vigilant with all his company, for bothe in the way and in the towne they had found some of the things wherof they had bene aduised before in *Tlaxcallan*, and although their firste present was a Gynnea cocke to eche mans allowance, other thrée dayes followyng they gaue them nothing almost to eate, and very seldome the Captaynes came to visite them, whereof *Cortes* had great suspition.

Many perils.

And in this meane while the Embassadours of *Mutezuma* entreated him to leaue of his iourney to *Mexico*, alleaging that their great King woulde die in beholdyng their beardes & gesture: other times they sayde that there was no passage, other times they woulde say that they wanted wherewith to sustayne them. And seyng them fully and in euery respecte answered to all these poyntes, they caused the Townes menne to enforme them, that where *Mutezuma* his abiding was, were monstrous Lysardes, Tigers, Lions, and many other fierce beastes, the whiche when *Mutezuma* commaunded to be losed, were sufficient to plucke in péeces, and to destroy those fewe straungers: and seyng that all these pollicies auayled not, they consulted with the Captaynes and chiefe Citizens to murder the Christians. And bycause they shoulde so bryng it to passe, the Embassadours promysed the Citizens greate rewardes on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, and presented to theyr generall a drumme of Golde, and promised to bryng the thirtie thousande souldiers whiche lay aboute twoo leagues from thence: the *Cholollans* promysed to deliuer them bounde hande and foote. But yet they woulde not consente that those Soldiers of *Culhua* should come into their Cittie, fearyng that they (vnder colour of friendshippe) woulde remayne

with the towne, for why, the *Mexicans* had vsed the lyke sleyght. And in this sorte they with one bolte meante to kill twoo byrdes at a shote, for they thought to take the Spaniardes sléepying, and then to remayne with the Towne of *Cholalla*. Also it was determined, that if all these pretences coulde not be brought to passe, that then they should be conducted a contrary way to *Mexico* vpon the left hande, in the whiche were many daungerous places, bycause the way was all sandy, with many sluces, diches, and holes of thrée fadome déepe, meanyng there to méete them and to carry them bounde to *Mutezuma*: this matter being fully agreed, they beganne to take away theyr householde stuffe, and to carry it with their wiues and chyldren vp into the mountaynes.

Helpe from God.

And our men beyng also ready to departe from thence for theyr small chéere with euill countenance, it happened, an *Indian* woman (beyng wife to one of the principalest Cittizens,) hauing some affection to the bearded men, sayde vnto *Marina*, that shée shoulde abide there with hyr, for that she loued hir well, and that it woulde grieue hir that she should be slayne with hir mayster. *Marina* dissimulyng the matter, procured to knowe what they were that had conspired the thing, and hauing knowledge therof, she ranne to séeke *Aguillar* hir fellow interpreter, and both together enformed *Cortes* of the whole matter.

Cortes hearyng this newes, slepte not, but incontinent examined twoo of the Cittizens, who confessed the thyng euen as it passed, and as the Gentlewoman had declared: wherevpon *Cortes* stayed his iourney twoo dayes, to mollifie the matter and to disapoynt them of that euill pretended purpose, and also to correcte their offences, he commaunded their rulers to be called, saying that he had to talke with them, and when they were comen he requyred them neyther to vse lies nor deceytes with hym, but rather lyke menne to defie him to the field and battayle, for (quoth hée) honest menne vse rather to fighte than to lie. They all answered that they were his friendes and seruitours, and no liars, and that it mighte please him to shewe them when he woulde departe, for they woulde goe armed to kéepe hym company. He answered that he woulde departe the nexte

day followyng, and that he required but onely some of their slaues to carry his fardage, bycause his owne *Tamemez* or Carriars were weried: lykewise he requyred some prouision of victuall.

At this laste requeste they smyled, saying among themselues, to what purpose will these men haue victuals, for shortly they themselues shalbe boyled and eaten with the sause called *Axi*, yea, and if *Mutezuma* had not pretended their bodies for his owne dishe, they had bene eaten here before this tyme.

The punishment that Cortez executed *for conspiracie.*

O vvorthy Cortes.

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he nexte day in the mornynge the *Cholollans* thinkyng that they had their determinate purpose in good readinesse, they came and brought many to carry their fardage, & other some to carry the Spaniardes vppon their backes, hopynge to apprehēd them in the same order. There came also many armed men of the most valiantest, to kill him that should disorder himselfe. Likewise that day their Priests sacrificed ten children of thrē yeares of age to their God *Quezalcouatl*, fiue of these children were menne, and the other fiue women, whiche was their custome when they began their warres: the Captaynes placed themselues at the foure doores of *Cortes* his house with some armed men. *Cortes* earely in the mornynge had secretely in a readinesse the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Tlaxcallan*, and other friends: he cōmaunded his horsemen to take their horses, giuing them this watche worde, that when they hearde the noyse of the shotte of a handgun, that then they should play the mē, for it imported all their liues. And he seing the townes men approach néere his lodging, commaunded y^e captaynes & chiefest of them to come vnto him, saying, y^t he would take his leaue of them: there came many, but he would not suffer aboue thirtie persons to come in, who were the principallest, and declared vnto thē, that alwaies he had dealte truly with them, & they with him nothing but treason and lies. Likewise they had vnder colour requested that his friēds the *Tlaxcaltecas* shuld not come vnto their towne, & that he fulfilled therein their desire, & also cōmaunded his own men in no wise to be hurtful vnto thē, yea & although they had not prouided him of victuals as reason did require, yet he would not permit any of his men to take the value of one henne from them, so that in recompence of all his gentle dealings and good will, they had moste wickedly procured the death of him and all his

companie. And bycause they coulde not performe it in their owne towne, they had prepared the slaughter in the high way, at those daungerous places whiche they had determind to leade them vnto, pretendyng also the helpe of thirtie thousand men, Souldiers of *Mutezuma*, whiche army stode not fully two leagues from thence. And for this horrible and detestable wickednesse yée shall all die, and in memory of traytors I will destroy this cittie, and turne the foundations vpwardes, so that there shall remayne no remembraunce of you.

Their offence beyng manifest, coulde not be denied, and lookyng one vpon an other, their colours waxed pale and wanne, saying, this man is lyke vnto our Goddes, who knoweth all things, therefore lette vs not denie the truth, and openly before the Embassadors of *Mutezuma* confesse their error and euill facte.

Then sayd *Cortes* to the Embassadors, you do see that we should haue bene slaine by the *Cholollans*, and through the procurement of *Mutezuma*, but yet I beleue it not, cōsideryng that he is my friende and a mightie Prince, saying also that Noble men vsed neyther treason nor lyes, wherefore feare not you, but these dissemblyng Traytors shall be punished, for you are persons inuiolable and messengers of a Prince, whome he meante to serue and not offende, bicause he had an assured opinion in *Mutezuma*, to be a vertuous Prince, and one that woulde not committe villanie.

All these wordes he spake, bycause he woulde not fall out with *Mutezuma*, vntill he sawe himselfe within the Cittie of *Mexico*.

Incontinent he commaunded some of those Captaines to be slayne, and kepte the residue bounde. Then he shotte off hys handgun, whiche was the watch vnto his armye, who forthwith sette vppon the Townesmen, and within two houres slewe sixe thousand persons and more.

Cortes commaunded that they shoulde kill neyther woman nor childe: they foughte welnéere fyue houres: they sette fire on all the houses and Towers that made resistance, and draue all the inhabitantes out of the Towne. The dead carcasses lay so thicke, that of force they must treade vpon them.

There were twentie Gentlemen, and many Priestes, who ascended vp to the high tower of the temple, whiche hathe a hundred and twenty steppes, from whence wyth arrowes and stones they did much hurt, and woulde not yéelde, wherevpon oure men set fier to the Tower, and burned them all. Then they exclaymed on their Goddes, who woulde neyther helpe them nor their Citie and holy sanctuary.

The Citie being sacked, oure men tooke the spoyle of golde, plate, and feathers, and the *Indians* their friendes tooke clothes and salte, which was the treasure that they desired.

Cortez commaunded to ceasse the spoyle. The other Captaynes that lay bounde, hearing of suche a greate destruction and punishment, most pitifully besought *Cortez* to loase some of them, for to sée what was become of their Gods and cōmō people. Likewise they humbly besought him to pardon them, who had not so muche faulte as *Mutezuma*, who perswaded and entised them to that pretended treason.

Vpon their lamentable request, he loased two of them, and the next day following the Citie was as ful of people agayne, that there séemed not one to be wanting.

At the sute of the *Tlaxcaltecas* who were put for mediators, *Cortes* pardoned them all, and sette his prisoners at libertie, assuring them that the like correction he woulde do vppon al them that should dissemble or shewe an euil countenance, or make lyes, or fynally vse anye kinde of treason toward him: wherevpon they all abode in greate feare. He made the knot of friendship betwéene them and the *Tlaxcaltecas*, which in time past had bin betwixt them, for *Mutezuma* and his auncetors made them enimies, with fayre promises, words and also feare.

The Citizens hauing their generall slayne, chose an other with licence of *Cortes*.

The Sanctuary or holy place among *the Indians was Chololla.*

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hololla is a city as *Tlaxcallan*, and hathe but one person who is gouernour and general Captayne, chosen by the consente of all the Citizens. It is a Citie of twentie thousande householdes within the walles, and in the suburbes as muche more. It sheweth outwardes verie beautifull, and full of towers, for there are as manye temples as dayes in y^e yeare, & euery temple hath his tower. Our men counted foure hundred towers. The men and womē are of good disposition well fauoured, and very wittie.

The women are Goldsmithes and also Caruers, the men are warriors, and light fellowes, and good maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparelled than anye other *Indiās* yet séene. They weare for their vtter garmēt clokes like vnto Moriscos, but after an other sort. Al the Countrey rounde aboute them is fruitefull and eareable grounde, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no wast grounde, in respect whereof, there are some poore, whiche begge from dore to dore. The *Spanyardes* hadde not seene any beggers in that Coūtrei before they came thither.

Chololla is a Citie of most deuotion and Religion in all *India*, it is called y^e Sanctuary or holy place among y^e *Indians*, and thither they trauelled from many places farre distante on pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many temples.

Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and hyghest of all the new *Spayne*, with a hundred and twenty steppes vppe vnto it.

The greatest Idoll of all their Gods was called *Quezalcouately*, God of the ayre, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy lyfe, and great penance. He instituted fasting and drawing of bloud out of their eares

and tongs, and lefte a precepte, that they shoulde sacrifice but onely Quayles, Doues, and other foule.

He neuer ware but one garmente of Cotten, whyche was white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a mantle besette with certayne redde crosses.

They haue certayne gréene stones whiche were hys, and those they kéepe for reliques. One of them is lyke an Apes head. Héere they abode twentye dayes, and in thys meane whyle there came so manye to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to sée. And one of the things that was to bée séene in those fayres, was the earthen vessell, which was excéeding curious and fine.

The hill called Popocatepec.

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here is a hill eyght leagues from *Chololla*, called *Popocatepec*, whiche is to say, a hill of smoke, for manye tymes it casteth oute smoke and fier. *Cortez* sente thither tenne *Spanyardes*, with manye *Indians*, to carrie their victuall, and to guide them in the way. The ascending vp was very troublesome, and full of craggie rockes. They approached so nigh the toppe, that they heard such a terrible noyse which procéded frō thence, that they durst not goe vnto it, for the ground dyd tremble and shake, and great quantitie of Ashes whyche disturbed the way: but yet two of them who séemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see straunge things, went vp to the toppe, because they would not returne with a sleuelesse aunswere, and that they myghte not be accompted cowardes, leauing their fellowes behinde them, procéded forwards. The *Indians* sayd, what meane these men: for as yet neuer mortall man tooke suche a iourney in hande.

These two valiāt fellowes passed through y^e desert of Ashes, and at length came vnder a greate smoke verye thicke, and standing there a while, the darkenesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concauetie, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the whiche the ayre came rebounding, with a greate noyse, very shrill, and whistling, in sort that the whole hil did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an ouen where glasse is made. The smoke and heate was so greate, that they coulde not abide it, and of force were constreyned to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they wer not gone farre, whē the vulcan began to lash out flames of fier, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last stones of burning fire: and if they had not chanced to finde a rocke, where vnder they shadowed themselues, vndoubtedlye they had there bin burned.

When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellowes, the

other *Indians* kissed their garments as an honor due vnto Gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondred much at their facte.

Purgatory.

Those simple *Indians* thoughte, that that place was an infernall place, where all suche as gouerned not well, or vsed tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they dyed, and also beléeued, that after their purgation, they passed into glory.

This vulcan is like vnto the vulcan of *Cicilia*, it is high and round, and neuer wanteth Snowe about it, and is séene a farre off in the nighte, it lasheth out flames of fire.

There is néere aboute this hyl many Cities, and *Huexozinco* is one of the nighest.

In tenne yeares space this straunge hill of workyng did expell no vapoure or smoke: but in the yeare .1540. it beganne agayne to burne, and with the horrible noyse thereof, the neyghbours that dwelte foure leagues from thence were terrifyed, for the especiall straunge smokes that then were séene, the like to their predecessors hadde not bin séene.

The ashes that procéded from thence came to *Huexozinco*, *Quelaxcopan*, *Tepiacac*, *Quauhquecholla*, *Chololla*, and *Tlaxcallan*, whiche standeth tenne leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fiftéene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their gardens, their fieldes of corne, trées, and clothes that lay a drying.

The consultation that Mutezuma had,
concerning the comming of Cortez into Mexico.

TOC

Cortez pretended not to fall out with *Mutezuma*, before his comming to *Mexico*, and yet he vnderstoode all *Mutezuma* hys pretence, wherevppon he complayneth to the Ambassadors, saying that he muche maruelled that suche a mightie Prince, who by so manye Gentlemen had assured his friendship vnto him, shoulde nowe procure his totall destruction, in not kéeping hys promise and fidelitie. In consideration whereof, where he meant to visit him as a friend, that now he would goe to his Courte as an enimie. The Ambassadors excused their maisters cause, besieching him to withdrawe hys furie, and to giue licence to one of them to goe to *Mexico*, who woulde bryng aunswere from thence with all spéede.

Cortes graunted vnto the request, the one of them went, and returned agayne within sixe dayes in company of another messenger that hadde gone thither before, who broughte tenne platters of golde, and a thousande fiue hundred mantels of cotten, with much victuall, and *Cacao* whiche is a kinde of fruite that serueth for currant money among them. Likewise they brought a certaine kind of wine or licoure made of *Cacao* and *Centli*. They enformed *Cortes*, that *Mutezuma* was innocente of the coniuration in *Chololla*, nor by anye meanes priuie to their dealings, affyrming moreouer that the garrison of souldyers did apperteine to *Acazinco*, and *Acazan*, who were neyghbors to *Chololla*, who by inducement of some naughtye persons, had procured that thing, saying that he shuld both see and vnderstand him to be his faithful and louing friend, praying him to come forwarde on his iourney, for he would abide his comming in *Mexico*.

Prophecie of the Diuell.

This ambassage pleased well *Cortes*, but *Mutezuma* feared, when he hearde of

the slaughter, and burning of *Chololla*, and sayde to his friends, these are the people that our Gods said should come and inherite this land.

Mutezuma went incontinent to his Oratorie, and shut in himselfe alone, where he abode in fasting and prayer eyght dayes, with sacrifice of many menne, to asslake the fury of his Idolles, who séemed to be offended.

The voyce of the Diuell spake vnto him, bidding him not to feare the Christians, saying they were but fewe, and when they were come, he should doe what he lysted with them, willing him in no wise to ceasse from the bloody sacrifice, least some mischance might happen vnto him. And assured hym that he should haue the Goddes *Vitzipuchtli*, and *Tescatlipuca* to preserue and kéepe hym. And bycause *Quezalcouatle* was agréued for wante of bloody sacrifice, he permitted the Straungers to punishe them of *Chololla*. And *Mutezuma* hearing this dyuelishe Oracle, and likewise *Cortez* hauing warned him that hée would visite hym as an enimie, he was by this perswasion of Sathan, the better willing to receyue hym into *Mexico*.

Likewise *Cortes* when he came to *Chololla*, was strong, and hadde at commaundemente a mightie power, and there made hymselfe stronger, the fame whereof, was blowen abroade, throughout all the dominions of *Mutezuma*. And whereas the poore *Indians* hadde but onely maruelled at their persons and furniture, nowe they began to tremble and to feare at his doings, so that wheresoeuer he came, they opened him the gates with pure feare, more than for any loue.

An euill counsellor.

Mutezuma at the beginning, pretended to feare *Cortes* with the fearefull passages and other perils and danger, as the fortitude of *Mexico*, with his greate multitude of subiectes, and the great number of Princes that dyd both serue and obey him: and séeyng that all these things profited not, he thoughte to haue ouercome him with gyftes and treasure, knowyng that he hadde required golde: yet he sawe that nothing woulde preuayle, for that *Cortez* woulde néedes come to see hym, wherevpon, he tooke counsell of the Diuell what he shoulde doe in

that case, vpon which counsell he was satisfied by hys Priests and Captaynes, that he ought not to warre against so fewe straungers, for if he so did, the dishonor would be his, and chiefly, bycause *Cortez* certified that he was an Ambassador, and vsing hym otherwise, it myghte so fall out, that hys owne subiectes would rebell againste him theyr Lorde and Prince, saying likewise that it was manifest that the *Otomies* and *Tlaxcaltecas* woulde fauour his syde, and also manye others, for to destroy and spoyle *Mexico*, vpon which consultation it was openly proclaymed, that his will was that the straungers should enter into *Mexico* fréely, thinking that if at anye time they shoulde displease hym, to make a breakefast of them the nexte day.

Things that happened to Cortez in
his iourney to Mexico.

ortez hauyng so good an aunswere of the Ambassadors, he gaue licence to as manye of the *Indians* hys friendes, as listed to departe home to their houses, and he likewise departed from *Chololla* with some borderers that would néedes follow him.

Oh vvise Cortes.

He lefte the way that the *Mexicans* had perswaded him to come, for it was bothe euill and daungerous, as the Spaniarde whiche went to the vulcan had séene, he went another playner way and more nearer. That day he traueled but foure leagues, bicause he meant to lodge in the villages of *Huexozinco*, where he was friendly receyued, and they presented vnto him slaues, garments, and golde, although but little, for they are poore by reason that *Mutezuma* hath enuironed them aboute, bicause they were of the parcialitie of *Tlaxcallan*. The next day in the morning he ascended vp a hill couered with snowe, which was sixe myles of heigth, where if the .30000. Souldiers had wayted for them, they might easily haue taken them, by reason of the great colde: and from the toppe of that hill, they discouered y^e land of *Mexico*, and the great lake with his villages rounde about, whiche is an excéedyng goodly sight. But when *Cortes* saw that beautifull thing, his ioy was without comparison, and he tooke not so much pleasure, but some of his men feared as much, and there was a murmuration among them to returne backe againe, yea and like to haue bene a mutinie among them. But *Cortes* with his wisdom and dissimulation did pacifie the matter, with courage, hope, and gentle wordes, and they seing that their Captayne at all assayes was the first himselfe, they feared the lesse the things that they imagined. And discending downe into the playn, they found a great large house, sufficient for him and all his company, with sixe thousande *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexozinco*, and *Chololla*. And y^e seruants of *Mutezuma* made cotages of straw for the *Tamemez* or carriers, who were ladē with the fardage, and victuals: there was a good supper prepared for them, and great fires to warme them, and all things necessary. Thither came many principall persons from *Mexico* to visite

him, among whome was a kinsman of *Mutezuma*, who presented vnto *Cortes* the value of thrée thousand Ducates in gold, & besought him to returne backe againe, and to haue consideration of the pouertie, hunger, & euill way, yea and to passe in litle boates in daunger of drowning. And as for tribute to be giuen to the Emperour, a greater summe should be appointed thē though he went personally to *Mexico*, yea and that it should be payde at what place he would apoint. *Cortes* welcomed them, as reason did require, and presented vnto them haberdashe toyes, which they esteemed in much, & chiefly he did louingly entertayne *Mutezuma* his kinsman, vnto whome he made this answere, saying, I would gladly serue & pleasure such a mightie prince as your soueraigne *Mutezuma* is, if it lay in my handes without offence of the King my mayster, and concerning my goyng to *Mexico*, *Mutezuma* shall receyue both pleasure and honour rather than otherwise, & after I haue talked with him I will soone returne, likewise hunger I feare not, neyther yet doubt that I nor none of mine shall wante, and for my passage on the water, I say it is nothing in comparison of twoo thousande leagues, which I haue sayled onely to come and visit him.

But yet for all this talke, if they had founde him carelesse, they would haue pinched him as some doth say, for he gaue them to vnderstand that he nor his men slept not by night, nor yet vnarmed themselues, yea and also if it chanced thē to find in the night season any that were not of their company, they slew them out of hād, desiring him to aduise his men thereof, least any of them should happen to fall into that daunger, which would much grieue him, and with this talke they went all to take their reste.

The next day in the morning he proceded forward and came to *Amaquemecan* which is two leagues frō thence, & standeth in the prouince of *Chalco*, a towne that cōtayneth 20000. householders. The Lorde of that towne presented to *Cortes* fourtie women slaues, and .3000. Ducats in gold, with meate abūdantly for two dayes, and secretly made complaynt vnto him of *Mutezuma*. And from thence he went to another towne foure leagues from thēce, the one half therof was builde vpon the lake, and the other halfe vpon the lande at the foote of a ragged hill.

There went in his company many subiectes of *Mutezuma* for purueyors, but yet both they and the townes men would fayne haue layde hand vpon the Spaniardes, and euery night would sende their spies to sée what the Christians did, but the watch slew about twentie of them, whervpon the matter stayed and their pretence tooke no effect: sure it is a thing to laugh at, for at euery fancie they woulde proue to kill them, and yet they were not for the purpose. The nexte day in the mornyng came twelue Lordes from *Mexico*, among whome was *Cacama* Neuew to *Mutezuma*, who was Lorde of *Tezcucó* a yong man of .xxv. yeares of age, whom the *Indians* did much honour: he was carried vpon their shoulders, & when they set him downe one went before with a brome to swéepe the dust out of his way. These Gentlemen came to accōpany *Cortes* excusing *Mutezuma*, saying that he was not well at ease & therfore he came not personally to receiue him. And yet they entreated *Cortes* to retorne backe againe, & not to come vnto *Mexico*, gyuing him to vnderstand by signes, y^t they would there displease him, yea & also defend the passage & entrance, a thing easie to be done, but they were either blinded or else they durst not breake the Calsey. *Cortes* entertayned thē like noble mē, & gaue vnto thē of his haberdashe, & departed from y^e towne w^t many graue personages who carried with thē a great trayne, whiche filled vp the way well nigh as they should passe, wōdring at their beardes, harneys, apparell, horses & ordinaunce, saying to themselues, these be Gods. *Cortes* gaue them warning not to come among the horses, nor among his men, for feare they would kil them. This he made them beléeue bicause he would not haue his way stopped, for y^t the number of thē was so great. They then came to a towne buylte vpon the water of two thousand houses, and before they came thither they had gone more than halfe a league vppon a fayre Calsey, whiche was twentie foote brode: the towne had fayre houses and many towers: the Lord of the towne did receyue them worshipfully, and prouided all things plentifully, desiryng him to abide there that night, and secretly made complayntes against *Mutezuma*, of many wrongs and exactions done by him, and certified him, that from thence the way was very fayre to *Mexico*, and al the like

calsey as he had passed. With this newes *Cortes* was very glad, for he meant to haue stayed there for to haue buylte barkes and foystes, & yet he feared least they woulde breake the calsey, wherfore he had alwayes a care ouer *Cacama*, who with the other Lordes desired him not to abide there, but to procéede forward to *Iztacpalapan*, which was but twoo leagues off, and that the Lorde thereof was another Neuew to *Mutezuma*. To admit their request he wēt with them to that towne, and from thence to *Mexico* was but twoo leagues, the which the next day he might goe at pleasure, and come timely into the Citie, & in this order came to *Iztacpalapan*.

Euery two houres came messengers betwixte *Cortes* and *Mutezuma*: then came *Cuetlauac* Lorde of that towne, with the Lorde *Culhuacan* his kinsman to receyue him, who presented vnto him, slaues, garments, and feathers, and to the value of foure thousande Ducates in golde. *Cuetlauac* receyued al the Spaniards into his own house, whiche hath very fayre lodgings all of stone and Carpenters worke excéeding well wrought, with high & lowe rouses, with all kinde of seruice: The chambers were hanged with cloth of Cotten, very rich, after their maner. There were fayre gardēs replenished with many swéete floures, and swéete trées garnished with networke, made of Canes, and couered with roses and other fine hearbes, with sundry pondes of swéete water. There was an other garden very beautifull of all sortes of fruytes and hearbes, with a great ponde walled with lyme and stone, and was foure hundreth paces square, made with fayre steppes to discende vnto the bottome in many places, and was full of diuers kindes of fishes, and many kinde of water birds, which somtimes couered y^e pond, as Gullies, Mewes, and such like. *Iztacpallapan* is a towne of .10000. households, & is plāted in a lake of salt water, the one half of the towne buylt on the water, & the other on the lande.

The Solemne pompe vvherevvith
Cortez was receyued into Mexico.

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rom *Iztacpalapan* to *Mexico* is twoo leagues all vpon a fayre calsey, vpon the which eight horsemē may passe on rāke, and so directly straight as though it had bene made by line. And who soeuer hath good eiesight might discern the gates of *Mexico* from thence. *Coyoacan* is a towne of sixe thousande dwellers, *Vizilopuchtli* is of fiue thousand. These townes are planted in the lake, and are adorned with many temples, whiche haue many fayre towers, that doe beautifie exceedingly the lake. There is great contractatiō of Salte, which is made there, and from thence is carried abroad to fayres and markets, whiche thing was a greate rente to *Mutezuma*. Vpon this Calsey are many drawebidges buylt vpon fayre arches that the water passeth through.

Cortes passed this calsey with .400. Spaniardes, & .6000. *Indians* his friends: theyr passage was with much ado, by reason of the great multitude of *Indians* which came to sée him, & cōming neare the citie, there adioyned another calsey with a broder passage, where standeth a strong bulwark of stone of the heigth of .ij. fadom, with two towers on eche side, and two gates very strong. Here at this forte came thrée thousande Courtiers and Citizens to receyue him, & euery of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed forwards in the order as they came. These salutatiōs endured an houre & more. From the bulwark the calsey lieth directly, and before the entraunce into the strete there is an other drawe bridge made of timber ten paces broade, vnder the which the water passeth too and fro. At this bridge came *Mutezuma* to receyue *Cortes* vnder a Canapie of gréene feathers & golde with much argenterie hangyng thereat, whiche Canapie foure noble men did carry. And the two princes *Cuetlauac*, and *Cacama* his newewes, did leade him by eache arme: all thrée

were riche appareled & al of one fashion, except *Mutezuma*, whiche had a payre of shoes of golde besette with pretious stones, and the soles were tied to the vpper part with latchets, as is paynted of the Antikes. His Gentlemen wente by two and two laying downe and taking vp mantels and couerlets vpon the ground, bicause his féete should not touche the same: then followed him as in procession .200. noble men barefooted, with garments of a richer liuery then the first thrée thousand. *Mutezuma* came in the midst of the streete, and the others came behinde him as nigh the wal as they mought, their faces towards the grounde, for it was a great offence to looke him in the face. *Cortes* alighted from his horse, and according to our vse went to embrace him, but the Princes who led him by the armes would not suffer him to come so nigh, for they held it for sin to touch him, but yet saluted ech one y^e other.

Cortes put about *Mutezuma* his necke a collar of Margarites, Diamondes, & other stones al of glasse. *Mutezuma* receyued it thankfully, & wente before with one of the princes his Neuewes, & cōmaunded the other to lead *Cortes* by the hand next after him in the midst of the street: and procéeding forwarde in this order, then came the Gētlemen in the richest liuery to welcome him one by one, touchyng the ground with their handes, & after returned to their standyng. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all y^e day would not haue serued for salutatiōs. The collar of glasse pleased well *Mutezuma*, and bycause he would not take without giuyng a better thing as a great prince, he commaunded to be brought twoo collers of redde prawnes, which there are mucche estéemed, and at euery one of them hanged eight shrimpes of gold of excellent workemanship, & of a finger length euery one, he put these collers with the owne hands about *Cortes* his necke, the which was estéemed a most great fauour, yea and the *Indians* marueled at it. At this time they were come to the streete ende, whiche was almost a mile long, broade, straight and very fayre and full of houses on eche side, in whose dores, windowes and tops was such a multitude of *Indians* to beholde the strangers, that I knowe not who wondered most, our men to sée such a number of them, or else they to sée our men, their ordinance & horses, a thing

so straunge vnto them. They were brought vnto a great court or house of idols, which was y^e lodging of *Axaiaca*, at the dore where of *Mutezuma* tooke *Cortes* by the hande and brought him into a fayre hall, and placed him vpon a riche carpet, saying vnto him, Sir nowe are you in your owne house, eate and take your rest & pleasure, for I wil shortly come and visite you againe. Such (as you heare) was the receiuing of *Hernando Cortes* by *Mutezuma* a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of *Mexico*, the eight day of Nouember .1519.

The Oration of Mutezuma to *the Spanyardes.*

A strange opinion.

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he house where the Spaniardes were lodged was great and large, with many fayre chambers sufficient for them all: it was nete, cleane matted, and hanged with cloth of Cotten, and feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When *Mutezuma* was departed frō *Cortes*, he began to sette his house in order, and placed the ordinaunce at his dore, and hauing all his things in good sorte, he went to a sumptuous dinner that was prepared for him. As soone as *Mutezuma* had made an ende of his dinner hearyng that the straungers were rysen from the table, and reposed a while, then came he to *Cortes*, salutying him, and satte downe by him. He gaue vnto him diuers iewels of gold plate, feathers, and many garmēts of Cotten, both riche, well woven, & wrought of straunge colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also cōfirme their imagination. This gifte was deliuered honorably, and then began his talke as foloweth: Lorde and Gentlemen, I doe much reioyce to haue in my house such valiant men as ye are, for to vse you with curtesie, and entreate you with honour, according to your deserte and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you shoulde not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a greate feare to sée you, for your gesture & grimme beards did terrifie them, yea, they reported that yée had such beastes as swallowed men, and that your cōming was frō heauen, bringing with you lightning, thunder & thūderbolts, wherwith you made the earth to trēble & to shake, and that yée slew therewith whom ye pleased. But now I do sée & know that you are mortall mē, & that ye are quiet & hurt no man: also I haue séene your horses, which are but your seruauntes, and youre Gunnes lyke vnto shootyng Trunkes. I do now hold all for fables and lyes which hath bin reported of you, and I do also accept you for my méere kinsmen. My father tolde

me that hée had heard his forefathers say, of whome I doe descende, that they helde opinion howe they were not naturals of thys lande, but come hither by chance, in companye of a mighty Lorde, who after a while that they hadde abode héere, they returned to their natiue soyle: After manye yeares expyred, they came agayne for those whome they had left héere behind them, but they would not goe wyth them, bycause they had héere inhabited, and hadde wyues and children, and great gouernement in the land. Nowe these myghtie Lords séeyng that they were so stubborne, and woulde not returne with them, departed from them sore displeased, saying, that he woulde sende his children that should both rule and gouerne them, in iustice, peace, and auntient Religion, and for this consideration, wée haue alwayes expected and beléeued, that suche a people should come to rule and gouerne vs, and cōsidering from whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whome we looked for, and the notice which the greate Emperour *Charles* had of vs, who hath now sent you hither. Therefore Lorde and Captayne, be well assured, that we wyll obey you, if there be no fayned or deceytefull matter in your dealings, and will also deuide wyth you and youres all that we haue. And although this which I haue sayde were not only for youre vertue, fame, and déedes of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet do it for your worthinesse in the battayles of *Tauasco*, *Teocazinco*, and *Chololla*, béeyng so few, to ouercome so many.

Now agayne, if ye ymagine that I am a God, and the walles and routes of my houses, and all my vessell of seruice to be of pure golde, as the men of *Zempoallan*, *Tlaxcallan*, and *Huexozinco* hath enformed you, it is not so, and I iudge you to be so wise, that you giue no credit to such fables. You shall also note, that through your commyng hither, manye of my subiectes haue rebelled, and are become my mortall enimies, but yet I purpose to breake their wings. Come féele you my body, I am of fleshe and bone, a mortal man as others are, and no God, although as a King I doe estéeme my selfe of a greater dignitie and preheminéce than others. My houses you do also see, which are of tymber and earthe, and the principallest of Masons worke, therefore nowe you do both

knowe and sée what odious lyars those talebearers were. But troth it is, that golde plate, feathers, armour, iewels, and other riches, I haue in the treasury of my forefathers a long time preserued, as the vse of Kings is, all the which you & yours shal enioy at all times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are wéery of your iourney. *Cortez* with ioyfull countenance humbled himselfe, séeing some teares fall from *Mutezuma* his eyes, saying vnto him, vppon the trust I haue hadde in youre clemencye, I insisted to come both to sée and talke wyth your highnesse, and now I know that all are lyes which hath bin tolde me. The like youre highnesse hath hearde reported of vs, assure youre selfe, that the Emperoure Kyng of *Spayne* is your naturall Lorde, whome yée haue expected for, he is the onely heyre from whence youre lynage dothe procéede, and as touching the offer of youre highnesse treasure, I do most hartlyly thanke you.

A louing aunsvvere.

After all this communication, *Mutezuma* demaunded whether the bearded men whiche came with him, were eyther his vassals or his slaues, bycause he would entertayne eache one according to his estate. *Cortes* aunswered, that they were all his bréethren, friendes, and fellowes, except some that were his seruauntes.

Then he departed, and wente home to his Pallace, and there enformed himselfe particularlye who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and according therevnto, sent euery one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sente the rewarde by his Controller, and to the Marriners & other seruitors, by a Page of his housholde.

The Maiestie and order, vvherevvith
Mutezuma was serued.

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vtezuma was a man of a small stature and leane, his couloure tawnie as all the *Indians* are. He hadde long heare on hys heade, sixe little heares vppon him, as though they hadde bin put in with a bodkin. His thinne bearde was blacke. Hée was a man of a fayre condition, and a doer of Iustice, well spoken, graue and wise, beloued and feared among his subiectes. *Mutezuma* doth signifie sadness.

To y^e proper names of Kings and Lords, they do adde this sillable C. whiche is for cortesie and dignitie, as we vse Lord. The Turke vseth *Zultan*. The Moore or Barbarian calleth his Lorde *Mulley*, and so the *Indians* say *Mutezumazin*. His people hadde him in such reuerence, that he permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shoes, nor looke him in the face, except very few Princes. He was glad of the conuersation of the *Spanyardes*, and would not suffer them to stande on foote, for the great estimation he had of them, and if he lyked any of the *Spanyardes* garments, he woulde exchange his apparrell for theirs.

He changed his owne apparell foure times euery day, and he neuer clothed himselfe agayne with the garmentes whiche he hadde once worne, but all suche were kept in his Guardrobe, for to giue in presents to his seruantes and Ambassadors, and vnto valiante souldyers which had takē any enimie prisoner, and that was estéemed a great reward, and a title of priuiledge.

The costly mātels whereof had bin diuers sent to *Cortes*, were of the same Guardrobe.

Mutezuma went alwayes very net and fine in hys attire. He bathed him in his hotehouse foure times euerye day. He went seldome out of his Chamber, but when hée went to his meate. He eate alwayes alone, but solemnely and with

great abundance. His table was a pillowe, or else a couple of coulloured skynnes. His Chayre was a fourefooted stole made of one péece, and hollowe in the midst, well wroughte and paynted. His table clothes, napkins and towels were made of Cotten woll, verye white and newe, for he was neuer serued but once wyth that naperie. Foure hundred Pages broughte in hys meate, all sonnes of greate Lordes, and placed it vppon a table in his greate Hall. The meate béeyng broughte in, then came *Mutezuma* to beholde the dishes, and appoynted those dishes that liked him best, and chafing dishes were prepared to kéepe that meate warme, and seldome would eate of any other dish, except the Lord Stewarde or Controller should highly commende any other dishe.

Before he sate downe, came twentie of his wiues of the fayrest and best estéemed, or else those that serued wéeke by turne, broughte in the bason and ewer, wyth greate humblenesse. This done, he sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and drewe a wodden nette before him, bycause none shoulde come nigh his table. And this noble man alone placed the dishes, and also tooke them away, for the Pages who broughte in the meate came not néere the table, nor yet spake any word, nor no man else.

While the Lord *Mutezuma* was at his meate, excepte some Iester, they al serued him barefooted. There assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, sixe auntiente and noble men, vnto whome he vsed to giue of the dish that best lyked him, who receyued the same at his hande with greate reuerence, and eate it incontinent, without loking in his face, whiche was the greatest humilitie that they coulde vse before him. He had musike of Fiddle, Flute, and of a Snayle shell, and a Caudron couered with a skinne, and suche other strange instrumentes. They hadde very euill voyces to sing. Always at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crookebackes, and other deformed counterfets, all for maiestie and to laugh at, who hadde their meate in the Hall among the Iesters and Idyots, whiche were fedde with parte of the meate that came from *Mutezuma* hys table, all the rest of the meate was giuen to thrée thousand of the Guard, who attended ordinarily in the yarde or court, and therefore they say that there was broughte

for his table thrée thousande dishes, and as manye pottes of wine, suche as they vse, and that continually the buttrey and Pantrey stooode open, whiche was a wonder to sée what was in them. The platters, dishes, and cuppes, were al of earth, whereof the King was serued but once, and so frō meale to meale new. He had likewise his seruice of golde and plate verye riche, but he vsed not to bée serued with it, (they say) bycause he woulde not be serued twice therewith, the whiche he thoughte a base thing. Some affirme, that yong children were slayne and dressed in diuers kind of dishes for *Mutezuma* his table, but it was not so, only of mans flesh sacrificised he fedde nowe and then. The table being taken vp, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reuerēce as they vsed at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other wiues, so that then the Gentlemen and Pages waited as their course fell.

The footeplayers that played *before Mutezuma.*

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hen his table was taken vp, and his seruitors gone to meate, *Mutezuma* sate stil: then came in the suiters that hadde any affayres to deale with him, barefoted, for all the persons did vse that reuerence, excepte some Princes his kinsmen, as the Lordes of *Tescuco*, and *Tlacopan*, and a fewe others: and béeing colde weather, they vsed to weare olde ragged clothes vppon theyr riche garmentes. Al suiters vsed to make thrée or foure curtesies, not loking toward his face, and speaking vnto him their heads downewardes, and in that order retyred backe agayne. *Mutezuma* aunswered his suiters very grauely, with lowe voyce, and in fewe words, and not to al suiters, for others his secretaries or counsellors that stoode by, answered for him, and hauyng their aunswere, they returned backwardes, not turning their tayles to the prince. After these businesses done, hée vsed some recreation, hearing Iesters or songs, wherein he delighted much, or else to looke vpon the players, who play with their féete, as we doe with oure handes. These haue a cudgell like vnto a pastlers rowler, whiche they tosse high and lowe, as it were a bal in the ayre, straunge to beholde. They vse other playes to passe the tyme, in such an order, that it séemed maruellous to the lookers on. *Cortez* broughte into *Spayne* some of these players. Also they vse *Matachines*, in suche sorte they do play, that they stand each vppon others shoulders, and he that standeth highest, sheweth many feates. Sometime *Mutezuma* did beholde the players, who played at a game called *Patoliztli*, whiche is muche like oure Tables, and they play with beanes, squared like dice, which they call *Patolli*, and throw them out of both their hands vpon a matte, or else vpon the ground, where are made certaine strikes, vpon which they set downe the chance that is throwen: and at this game they play all that they haue, and many tymes they valew theyr

owne bodyes, and play that into captiuitie, and to remayne a slaue, I meane such as are common gamesters of small estate.

The Tennis play in Mexico.

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ometimes *Mutezuma* went to the Tennis Courte. Their ball is called *Villamaliztli*, and is made of the gumme which commeth from a trée called *Vlli*. This trée groweth in a hote Countrey. The gumme being kneded together, and so made roūd, is as blacke as pitch, and somewhat heauie, and very harde for the hande, but yet good and light to rebound, and better than our windballes. They play not at chases, but at *bādie*, or at check, that is, if the ball touch the wall, it loseth. They maye strike the ball with any part of their body, but there is alwayes a penaltie if they only strike not with the buttoke or side, whiche is the finest play: wherefore they vse a skynne vpon eache buttocke. They play so many to so many for a packe of mantels, or according to the abilitie of the players. Also they play for golde and feathers, and sometime for their owne bodyes, as they vse at *Patolli*, which is there permitted & lawfull. The Tennis Court is called *Tlachco*, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wyder vpwards, than downewardes, and higher on the sides than at y^e ends, which is an industrie for their play. The house is always white and smooth in the side walles: they haue certain stones like vnto mylstones, w^t a little hole in the middest that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball maye passe through, but hée that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, whiche seldome happeneth, winneth the game, and by an auntiente lawe and custome among Tennis players, he ought to haue the clokes of all those that stande and beholde the play, on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courtes, the halfe of the garmentes of them that stande lookyng on. The winner is then bounde to make certayne sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play woulde saye, that suche a wynner should be a thiefe and an adulterer, or else that he shoulde dye quickly.

They vsed in the Temple of the Tennis play two Images of the God of the ball, which stoode vpon the two lower walles. Their Sacrifice was celebrated at midnichte, with many Ceremonies and Witchcraftes, and songs for that purpose. Then came a Prieste from the Cathedrall Church, wyth other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certayne diuelishe prayers, and throwing the ball four tymes in the Tennis Court. In thys order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after thys consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this dilligence was firste to be done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built.

The owner of the Tennis Courte also woulde neuer suffer any to play, vntill he had first offered something to the Idoll, theyr superstition was so great.

Mutezuma broughte the *Spanyardes* to behold this pastyme, and gaue thē to vnderstande, y^t he delyghted much in thys game, and also to sée our men play at Cardes and Dyce.

The number of vviues that Mutezuma
had in his house.

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vtezuma had many houses as wel in *Mexico* as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinary dwelling. To write of al it should be tedious, but where his continual abyding was, he named *Tepac*, that is to say, Pallace. And that Pallace had twenty dores or gates which had their outcomming into the cōmon streates.

It hath thrée courtes, and in the one standeth a fayre fountaine, many halles, and a hundred chambers of twentie-thrée, and thirtie foote long, an hundered bathes & hothouses: and although the building was without nayles, yet very good workmanship.

The walles were made of masons work, and wrought of Marble, Iaspe, and other blacke stone, with vaines of redde, like vnto rubies and other stones, whiche glistered very fayre: the Rooffes wer wrought of Tymber, and curiously carued: the Timber was Cedre, Cipers, & Pynetree: the chambers were painted and hong with cloth of cotten, and clothe made of Conneys haire and feathers. The beddes were poore and of no vallew, for they were nothing but Mantels layde vpon mattes, or vpon Hay, or else mattes alone: fewe men lay within those houses.

There were a thousande women, and some affyrme y^t there were thrée thousand, accounting gentlewomen, seruaunts and slaues: the most were noble mens daughters, *Mutezuma* toke of them for himselfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gaue in mariage to Gentlemen his seruaunts.

The saying was that he had at one tyme a hundreth & fiftie women hys wiues with childe, who through the perswasion of the Deuill tooke Medicines to caste theyr creatures, bycause they knewe that they shoulde not inherite the state:

these hys wiues had many olde women for their Guarde, for no man was permitted to looke vpon them.

The shielde of armes that is sette in his pallyce, and likewyse carried to the warres, is an Eagle soryng vpon a Tiger hys talents bente as takyng pray. Some thynk it is a Gryphon and not an Egle. The Gryphons in time paste, say they, did cause the vale of *Auacatlan* to be dispeopled, for they were greate deuourers of menne, and that theyr abidyng was in the Mountaynes of *Teoacan*: they approue that these Mountains were called *Cuitlachtepelt*, of *Cuitlachtli*, which is a Gryphon bigger than a Lion: but the Spaniardes dyd neuer see any of them.

The *Indians* by theyr olde Pictures doe paynt those Gryphons to haue a kynde of heare and no feathers, and also affirme, that with theyr talandes & téeth they breake mens bones. They haue the courage of a Lion and the countenaunce of an Egle: they paynte him with foure féete, and téeth, with a kinde of downe more lyke wolles than feathers, with his beake, talandes and wings.

And in all those things the picture agreeth with our paynting and wryting, in suche sorte that a Gryphon is no approued naturall Foule, nor yet beast. *Plinie* iudgeth this tale of Gryphons to be lies. There are also other Lordes that giue the Gryphon in their armes, flying with a harte in his Talandes.

A house of Foule, vvhiche vvere onely
preserued for their feathers.

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vtezuma had another house, with very good lodgings and fayre gallaries, buylt vpō pillers of Iaspe, whiche extendeth towarde a goodly garden, in the whiche there are ten pondes or moe, some of salte water for sea foule, & other some of fresh water for riuier foule and lake foule, which pondes are deuised w^t sluyses to emptie & to fill at their pleasure for the cleannesse of the feathers. There is such a number of foule, that scarcely the ponds may holde them, and of suche diuers kindes bothe in feathers and makyng, as sure it was an admiration for the Spaniardes to beholde, for the moste of them they knew not, nor yet had at any tyme séene the lyke. And to euery kynde of foule they gaue suche bayte as they were wont to féede of in the fieldes or Riuers. There did belong to that house thrée hundred persons of seruice: some were to clense the pondes: other some did fishe for bayte: other some serued them with meate: other did loose them and trimme theyr feathers: others had care to looke to their egges: others to sette them abroode: others cured them when they were sicke: and the principallest office was to plucke the feathers: for of them was made riche Mantels, Tapissarie, Targattes, Tuffes of feathers, and many other things wrought with Golde and Siluer: a most perfite worke.

A house of foule for havvking and other *straunge things.*

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here is another house with large quarters & lodgings, which is called a house for foule, not bycause there are more thā in the other, but bycause they bee bigger and to hauke withal, and are foule of rapine, wherfore they are estéemed as more nobler than al the others.

There are in this house many high halles, in the whiche are kept men, women and Children: in some of them are kept suche as are borne white of colour, which doth very seldome happen: in other some are dwarfes, crokebackes, burstenmen, counterfaites, and monstrous persons, in greate number: they say that they vsed to deforme them when they were children, to sette forth the kings greatnesse: euery of these persons were in seuerall Halles by themselues.

In the lower Halles were greate Cages made of Tymber: in some of them were Lyons, in other Tygres, in other Ownzes, in others Wolues: in conclusion, there was no foure footed beaste that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie *Mutezuma* might say that hee had such things in his house.

They were fed with their ordinary, as Gynea cockes, Deare, Dogges, and such like.

There was also in other Halles great Earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherin were snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Vipers, Crocodrilles, whiche they cal *Caymanes*, or *Lizarts* of twenty foote long, wyth suche Scales and head as a Dragon hathe: Also other little Lisarts, and other venemous beastes and Serpentes as well of the water as of the land, a terrible sight for the lokers on.

There were also other Cages for foule of rapyne of all sortes, as Hawkes, Kyghtes, Boyters, and at the least nine or ten kind of Haukes. This house of

foule had of dayly allowance fiue hundred Gynea cockes, and thrée hundred men of seruice, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sortes of Foules that our men knowe not, which séemed by theyr beake and talents good to Hauke withal.

To the Snakes and other venemous beastes they gaue the bloude of men sacrificed, to féede them, and some saye they gaue vnto them mannes fleshe, whych the greate Lysarts doe eate very well. The Spaniardes saw the floure couered with blood like a iealy in a slaughter house, it stonke horribly.

It was straunge to see the officers in this house howe euery one was occupied. Our men tooke greate pleasure in beholding suche straunge thyngs, but they coulde not awaye wyth the roaryng of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolues, the sorowfull yelling of the Ownzes & Tigres, when they would haue meate.

Moste certaine, in the nighte season it séemed a Dongeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Deuill, and euen so it was indéede, for neare at hande was a Hall of a hūdred & fiftie foote long, and thirtie foote broad, where was a Chappel with the Roofe of siluer and gold in leafe Wainescotted, and decked with greate store of pearle and stone, as Agattes, Cornerines, Emeraldes, Rubies, and diuerse other sortes, and thys was the Oratory where *Mutezuma* prayed in the nighte season, and in that chappell the Diuell did appeare vnto hym, and gaue him answeere accordyng to his prayers.

He had other houses lyke vnto Barnes, onely for the feathers of foules, and for mantels whiche procéded of his rentes and tributes, a thing muche to be séene: vpon the dores was sette his armes, whiche was a Connie.

Here dwelled the chiefe officers of his house, as Tresorer, Controller, Receyuers and other officers appertainyng to the Kings reuenewes. *Mutezuma* had no house wherein was not an oratory for the Deuill, whome they worshipped for the Iewels there. And therefore those houses were great and large.

The Armory of Mutezuma.

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vtezuma had some houses of Armour, vpon the dores wherof stoode a bow and arrowes. In these houses was greate store of all kinde of munition whiche they vse in their wars: as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Launces, Dartes, Clubbes, Swordes and Bucklers, and gallant Targettes more trimme than strong, Skulles and Splintes, but not many, and al made of woodde, gilte or couered with leather. The woodde whereof they make their Armour and Targettes, is very harde and strong, for they vse to toaste it at the fire, and at their arrowe endes they inclose a litle péece of flinte stone, or a péece of a fishe bone called *Libisa*, and that is venemous, for if any bée hurte therewith and the head remayne in the wounde, it so festereth, that it is almost incurable.

Theyr swordes are of woodde, and the edge thereof is flint stone, inclosed or ioyned into a staffe, with a certaine kynde of glew whiche is made of a roote called *Zacole* and *Teuxalli*, whiche is a kinde of strong sande, whereof they make a mixture, and after kneade it with bloud of Battes or Rearemice and other foule, which doth glewe maruelous strong, and lightly neuer vncleaueth: of this stuffe they make nayles, pearcers, & ogars, wherwith they bore timber & stone: with theyr swordes they cut speares, yea and a horse necke at a blowe, and make dentes into iron, whiche séemeth a thing vnpossible and incredible. In the Citie no man may weare weapon, but onely in warres, huntyng, and among the kings Guardes.

The Gardens of Mutezuma.

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besides the foresayde houses hée had many others for hys onely recreation and passetye, with excellent fayre gardens of medicinall hearbes, swéete floures, and trées of delectable sauour, whiche were many, and a thing to gyue prayse to God the maker and creator of all.

In that Garden were a thousande personages, made and wrought artificially of leaues and flowers. *Mutezuma* woulde not permitte that in this Garden shoulde be any kynde of potte Hearbes, or thyngs to be solde, saying, that it dyd not appertayne to Kings to haue thyngs of profite among theyr delytes and pleasures, for suche thyngs (sayde hée) dyd appertayne to Merchants.

Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with many and sundry fruites, but they stoode farre from the Cittie, and whyther seldome times hee wente: he had likewise out of *Mexico* pleasaunte houses in wooddes and forrestes, of greate compasse, enuyroned with water, in the which he hadde fountaynes, riuers, pondes with fishe, warrantes of Conneys, rockes & couert where were Harts, Buckes, Hares, Foxes, Wolues, and such like, with wildernesse for euery sort.

To these places the Lords of *Mexico*, vsed to goe and sporte themselues, suche and so manye were the houses of *Mutezuma*, wherein fewe Kings were equall with him.

The court and Guarde of *Mutezuma*.

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e had dayly attending vppon hym in hys priuye garde sixe hundred noble men and gentlemen, and eche of them thrée or foure seruants, and some hadde twenty seruaunts or moe, according to his estate: and in this maner he had thrée thousand men attendant in his court, and some affirm more, al the which were fed in his house of the meate that came from his table.

The seruing men alwayes abode belowe in the court all the daye, and wente not from thence tyll after Supper.

It is to be thought that his Guard was the greater, bycause the straungers were there, although in effecte of troth it is most certayne, that all the Lords that are vnder the *Mexicall* Empire (as they say) are thirtie persons of high estate, who are able to make each of them a hundred thousand men. There are thrée thousand Lordes of Townes, who haue many vassals.

These noble menne did abide in *Mexico* certayne tyme of the yeare, in the Court of *Mutezuma*, and could not departe from thence without especiall licence of the Emperoure, leauing each of them a sonne or brother behinde them for securitie or Rebellion, and for this cause they had generally houses in the Citie: such and so great was the court of *Mutezuma*.

The great subiection of the Indians
to their King.

here is not in all the dominions of *Mutezuma* any subiect that payeth not tribute vnto him. The noblemen paye theyr tribute in personall seruice. The husbādmē called *Maceualtin*, with body & goodes. In this sort they are eyther tenauntes, or else heyres to their possessions. Those which are heyres, do pay one third part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bring vp, as Dogges, Hennes, Foule, Conyes, Gold, Siluer, Stones, Salt, Waxe, Honey, Mantels, Feathers, Cotten, and a certayne fruite called *Cacao*, that serueth for money, and also to eate. Also all kinde of grayne, and garden Herbes and fruites, whereof they do maynteyne themselues.

The Tenantes doe paye monethly or yearely as they can agréē, and bycause their tribute is greate, they are called slaues, for when they maye haue licence to eate egges, they thinke it a greate fauour. It was reported that they were taxed what they shoulde eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went very poorely clothed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthē pottle, wherein they boyled theyr herbes, a couple of Milstones to grinde their Corne, and a matte to lye vpon. They did not onely pay this rente and tribute, but also serued with their bodyes at all times when the great King should commaunde. They were in such great subiectiō to their prince, that they durst not speake one word, although their daughters shoulde be taken from them to be vsed at their pleasure. It was reported, that of euerye thrée sonnes, they deliuered one to be sacrificed, but y^e report was false, for if it had bin true, the Townes had not bin so replenished with people as they were: and also the noble men did not eate mans flesh, but only of those whiche were sacrificed, and they were slaues or prisoners taken in the warres. Assuredly they were cruell butchers, and slewe yearely for that bloudy sacrifice many menne, and some children, but not so many as was reported. All the aforesayde rentes they brought to *Mexico* vpon theyr backes and in boates, I meane so much as was necessary for the prouision of the house and Courte of *Mutezuma*, all the residue was spente among souldyers, and bartred for golde, plate, precious stones, and other riche Iewels, estéemed of

Princes, all the whiche was broughte to the treasury. In *Mexico* was large and greate barnes and houses to receyue and kéepe the Corne for prouision of the Citie, with officers and vnderofficers, who did receyue the same, and kepte accompte thereof in bookes of paynted figures. Also in euerye Towne was a receyuer, who bare in his hand a rodde or a bushe of feathers, and those gaue vp their accomptes in *Mexico*. If any such had bin taken with deceypt and falsehoode, death was his reward, yea and his kinred punished with penalties, as of a lignage of a Traytor to his Prince. The Husbandmenne, if they payd not well their tribute, were apprehended for the same, and if they were founde to bée poore through sicknesse and infirmitie, then they were borne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and slouthfull, they should be vsed accordingly: but in conclusion, if they payde if not at a daye appoynted, then they shoulde bée solde for slaues to pay their dette, or else be sacrificed.

There were many other prouinces, whiche paid a certayne portion, and reknowledged seruice, but this tribute was more of honor than profite. In this sort *Mutezuma* had more than sufficiente to prouide his house & warres, and to heape vp greate store in his treasury. Moreouer, he spent nothing in the buildings of his houses, for of long time he had certayne townes that payd no other tribute, but only to worke and repayre continually his houses at their owne proper cost, and payde all kind of workemen, carrying vpon their backes, or drawing in sleddes, stone, lyme, timber, water, and all other necessities for the worke. Likewise they were bounde to prouide all the fierwod that should be spent in the Court, whiche was a great thing, and did amount to 230. hūdred waight a day, which was fiue hundred mens burthens, and some dayes in the winter much more. And for the Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of Oke trées, whiche was best estéemed for the light thereof, for they were greate sorcerers. *Mutezuma* had 100. cities with their prouinces, of whome he receiued rentes, tributes, & vassalage, where he mainteined garrison of souldiers, & had treasurers in each of thē. His dominiō did extend from the North sea to the South sea, & 600. miles in lōgitude within the maine lād, although in very déed ther

were some towns, as *Tlaxcallō*, *Mechuacan*, *Panuco*, and *Teocantepec*, whiche were his enimies, and payde him neyther tribute nor seruice: but yet the ransome was muche, when any of them were taken.

Also there were other kings and noble men, as of *Tezcuco* and *Tlacopan*, which were not in subiection vnto him, but onely in homage and obedience, for they were of his owne lignage, vnto whome *Mutezuma* married hys daughters.

The scituation of Mexico.

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exico at the time when *Cortes* entred, was a Citie of sixtye thousande houses. The Kings house and other noble mens houses were great, large, and beautifull, the others were small and roynish, without eyther dores or windowes: and although they were small, yet there dwelled in some of them two, thrée, yea and tenne persons, by reason whereof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built vpon the water, euen in the same order as *Venice* is. All the body of the Citie standeth in a greate large lake of water. There is thrée sortes of stréetes very broade and fayre, the one sorte are onely of water, with many bridges, an other sort of onely earth, and the thirde of earth and water, that is to saye, the one halfe earth to walke vpon, and the other halfe for boates to bring prouision of all sorts. These stréetes are kepte alwayes cleane, and the moste parte of the houses haue two dores, the one towarde the calsey, and the other towarde the water, at the whiche they take boate to goe where they list. And although this Citie is founded vppon water, yet the same water is not good to drynke, wherefore there is broughte by conduit water from a place called *Chapultepec*, thrée myles distant from the Citie, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foote whereof standeth two Statues or couered Images wrought in stone, with their Targettes and Launces, the one is of *Mutezuma*, and the other of *Axaiaca* his father.

The water is broughte from thence in two pypes or Canalls in greate quantitie, and when the one is foule, then all the water is conuayed into the other, til the first be made cleane. From this fountayne al the whole Citie is prouided, so that they goe selling the same water from stréete to stréete in little boates, and doe paye a certayne tribute for the same.

This Citie is deuided into two stréetes, the one was called *Tlatelulco*, that is to say, a litle Iland, and the other *Mexico*, where *Mutezuma* his dwelling and courte was, & is to be interpreted a spring. This stréete is the fayrest and most principall, and bycause of the Kings pallace there, the Citie was named *Mexico*, although the old and first name of the Citie was *Tenuchtitlan*, whiche doth signifie fruite out of stone, for the name is compounded of *Tetl*, which is, stone, and *Nuchtli*, which is fruite, called in *Cuba*, *Tunas*. The trée that beareth this fruite, is named *Nopal*, and is nothing almost but leaues of a foote broade and round, and thrée ynches thicke, some more, and some lesse, according to the growth, full of thornes whiche are venemous: the leafe is gréene, and the thorne or pricke russet. After that it is planted, it encreaseth, growing leafe vnto leafe, and the foote thereof commeth to bée as the body of a trée, and one leafe dothe not onely produce another at the poynt, but at the sides of the same leaues procéedeth other leaues: And bycause héere in *Spayne* is of the same trées and fruite, it néedeth no further description.

In some prouinces where water is scante, they vse to drynke the iuice of these leaues. The fruite thereof called *Nuchtli*, is lyke vnto fygges, and euen so hathe hys little kernels or graynes within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned lyke vnto a Medler. There are of them of sundrye coloures, some are gréene without, and Carnationlike within, which haue a good tast. Others are yellowe, and others white, and some speckled: the best sort are the white: it is a fruite that will last long.

Some of them tasteth of peares, and other some of Grapes: it is a colde and fresh fruite, and best estéemed in the heate of Sommer. The *Spanyardes* doe more estéeme them than the *Indians*. The more the grounde is laboured where they growe, the fruite is so muche the better.

There is yet another kinde of this fruite redde, and that is nothing estéemed, although his tast is not euill, but bycause it dothe coloure and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea and maketh his vryne looke like pure bloud. Many *Spanyardes* at their first comming into *India*, and eating this fruite, were

in a maze, and at their wittes ende, thinking that all the bloud in their bodies came out in vryne: yea and manye Phisitions at theyr first comming were of the same beliefe: for it hathe happened, when they haue bin sent for vnto such as haue eaten this fruite, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the vryne, by and by they ministred medicine to staunch bloud: surely a thing to laugh at, to sée the Phisitions so deceyued. Of this fruite *Nuchtli* and *Tetl*, which is a stone, is compounded *Tenuchtlitan*. When this Citie was begunne to bée founded, it was placed néere vnto a great stone that stode in the middest of the lake, at the foote whereof grewe one of these *Nopal* trées, and therefore *Mexico* giueth for armes and devise the foote of a *Nopal* trée springing from a stone, according to the Cities name.

Others do affirme, that this Citie hathe the name of his first founder, called *Tenuch*, béeyng the seconde sonne of *Iztacmixcoatl*, whose sonnes and descendentes did first inhabite thys lande of *Ananac*, called nowe newe *Spayne*.

Howsoever the opinions are, certayne it is that the scituation is called *Tenuchtlitan*, and the dwellers there *Tenuchca Mexico*.

Mexico is as much to say, as a spring or fountayne, according to the propertie of the vowell and spéech.

Others doe affirme, that *Mexico* hathe his name of a more auntiente time, whose firste founders were called *Mexiti*, for vnto this day the *Indian* dwellers in one strete of this citie are called of *Mexica*. The *Mexiti* tooke name of their principallest Idoll called *Mexitli*, who was in as greate veneration as *Vitzilopuchtli*, God of the warre.

Mexico is enuironed with swéete water, and hathe thrée wayes to come vnto it by calsey, the one is from the West, and that calsey is a mile and a halfe long. Another from the North, and conteyneth thrée myles in length. Eastwarde the Citie hathe no entrie. But Southwarde the Calsey is syxe myles long, whyche was the waye that *Cortez* entred into the Citie.

The lake that *Mexico* is planted in, although it séemeth one, yet it is two, for the one is of water saltishe, bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fyshe lyueth

in it. And the other water is wholesome, good and swéete, and bringeth forth small fishe.

The salte water ebbeth and floweth, accordyng to the winde that bloweth. The swéete water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the euill, and reuerteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt lake conteyneth fiftéene miles in breadth and fiftéene in length, and more than fiue and fortie in circuite, and the lake of swéete water conteyneth euen as muche, in such sort, that the whole lake conteyneth more than thirtie leagues, and hath about fiftie townes scituated round about it, many of whyche Townes doe conteyne fiue thousand housholdes, and some tenne thousande, yea and one Towne called *Tezcuco*, is as bigge as *Mexico*. Al this lake of water springeth out of a Mountayne that standeth within sight of *Mexico*. The cause that the one part of the lake is brackishe or saltish, is, that the bottome or ground is all salte, and of that water greate quantitie of salt is dayly made.

In this greate lake are aboue two hundred thousande little boates, which the *Indians* call *Acalles*, and the *Spanyardes* call them *Canoas*, according to the spéeche of *Cuba* and *Santo Domingo*, wrought like a kneding trough: some are bigger than other some, according to the greatnesse of the body of y^e trée whereof they are made. And where I number two hūdred thousand of these boates, I speake of the least, for *Mexico* alone hathe aboue fiftie thousande ordinarily to carrie and bring vnto the Citie victuall, prouision, and passengers, so that on the market day all y^e stréetes of water are full of them.

The Market place of Mexico.

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he Market is called in the *Indian* tong *Tlanquitzli*: euery parish hath his Market place to buy and sel in: but *Mexico*, and *Tlatelulco* only, which are y^e chiefest cities, haue great fayres and places fitte for the same, and especiall^ye *Mexico* hath one place where most dayes in the yea^re is buying and selling, but euery fourth day is the greate Market ordinarily: and the like custome is vsed throughout the dominions of *Mutezuma*.

This place is wide and large, compassed round about with dores, and is so great, that a hundered thousand persons come thither to choppe and change, as a Cittie most principall in all that region. Wherefore the resort is frō farre parties vnto that place. Euery occupatiō and kinde of Marchādise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any means occupy or disturbe. Likewise pesterous wares haue their place accordingl^ye, (that is to say) stone, timber, lyme, bricke, and all kinde of stufte vnwrought, being necessarie to buylde withall. Also mattes both fine and course of sundry workemanship, also coles, woodde, and all sorts of Earthen vessell glazed and painted very curiously: Deare skinn^es both rawe and tanned in haire and without haire, of many colours, for shoemakers, for bucklers, Targets, Ierkins, and lynⁱng of wooden Corselets: also skinn^es of other beastes and foule in feathers ready dressed of all sortes, the colours and straungnesse thereof was a thing to behold. The richest Marchandise was salte, and mantels of Cotten wolle of diuers colours, both great and small, some for beddes, others for garments and clothing, other for Tapissarie to hang houses, other cotten clothe for linnen breaches, shirtes, table clothes, towels, napkins, and suche like things.

There were also Mantels made of the leaues of the trée called *Metl*, and of Palme trée, & Connie heare, which are wel estéemed, being very warm, but y^e

couerlets made of feathers are the best: they sell thréede made of Connie heare, péeces of linnen clothe made of cotten wolfe, also skaynes of thréede of all colours: also it is straunge to see the great store of poultrie that is brought to that market, and although they eate the fleshe of the foule, yet the feathers serue for clothing, mixyng one sorte with another. There are of these foule so many sortes and seuerall colours, that I can not number them: some wilde, some tame, some water foule, and other some of rapine. All the brauery of the market, is the place where golde and feathers ioyntly wrought is solde, for any thyng that is in request is there liuely wrought in golde and feathers and gallant colours. The *Indians* are so expert and perfite in this science, that they will worke or make a Butterflie, any wilde beaste, trées, roses, floures, hearbes, rootes or any other thyng so liuely, that it is a thyng maruelous to behold. It hapneth many tymes that one of these workemen in a whole day will eate nothyng, onely to place one feather in his dew perfection, turnyng and tossing the feather to the lighte of the Sunne, into the shade or darke place, to see where is his moste naturall perfection, and till his worke be finished he will neyther eate nor drinke. There are few nations of so much fleame or sufferance. The Arte or Science of Goldsmiths among them is the moste curious, and very good workemanship engrauen with toles made of flinte, or in moule. They will caste a platter in moule with eight corners, and euery corner of seuerall mettall, that is to say, the one of golde, and the other of siluer, without any kinde of sowder: they will also founde or cast a litle caudren with lose handles hangyng thereat, as we vse to caste a Bell: they will also caste in mould a fish of mettall with one scale of siluer on his back and another of gold: they will make a Parret or Poppingay of mettall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head moue, & his wings flutter: they wil caste an Ape in mold, that both hands & féete shall stirre, & holde a spindle in his hande séeming to spinne, yea and an apple in his hande as though he would eate it. Our Spaniardes were not a litle amazed at the sight of these things, for our Goldsmithes are not to be compared vnto them. They haue skil also of Amell worke, and to sette any pretious stone. But now as touchyng the markette, there

is sell Golde, Siluer, Copper, Leadde, Latton, and Tinne, although there is but little of the thrée laste mettals mentioned. There are Pearles, Pretious stones, diuers and sundry sortes of Shelles, and Bones, Sponges, and other pedlers ware, whiche certainly are many and straunge sortes, yea and a thing to laughe at their Haberdashe toyes and trifles. There are also many kinde of hearbes, rootes, and séedes, as well to be eaten as for Medicine, for bothe men, wemen and chyldren haue great knowledge in hearbes, for through pouertie and necessitie, they séeke them for theyr sustenaunce and helpe of theyr infirmities and diseases. They spende little among Phisitions, although there are some of that Arte, and many Poticaries, who doe bryng into the markette, oyntments, Siroppes, waters, and other drugges fitte for sicke Persons: they cure all diseases almost, with hearbes, yea as much as for to kill lyse they haue a proper hearbe for the purpose.

The seuerall kyndes of meates to be solde is without number, as Snakes without head & taylor, little Dogges gelte, Moules, Rattes, Long wormes, Lyse, yea and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yéere they haue Nettes of mayle with the which they rake vp a certayne duste that is bredde vpon the water of the lake of *Mexico*, and that is knéeded together like vnto oas of the sea: they gather much of this victuall, & kéepe it in heapes, & make thereof cakes like vnto brickebats: they sell not only this ware in y^e market, but also send it abroad to other fayres & markets a far of: they eat this meate w^t as good stomake as we eate chéese, yea and they holde opinion that this skume or fatnesse of the water, is y^e cause that such great number of foule cōmeth to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite.

They sel in this market venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Connies, and Dogges, and many other beastes, which they bring vp for the purpose, and take in huntyng. There are a great number of shoppes that sell all kinde of orfall and tripes. It is a wonder to sée how so much meate ready dressed coulde be spent. There is also fleshe and fishe rosted, boyled and baked, Pies and Custardes made of diuers sortes of egges, the great quantitie of bread is without

number. Also corne of all sortes threshed and vnthreshed. The greate store of sundry kyndes of fruytes is maruellous which are there solde, bothe gréene and ripe: there is one sorte as bigge as Almondes called *Cacao*, whiche is both meate and currant money. There are diuers kind of colours to be solde, whiche they make of Roses, floures, fruites, barks of trées, and other things very excellent: they sell there Honie of sundry kindes, oyle of *Chian*, made of a séede like vnto mustarde séede, and oynting any paynted clothe therewith, the water can not hurte it, they also dresse therewith their meate, although they haue both butter and larde. Theyr sundry sortes of wines shalbe declared in an other place: it woulde be a prolixious thing to rehearse all the things that are to be solde in that markette. There are in this fayre many Artificers, as Packers, Barbars, Cutlers, & may others, although it was thought that among these *Indians* were none such. All the things recited, and many others which I speake not of, are solde in euery market of *Mexico*, all the sellers paye a certaine summe for theyr shops or stādings to the King, as a custome, & they to be preserued and defended from théeues: and for that cause there goe certayne Sergeants or officers vp & downe the market to espie out malefactours. In the middest of the market standeth a house whiche may be séene throughout the fayre, & there sitteth twelue auncient men for iudges to dispatch lawe matters: their buying and selling is to chaunge one ware for another, as thus, one giueth a hen for a bundell of *Maiz*, other giue mantels for salte, or money whiche is *Cacao*, and this is theyr order to choppe and chaunge: they haue measure and strike for all kynde of corne, and other earthen measures for Hony and Wine, and if any measure be falsified, they punish the offenders and breake their measures.

The great Temple of Mexico.

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he Temple is called *Teucalli*, that is to say, Gods house, *Teutl* signifieth God, & *Calli* is a house, a vowell very fitte, if that house had bene of the true God. The Spaniards that vnderstād not the language, do pronounce and call those Temples *Cues*, and the God *Vitzilopuchtli*, *Vchilobos*. There are in *Mexico* many parishe churches, with towres, wherein are chappels and Altares where the images & idols do stande, & those chappels do serue for burial places of their founders, and the Parishioners are buried in the Churchyarde. All their tēples are of one fashion, therefore it shal be nowe sufficient to speake of the cathedral church. And euen as those tēples are al in generall of one making in that citie. I doe beleue that the lyke was neuer séene nor heard off. This temple is square, & doth containe euery way as much ground as a crossebow can reach leuell: it is made of stone, with foure dores that abutteth vpon the thrée calseys, and vpon an other parte of the Cittie, that hath no calsey but a fayre streate.

A straunge dore.

In the middest of this Quadern standeth a mount of earth and stone square lykewise, and fiftie fadom long euery way, buylte vpward like vnto a pyramide of Egipt, sauynge the toppe is not sharpe, but playne and flatte, and tenne fadom square: vppon the weast side, were steppes vp to the toppe, in number an hundreth and fourtene, whiche beyng so many, high, and made of good stone dyd séeme a beautifull thing. It was a straunge sight to beholde the Priestes, some goyng vp, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Vpon the toppe of this Temple are two great Alters, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or brimme of the wall, that scarcely a man mought go behind them at pleasure. The one Alter standeth on the right hande, & the other on the left, they were but of fiue foote highe, eche of them had the

backe part made of stone, paynted with mōstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was fayre & well wrought of Masons worke & timber, euery Chappell had thrée loftes one aboue another, susteyned vpon pillers, & with y^e height thereof it shewed like vnto a fayre tower, and beautified the Cittie a farre of: from thence a man mought see all the cittie and townes rounde aboute the lake, whiche was vndoubtedly a goodly prospect. And bycause *Cortes* & his company shoulde see the beautie therof, *Mutezuma* brought him thither, and shewed hym all the order of the Temple, euen from the foote to the toppe. There was a certaine plot of space for the idoll priests to celebrate their seruice without disturbance of any. Their general prayers were made toward y^e rising of the sunne. Vpon ech alter standeth a great idoll. Beside this tower that standeth vpon the pyramide, there are fourtie towers great & small belonging to other little tēples which stand in the same circuite, the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not westwarde, but otherwayes, bicause there should be a difference betwixte the great temple & them. Some of these Temples were bigger than others, and euery one of a seuerall God, among the whiche there was one rounde temple dedicated to the God of the ayre called *Quecalcouatl*, for euen as the ayre goeth rounde aboute the heauens, euen for that consideration they made his temple rounde. The entraunce of that Temple had a dore made lyke vnto the mouth of a Serpent, and was paynted with foule and Diuelish gestures, with great téeth & gummes wrought, whiche was a thing to feare those that should enter in thereat, & especially the Christians vnto whom it represented very Hel with that ougly face and monstrous téeth.

There were other *Teucalles* in the citie, that had the ascending vp by steps in thrée places: all these temples had houses by thēselues with all seruice & priests & particular Gods. At euery dore of the great temple standeth a large Hall & goodly lodgings, both high and lowe round about, which houses were cōmon armouries for the Citie, for the force and strength of euery towne is the temple, and therefore they haue there placed their storehouse of munition. They had other darke houses full of idols, greate & small, wrought of sundry mettals, they are all

bathed and washed with blood, and do shewe very blacke through theyr dayly sprinklyng and anoynting thē with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea & the walles are an inche thicke with blood, and the ground is a foote thicke of blood, so that there is a diuelish stench. The Priests or Ministers goe daylye into those Oratories, and suffer none others but great personages to enter in. Yea and when any such goeth in, they are bounde to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hangmen and ministers of the Diuell may washe their handes in blood of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

For their seruice in the kitchin they haue a ponde of water that is filled once a yéere, which is brought by conduct from the pryncipal fountayne. All the residue of the foresayde circuite serueth for places to bréede foule, with gardens of hearbes and swéete trees, with Roses and floures for the Altars. Such, so great & straunge was this temple of *Mexico*, for the seruice of the Diuell who had deceiued those simple *Indians*. There dothe reside in the same temple continually fiue thousand persons, and all they are lodged and haue theyr liuing there, for that tēple is maruellous riche, & hath diuers townes onely for their maintenaunce and reparation, and are bounde to sustayne the same alwayes on foote. They doe sowe corne, and maintayne all those fiue thousande persons with bread, fruyte, flesh, fishe, and firewoodde as much as they néede, for they spende more fire woodde than is spent in the kings courte: these persons doe liue at their hartes ease, as seruauntes and vassals vnto the Goddes. *Mutezuma* brought *Cortes* to this temple, bicause his men shoulde see the same, and to enforme them of his religion and holinesse, wherof I will speake in an other place, being the most straunge and cruellest that euer was heard off.

The Idols of Mexico.

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he Gods of *Mexico*, were two thousand in number, as the *Indians* reported, the chieftest were *Vitcilopuchtli* and *Tezcatlipuca*, whose images stoode highest in the Temple vppon the Altars: they were made of stone in ful proportion as bigge as a Gyant. They were couered with a lawne called *Nacar*. These images were besette with pearles, precious stones, & péesces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and floures, adorned with Emeralds, Turquies, Calcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne *Nacar* was taken away, the Images séemed very beautifull to beholde.

A vvicked attire.

The Image had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for collors or chaynes about their neckes, ten hartes of men, made of golde, and each of those Idolles had a counterfaite visor with eies of glasse, and in their necks death painted: eache of these things hadde their considerations and meanings. These two Goddes were brethren, for *Tezcatlipuca* was the God of Prouidence, and *Vitcilopuchtli* God of the warres, who was worshipped and feared more than all the rest.

A madde offering.

There was another God, who hadde a greate Image placed vppon the toppe of the Chappell of Idols, and hée was estéemed for a speciall and singular God aboue all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of séedes that groweth in that Countrey, and being ground, they made a certayne past, tempered with childrens bloud, and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with their razures in the breastes, and their heartes taken out, to offer as first fruites vnto the Idoll. The Priestes and Ministers doe consecrate this Idoll with great pomp and many Ceremonies. All the *Comarcans* and Citizens are presente at the consecration, with great triumph

and incredible deuotion. After the consecration, many devoute persons came and sticked in the dowy Image precious stones, wedges of golde, and other Iewels. After all this pomp ended, no secular man mought touche that holye Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarcely religious persons, except they were *Tlamacaztli*, who are Priestes of order. They doe renue this Image many times wyth new dough, taking away the olde, but then blessed is hée that can get one péece of the olde ragges for reliques, and chiefly for souldyers, who thought themselues sure therwith in the warres. Also at the consecration of thys Idoll, a certayne vessell of water was blessed with manye wordes and ceremonyes, and that water was preserued very religiously at the foote of the altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to blesse any Captayne generall, when he shoulde be elected for the warres, with only giuing him a draught of that water.

The Charnell house or place of dead *mens sculles for remembrance of death.*

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ithout the temple, and ouer againste the principall dore thereof, a stones cast distant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads prisoners in warres and sacrificed with the knife.

This monument was made like vnto a Theatre, more larger than broade, wrought of lyme and stone, with ascending steppes, in the walles whereof was graffed betwixt stone and stone a skul with the téeth outwards.

At the foote and head of this Theatre, were two Towers, made only of lime and skulles, the téeth outwarde, and this wall hauing no other stuffe, séemed a straunge sight. At and vppon the toppe of the Theatre, were 70. polles, standing the one from the other foure or fiue foote distant, and eache of them was full of staues from the foote to the toppe. Each of these staues had others made fast vnto them, so that euery of them had fiue skulles broched through the temples. *Andrewe de Tapia* did certifie me, that he and *Gonsalo de Vmbria* dyd reckon them in one daye, and founde a hundred thirtie and sixe thousande skulles on the polles, staues, and steppes. The other Towers were replenished out of number, a most cruell custome, being only mens heads slaine in sacrifice, although it hath a shewe of humanitie for the remembrance there placed of death. There are also men appoynted, that when one skull falleth, to set vp another in his place, so that the number may neuer want.

Hovv Cortez tooke Mutezuma *prisoner.*

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ernando Cortez and his companye, were sixe dayes in beholding and perusing the scituation of the Citie, and secretes of the same, with the notable thinges before rehearsed: they were often visited by *Mutezuma*, & the Gentlemen of hys Courte, and abundantly prouided of things necessarye for his vse, and the *Indians* of his companie.

A svveete bedde.

Determination of Cortez.

Likewise his Horses were cherished and serued with gréene barley and grasse, whereof there is plentie all the yeare: Likewise of corne, meale, roses, and of all thynges that their owners would request, in so much that beddes of floures were made for them in place of litter. But yet notwithstanding, although they were in this sorte cherished, and also lodged in so riche a Countrey, where they mighte fyll their purses, they were not yet all contente and merrie, but rather with great feare and care, especially *Cortes*, who hadde the onely care as head and chiefe Captayne for the defence of hys fellowes, hée (I saye) was pensiue, noting the scituation of the Citie, the infinite number of people, the state and maiestie of *Mexico*, yea and some disquietnesse of hys owne companie, who woulde come and laye vnto hys charge the snare and nette that they were in, thynkyng it a thyng vnpossible that anye of them coulde escape, if *Mutezuma* were therevnto determined, or else with the least muteny in the worlde, that mought be raysed in the Citie, although that euery inhabitant shoulde throw but one stone at them, or else to breake vp the drawbridges, or withdrawing their victuals, things verye easie to bée done. With this greate care that he had of the preseruacion of his fellowes, and to remedie the perill and daunger that he stoode in, he determined to apprehēd *Mutezuma*, and to builde foure Foystes to haue the lake in

subiection, which he hadde tofore ymagined, and without the apprehension of the King, he coulede not come by the Kingdome: he would very gladly haue buylt the Foystes out of hand, but he left off that pretence, only bycause he would not delay the emprisonment of *Mutezuma*, wherein consisted the effect of all his businesse, so that forthwith he minded to put in execution his intent, without gyuing any of his company to vnderstand thereof.

Treasury of Mutezuma.

The quarrell wherewith he had armed himselfe for that purpose, was, that the Lorde *Qualpopoca* hadde slayne nine *Spanyardes*: likewise encouraged him the greate presumption of his letters written to the Emperour *Charles* his king, wherein he wrote that he would take *Mutezuma* prisoner, and dispossesse him of his Empyre. These causes considered, he tooke the letters of *Pedro Hircio*, wherein was written, how *Qualpopoca* was the cause of the death of nine *Spanyardes*, and put those letters into his pocket, and walking vp and downe his lodging, tossyng too and fro these ymaginations in his brayne, full of care of the great enterprise that he had in hande, yea he hymselfe iudging the matter doubtfull, and his head béeyng in this sort occupied, he chanced to espye one wall more whiter than the rest, and beholding the same, he sawe that it was a dore lately dammed vp, & callyng vnto him two of his seruants (for all the residue were asléepe) bycause it was late in the nighte, he opened that dore, and went in, and there found sundry halles, some with Idols, some with gallant feathers, Iewels, precious stones, plate, yea and such an infinite quantitie of golde, that the sight thereof amazed him, and other gallant things that made him to maruell. He shutte thys dore agayne as well as he moughte, withoute touching any part of that treasure, bycause he woulde not make any vpror therabout, nor yet to delay the emprisonment of *Mutezuma*, for that treasure was alwayes there to be had.

The nexte daye in the morning came certayne *Spanyardes* vnto hym, and manye *Indians* of *Tlaxcallon*, saying that the Citizens did goe about to conspire their deathe, and to breake downe the bridges of the calseys, to bryng their

purpose the better to passe. So that with this newes, béeyng true or false, *Cortes* left the one halfe of his men to defende and kéepe his lodging, and at euery crosse stréete he planted mē, and the residue he sent to the Court by two and two, and thrée and thrée, and he hymselfe came to the pallaice, saying that he must talke wyth *Mutezuma* of matters that did emport their liues. *Cortes* was secretely armed. *Mutezuma* hearyng howe *Cortez* attended for hym, came forth and receyued him, taking him by the hand, and placed him in his seate. Thirtie *Spanyardes* wayted vpon *Cortez*, and the residue abode without at the dore.

Cortez saluted *Mutezuma* according to his accustomed manner, and began to rest and talke merily as hée was wont to do. *Mutezuma* béeyng carelesse of the thing that Fortune hadde prepared agaynste hym, was also very merrie, and pleased with that conuersation. He gaue vnto *Cortes* Iewels of golde, and one of his daughters, and other noble mens daughters to others of his company. *Cortes* receyued the gift, for otherwise it hadde bin a frent vnto *Mutezuma*. But yet he enformed him, that he was a married man, and that he coulde not marrie with his daughter, for the Christian law did not permitte the same, nor yet that any Christian mought haue more than one wife, vppon payne of infamy, and to be marked in the forehead.

After all this talke ended, *Cortez* tooke the letters of *Pedro Hircio*, and caused them to be interpreted vnto *Mutezuma*, makyng hys grievous complaynte agaynste *Qualpopoca*, who hadde slayne so many *Spanyardes* through hys commaundement, yea and that his subiectes had published, that they would kill the *Spanyardes*, and breake downe the bridges.

Mutezuma excused himselfe earnestly, as well of the one as of the other, saying, the report giuen out agaynste hys subiectes was false and vntrue, and as for *Qualpopoca* who had slayne the *Spanyardes*, he was innocent thereof: and bycause that he shoulde sée the troth, he called incontinent certayne of his seruauntes, commaunding thē to goe for *Qualpopoca*, and gaue vnto them his seale, whiche was a stone that he ware at his wrest, engraued with the figure of the God *Vitzilopuchtli*, and the messengers departed therewith incontinent.

Cortez replied and sayd: My Lord, your highnesse must goe with me to my lodging, and there abide, vntill youre messengers returne with *Qualpopoca*, and the certaynetie of the deathe of my men: In my lodging youre highnesse shall rule and commaund as you do héere in Court, your person shall bée well vsed, wherefore take you no care, for I will haue respecte vnto youre honor, as to myne owne proper, or the honor of my Kyng, beséeching you to pardon me in this my request, for if I shoulde doe otherwise, and dissemble with you, mine own company would be offended with me, saying that I doe not defende them, according to duetie. Wherefore commaund your householde seruauntes to repose themselues without alteration, for be you assured, that if any hurte come vnto me, or vnto anye of mine, youre person shall pay the same with life, considering that it lyeth in youre hand to goe quietly with me.

Mutezuma was sore amazed, saying, Sir, my person is not fytted to be a prisoner, yea, and though I woulde permitte the same, my subiectes would not suffer.

They abode arguing the matter néere foure houres, and at length *Mutezuma* was content to goe, hauing promise that he should rule and gouerne as he was wont to do. *Cortes* cōmaunded a place in his lodging to be trimmed for him, and he went forthwith thither with *Cortes*. There came many noble men barefooted, wéeeping and lamenting the case, carrying their best garmentes vnder their armes, and brought a rich seate, whereon *Mutezuma* was placed, & they carried hym vpon their shoulders.

A sorowful pastime.

When it was blowen abroade in the Citie that *Mutezuma* was carried prisoner to the *Spanyards* lodging, all the Citie was on an vpror: but yet *Mutezuma* did comfort the Gentlemen that carried and followed him wéeeping, praying them to ceasse their lamentation, saying that he was not prisoner, nor yet went with the Chrystians againste his will, but for his onely pleasure. *Cortes* appointed a *Spanish* garde for him, with a Captayne, the which he dayly changed, and had *Spanyards* always in his cōpany to make him pastime. Also poore *Mutezuma*

was cōtented with their conuersation, & gaue thē stil rewards. He was serued with his owne seruāts *Indiās*, as at home in his pallace. *Cortes* always intreated him to put off sadnes, & to be merrie, permitting him to dispatch suters, & to deale in all affayres of his estate, & to comune and talke openly or secretely with his noble mē as he was wont to do, and that was but onely a bayte to bring them to the hooke. There was neuer Greeke nor Romaine, nor any other nation since the name of Kings was ordeyned, dyd gyue y^e lyke enterprise, as *Hernando Cortez* did, in taking *Mutezuma* prisoner in his owne house, béeing a most mighty King, & in a most strong fort among infinite people, he hauyng but only 450. companions.

The recreation of Hunting, vvhicke *Mutezuma vsed.*

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vtezuma had not only al the libertie that he desired in the Citie, béeyng prisoner among the *Spanyardes*, but also *Cortes* permitted him to hunt and hauke, or to go to the temple, for he was very deuoute, and a great hunter.

When he went a hunting, he was carried vpon mens shoulders with eyght or ten *Spanyards* in his guard, and thrée thousande *Mexicans*, who were Gentlemen, his seruants, and hunters, of whome he hadde a great number, some to séeke the game, others to beate the couertes, and others to marke. Some of those Hunters were only for hares and connyes, other for all sorts of Déere, Wolues, foxes, and such like. They were very perfite with theyr bowes, and good markemē, for he that missed his marke at fourescore pases distant was punished. It was strange to sée the number of people that wente with him on hunting, and to sée the slaughter of beasts killed, with hande, stauies, nettes, and bowes, some of those beastes were tame, and other braue and fearefull, as Lyons, Tigers, and Ounces. It is a harde thing to take a fierce Lion in hunting as they do, being in manner a naked people, and the beast couragious and strong, but yet the Prouerbe saith, slight and cunning is better than strength.

It is a more straunge thyng to take any foule that flieth in the ayre as their Fauconers doe, for after they haue once marked and set eye vpon any foule, the Faulconers of *Mutezuma* will vnder take to catch him, although the foule be neuer so swifte of wing, beyng at the least so commaunded by the King. It happened one day that *Mutezuma* stooode in his gallerie with his Guard of *Spanyardes*, who had espied a fayre Hauke sorryng in the ayre, oh quoth they what a fayre Hauke flieth yonder, *Mutezuma* hearyng their talke, called vnto him certayne of his Faulconers, commaundyng them to followe that Hauke & to

bring him vnto him. The Faulconers wente to fulfill his request, and followed that foule with such diligence, that in shorte space they brought the Hauke vnto him, who presented the same vnto the Spanyards, a thing truely almoste incredible, but yet certified by worde and wrytings of the present witnesses. Their chiefest and most pleasant pastime of Hauking was, of Kightes, Rauens, Crowes, Pies, and other birdes of hardie stomake and slowe in flight, greate and small of all sortes, for the which he had Egles, Buyters, and other foule of rapyne marueylous swifte of wing, and suche as would mounte very high in the ayre, with the whiche they murdered Hares, Wolues, and (as some say) Hartes.

He had other foulers, that vsed Nettes, Snares, and sundry engins. *Mutezuma* vsed much to shoote in a tronke, and with his bow killed many wilde beastes. His houses of pleasure as I haue before declared, stode sixe myles from the Citie in pleasant wooddes: and alwayes when he went a huntynge after the tyme that he was prysoner, the same day he would returne agayne to *Cortes* his lodging, although he banketed & feasted with the Spaniardes at his places of sporting and pastime, and would alwayes at his returne to his lodgyng giue some present vnto thē, that had accompanied him that day.

Cortes seyng the liberalitie of *Mutezuma*, sayde vnto him: sir, my company are vnruely fellowes, and as I vnderstand, they haue founde out some of your treasure, and haue made spoyle thereof: wherfore I would know your pleasure what shal be done with thē. And in effect it was the treasure that *Cortes* himselfe had founde out. *Mutezuma* answered, saying, sir that treasure which they haue founde, did appertayne vnto the Goddes: But yet notwithstanding, let them leaue the feathers, and all suche things as are neyther golde nor siluer, and all the residue take for you and them, and if you will haue more, I will prouide it for you.

Hovv Cortez began to plucke dovvne
the Idols of Mexico.

hen *Mutezuma* went vnto the temple, he went leaning vpon a noble mans arme, or else was leade betwéene two, and a noble personage wente alwayes before him with thrée small wandes in his hande, signifying thereby that the King in person was there at hand, and in token also of iustice and correction. If he had bene carried vpon mens shoulders then at his alighting downe he tooke one of those roddes into his owne hand. He was a Prince ful of ceremonies in al his doings, but the substaunce of his estate is already declared, from the time that *Cortes* entred into *Mexico* vntil this present. Those first dayes that the Spaniardes came to the Citie, & as often as *Mutezuma* went to the temple, *Indian* men were slayne in sacrifice. And to prohibite suche adhominaible crueltie & sinne, cōmitted in the presence of the Christians who wēt in company of *Mutezuma*, *Cortes* required *Mutezuma* to commmaunde that no mans fleshe should be any more spoyled, or bloud shedde in sacrifice, and in not fulfilling his request, he would destroy bothe the temple and Cittie. Also he signified vnto him, that he himselfe woulde throw downe the idols, before his presence and all the Citizens.

Mutezuma replied to his demaūd, saying: It may please you to leaue of your determination, least that in so doing all the Citie fall into an vprore and rebellion to defende their good Gods, and auncient Religion, the which Gods had alwayes prouided them of water, bread, health, light, and all other things néedefull. This notwithstanding, the first time that *Mutezuma* wente to the temple after his imprisonment, *Cortes* and his company wente with him, and euery of them layde handes vpon the idols, & threwe them downe headlong from their seates, and Altars, and other Chapels. *Mutezuma* with this sight was in great agonie, yea and his subiects ready to take weapon to slay them there present, but yet *Mutezuma* commaunded his subiectes to stay from their pretence: beséechyng *Cortes* to stay from his procéedings, at whose request *Cortes* ceased, for he thought, as yet time serued not for the purpose and pretence: but he declared vnto them by his interpreters as followeth.

The exhortation that Cortez made
to Mutezuma and to the Citizens of Mexico, concerning their Idols.

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Il creatures in the world (mightie prince, and yée Gentlemen and religious persons whether it be yée here or we in Spayne, or whatsoeuer other nation that it may be) haue I say, all one begynnyng and ending of mortall lyfe, whiche is had from God: we are al formed and made of one mettall, and haue all soules and senses, euen so doubtlesse as we are like in proportion of body and soule, yea and kinsfolke in bloud, although that by the prouidence of the same our God, some are borne fayre and beautifull, and other some fowle and disfigured: some of one colour, and some of another: some prudent and wise, and other some fonde and foolishe, without eyther iudgement or vertue: in the which his maruellous works God sheweth himselfe iuste, holy and almightie, giuyng those seuerall giftes, to the entent that the wise and learned mought teache the rude and ignorant, and to guyde the blinde into the right way of saluation, by the steppes of true and vnfayned religion.

Therefore I and my fellowes, as your gestes and kinsmen, according to equitie doe procure and wish the same vnto you. A man and his life consisteth in thrée things as yée shal vnderstande, that is body, soule, and goodes: as for your goodes and ritches, whiche is the least that wée desire, for yée know well that we haue taken nothing forcible from you, but onely those things whiche yée haue fréely and liberally giuen vs. Likewise we haue not hurt, misused or molested your persons, wiues or chyldren, nor yet do meane any such thing, your soules health onely is the thing we séeke, for your saluation, and that we nowe pretende to shewe, and to giue vnto you perfite notice of the true and euerlasting God. There is none of naturall iudgement can denie, but that there is one God, but yet through ignoraunce and deceyte of the Diuell, will also thinke that there are

many Goddes, and not acerte vnto the true God. But I doe say and moste assuredly certifie you, that there is no other true God, but onely he whome we Christians doe serue, adore, and worshippe, the which is one eternall, without beginnyng and without ende, the onely creator & gouernour of things created: he alone made the Heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres, the whiche his creatures ye doe worship: he (I say) founded and made the Sea, and the sundry and maruelous fishes therein: he planted and made the lande with all the monstrous beastes therein, foules likewise in the ayre, Plantes, Hearbes, Stones and suche like. Al the whiche creatures ye as blinde and ignorant do hold for Goddes.

It vvas maruel that Cortes vvas not taken for an heretike.

Our almighty God after he had finished and made all the former workes with his own blessed hands, made one man & one woman, and being so formed and wrought, he put a soule and breath into each body, and then deliuered the worlde vnto them, shewyng them Paradise and glory. So that of that manne and woman, we all mortall menne procéded in generation, and in this sorte are the handy worke of God, kinsmen and brethren. Nowe if we will come vnto God our father, it is néedefull and necessary that we be good, vertuous, pitifull, innocent and vnder obedience, the whiche yée can not be if you worshippe statues, images, idols, and vse bloudy sacrifice of mans fleshe. Is there any of you that would willingly be slayne? no truely: why then doe you slea other so cruelly, and where you can put no soules, why doe you take them from thence? there is none of you, nor your false Gods, that can make soules, nor can forge mens bodies of fleshe and bone, for if yée coulde, there is none of you would be without children, accordyng to your owne appetite and desire, in fashion, beautie and workemanship. But where our God of heauen dothe make al creatures, he vseth therein his owne discretion, and giueth chyldren to whome hée pleaseth: and therefore is he GOD alone, and for these causes shoulde yée haue, estéeme, and worshippe him for suche a mightie God, desiryng of him by prayers to giue rayne and temperature, that the earth may bryng foorth Corne, Fruite, Hearbes,

Fleshe, Foule, and all other necessities for the sustentation of lyfe. All these thyngs the harde stones giueth not vnto you, no nor yet your dry wooden images & colde mettall, neyther yet the small séedes wherewith your seruants and slaues, with theyr filthy handes doe make these images and foule statues, the whiche yée doe worshippe. O what fonde people and madde religious persons, who worship theyr owne workemanshippe, doe ye thynke that they are Gods that rotte and moldre away, and haue no lyfe, and can neyther helpe nor kill: Therefore I say vnto you, that nowe and hereafter there is no cause that yée shoulde haue any moe idolles, nor yet any moe slaughters for sacrifice, no nor yet to make any moe prayers or supplications vnto them, beyng bothe Blinde, Deafe, and Dumme.

Will yée knowe who is God, and where he is: lifte vp your eyes vnto Heauen, and then shall you vnderstande that aboue is a Godhead or Deitie that moueth the heauens, and gouerneth the course of the Sunne, ruleth the Lande and replenisheth the Sea, who prouideth for Man and Beast bothe Corne and Water. This God whome yée nowe imagine in your hartes, him (I say) serue and worshippe, not with death of menne or blouddy sacrifice abominable, but with deuotion and humble prayer as we Christians doe. And consider well, that to teach and instruct you these things, was the cause of our commyng hither.

With this exhortation, *Cortes* aplaked the yre of the Priestes and Citizens: theyr idols beyng throwen downe, *Mutezuma* tooke order that no moe shoulde be sette vp, commaundyng to swéepe and make cleane the Chappels of the stinking bloud that was in thē, forbidding sacrifice of mans flesh. *Mutezuma* and his officers made a solēpne vowe and promise to permitte no more slaughter of men, and to set vp a Crosse for remembrance of the death and passion of Iesu Christe borne of the virgin Marie. The whiche their promisse was well fulfilled, for after that day the Spanyardes coulde neuer heare nor finde of any moe sacrifice: But yet there abode in their hartes a mortall rancor, the whiche coulde not long be dissimuled.

Truely in this worthy facte *Cortes* gotte more honour than though he had

ouercomen them in battayle.

The burning of the Lorde Qualpopoca and other Gentlemen.

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fter twentie dayes that *Mutezuma* had bene prysoner, returned the messengers who had gone with the seale for *Qualpopoca*, and brought him, his Sonne, and other fiftene principall persons, with them, the whiche by inquirie made, were culpable and partakers in the counsell and death of the nine Spaniardes. *Qualpopoca* entred into *Mexico* accompanied like a greate Lorde as he was, beyng borne vpon his seruaunts shoulders in rich furniture. As sone as he had saluted *Mutezuma*, he & his Sonne were deliuered vnto *Cortes*, with the other fiftene Gentlemen. *Cortes* placed them asunder, and commaunded them to be put in Irons, and theyr examinations taken, they confessed that they had slayne those Spaniardes in battayle.

Cortes demaunded of *Qualpopoca* if he were subiect to *Mutezuma*, why (quoth he) is there any other Prince to whome I might be in subiection? giuing almost to vnderstand that he was a Lorde absolute. *Cortes* answered, that a farre greater Prince was the King of Spayne, whose subiects vnder colour of friendship and salfeconduct he had slayne. But (quoth he) nowe shalte thou make payment thereof. And beyng agayne more straighter examined, they confessed that they had slaine two Spaniards by the aduice and inducement of the greate prince *Mutezuma*, and the residue were slayne in the warres, and had assaulted their houses, and entred their countrey, wherefore they helde it lawfull to kill them.

Through the confession pronounced by their owne mouthes, sentence was giuen against them, and they condēned to be burned, whiche sentence was openly executed in the market place in sight of all the people, without any mutine or slaunder, and with great silence, terrour & feare of the newe maner of

iustice which they sawe there executed vpon so noble a man, in the chiefe seate and kyngdome of *Mutezuma*, beyng gestes and straungers.

The cause of the burnyng of *Qualpopoca*.

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t the time that Cortes departed from *Vera Crux*, he left in cōmission to *Pedro Hircio*, to procure to inhabite in that place which is called *Almeria*, & not to permit *Francisco de Garray* to sojourne there, for so much as once he was driuen frō that coast. Now *Hircio* to fulfill his cōmission, sente to requyre those *Indians* with peace and friēdship, and to yéeld themselues for vassals of the Emperour. *Qualpopoca* Lorde of *Nahutlan*, which is now called as aforesaid *Almeria*, sent to aduertise *Pedro Hircio*, that he could not come to yéelde his obedience, for the enimies that were in the way: but if it would please him to sende some of his men, for the securitie of the way, he would willyngly come vnto him.

Hircio hearing this answere, sent foure of his men, giuing credite to his message, and for the desire he hadde to inhabite there.

When the foure *Spanyardes* came into the prouince of *Nahutlan*, there mette with them many armed men, who slew two of them, and made thereof a great triumph: the other two escaped sore wounded, and returned with that newes to the Towne of *Vera Crux*. *Pedro Hircio* beléeuing that *Qualpopoca* had done that iniurie, armed out agaynst hym fiftie *Spanyardes*, and ten thousand *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, with two horses, and two péeces of Ordinance.

Qualpopoca hearing this newes, came with a mightie power to driue them out of his Countrey, and in that encounter, seauen *Spanyardes* were slayne, and many *Zempoallanezes*, but at the ende he was ouercome, his Countrey spoyled, and Towne sacked, and many of his army slaine and taken captiues. The prisoners declared, that by the commaundement of the greate Lorde *Mutezuma*, all this vprere was attempted by *Qualpopoca*: it mighte well be, for at the houre

of death they confessed the same. But some affirme, they sayde so, but to excuse themselves, and to lay the fault to the *Mexicans*. *Hircio* wrote these newes to *Cortez* béeyng in *Chololla*, and through these letters *Cortez* apprehended *Mutezuma* (as is afore declared.)

Hovv Cortez put a payre of giues
on Mutezuma his legges.

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efore the execution of *Qualpopoca* and hys fellowes, *Cortes* declared vnto *Mutezuma*, that *Qualpopoca* and his company had confessed, that by hys aduice and commaundemente, the nine *Spanyardes* were slayne, wherein he had done very euill, they being his friendes and gwestes: but (quoth he) if it were not in respect of the loue I beare vnto you, this matter shoulde not in this sort be shut vp, and then knocked a payre of giues on his legges, saying, he that killeth ought to be killed, according to the lawes of God. These things did *Cortes*, bycause he shoulde occupye himselfe in his owne grieve and sorrow, and to let other mens passe.

Mutezuma waxed pale w^t countenāce of death, through the great feare that he was in, séeyng himselfe in Irons, a new and strange thing for suche a great King, excusing himselfe that he was innocent of the facte. And as soone as the execution of burning was done, *Cortez* commaunded to put away the Irons that *Mutezuma* ware, offering him libertie, and willing him to goe vnto his owne pallace, who reioyced much to see himselfe out of the Irons, and gaue *Cortes* most hartie thanks, and refused to goe home to his owne pallace, surmising that the offer was but wordes, or else fearing least his subiects woulde kyll him, séeing him out of the *Spanyardes* power, for permitting himselfe to be taken prisoner, and so to be kept. Hée sayd also, that if he went from them, his subiectes woulde rebell, and compell him to kill the *Spanyardes*.

Truly the poore simple soule was of small heart and courage, to suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner, and after his imprisonment woulde neuer procure libertie, *Cortes* offering it vnto him, and many of his noble men desiring him. And remayning in that order, there was none in *Mexico* durst offende any

Spanyard for feare of displeasing him, for *Qualpopoca* came 70. leagues with only warning him that the great Lorde had sent for him, shewing hym the figure of his seale: yea and al the péeres of his realme that dwelte farthest off, were ready to obey hys commaundementes.

Hovv Cortez sent to seeke for Mines *of golde into diuers places.*

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ortez had a greate desire to know howe farre the Empire of *Mutezuma* dyd extende, and what friendship was betwixte him and other Kings and Princes Comarcans, and also to gather together a good summe of gold, to send to *Spayne* to the Emperoure for his custome or fifte parte, with full relation of the Countrey people, and things happened untill that day. Wherefore he prayed *Mutezuma* to shew him where the mynes were, from whence he and his subiectes had the golde and plate. *Mutezuma* graunted to his request, and incontinent appoynted eyght *Indians*, of the which four were Goldsmythes, who had knowledge and vnderstanding of Mynes, and the other foure were guydes for the iourney. He commaunded them that by two and two they shoulde goe into foure prouinces, that is to say *Zucolla*, *Malinaltepec*, *Tenich*, and *Tutepec*, with other eyghte *Spanyardes* whiche *Cortez* appoynted, to haue knowledge of the riuers and mynes of gold, and to bring a moster of the same. The eyght *Spanyardes* departed on their iourney, with the other eyghte *Indians*, with tokens from *Mutezuma*. *Zucolla* is 80. leagues from *Mexico*, and the Lord thereof is subiect to *Mutezuma*, who shewed vnto the *Spanyardes* thrée riuers with golde, and gaue of each riuier a moster thereof, although it were but little, for with want of knowledge they knew not wel the māner how to get it out of the riuier. These messengers in their iourney too and fro, passed through thrée prouinces full of people and habitatiō, with good buildings & frutefull ground, and the people of the one of them called *Tlamacolapan*, are of good reason and iudgemente, and better apparelled than the *Mexicans*.

Malinaltepec is 70. leagues from *Mexico*, from whence also they brought mosters of golde, the which is had out of a great riuier, by the naturals of that

Countrey.

Tenich standeth vp towarde the head of the same riuer of *Malinaltepec*, who are people of another language, and would not permitte our men to haue relation of the thing that they sought. The Lorde of that place is called *Coatelicamatl*, who is not subiecte to *Mutezuma*, nor yet is his friende, thinking that his men hadde bin espyes: but when he was enformed who they were, he gaue the *Spanyardes* licence to be resolued of their affayres, but straitly commaunded, that the *Indians* of *Mexico* should not presume to come into his dominion. When the *Mexicans* hearde these newes, they required the *Spanyardes* not to credite that *Cazike*, saying, that he was an euill and a cruell man, and would surely kill them. Our men were somewhat amazed, fearing to talke with *Coatelicamatl*, although they hadde his licence, séeyng the people of the countrey armed with Launces of fiue and twenty foote lōg: but yet at lēgth leauing cowardise aside, they procéeded forwards. *Coatelicamatl* receyued thē curteously, and shewed them sixe or seauen riuers with golde, out of the which graynes of golde were taken in his presence, who gaue the same moster vnto them, and sente also his Embassadors to *Cortez*, offering his lande and person vnto him, with certayne mantels, and Iewels of golde.

Cortez more reioyced of the Embassage, than of the gold and presents, knowing thereby that *Mutezuma* hys enimies desired his friendshippe: but *Mutezuma* and hys counsell liked not the matter, for although *Coatelicamatl* is no great Lord, yet his people are good souldyers, and his countrey full of wildernesse, of Rockes and Mountaynes. The other that wente to *Tutepec*, which standeth néere the sea coast, and twelue leagues frō *Malinaltepec*, returned likewise with moster of golde of two Riuers, and brought newes that the Countrey was fit to buylde vppon, with hope to reape muche golde, finding once an arte to get it out of the riuer.

Cortez hearing these news, prayed *Mutezuma* to build a house there in the name of the Emperoure *Charles*, who incontinente sente thither workemen and labourers, whyche within two monethes hadde built a greate house, and other

thré little houses round aboute it, with a ponde of water full of fishe, and fiue hundred Duckes, and a thousand fiue hundred Turkie cockes and hennes, and muche housholde stuffe, so that the gifte was worth twentie thousand Castlins of golde. He gaue vnto hym also twenty bushels of the grayne called *Centli*, readye sowen, and two thousand stockes of trées called *Cacauatl*, whiche bringeth forth the fruite *Cacao*, that serueth for money and meate. *Cortes* began this husbandrye, but yet made not an ende thereof, with the comming of *Pamfilo de Naruaiz*, and the vprere in *Mexico*, whiche shortly followed. He also besoughte *Mutezuma* to certifie him if there were any sure porte or harbor on the Sea coast, where the Spanish nauie mought ride in safetie: he aunswered that he knew of none, but that he woulde sende to make enquirie thereof. And forthwith he commaunded all that coast to be painted in a cloath made of cotten woll, with all the riuers, bayes, créekes and capes that were within his dominion. In all the same portrayture did not appeare anye porte, skale, or sure roade, sauynge a gulfe that falleth out of the Mountaynes, which place is now called the harbor of *Saint Martine*, and *Saint Anthonie* in the prouince of *Coazacoalco*. The *Spanyards* thought the same to be a straight or passage into the South sea, to passe vnto the *Maluccos* and spicerie, but they were deceiued although they beléueed the thing that they desired. *Cortes* for this purpose sent tenne Spanyardes, all good marriners and Pylots, in companie of the *Indians* that *Mutezuma* sent on that voyage at his owne cost.

They departed, and came to *Chalohicoeca*, where firste they came aland, the which place is now called *S. Iohn de Vlhua*.

They wente 70. leagues along the coast, without finding any Riuer, although they mette with many brookes of shallowe water, not fyte for a roade for Shyppes.

They aported at *Coazacoalco*, the Lorde whereof was enimie to *Mutezuma*, hys name was *Tuchintlec*, who friendly receyued the Spanyardes, for he hadde intelligence of them, at their lying at *Potonchan*. He gaue vnto them boates, to sounde and séeke the Riuer, where they found sixe fadome in deapth, and wente

vppe that Riuer twelue leagues, wher they descryed many great townes, and it séemed a fruitfull soyle. This *Cazike Tchnitlec*, sente vnto *Cortes* with the Spanyards certayne gold, precious stones, and cloth of cotten, with apparrell made of skynnes, and tygers, requesting his friendship, and to admitte him tributarie to the Emperour, paying yéerely a certayne portion of his riches, with suche condition, that the *Indians* of *Culhua* should not enter into his iurisdictiō.

Cortes muche reioysed with these messages, and was glad of the finding of the faire riuer, for the Marriners hadde enformed him, that from the riuer of *Grijalua* vnto *Panuco*, was no riuer to be found, but I beléeue they were deceyued. *Cortes* returned backe agayne some of those messengers, with a present of Spanish ware for *Tchnitlec*, and to be better enformed of all his meaning, with a special charge to knowe the cōmoditie of that porte and Countrey, who went, and in shorte time returned wel satisfyed of their demaund: wherevpon *Cortes* sente thyther *Iohn Velasques de Leon*, for Captayne of a hundred and fifty Spanyardes, with commission to build a fort.

The imprisonment of *Cacama*, King of *Tezcucu*.

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he weake courage and stomake of *Mutezuma*, caused his subiectes not onely to murmure, but also to seeke meanes of rebellion, especially his nephew *Cacamazin*, Lorde of *Tezcucu*, who was a stoute yong man and an honorable, and one y^t receiued greate grieve of his Vncles imprisonment: and seeing that y^e matter séemed long, he besought his Vncle to procure his libertie, and to shew himselfe a Lorde, and not a slaue: but séeing at length that he could not accepte and follow his counsell, he began to stirre in the matter, threatning the death and destruction of the Spanyardes. Some said, that *Cacama* did begin that matter, to reuenge the iniurie and dishonor done vnto his Vncle. Others saide, that his meaning was to make himselfe Kyng of *Mexico*. Others held opinion, that his pretence was only to make an ende of y^e Spanyards. But let it be for whatsoever purpose. Once he gathered a great army, which he coulde not want, although *Mutezuma* was prisoner, especially against y^e Spanyards. He published that he would redéeme his Vncle out of Captiuitie, and expulse the Straungers, or else kill and eate them.

This was a terrible newes for the Christians, but yet for all those bragges *Cortes* dismayde not, rather hée determined forthwith to prepare himselfe for the warres, and to besiege him in his owne house and Towne, sauing that *Mutezuma* disturbed him, saying that *Tezcucu* was a place very strong, and scituated in water, and that *Cacama* was a man of bolde and stoute courage, and had at commaundement of the *Indians* of *Culhua*, and was also Lorde of *Culhuacan* and *Otumpa*, whiche were fortes of great strength, thinking to bring the matter to a better passe another way: so that *Cortez* ruled himselfe by the counsell of *Mutezuma*, and sent vnto *Cacama*, praying him to haue in remembrance the

friendshippe that hadde bin betwixt them two, from the time that he came and broughte hym into *Mexico*, and that alwayes peace was better than warre, and especially for a noble man of vassals, for the begynnyng of warres was pleasant to hym that knewe not what warres meante: and in so doyng, he shoulde do both pleasure and seruice to the Kyng of *Spayne*.

Cacama vvas vvise.

Cacama aunswered, that he had no friendship with him that woulde take away hys honor and kingdome, and that the warres whych he pretended, was profitable for his vassals, and in defence of their Countrey and Religion, yea and before he determined peace, he meante to reuenge hys Vncles wrongs and his goddes.

Also (quoth he) what haue I to doe wyth the Kyng of *Spayne*, who is a man that I know not, no nor yet would gladly heare of hym.

Cortez turned agayne to admonishe and require hym diuers tymes to leaue off his determination, and wylled *Mutezuma* to commaunde hym to accepte hys offer.

Wherevpon *Mutezuma* sente vnto hym, desiryng him to come vnto *Mexico*, to take some order in those controuersies and discordes betwixte hym and the *Spanyardes*.

Cacama aunswered very sharply vnto his Vncles request, saying, if you had bloud in your eye, or the heart of a Prince, you woulde not permit your selfe to bee prisoner, and captiue of foure poore straungers, who with their fayre speache and flatteryng talke haue bewitched you, and vsurped your kingdome, no nor yet, suffer the Goddes of *Culhua* to be throwen downe and spoyled, yea and the *Mexican* religion and holy places, violated and troden with théeues féete and deceyuers: likewise the honour, glory, and fame of your predecessors blotted and abased, through your faynt stomacke and cowardize. But notwithstanding, accordyng to your request, and to repayre our religiō, to restore the Goddes to their Temples, to preserue the kingdome, and to procure libertie for you and the Cittie, I will obay your commaundement: But how? not with my handes in my bosome, but lyke a warrier, to kill those Spaniardes who haue so affrented the

nation of *Culhua*. Our men stoode in great perill, as well of the losing of *Mexico* as of their owne liues, if this warre and mutinie had not soone bene qualified: for why? *Cacama* was valiant, stoute, and a good souldier, yea and well furnished of men of warre: also the Citizens of *Mexico*, were desirous of the same, for to redéeme *Mutezuma* their prince, and to kill the Spaniardes, or else to expulse them out of the Cittie.

Cacama prysoner.

But poore *Mutezuma* remedied the matter, knowyng or foreseing, that warres would not preuayle, yea and beleued, that at the ende all shoulde fall vpon his backe. He dealt with certayne Captaynes & Gentlemen that dwelt in *Tezcuco* with *Cacama*, to apprehend him, and bryng him prysoner, cōsidering that he was their king and yet aliue. But whether it were, that those Captaynes had serued *Mutezuma* in the warres, or whether it were for giftes & rewardes, they apprehended *Cacama* being in counsell among them, treatyng of his warres pretended, and embarked him in a boate armed for the purpose, and so brought him to *Mexico* without any further slander or stryfe, and when he was comen to *Mexico*, they put him on a riche seate, as the Kings of *Tezcuco* were wonte to sitte vpon, beyng the greatest Prince in all that lande next vnto *Mutezuma*: and in this sorte brought him before his vncle, who would not looke vpon him, but commaunded him to be deliuered vnto *Cortes*, who incontinent clapped a payre of giues on his legges, and a payre of manacles on his handes, and put hym into sure Guarde and custodie.

After that *Cacama* was in this order prysoner, with the consent of *Mutezuma* was elected Lorde and Prince of *Tezcuco* and *Culhuacan*, *Cucuzca*, *Cacama* his yonger brother, who was abidyng in *Mexico* with his vncle, and fled from his brother: *Mutezuma* did entitle him with the ceremonies accustomed vnto Princes newly elected and chosen. So that forthwith he was obeyed in *Tezcuco* by *Mutezuma* his commaundement, for he was there better beloued than *Cacama*, who was somewhat of a croked nature. In this sorte was remedied all the former perill, but if there had bene many *Cacamas*, it would haue fallen out otherwise.

Here *Cortes* made kings, and cōmaunded with as great auctoritie as though he had obtayned already the whole Empire of *Mexico*: and certainly sithens his first entry into that countrey, he had an assured hope to win *Mexico*, and to be Lorde ouer the whole state of *Mutezuma*.

The Oration that Mutezuma made
vnto his Noble men, yeelding himselfe to the King of Castile.

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fter the imprisonment of *Cacama*, *Mutezuma* proclaymed a Parliament, vnto the which came all the Seniors *Comarcans*, and beyng all together, he made the Oration followyng vnto them.

A fonde believe.

My kinsmen, friendes and seruants, yée do well know that eightene yeares I haue bene your kyng, as my fathers and Grandfathers were, and alwaies I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and yée vnto me good and obedient subiectes, and so I hope you will remayne all the dayes of my life. Ye ought to haue in remembrance, that eyther ye haue heard of your fathers, or else our adeuines haue instructed you, that we are not naturalles of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, bycause our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and theyr king and captayne who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall countrey, saying that he woulde sende suche as shoulde rule and gouerne vs, if by chaunce hée himselfe returned not. Beleeue ye assuredly, that the king whiche wée haue looked for so many yeares, is he that hath nowe sente these Spaniardes, whiche yée here see. Who dothe certifie, that wée are their kinsmen, and that they haue had notice of vs a long tyme: lette vs therefore gyue thanks vnto the Goddes, that nowe they are comen in our dayes, beyng a thing that we so muche desired.

Poore Mutezuma.

Yée shall nowe doe me seruice and pleasure, that yée yéelde your selues vnto this Captayne for vassals of the Emperoure King of Spayne our soueraygne, I my self haue already yéelded me for his seruitour and friend, praying you that from hence forwardes ye obey him as ye haue obeyed mée. And that yée yéelde and

pay vnto him the tributes, customes and seruice that ye were wont to pay vnto me, and in so doying, ye can doe me no greater pleasure. Hys harte then would not suffer hym to speake any more, with the sobbes, sighes, and teares, that fell from hys eyes. All his subiectes there presente fell into a crie, wéepeyng and mournyng, that for a good space they had no power to speake: they gaue thanks, and sighings, vtteryng with their mouthes many dolefull, and sorrowfull speaches, yea that it pitied our owne men at the hartes. But in conclusion, they answered that they would obey his commaundement. Then *Mutezuma* and the Burgesses of Parliament in order yelded themselues for vassals of the king of *Castile*, promising loyaltie. This acte was set downe by the Notarie, and with witnesses auctorized. Then the *Indians* departed home to their houses with sorowfull hartes, God knoweth, as you may imagine. It was a straunge thing to sée *Mutezuma* wéepe with so many Noble men and Gentlemen, yea and with what grieve they became subiects to an vnknowē Prince, but they coulde not otherwise doe, seyng that *Mutezuma* did commaunde the same.

A true prophecie.

Also they had a certaine Prognostication and forwarning by their Priestes of the comming from the east parties a straunge people, white of colour and bearded men, who should winne and rule that countrey. Likewise there was a secrete talke amōg them, that in *Mutezuma* should ende and finishe, not alone the lynage of *Culhua*, but also the Empyre and kingdome: therefore some were of opinion, not to name him *Mutezuma* whiche signifieth, agrieued with misfortune. They say also that *Mutezuma* himself had many times answere of the Oracle of the Gods, that in him shoulde finishe the *Mexican* Emperours, and that no childe of his shoulde succéde in his kingdome, and that he should lose his seate in the eyght yeare of his raigne: & for these causes he would neuer procure warre to withstande the Spaniardes, beleuyng that they should be his successours. Yet on the other side he thought his opinion would take no place, for that he had raygned seuentene yeares: But this should séeme to come from the prouidence of God, whiche giueth kingdomes and taketh them away.

Cortes gaue vnto *Mutezuma* moste hartie thankes on the behalfe of the Emperour, and for himself, and comforted him, who was very sad, promysing also that alwayes he should be king and Lorde, & commaunde as heretofore he had done, and better, yea and also he should be chief ruler of all the other landes and countreys, that he shoulde gette and bryng to the seruice of the Emperour.

The Golde and Ievvels that Mutezuma *gaue vnto Cortes for tribute.*

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fter certaine dayes that *Mutezuma* and his counsell had yéelden their obedience, *Cortes* sayde vnto him, how that the Emperour was at great costes & charges in his warres, wherfore it should be necessary that his newe vassals shoulde begin to serue in some thing, and to pay their tribute, willyng him to sende throughout his dominion to sée what coulde be gathered of Gold, and that he himselfe should beginne firste to pay tribute to the example of others. *Mutezuma* answered that he was contented so to doe, willyng that some of his men shoulde goe vnto the house of foule for the same. There went many, and there sawe golde in planches like brickebattes, Iewels, and péeces wrought in a hall, and two chambers which were opened vnto thē. The Spaniardes wōdering at the sight, would not touch any thing, without giuing firste aduertisement to *Cortes*, who incontinent went thither, and caused it all to be carried to his lodgyng: besides this treasure *Mutezuma* gaue vnto him rich clothes of cotten and feathers maruelously wouen in figures & colours, it séemed without cōparison, for the Spaniardes had neuer séene the like: he gaue vnto him more, twelue shooting tronkes, wherewith he himself was wont to pasetime: some of them were paynted with birdes, beasts, floures & trées very perfite, a worke surely much to be commended: and some of them were engrauē very curiously, with their mouldes and pellets of golde.

He sente also his seruants by twoo and twoo, and fiue and fiue, ech company with one Spaniarde, to the Lords of other prouinces, fourescore, and a hundred leagues frō *Mexico*, to gather in golde for the accustomed tributes, and newe seruice to the Emperour. Euery Lorde and Seignior payde the quantitie appointed & taxed by *Mutezuma*, in golde, plate, iewels, stones and pearles.

The messengers returned, although they had taried somewhat long on their iourney, of whom *Cortes* receyued all that they brought, and caused it to be molten, out of the whiche was had in fine golde .1600000. Castlins, of the value of seuen shillings and sixe pence the péece, and rather more, and also fiue hundred markes of plate, after sixe Ducates the marke.

This treasure was deuided among the Souldiers, but not all: euery man was payde accordyng to his office. The horsemen had twise as muche as the footemen. Also *Cortes* was payde out of the stocke the money promised him in *Vera Crux*.

There came to the kings parte .32000. Castlins and a hundred markes of plate, the whiche was wrought there in platters, saucers, cuppes, ewers and other péecees, according to the *Indian* fashion, to be sent to the Emperour. Besides this, the present that *Cortes* layde aside, and takē out of the stocke to send to y^e Emperour, was worth .100000. Ducates, in pearles, precious stones, golde, and feathers, feathers and siluer, and many other iewels, as the gallant tronkes, whiche beside their value were straunge to behold, wrought with the brauery aforesayde. This present appoynted, was not sent, for that and al the rest was afterwarde loste at the troubles in *Mexico*, as hereafter shall more playnly appeare.

Hovv Mutezuma required Cortez *to departe from Mexico.*

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Cortes seyng himselfe riche and mightie, he occupied hymselfe in thrée things, the one was to sende vnto *Santo Domingo* and other Ilands, newes of his procéedings and prosperitie, and also money to prouide menne, horses and armour, for his owne company were to fewe for so greate a countrey. The other was, to take fully and wholly the state of *Mutezuma*, hauing him prisoner, and also at his commaundement *Tlaxcallan*, *Coatelicamath*, and *Tuchintlec*, knowyng also that the *Indians* of *Panuco*, *Tecoantepec*, and *Mechuacan*, were mortall enimies to the *Mexicans*, who woulde ayde and assist him hauing néede of their helpe, his thirde pretence was, to procure all the *Indians* to be Christened, the which purpose he tooke first in hand, as a thing most nedefull. On the other side, *Mutezuma* repented himselfe, hauyng newes that *Pamfilo de Naruaiz* was arriued, who came as enemy to *Cortes*, yea and after all this he was at length driuen out of *Mexico*. These notable things shalbe rehersed in their order. But now *Mutezuma* came, and desired *Cortes* to departe out of his countrey, aduising hym that otherwise bothe he and his menne were in perill of killyng, saying also, that thrée especiall causes moued him to this requeste: the one was, the dayly sute of the subiectes, who enportuned him to come out of captiuitie, and to murder the Spanyardes, saying, that it was a great shame for them to suffer theyr Prince to bée in pryson in the power of so fewe straungers, whom they might vse as a footebal: hauing dishonored thē and robbed them of their goodes, gatheryng and heaping vp their gold for themselues, & for their king, who as séemed by their doings, was but a poore fellowe, and if hée would not accept their offer and sute, that then of theyr owne auctoritie they would take the thyng in hande, for so much as he refusing to be theyr king they woulde also

refuse to be his vassals, giuyng warnyng and aduice that he should looke for no better rewarde at the Spaniardes handes, than *Qualpopoca* and *Cacama* his Neuewe had receiued, although they shoulde flatter him neuer so muche.

A suttle Foxe.

An other cause was that the Diuell had appeared vnto him, and willed him to kill those Christians, or dryue them out of the lande, threatnyng him that if he did not so, that then he woulde goe from him and neuer talke any more with him, for (quoth he) with their gospels, baptisme and deuotion, they doe muche displease me. *Mutezuma* answered him, that there was no reason to kill thē being his friendes and honest men, but he would entreate them to departe, (vnto this) the Diuell answered that hēe should do so, and therein he would receyue great pleasure, for eyther he woulde goe his way and leaue him, or else that Christian fellowes should departe, for they sow here (quoth he) a Christian fayth y^e which is much against our Religiō, and can not dwell both together. Another cause was, that *Mutezuma* was not well pleased with the imprysonment of *Cacama*, whō once he loued excedyng wel: so in fine, secretly hee repented him of all that was past in the Spaniardes fauour, and chiefly by the persuation of the Diuell, who sayde that he coulde not doe vnto him a more acceptable seruice, and of greater pleasure to the Goddes, than to expell the Spaniardes and abolishe the name of Christians, and in so doyng, the seate of Kings should not finish in the linage of *Culhua*, but rather be enlarged, & his childrē should raigne after him, wishing him not to beléeue in prophesies, sithence the eight yeare was past, and was nowe in the eyghtenth yeare of his raigne. For these causes, or possible for other whiche we knowe not off, *Mutezuma* prepared an army of a hundred thousand men so secretly, that *Cortes* knew not thereof, to the effecte, that if the Spaniardes woulde not departe, being once more required, that then he meant not to leaue one of them aliue. With this determination, he came forthe one day into the yard or courte, and had long conference and consultation with his Gentlemen aboute this matter. This done, he sente for *Cortes*, who liked not this newes, saying to him selfe, I pray God this message be to good purpose, and

taking twelue of his men whych were readiest at hand, went to know wherefore hée had sente for him. *Mutezuma* arose from the place where hée sate, and tooke *Cortez* by the hande, commaunding a stoole to be brought for him, and so sate them downe both together, and beganne his talke as followeth. Sir, I beséeche you to departe from this Citie and Countrey, for my Gods are sore offended with me, bycause I doe, and haue permitted you héere so long: demaunde of me what you please, and it shall be giuen you, bycause I loue you well: and thinke you not, that I giue you this warning in iest, but rather in good earnest, therefore it is conuenient, that you depart. It séemed strange vnto *Cortez* this talke. Also he saw by the countenance of *Mutezuma*, that some thing was a working, and before the interpreter of *Mutezuma* had made an end of his talke, *Cortes* willed one of his mē to goe forthwith, and to aduise all his fellowes, saying, y^t the waight of their liues was in questiō. Then our mē called to remembrance what was tolde them in *Tlaxcallon*, considering that it was néedeful of courage and help from God to bring them out of that daunger. Whē *Mutezuma* had ended his tale, I haue (quoth *Cortes*) vnderstood your meaning, and doe thanke you for the same: also I would know when it is your pleasure that we should depart, and it shal be done. Euen when it please you (quoth *Mutezuma*) take the time that you thinke méete, and againste that time will I prepare a hundred waighte of gold for you, and fiftie pound waight to each of your mē.

Cortes sayde, you knowe, that when I came into thys Countrey, I commaunded all my Shippes to be sonke, so that nowe I haue néede of time conueniente to builde vessels to carrie vs into oure Countrey: wherefore my request is, that you commaund some of your Carpēters to be called, to cutte downe timber for the purpose, for I haue men that can make the vessels. And this done, wée will departe, so that you giue vs the golde whiche you haue promised, and certifie you the same to youre Gods and vassals.

Mutezuma receyued great pleasure at this aunswere, and sayd, your request shall be fulfilled: and incontinente he sent for many Carpenters. Likewise *Cortes* prepared certayne of his Marriners for Shipwrightes. All the which workemen

went vnto great woddess of Pinetrées, and there cut downe the timber necessarye for the purpose. *Mutezuma* being a simple man, gaue credite to all *Cortez* his talke: *Cortes* likewise aduertised his men of his procéedings, and sayd vnto them, *Mutezuma* would haue vs departe out of his Countrey, bycause his vassals and the Diuell hath entised him therevnto: wherefore it is néedefull that we build shipping, and therefore I praye you goe with these *Indians*, and procure to cut downe the best timber fit for oure purpose, and in the meane season God will prouide for vs, whose affayres we haue nowe in hand, of remedie and succour in suche sort that we lose not this frutefull countrey. It is also necessary, that whē you come vnto the wodde, that you make all the delay possible, giuing a shew that you are busie occupied, and with great desire to make an ende, that those *Indians* may suspect nothing of oure pretence. Departe in Gods name, and aduise me alwayes what doth passe in your affaires.

The feare that our men stoode in to
be sacrificed.

ight dayes after their departure toward the woddess, arriued fiftéene saile of ships at the coast of *Chalchicoeca*. The *Indians* of that coast aduised *Mutezuma* therof, who was not a little afraide with the newes, & called *Cortes* vnto him, who feared asmuch some vprore there, and when they shewed *Cortez* y^t *Mutezuma* was come forth into the yarde, he suspected that if *Mutezuma* pleased, they shoulde be all destroyed. Wherefore he said vnto his men, maisters and friends, *Mutezuma* hath sent me, considering what passed this other day, I hold it for no good token. I nowe goe to knowe his wyll: wherefore, whatsoeuer happen, be you alwayes vigilant and ready, commending your selues to God. Remember also whome ye are, and who are these Infidels, abhorred of God, and friends vnto the Diuel, without weapon, and experience in warre: if we chance to fight, the handes of each of vs shal shew by déede with sword, the vallor and courage of our heartes: yea, and although we all die, yet shall we remaine with victory, for that we haue fulfilled the thing we tooke in hand, and the seruice which we owe vnto God as faithfull Christiās, with our duetie as true subiects to our prince. They all answered, saying, we wil do all our possibilitie while life lasteth, withoute feare of perill or daunger, for we lesse estéeme deathe than honor. With this aunswere *Cortes* wente to *Mutezuma*, who sayde vnto him, *Senior* Captayne, you shall vnderstande that now you haue Shippes wherein you may departe, therefore now at your pleasure make you ready.

Cortez answered, not knowing of that shipping, saying, Mightie Sir, when my Shippes are finished I will depart, nay (quoth *Mutezuma*) I meane not those Shyppes, for there are ariued eleuen other Shippes at the coast néere vnto *Zempoallan*, and shortlye I shall be certified, whether the people that are come in them, are come a shore, and then shall we know what people, and how many they are in number. Blessed is Iesu Christe (quoth *Cortez*) vnto whome I giue most hartie thanks for his great mercies shewed vnto me, and to the Gentlemen of my company. One of *Cortes* his men went to shewe the glad tidings to their fellowes, who then receyued double strength, praying God, and embraced one

another wyth great pleasure and ioy. And *Cortes* with *Mutezuma* béeing in communication together, came another poast, who broughte newes of fourescore Horsemen that were landed, with eyght hundred footemen, and twelue péeces of Ordinance, and shewed painted in a cloth the whole relation both of men, horses, shippes, and ordinance.

At the time of neede prouideth God.

Mutezuma hearing the newes that this poast hadde broughte, arose from his seate, and tooke *Cortes* in hys armes, saying, now do I more loue you, than I haue done héeretofore, and will this day dyne with you. *Cortes* gaue him thanks for the one and the other, and in this sorte wente hande in hand to *Cortes* his Chamber, who willed his Spanyards not to make any extraordinary ioy, or alteration, but that they shoulde kéepe all together with vigilant watche, and to giue hartie thanks vnto God for the comfortable newes. *Mutezuma* and *Cortes* dyned together with greate content and pleasure, the one thynking to abide and to enioy the kings state and Countrey, the other thinking that then they woulde auoyd the land. But notwithstanding all these ymaginations, a certaine *Indian* Captaine importuned *Mutezuma* secretely to kill all *Cortes* his menne, being but few in number, and then should he be the readier to dispatch the others that were newly come, and not to permitte them to ioyne one with another: yea and againe, when the newe come menne shoulde knowe of the deathe of their countrey men, they would not presume to abide in the lande.

A drunken reckoning.

With this counsell *Mutezuma* called many his friends and chiefe estates to counsell, propounding the case and iudgement of the Captaine, whych béeyng among them thoroughly hearde, there were many of sundrye opinions, but the conclusion was, to permitte the other Spanyards to come, saying, the more enimies, the more gaine, and if we kill but those whiche are héere, then the others wyll returne to their shippes, and so shall we not make the solemne sacrifice of them to the Gods, according to our desire. *Mutezuma* was occupied in this counsell with fiue hundred noblemen and Gentlemen dayly, and

accordyng to determination, they commaunded to cherish and serue *Cortes* and his company more than ordinary, saying their ioy was at an ende.

Hovv Iames Velasques sent Pamfilo *de Naruaiz against Cortes.*

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Iames Velasques béeyng sore agréeuéd, with desire of reuenge against *Cortes*, not only for his expences at the time of preparation of *Cortes* his fléete, whiche was but small, but of méere hatred of the present honor & prosperitie of *Cortes*. Wherevpon he inuented greate causes and quarrels againste him, saying and alleaging, that *Cortez* hadde not giuen accompt of his procéedings vnto him, béeyng Gouvernoure of *Cuba*, and *Cortez* his Deputie, but rather without his consent and knowledge, had sente to *Spayne* to the King, aduise of his discouery, as who would say, that was treason, or an euill facte: but chiefly his fury was, knowing how *Cortes* had sent an honorable present, with the Kings parte or portion of treasure vnto *Spayne*, yea and whole relation of the discouery, with *Francisco de Monteio*, and *Alounso Fernandez Portocarrero*, the whiche procéedings *Iames Velasques* meant to disturbe, for that he hadde layde in ambushe a coupell of caruels, to haue taken *Cortes* hys presente, and messengers, the whiche his pretence and purpose tooke no place, so that with the prosperous newes of *Cortes*, his furie and madnesse the more encreased, ymagining still his destruction.

A noble Iudge.

And being occupyed in these fonde ymaginations, it happened that his Chaplin, one *Benito Martine*, broughte letters from the Emperoure vnto him, with title and letters pattentes, of Generall and chiefe Gouvernour of all that then was discouered, inhabited, and conquered in the land and coast of *Yucatan*. With this newes, *Velasques* began to triumph, not only so much for the honor, as also to driue *Cortez* from *Mexico*. Wherevpon, he incontinent prepared this Fléete or Nauie of eleuen Shyppes, and seauen Vergantines, with nine hundred men, and

fourescore Horses, and appoynted one *Pamfilo de Naruaez* for Captayne Generall, and his Deputie in the regiment of the Countrey: and for his more quicker dispatch, he himselfe wente with him throughout that Ilande, till they came to *Guaniguanico*, whiche is the Westermost harbor of the Ilande, and being there *Naruaez* ready to departe for *Mexico*, and *Velasques* to returne to *Cuba*, came the lisenciat *Lucas Vasques de Aillon*, a chiefe Iudge of *Santo Domingo*, in name of the whole Chancery, to require *Velasques* vpon great penalties, that he should not permitte or suffer *Pamfilo de Naruaez* to procéde on that voyage agaynst *Cortes*, whiche woulde bée cause of Murther, ciuil warres, and other mischiefes among the Spanyards, yea and that *Mexico* should be in daunger of losing, wyth all the rest that was conquered, and in quiet to the Kings vse, saying vnto him moreouer, that if there were anye discorde betwéene them for goodes, or poyntes of honor, that then it did apperteyne to the Emperoure to iudge, and determine the cause, and not that he himselfe should be iudge in his owne cause, vsing force against the other partie, praying them for the seruice of God and the King, that if they would goe to conquere, that then they shoulde séeke other Countreys, hauing so good an armye and fléete, and Countreys ynough to séeke. This diligēce, request and authoritie of the Licentiate *Aillon*, to *Velasques* and *Naruaez* preuayled not: he séeyng their obstinacie and little regarde to him being a chiefe Iudge, determined to goe with *Naruaez* in his Shippe, to lette and disturbe the greate hurte that might follow, thinking there in the newe *Spayne* to perswade *Naruaez*, better than in the presence of *Velasques*, yea and also if néede should bée, to be a meane of quietnesse betwixt them.

Pamfilo de Naruaez tooke shipping in *Guaniguanico*, and sailed till he came néere vnto *Vera Crux* with al his fléete, and hauing intelligence that there were a hundred and fiftie Spanyards of *Cortes* his band, he sente vnto them a Priest, with one *Iohn Ruiz de Gueuara*, and *Alonso de Vergara*, to require them to receyue him for their Captayne and gouernoure. But the newe Citizens would giue no eare to their talke, but rather apprehended them, & sente them prisoners to *Mexico* to *Cortez*, to aduertise hym of their embassage, wherevpō *Naruaez*

vnshipped his men, horses, armor, & artillery, & wēt w^t thē directly to *Zēpoallā*. The *Indian Comarcans* being as well friends to *Cortez*, as vassals to *Mutezuma*, gaue vnto him golde, mantels, and vittayles, thinking that they had bin *Cortez* his men.

The substance of a letter that Cortez
wrote vnto Naruaez.

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efore *Cortes* knew the effect of the cōming of this new fléete, his head was sore troubled, for, on the one side he was glad of the comming of his owne nation, on the other side he liked not so great an armye. Likewise he ymaged, that if they came to succour him, he helde the Countrey for conquered: also if that they were come againste him, he iudged the Countrey to bée lost. He iudged also, that if they were come from *Spayne*, that then they hadde brought to him the thing looked for, but if they were come from *Cuba*, he feared ciuil warres. He also thought, that from *Spayne* could not come so many folke in so shorte space. Finally, he déemed, that his olde enemye *Iames Velasques* was come personally, but when he knew the whole truth, then was he muche more pensiuē, thinking that the thread of his prosperitie was cut asunder, yea and that they would be meane to stoppe the gappes of the whole discouery, both of the secretes of the land, mines and treasure, as also, in the knowledge of the friends or enemies of *Mutezuma*. It shoulde be also a let to inhabite the places which he had begunne, yea and also to Christen the *Indians*, whiche was the principall thing that he pretended, yea & a let or stop of many other things begun in y^e seruice of God & the prince, fearing also by flying from one inconuenience, to fall into many, and also if he should permit *Pamphilo de Naruaez* to come vnto *Mexico*, it shoulde be a meane of hys perdition: if likewise he should encounter him, he feared some rebellion in the Citie, and the setting at libertie of *Mutezuma*, putting in perill his owne honour, life, and trauayle: and to auoyde all these daungers and inconueniences, he determined remedy. First, he dispatched twoo men, the one vnto *Iohn Velasques de Leon*, who was gone to inhabite at *Coazacoalco*, willyng him at the sight of his letter to repaire vnto *Mexico*, giuing him aduise of the

comming of *Naruaez* and of the great néede that he stode in, of him & his company. The other messenger he sent to *Vera Crux*, to bryng full relation of the arriuall of *Naruaez*, and what was his pretence.

The letter sent to *Iohn Velasques*, came no sooner to his hande, but forthwith he obeyed and fulfilled the same, contrary to the expectation of *Naruaez*, for he was his brother in law, and kinsman vnto *Iames Velasques*. *Cortes* seing his constancie, had him euer after that tyme in great estimation.

From the *Vera Crux* came twentie of the townes men with certificat what *Naruaez* had published, and brought with them a priest, with *Alonso Gueuara* and *Iohn ruiz de Vergara*, who had comen to *Vera Crux* to amotue the towne, vnder colour that they had brought the commissiō from the king. *Cortes* on the otherside, sent vnto *Naruaez* seignior *Bartholome de Olmedo*, with other two Spaniards, to offer vnto him his friendship, & otherwise to require & commaunde him on the behalfe of the kyng & of his owne, as chiefe iustice of the land, and in the name of the rulers and Aldermen of the towne of *Vera Crux*, who were then in *Mexico*, that he shoulde enter peaceably, without making any alteration vntill his auctoritie and commission were séene and allowed, and to make no slaunder or vprore to the hinderāce of the king his maisters procedings.

But al this diligence and letters of *Cortes* and the other rulers preuailed not, he seing this, set at libertie the priest that was brought prisoner, and sente him vnto *Naruaez*, with certaine riche collers of gold, and other iewels with a letter, wherein he wrote, that he was more gladder of his comming in that fléete than any other, for the friendship and olde acquaintaunce that had bene betwixt them, desiring him that they mought talke and cōferre together, alone, for to take order to prohibite wars, sedition, bloudshedde and disquietnesse among them, beyng of one natiō and brethren, requestyng him to shew his cōmission from the king vnto him, or vnto the counsell of *Vera Crux*, and he would willingly obey it as reason did require: and if he had not brought any such commission, yet he would make some honest agreement with him. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* seing himselfe strong and mightie, did little regarde *Cortes* his letters, offers, nor requestes, and chiefly

bycause *Iames Velasques* was sore displeased with *Cortes*.

The talke of Naruaez to the Indians,
and his answere to Cortes.

A foule bragge.

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amphilo de Naruaez declared to the *Indiās* that they were deceyued with their opiniō in *Cortes*, for that he alone was Captayne generall and chiefe Lorde, and that *Cortes* was but a naughty man, and so were all they of his company which are now in *Mexico*, who were all but his boyes, and that his present commyng was to cut of *Cortes* his head, and to chasten the others, likewyse he meant to dryue them all out of the countrey, & then to departe himselfe, and to leaue them in full libertie.

A cruell proclamation.

A madde reckenyng.

The *Indians* gaue credite to his talke seyng so many bearded men and horses, and therevpon began to attende and serue him, leauyng their olde friendes in *Vera Crux*. Also *Naruaez* began to flatter *Mutezuma*, and sente him worde that *Cortes* abode in that countrey against the will of his Prince, & that he was a couetous rebell, who robbed his countrey, and that he pretended to kill *Mutezuma*, and to make himself king. Also that his comming was to set him at libertie, and to restore vnto him all that those wicked fellowes had taken from him. And bicause that others should take example of their factes, he would commaunde them all to be slaine, willing him to take no care, for in short space they would see ech other. And that when he had set him at libertie with restitution of his goodes, he would incontinent departe his countrey. These treaties were so foule & abhominable, with the iniurious wordes which *Pamfilo de Naruaez* spake openly against *Cortes* and his men, yea they seemed odious vnto all his owne hoste & army, and some of his own mē checked him for the same, especially *Barnardino de Santa Clara*, who seyng the countrey so peaceable and so well pleased with *Cortes*, he could not let but reprehende

Naruaez in his wordes. Also the licenciad *Aillon* required him diuers times to cease frō his slanderous talke, vpon paine of death & losse of his goodes, & also not to procéede towarde *Mexico*, for the great hurte that might ensue, with slander among the *Indians*, disquietnesse among the Spaniardes, and offence to the Emperour his Maiestie. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* being moued with his talke layde hand vpon *Aillon*, being a chiefe iudge for the King, and apprehended also his Secretary & an other officer, and forthwith shipped them, and sente thē to *Iames Velasques* gouernour of *Cuba*. But when *Aillon* saw himselfe at sea, and frée from *Naruaez*, he began to threaten y^e Mariners, cōmanding thē not to presume to carrie him to *Cuba* to *Velasquez* his power, but onely to *Santo Domingo*, where he was one of y^e kings coūsell in chancery: the Mariners fearing the Kings iustice, obeyed his cōmandemēt and when he was aported at *Santo Domingo*, he wholly enformed the Counsell there, of *Naruaez* and his wicked dealyng, whose testimonie and information did much blemishe the credite of *Velasques*, & exalt the trauels of *Cortes*. After that *Naruaez* had shipped away *Aillon*, he proclaymed warre with fire and sworde agaynst *Cortes*, and promised certayne markes of Golde to him that shoulde apprehende or kill him, or *Pedro de Aluarado*, and *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, with other principall persons of his company. Also he made diuision of his goodes among his mē before they came to possesse it. Surely these thrée poyntes were of a man without wisdomed or discretion.

Many of *Naruaez* his company did amotiue themselues, through the commaundement of the Licenciad *Aillon*, and through the fame and liberalitie of *Cortes*. Wherevpon incontinent one *Pedro de Villalobos* a Portingall, and sixe or seuen more fledde vnto *Cortes*, yea and others wrote vnto him, offering themselues to his seruice, if by chauce they should encounter.

A good captayne and a vvise.

Cortes receyued the letters, but kept in silence from his company the firmes of those whiche had written to hym. Some doe thinke that *Cortes* had suborned them with letters, fayre promises, yea and a horse load of chaynes and planches

of golde, which he sente secretely to *Naruaez* his campe with a seruaunt of his, publishing likewise, that he had an army of twoo hundreth Spaniardes in *Zempoallan*, where he had none at all: these policies mought well be, for he was prudent, carefull and quicke in his businesse, and *Pamfilo de Naruaez* was slouthfull and carelesse.

Naruaez made answere to *Cortes* his letter by seignior *Bartholome de Olmedo*, the substaunce of his message was, that forthwith he shoulde repayre to the place where he was abiding, and there he should see the Emperours commission & order, wherein was auctoritie giuen to hym to take and keepe that countrey for *Iames Velasques*, yea and that already he had made a towne of men onely, with all officers therevnto appertayning.

After this letter and message sent, he dispatched likewise one *Barnaldino de Quesada*, and *Alonso de Mata*, to requyre *Cortes* to depart and leaue the countrey vpon paine of death, and to notifie vnto him these actes by order of law. *Cortes* layde hande vpon *Alonso de Mata*, bicause he named himselfe the kings Notary, and shewed no title or authoritie for the same.

The talke that Cortes had vvith *his owne Souldiers.*

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Cortes perceyuing the small fruyte that his letters (presentes) and messengers, obtayned at the handes of *Naruaez*, and that in no case, he woulde shewe his commission whiche came from the kyng, he determined to goe vnto him, and according to the olde Prouerbe, Face to face doth get respect, and likewise if it were possible, to agréee vpon some good order and quietnesse: wherevpon he sent *Rodrigo Aluarez* his surueyor, with *Iohn Velasques*, and *Iohn del Rio*, to treat with *Naruaez* of many matters, whereof thrée things were the principalest. The first was, that they two might méete alone, or else so many, for so many, and that *Naruaez* should permit *Cortes* to abyde in *Mexico*, and he withall his company shoulde cōquere *Panuco* or other kingdomes, also that *Cortes* would pay the charges, and haue consideration to gratifie his souldiers, or else that *Naruaez* should abide in *Mexico*, and deliuer vnto *Cortes* .400. of his men, to the intent that with them, and his owne men he myght procéede to séeke other countreys to conquere. Laste of all, he required to sée the kings commission, for that he would obey the same. *Naruaez* liked none of these offers, only he accepted that they should méete together with ech of them ten Gentlemē for securtie, bound with solemne othe, and firmed this agréement with their names. But it tooke no effect, for *Rodrigo Aluarez* aduised *Cortes* that *Naruaez* had made a snare to apprehend him, or to kill him at their méeting. *Cortes* vnderstoode the matter, or else he had some other intelligence by some that loued him wel. And this former agreement taking no place, *Cortes* determined to goe vnto him.

But before his departing, he declared vnto his cōpany, saying, I trust ye haue in remembrāce what & how much I haue done for you, since y^e beginning of this

enterprise, yea & also how louingly & friendly yée haue dealt for me: Yée shall now vnderstand that *Iames Velasques*, in stéede of thankes giuing vs, hath sent to murder vs, *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, who is a stubborne & an vnreasonable man, one readie to execute our good desertes done in the seruice of God & our Prince, with an euill reward. And the cause is only, for doying our duetie in the sending of the Kings parte & portiō to his Roiall person & not vnto him. Also this *Naruaez* hath already confiscated our goodes, and giuen them to other men, and our bodies condemned to the Gallows, yea and our fame and honour plaide at tables, with great iniurious & slanderous wordes proclaymed agaynst vs, which things truly are not of a Christian, no nor yet we with Gods helpe will let the matter so to slippe: yea and though we ought to leaue the reuengment vnto God, yet we will not suffer them to enioy our trauayles & paynes, who are now comen white fingered to spoile the bloud of their neighbours, yea & like madde men to striue against their owne nation, sowing slander among those *Indians* which serued vs as our friēds, yea & procuring more cruel warres, than the ciuill warre betwene *Mario & Sila*, or of *Cesar & Pompeio*, who turned vpsidowne the Romaine Empire. Wherefore I do determine to méete him by y^e way, & not to suffer him to come vnto *Mexico*, for it is better to say, God saue you, than they to come & say who is there? yea & though they are many, a good hart doth breake euil fortune, as it hath appered by vs, who haue passed thorow the pikes since our cōming hither: moreouer, I doubte not but that many of *Naruaez* his cōpany will come vnto vs. Therefore my déere friends doe I giue you aduise of my pretence, to the entent y^t those which wil go with me, may them prepare thēselues, & those that will not, let them remaine to kéepe *Mexico & Mutezuma*, whiche is as much in effect. At the end of this talke he promised great rewards if y^t with victory he returned. His mē answered al w^t one voyce, y^t they were al at his cōmandemēt, & ready to fulfil his wil, yet some feared the pride & blindnesse of *Pamfilo de Naruaez*: on the other side the *Indians* began to be lusty, to sée dissention among the Spanyardes, & that the *Indians* of the coast were ioyned in league with the new come mē.

The requests of Cortez to Mutezuma.

Oh vvise Cortes.

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fter al his talk & answer of his souldiers, he wēt to visite & to comune w^t *Mutezuma* for to departe on his iourney, w^t somewhat y^e lesser care, & also to proue the minde & wil of *Mutezuma*, vnto whome he vttered his mind as foloweth. Sir, you know y^e loue y^t I haue, & desire to serue you, & chiefly the trust againe, that you will haue to my cōpanions whē I am gone frō this citie. Therefore I pray you, that it may please you to remaine here in this lodgyng, & to haue regard vnto these strangers, which I leaue with you: also I cōmend vnto you, the gold & iewels whiche is in their custodie, and gyuen vnto vs of your owne liberalitie. For I doe now goe to signifie vnto those which of late are comen in the new fléete, how your highnesse doth commaunde that I departe from this land, and that they doe not agrauate or molest your subiectes, nor yet presume to enter into your countrey, but that they remayne on your coast, vntill we be ready to departe with them, according to your will and pleasure. And if in the meane season, any of your subiects be so vnaduised, as to molest my men, whiche now remayne in your power and Guardie, that then it may please you to be their shielde, succour, and onely defence. *Mutezuma* promised to fulfill his request, wishing him moreouer, that if any in his iourney shoulde offende him, then immediatly to aduise him, and that he would sende his men of warre to chasten thē, yea and also (if it pleased him,) he woulde giue vnto hym guydes to salfe conduct him through his owne dominion to the Sea coast, who should prouide him of all necessaries by the way. *Cortes* kissed his handes for his curtesie, with moste hartie thanks for the same, and gaue vnto him certayne Spanishe apparell, and other glasen Iewels, and also other like treasure to his Noble men, which stode by at all the talke. But in effect he tolde him not what he pretended to doe, nor yet the newes of *Pamfilo de Naruaez* his procedings

was not come to his eare, or else, it may be that *Mutezuma* dissumuled the matter with inwarde pleasure, that one Christian should kill the other, thinkyng thereby to haue most sure his libertie, and the Goddes pleased.

The imprisonment of Pamfilo *de Naruaez.*

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Cortes was so wel beloued among hys companie, that they offered willingly to goe with him, by reason whereof he chose .250. men fitte for his iourney, & lefte other .200. in garde of *Mutezuma* and the Citie, with *Pedro de Aluarado* for their Captayne. He lefte also with them the artillerie and foure Foystes readye made, to haue the lake in subiection, beséeching them onely to haue speciall regard that *Mutezuma* fled not from them to *Naruaez*, and not to permitte him to goe out of their fort or strong house.

With those fewe Spanyards *Cortes* tooke his iourney with no more but eyght or nine Horsemen, and certayne *Indians* for his seruice, and carriage.

A stoute man.

An vncertayne reckoning.

Passing through *Chololla* and *Tlaxcallan*, he was honorably receyued and lodged, and aboute fiftéene leagues from *Zempoallan* where *Naruaez* was abiding, he mette with two Priestes, and his old especial friend *Andres de Duero*, who had lente him money for the setting forthe of that voyage. These thrée persons came to require him to obey the Generall lately come as Lieutenant to the Gouvernour *Velasques*, and to deliuer vnto him the Countrey, with all the fortes or Castels therein, aduising him, that if he would not accomplish the same, that then he woulde procéde againste him, euen as anemie and Rebelle, to the execution of death. Likewise, if he would fulfill the request made vnto him, that then he shoulde haue libertie, and conueniente shipping to depart, both for him, and as many as would goe with him. *Cortes* aunswered, that hée would rather suffer deathe, than to leaue the Countrey whiche he had conquered and pacified with his handes and industrie, without anye commaundement from the Emperoure: and (quoth he) if againste all equitie and iustice, he will contend

with me in warre, I will defend me as well as I may, and if I haue the victory (as I trust in God and the righte that I haue on my side,) I shall not stand in néede of shipping, and if I be slaine, mucho lesse. Therefore I doe require him to shew vnto me his commission and authoritie had from the Emperour, for vntil I doe both see and reade the same, I will accepte no agréement: and if (quoth he) that he refuse the same, that then I dare warne, admonish, and require him to returne to *Cuba*, the place from whence he came, and if he wil not obey my precept, I will then apprehende him, and sende him prisoner in yrons to the Emperoure: and with thys aunswere dispatched the thrée messengers, sending also a notarie of his owne, to commaund him to take his shipping, and to departe without making any altercation in the Countrey, or y^t ensuing of further murders and strife, and if not, that vppon Whitsonday, whiche was within thrée dayes following, he meante to be with him at supper. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* made a mockery and iest at his commaundement, and tooke Prisoner the Notarie whiche came from *Cortes* with that order, holding *Cortes* for madde, who made so manye bragges with so small a company. And before *Iohn Velasques de Leon*, and *Iohn de Rio*, *Cortes* his friendes, he mustered his men, who were in number fourescore Hargabushers, a hūdred and twētie Crossebowes, sixe hundred men, with other weapon, and fourescore Horsemen, saying, how will *Cortes* defend himselfe againste vs, nay at length he will know his dutie: he promised money to him that shoulde eyther kyll, or take *Cortes* prisoner. And the same offer made *Cortes* against *Pamfilo*, who made a rounde of his footemen, and skirmished with his Horsemen, shooting off his artillerie, to put in feare the pore *Indians*.

Naruaez signified againe vnto *Mutezuma* with the messengers who carried all the triumph and muster pointed, all his former dealings, but hearing that *Cortes* was néere at hande, he sente out hys lyght Horsemen to dyscrie his Campe.

All *Naruaez* his Horses were readye saddled and brideled, and his men armed. *Cortes* entred so close and secret, that no man almost hearde him, and the firste worde hée spake, hauyng all hys men within with him, was, shut the gates, and strike, downe with them. There were at that time many shining wormes, whiche

with their glistering séemed matches of Hargabushe, so that if one péece at that time had bin discharged, they woulde haue bin in a great feare.

Naruaez béeing about to put on his priuie coate, came one vnto him, saying: Sir, *Cortes* is néere your lodgyng, let him come in (quoth he) for he commeth to talke with me. *Naruaez* had his men in foure Towers of his lodging, and he himselfe was in the one, with a hundred Spanyardes, and at his dore thirtéene péece of Ordinance ready charged. *Cortes* commanded his chiefe Sheriffe *Gōsalo de Sādoual*, with fortie or fiftie of his fellowes, to goe vp into *Naruaez* his Chamber, and he himselfe with other twentie men abode at the dore to defende and kéepe that none might enter thereat, vntil he had finished his businesse. The residue of his men besieged the other Towers, so that they might not succoure one another.

A darke night for *Naruaez*.

Naruaez hearing the noyse, woulde néedes fighte, although he was required to stay his handes, and comming out at his Chamber dore, they strake out one of his eyes with a pike, and then they layde hande vpon hym, dragging and drawyng him downe the stayres by the héeles, and when he sawe hymselfe broughte before *Cortes*, he sayde, oh *Senior Cortes*, thanke your great fortune, in hauyng my person prisoner: who aunswered hym againe, oh *Naruaez*, the hauing of thy body prisoner, is the least thing that I haue done, sithence I came into thys lande. *Cortes* commaunded forthwith to lay him in yrōs, and to carrie him to the riche towne of *Vera Crux*, where he abode prisoner certayne yeares.

This combat endured but a while, for within one hour *Pamfilo de Naruaez* and the chiefest of his company were taken prisoners, and their weapōs & armour taken from all the rest. There were slayne of *Naruaez* his men sixetéene, and of *Cortes* his side were killed only two persons with a péece of Ordinance. They had no leysure to giue fire to their Ordinance, with the great diligence and hast of *Cortes*, sauing vnto one péece that killed the two men. The tutche holes were stopped with waxe, through the great raine that had fallen. By this meane those that were ouercome, did take occasion to ymagine that *Cortes* had suborned the

maister gunner, and others.

Cortes vsed great sobrietie and discretion, for he would not permitte anye of the prisoners to be reuiled or misused with any iniurious wordes, no nor yet *Naruaez*, who hadde spoken so much euill of him, although many of hys men desired reuengement. *Pedro de Maluenda* seruaunt to *Iames Velasques*, who was chiefe Stewarde to *Naruaez*, fledde to the Shippes with all the stuffe that he coulde gette, without any lette of *Cortes*. Héere may you sée what difference and aduantage is betwixt man and man, what did eache of these Captiues say, thinke, and doe, seldome time dothe happen that so fewe of one nation dothe ouercome so many of the same nation, especially the greater number béeyng fresh, lustie, and in a strong holde.

The Rebellion of Mexico against *Cortes.*

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fter that *Cortes* had obteyned victorie against *Naruaez*, he knew very well the most part of his company, vnto whome he spake curteously, praying them to forget the things past, and so would hée also. And also likewise, that it might please them to goe with him to *Mexico*, whiche was the richest Citie of all that *India*. He also restored to euerye man his armour and weapons, whiche were taken from them in their ouerthrowe. Hée also left very few of them prisoners with *Naruaez*. The Horsemen tooke the field with stomacke to fight, but after they had hearde of hys offer, they submitted themselues. In conclusion, all those that were come, hoping of spoyle, were glad to accepte his offer, and to goe with him with faithfull promise truly to serue him.

He renued his power in *Vera Crux*, and brought thither the nauie of *Naruaez*. He also dispatched two hundred Spanyardes to the riuer of *Garay*, and sent also *Iohn Velasques de Leon* with other two hundred men. To inhabite of *Coazacoalco*. He dispatched also a Spanyarde by post to *Mexico*, with newes of the victory, and hée himselfe followed towarde *Mexico*, with the great care that he had of those whome he had lefte there in guard of *Mutezuma* and the Citie.

The Post that wente on this iourney, in steade of thankes, was sore wounded by the *Indian* Rebelles, but although he was so hurte, yet he returned to *Cortes*, wyth newes that *Mexico* was reuolted, and that they had burned the foure Foystes, also assieged the Spanish house, and throwen downe a wall, and myned another, yea and set fire vpon the munition, taken away their vittayles, and had broughte them to suche extremitie, to be eyther slayne, or remayne prisoners, sauing that *Mutezuma* commaunded to ceasse the combate, yea and for all that they woulde not leaue their armoure, nor departe from the siege, only they

somewhat amayned their furie for theyr princes sake.

These newes were sorrowfull to *Cortes*, for thereby his pleasure was turned into care, the rather to make hast to succoure his friendes and fellowes, for if he hadde delayed hys comming but a small whyle, he had founde them eyther slayne, or else their bodyes ready to sacrifice: but his greatest comforte was, that *Mutezuma* remayned styll prisoner. He mustered his men in *Tlaxcallan*, and founde of his Spanishe nation a thousand footemen, and néere a hundred Horsemen. He procéeded forwardes towardes *Tezcucó*, where he founde none of the Gentlemen of his acquaintance, nor yet he there was receyued, as in time past he had bin, but rather he found a great alteration in the Coûtrey, and also many townes without people, or else rebelled. In *Tezcucó* met with him a *Spanyarde*, whome *Aluarado* had sente to desire him to come vnto them, and to certifie hym of all the premisses, saying moreouer, that with his comming their furye would be pacified.

With this messenger came another from *Mutezuma*, who declared vnto *Cortes*, that hys Lorde was innocent of all that was done, praying hym, that if he had conceiued any euill opinion agaynste hym, to putte away the same agayne, and that it mighte please hym to goe directly to hys own house, where hée abode hys comming, wyth the Spanishe garde that he hadde lefte with him, who were aliue and in good healthe as he hadde lefte them.

With thys message, *Cortes* and hys companye reposed all that nyghte, and the nexte daye, béeyng Midsommer daye, he entred into *Mexico* at dynner tyme, with hys hundred Horsemen, and the thousande footemen, with a greate companye of theyr friendes of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco*, and *Chololla*, but he saw but few folke in the stréetes, and small entertaynement, with manye bridges broken, and other euill tokens.

He came to hys lodgyng, and all those of his companye whyche could not well bee lodged there, hée sente them to the greate Temple. *Mutezuma* came forth into the yarde to receyue hym, full heauie and sorrowfull, as it séemed, of that offence whiche his subiectes had done, excusing hymselfe: and then euery

one entred into hys lodgyng and Chamber: but the ioy and pleasure of *Pedro de Aluarado* was incomparable, saluting the one the other, with demaundes and questions howe they fared, yea and how much the one company declared of prosperitie and pleasure, the other againe replyed as muche of sorrow and trouble.

The causes of the Rebellion.

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ortes procured to knowe the principall cause of the insurrection of the *Mexican Indians*, and hauing a generall daye of hearyng, the charge béeyng layde against them, some sayd, that it was through the letters and persuation of *Naruaez*: Others aunswered, their desire and meaning was, to expell the straungers, according to agréement made, for in theyr skirmishes they cryed nothing but gette you hence, get you hence: Other sayde, that they pretended the libertie of *Mutezuma*, for in theyr Combates they woulde saye, lette goe oure God and Kyng, if you list not to bee slayne. Others sayde, that they were Théeues, and hadde robbed theyr golde and plate from them, whyche was in valewe more than seauen hundred thousande duckettes: Others cryed, héere shall you leaue the golde that you haue taken from vs. Others sayde, that they coulde not abyde the syghte of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and other theyr mortall enimies. Manye beléeued that the mutinye was for throwyng downe theyr Goddes and Idolles: each of these causes were sufficient to rebell, how muche more altogether.

But the chiefest and most principall cause was, that after the departure of *Cortes* towarde *Naruaez*, happened a solemne holiday, whiche the *Mexicans* were wont to celebrate, and desiring to obserue the same, as they were wont to do, they came and besoughte Captayne *Aluarado* to graunt them licence, & not to ymagine that they were ioyned together to kill the Spanyardes. *Aluarado* gaue them licence, with such conditions, that in their Sacrifice shoulde no mans bloude be spilte, nor yet to weare anye weapon.

At this feast, sixe hundred Gentlemen and principall persons ioyned together in the greate temple: some doe saye, that they were more than a thousande persons of greate estate, but that nighte they made a maruellous great noyse, with cornets, shels, clouen bones, wherewith they made a straunge musicke: they

celebrated the feast, their naked bodyes couered with telc, made and wrought with precious stones, collers, girdels, bracelettes, and many other iewels of golde, siluer, and aliofar, with gallant tuffes of feathers on their heads. They daunced a daunce called *Mazeualiztli*, which is to say, deserte wyth payne, and so they call *Mazauali* a husbandman. Thys daunce is like *Netoraliztli*, which is another daunce. The manner is, that they lay mattes in the Temple yarde, and with the sounde of their Drummes, called *Atabals*, they daunce a round, hande in hande, some singing, and others answere, which songs were in y^e honor and prayse of the God or Saincte, whose feast it is, hoping for thys seruice to haue rayne, corne, healthe, victory, peace, chyl dren, or anye other thing that they maye wishe for, or desire.

A couetous desire and a vile.

These *Indian* Gentlemen being occupied in their daunsing and ceremonies, it fortuned that *Pedro de Aluarado* went to the Temple of *Vitzilopuchtli* to beholde theyr doings, and whether his goyng was of his owne accorde, or by the consent of his cōpany I am not certaine, although some saye that he was aduised howe the mutinie was there conspired, as after did follow: others holde opinion, that their onely goyng to the Temple was to beholde the maruaylous and straunge daunce. And then seying them so richely attyred, they coueted their Golde and Iewels whiche they were, and besieged the Temple with tenne Spaniardes at each dore, & the Captayne entred in, with fiftie men, and without any Christian respect slewe and murdered them al, and tooke from them all their treasure. Although this facte séemed odious vnto *Cortes*, yet he dissimuled the mater, for feare least he shoulde hurte his owne procéedings, as time did then require knowyng not, what néede he might haue of them, but especially to auoyde contention among his company.

The threatenings of the Mexicans *agaynst the Spaniardes.*

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he cause of this rebellion, beyng well knowen, *Cortes* demaunded how theyr enimies fought, mary (quoth they) after they had taken weapon agaynst vs for the space of ten dayes arew, they neuer seased with great fury to assaulte and cōbat our house, and we with feare least *Mutezuma* shoulde escape and flée vnto *Naruaez*, durst not goe out of dores to fight in the streate, but onely to defende the house with especiall care of *Mutezuma*, accordyng to your charge giuen vnto vs. Also we being but few and the *Indians* many, who still refreshed their men, they did not onely wery vs, but also put vs in great feare and cleane out of courage, yea and if at the greatest brunt, *Mutezuma* personally had not ascended to the toppe of our wal, commaunding them if euer they meant to sée him aliue, to stay and cease from their enterpryce.

At the sight of *Mutezuma* they were all amazed, and incontinent ceased the combat and assault. They sayde also that with the newes of the victory had agaynst *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, *Mutezuma* requyred his men to leaue off from theyr pretence: notwithstanding, the *Indians* calling to remembraunce, that *Cortes* was cōming with a greater company, at whose returne they should haue the more to doe, began afreshe to assaulte the house, wherevppon some doe thinke, that it was agaynst the will of *Mutezuma*. But it followed, that one day the Spaniardes standing in greate perill, charged their greatest péece of ordinaunce, and gyuing fire, the péece discharged not: the *Indians* seyng the same, beganne a freshe with a marueylous terrible noyse, vsing staues, Bowes, lances, & stones that came as thicke as Hayle, saying, nowe will wée redéeme our King, sette our houses at libertie, and reuenge our iniuries. But in the midst of theyr fury the péece wente of, without any more prymyng or touche, with a greate and fearefull

thundering, the péece beyng great and ful of hayle shotte, with the mayne pellotte, made a straunge spoyle among them, and with feare they retyred. But yet they beganne to say, well, well, shortely shall your fleshe be boyled, although wée meane not to eate it, for truely it is very carryne and good for nothing. But yet we will bestowe the same vpon the Eagles, Lions, Tigres and Snakes, who shal be the graues for your filthy carcasses.

But if forthwith ye let not *Mutezuma* departe, and restore him to his libertie, yée shall quickly haue your rewarde, for your presumption & pride, who durst be so bold, as to lay hande on *Mutezuma* being our God and Lorde that giueth vs our dayly foode. And yet yée with your filthy théeues handes presumed to touch him, oh why dothe not the earth open & swallow you which taketh other mēs goodes? But marke the end, for our Gods whose religion you did profane, will rewarde you according to your deserte: & if they do not shortly execute their wrath, then let vs alone, for we will out of hande make an ende of you. And as for those théeues and villaines of *Tlaxcallan* your slaues, shall not depart praying their gaynes, who nowe presume to take their maisters wiues, ye and to demaund tribute of them, vnto whome they themselues are tributors. These & such like were the wordes of the *Mexicans*. But our men, although they were in a maruelous feare, yet they reprehended their folly as touchyng *Mutezuma*, saying that *Mutezuma* was no God, but a mortall mā as they were, and no better, and that their Gods were vayne idols, and their religion most false and abhominable, and that only our God was holy, iuste, true, and infinite.

The great extremitie and daunger that
our men were put in by the Mexicans.

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1 hearyng the former talke in defense of the house, and prouiding of things necessary, the night passed away. And in the mornynge to proue the *Mexicans* intent, *Cortes* commaunded the market to be vsed as in time past. *Aluarado* wished *Cortes* to shew himself toward him as agrieued & not well pleased, makynge as though he would apprehend & correct him for the things passed, thinking that *Mutezuma* and his men would haue entreated for him. *Cortes* passed not for that talke, saying that they were infidels, diuelish and wicked people, with whome suche complementes shoulde not bée vsed.

But he commaunded a certaine principal Gentleman of *Mexico*, who stoode there presente, that out of hande he should commaunde the market to be furnished as in time past. This *Indian* vnderstāding that *Cortes* had spoken euil of them, made as though he went to fulfill his commandment: but he wente to proclayme libertie, publishyng the heynous and iniurious wordes whiche he had harde, so that in shorte space the matter beganne to waxe hoate, for some went and brake downe the bridges, others went to call all the Citizens, who ioyned themselues together, and besieged the Spaniardes house, with suche straunge noyse that one coulde not heare another: the stones flewe lyke hayle, Dartes and arrowes filled the Spaniardes yarde, which troubled them much. *Cortes* seing this broyle, he with certaine of his men went out at one dore, and an other Captayne at another, with eache of them twoo hundred men. They fought with the *Indians*, who slewe foure Spaniardes, and wounded many moe, and of them were slayne very fewe with their succor and defence at hande. If our men fought with them in the streates, then would they stoppe their passage at the bridges: if they assaulted their houses, then they were beaten with stones from the toppe of

their houses whiche were flatte ruffed, and at their retire they persecuted them terribly.

They sette fire vpon the Spaniardes house in sundry places, but chiefly in one place they could not aplake the fire a great whyle, vntill they threwe downe certayne chambers and walles, whereas they had entered at pleasure, had it not bene for the Artillerie, Crossebowes and handgunnes, which were there in defence of that place. This combat endured all that day vntill night, yea and in the night also they had their handes full: our men had litle leasure to sleepe, but rather spent the night in mending the walles and dores, and curing the wounded men who were more than foure score, & likewise to set their men in order & readinesse for the fight of the next day following.

A straunge inuention.

It was no sooner day, but the *Indians* beganne theyr assault a fresh, with more courage and furie than the day before, so that our men were fayne to trust to their artillery, the whiche the *Indians* feared not a whitte: for if a shotte carried ten, fiftene or twentie *Indians* at a clappe, they would close againe as though one man had not bene missyng. *Cortes* came out with other twoo hundreth men, and gate some bridges, burned some houses, and slew many that defended them. But the *Indians* were so many in number, that no hurte appeared, yea and our men were so fewe in comparison of them, that although they fought al the day, yet had they much a doe to defend themselues, how much more to offende. That day neuer a Spaniarde was slayne outright, but thrée score of them were wounded and hurte, wherby they had inough to do to cure them for that night, and to procure remedy and defence against the hurtes whiche they receyued from the house toppes. They inuented Engines of timber made vpon whéeles, and foure square, couered on the toppe, and with Arte to passe through the streates: there were placed on eache of them twentie men with Pikes, Hargabush, Crossebowes and one double Base. Behinde the Engines wente men with shouels and Mattockes, to throwe downe houses, bulworkes, and to rule and gouerne the Engines.

The death of Mutezuma.

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Il the while that the Engines were a makynge, our men came not out to fight, beyng occupied in the worke, but onely to defende their lodgyng. The enimies thinkyng that they were all sore hurte and wounded, beganne their warres agayne, reuilyng them with many iniurious wordes, threatnyng them, that if they woulde not deliuer *Mutezuma*, that they woulde giue them the moste cruellest death that euer man suffered, and came with great force to haue entred the house.

Cortes desired *Mutezuma* to goe vp into the sotie, which is the toppe of the flatte roufe of the house, and to commaunde his subiects to ceasse from their heate and furie. At *Cortes* his request he wente vp, and leaned ouer the wall to talke with them, who beginnyng to speake vnto them, they threw so many stones out of the streete, houses and windowes, that one happened to hitte *Mutezuma* on the temples of his head, with whiche blowe he fell downe to the ground: this was his ende, euen at the handes of his owne subiectes and vassalles agaynst theyr willes: for the truth is that a Spaniarde helde a Target ouer his head, wherby they knew him not, nor yet would beléeue that he was there, for all the signes and tokens whiche were made vnto them. *Cortes* forthwith published the hurte and daunger of life of *Mutezuma*: some gaue credite to his tale, and othersome woulde not, but rather fought very stoutly. Threé dayes *Mutezuma* remayned in extréeme payne, and at the ende departed his life.

And bicause it shoulde appeare that his death was of the stripe that they had giuen, and not by any hurte receyued at their hands, he caused two gentlemē of *Mexico*, who were prysoners, to carry him out vpon their backes, who certified the Citizens of the certentie of his death, that at that presente time were giuyng battery to the house. But yet for all this they woulde not leaue off the combat, nor yet the warres, as some of our men thought they woulde, but rather

procéeded on their purpose, with greater courage and desire of reuenge. And when they retyred, they made a pityfull lamentation, with preparation to bury their king in *Chapultepec*. On this sorte died *Mutezuma*, who was holden for a God among the *Indians*. Some say that hée desired to be Baptised at the Shrouetide before his death, and they prolonged the matter, thinking at Easter followyng to haue christened him with honour and triumph. But as it happened, it had bene better to haue done it at that time according to his request. But with the comming of *Pamfilo de Naruaez* the thyng was also delayed, and after hée was wounded it was likewyse forgotten, with the troubles that they were in. It was credibly enformed, that *Mutezuma* was neuer consentyng to the death of any Spaniarde, nor yet in conspiracie agaynst *Cortes*, but rather loued him entierly: yet some are of an other opinion, and bothe giue good reasons to approue their arguments, but the truth could not wel be knowen, for at that tyme our men vnderstoode not the language, and agayne *Mutezuma* after his death, lefte none to open that secrete.

The *Indians* affirme that he was of the greatest bloud of all his lineage, and the greatest kyng in estate, that euer was in *Mexico*. It is also to be noted, that when the kingdomes do most florish, then are they niest to a chāge, or else to change their Lorde, as doth appeare in this history of *Mutezuma*. Our men lost more by y^e death of *Mutezuma* than the natural *Indians*, if we cōsider the murder and destruction that incontinent did follow. *Mutezuma* was a man very moderate in his diet, and not so vicious as other *Indiās*, although he had many wiues. He was also liberal and frée harted: he was estéemed for a very wise man, in my iudgement he was eyther wise in lettyng things passe after that sorte, or else a very foole, that did not vnderstande their doings: he was as deuoute as warlyke, for he had bene presente in many battayles: it is reported that he wanne and had victory in nine battayles, & also other nine times victorie man for man in the field, he reigned seuentene yeares and certaine moneths.

The combat betwene the Spaniardes and the Indians.

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fter the death of *Mutezuma*, *Cortes* sente vnto his Neuwes, and to the other noblemen who mainteyned the warres, desiryng thē to come and speake with him, and they came, vnto whome *Cortes* spake from the wall where *Mutezuma* was slayne, saying, that it were méete that they should ceasse from warre, and to chose another king, and also to burie the dead, and that he woulde come to his buriall as his friende: likewise he signified vnto them, that for the loue he bare vnto *Mutezuma* who had intreated for them, he had stayed from the finall spoyle of the cittie, & correction of them for their rebellion and obstinacie. But now that he had not vnto whome to haue respect, he woulde bothe burne their houses, and chasten them, if that they submitted not themselues to his friendship.

They answered, that they woulde neyther leaue the warres, nor yet estéeme his friēdship, vntill they saw thēselues in their libertie, and their wrongs wholly reuenged, yea and that without his counsell they coulde elect the King vnto whom of right y^e kingdome did apertaine. And sithens the Gods hath taken our welbeloued *Mutezuma*, we will giue his body a Sepulchre, as vnto such a King doth apperteyne: yea and if he would goe and beare his friend *Mutezuma* company to the Gods, that then he should come forth, and they would quickly dispatch him: and as for the residue, they would haue rather warre thā peace, yea and that they were not menne that did yéelde with wordes. Also séeing their King was dead, for whose respecte they ceased to burne their houses, rost their bodyes, and eate their fleshe, but nowe (quoth they) if ye depart not, we will not dally long time with you.

A valiant man.

Cortez finding them stoute and stubborne, liked not the bargaine. Againe, he

knewe well that their meaning was, that if they hadde departed from the Citie, to haue spoyled and murthered them by the way. And séeing that their liues, rule and gouernement consisted in strength of hand and good courage, he came forth in a morning with the thrée engines, foure pièces of Ordinance, and fiue hūdred Spanyards, and thrée thousand *Tlaxcaltecas*, to fighte with the enimies, and to burne and spoyle their houses. They broughte the engines néere vnto certaine greate houses which stoode néere vnto a bridge, casting theyr scaling ladders on the walles, and so gote vp to the toppe where manye people were, and there combated awhile, but shortly turned to their forte againe, without doing any greate hurte, with one Spanyarde slayne, and manye wounded, and also the engines broken and spoyled, yea the multitude of *Indians* were so thicke, and flewe vppon the Ordinance in suche sorte, that they had no leysure to discharge them. The stones came also so thicke from the house toppes, that the engines were soone at an ende. And the Citizens hauing housed them againe in the forte and lodging, began to amende the hurt done in their houses, and to recouer the stréetes that were lost: also y^e great Temple, in the Tower whereof, fiue hundred principall men hadde fortified themselues wyth vittayles, stones, and long Launces, piked with yron and flint stone verye sharp, but truly they did most hurt with stones. This Tower was high and strong, as I haue before declared, and stoode néere vnto the Spanyardes forte, whiche from that tower receiued muche hurt. Although *Cortes* was somewhat sadde and heauie, yet he ceased not like a good Captayne to comfort and encourage his menne, and alwayes was the firste man at any brunt or assay, and hys heart coulde not permitte him to remaine penned vp in that fort, wherefore he toke thrée hundred Spanyardes, and went to assiege the high tower. Thrée or foure dayes he ceased not that enterprise, but coulde not come to the toppe, being so high a thing, and manye persons in defence of the same, well prouided, with fitte munition for the purpose, so that our men came dayly tumbling downe the stayres, flying to their house with broken pates, so that our Spanyardes dysmayed more and more, and many murmured at the matter: you may well iudge howe *Cortes* his heart was

afflighted, for the *Indians* encreased still in courage, hauing the better hand, and dayly victory from the high Tower. But nowe *Cortes* determined to leaue his house, and not to returne therevnto agayne, vntill he had wonne the Tower. He bounde his Target to his arme whiche had bin hurt before, and beséeged the Tower againe with many of his men, *Tlaxcaltecas* and other friends, and many times, although they were beaten downe, arose agayne, succoring one another, tyll at length they gotte to the toppe, and there foughte with the *Indians*, till some of them lept out of the Tower, and stood hanging vpon the listes of the wall, which were thrée in number, the one higher than the other, and a foote broad. Some fell downe to the ground, who besides their falles, were receyued vpon the swordes poynt, and in this sorte they left none aliue. Thrée houres they fought on the top of the Tower, bycause y^e multitude of *Indians* wer great. In conclusion, the whole fiue hundred men there dyed very valiantly, and if their weapon and knowledge had bin equall, the victory had bin doubtfull. *Cortes* set fire on all the Chappels, and other thrée Chappels, where infinite Idols were, yet those sely *Indians* lost no poynte of courage with the losse of their Temple and Gods, which touched them at the heart, but rather began with more furie to assault the Spanish house.

Hovv the Mexicans refused the offer *of peace made by Cortez.*

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Cortez considering the great multitude of *Indians* his enimies, and also the greate courage, with desire of reuengement: and waying also how his men were weake and wéeryed with fight, yet (I may say) with great desire to goe frō thence, if that the Citizens would haue suffered them: he began againe to require them with peace, and to desire them of truce, saying vnto them also, that they should consider, how that many of their side were slayne, and yet they coulde kill none of them. They béeing more hard harted than before, answered that they vtterly refused his offer, saying, that they neuer woulde haue peace with those who had slained their men and burned their Gods: yea (quoth they) and although some of vs are killed, yet wée also do both kill and hurt, for ye are mortall men, and not immortall, as we are: beholde ye also the number of vs, vpon *Zoties*, in windowes and stréetes: assure youre selues there are thrée tymes as manye within the houses. So wée shall sooner make an ende of you by kylling one and one, than you shall doe of vs by killing a thousande by thousande, or ten thousand by ten thousand: for ending all these whome you sée, there wyll come so many more, and after them so manye more: but if ye were once killed, there woulde come no more Spanyardes, yea and when oure weapons can not throughly destroy you, that then we will sterue you to deathe with hunger and famine, yea and though nowe you would depart, it is too late, bycause y^e bridges are throwen downe, and the calseys broken, and succoure by water you haue none. In this communications the daye was spent, and night at hand, their heads occupied, and heartes full heauie, for hunger alone hadde bin ynough to finish theyr dayes, without any further warre. That night, the one halfe of the number of Spanyardes armed themselues, and late in the euening came forthe into the

Citie. The *Indiās* now being not accustomed to fight at such houres, the Spanyardes burned aboue thrée hundred houses in one stréete, and in some of them found many Citizens, of whome they left not one aliue. They burned and spoyled thrée *Zoties* néere vnto their owne lodging, whiche hadde greatly annoyed them before. The residue of the Spanyardes whiche abode at home, amended the engins, and repaired their houses. As this iourney hapned well vnto them, earely in the morning they procéded out againe, and wente to the bridge where their engins hadde bin broken, and although they founde there greate resistance, yet the matter imported their liues. They foughte with noble courage, and gote manye towers, houses and *Zoties*. They wanne also four of the eyght bridges which were in the Citie, leauing gard in those places whyche were wonne, returning to their Campe with manye woundes, beyng both wéery and full of care and sorrow.

The next daye they came forth againe, and wanne the other foure bridges, and dammed them vp with earth, in such sorte, that the Horsemen that way followed the enimies to the firme lande. *Cortez* being occupied in damming vp the ditches, and making plaine way of the bridges, there came certayne messengers vnto him, saying, that néere at hand, abode many noblemen and Captaines to treatie of peace, requiring hym to come vnto them, praying him to bring *Tlamacazque* his prisoner, who was one of the principallest of the Diuels Cleargie there, to heare the treatie of the matter.

Cortes wente, and carried the Priest with him, whome he appoynted to require them to ceasse from contention, and to remoue their siege, but he came not backe wyth aunswere. All thys was a fayned fetcher, to see the state of the Christian Campe, or else to recouer their religious *Tlamacazque*. *Cortes* séeyng theyr deceyte, wente hys way to dinner, and was no sooner sette at hys meate, but certayne *Tlaxcaltecas* came running in with an open crye, saying, that theyr enimies hadde recouered agayne the bridges, and wente armed vp and downe the stréetes, and hadde also slayne the most of the Spanyardes that were lefte in garde of the bridges. Incontinente *Cortes* wente out with the Horsemenne, who

were readiest at that tyme, and made way through the troupe of enimies, following them euen vnto the firme lande, but at theyr returne, the footemen that were hurt and wéeried in kéeping of the stréete, coulde not susteyne the force and furie of the infinite number of *Indians*, whyche came vpon them, yea with muche adoe they coulde escape home to their forte. The multitude was not so greate of *Indians* in the stréete, but also by water in *Canoas*, so that stones flewe on both sydes, and galled oure men cruelly. *Cortes* was hurte in one of hys knées very sore, wherevppon it was blowen abroad through the Citie, that *Cortes* was slayne, whiche newes dyd greatly discourage our men, and much animate the *Indians*. But yet *Cortes* for all hys payne and hurt, ceassed not to embolden & encourage hys Souldyers, who set afreshe vpon the enimies. At the farthest bridge fel two Horses, which troubled muche oure men that followed. *Cortes* made suche way among the *Indians*, that the Horsemen hadde reasonable passage, and béeyng y^e hindmost man himselfe, he was in great peril of taking. It was a maruell to see what a spring hee gaue with hys Horse, and thereby escaped, but in conclusion, with stones they were forced to returne to their hold, beyng very late.

As soone as he had ended his supper, he sente some of his men to gard the stréete and bridges, and to defend the same againste the enemie. They were somewhat ioyfull of their procéedings and good successe whiche they hadde the same day.

Hovve Cortez fledde from *Mexico.*

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ut *Cortes* waying the substance of the matter, sawe in effecte that his syde wente to wracke, wherefore he requested hys menne to departe from thence, who were not a little ioyfull to heare their Captayne pronounce that saying, for few or none of them escaped vnhurt and wounded. They feared death, but yet wanted not stomacke and heart to dye. The *Indians* were so many, that if the Chrystians shoulde but onely haue cutte their throtes without resistance, yet they had bin too few for that purpose.

They were also in suche necessitie of bread, that pinched them sore. Their poudre and shotte was spent, and almost all other prouision. Their house was welnigh beaten downe about their eares. All these causes were sufficient to leaue *Mexico*, and to seeke to saue their liues: yet on the other side, they iudged it an euill case, to turne their backs to their enimies, for (quoth they) the very stones riseth vp against hym that flyeth. They feared agayne the passage of the arches where the bridges hadde bin, so that now they were full besette with sorrow, care, and misery: but in fyne, they all agréed to departe that nighte, for many dayes before, one of their companie called *Botello*, who presumed to haue good skylle in the Arte of Nigromācie, did declare vnto them, that if they would depart from *Mexico* at a certayne houre appoynted, that then they shuld escape, or else not: but whether they gaue credite to his sayings or no, they fully determined to departe that night, and like vnto politike and good Souldyers, they prepared a bridge of tymber to carrie wyth them, to passe ouer the arches where bridges hadde bin. This is most certayne, they were all priue and agréede to the departure, and not as some report, that *Cortes* fledde away, leauing aboue two hundred Spanyardes in the house, who knewe nothyng of hys departure, and

were afterwarde all slayne, sacrificed, and eaten in *Mexico*, for out of the Citie he coulde not haue departed so secretly, but it shoulde haue come to their eares: howe much more out of one house, where they were all together.

Revvande of a couetous mind.

Cortes called *Iohn de Guzman* hys Chamberlayne, commaunding him to open the hall where the treasure was, and called all the officers and others, to see the distribution of the same. First the kings portion was deducted, and he gaue a Horse of his owne, and men to carrie it: and for the remainder, he willed euery man to take what he listed, for he gaue it frankly vnto them. The souldiers which had come with *Naruaez*, & now serued *Cortes*, were somewhat hungry of treasure, so that they tooke as much golde and other riches, as they myghte possible carrie, but it cost them déere, for at their going out of the Citie, with the waight of their heauie burthens, they coulde neyther fighte, nor yet make hast on their way, vppon whiche occasion, the *Indians* caught many of them, and drewe them by the héeles to the slaughterhouse of Sacrifice, where they were slayne and eaten: yet those that escaped, had eache of them some profyte, for that pray was well worth seauen hundred thousand Ducketes: but beeyng things wrought in greate péeces, they were troublesome to carrie, so that he whiche carried least, escaped best. Yet some doe thinke, that there remayned in that house a great parte of the treasure, but it was not so, for after our men had taken what they would, then came in the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and made spoyle of all the rest.

Cortes gaue charge to certayne of his menne, to garde with much respecte, a sonne and two daughters of *Mutezuma*, *Cacama*, and his brother, and manye other greate Gentlemen his prisoners.

He also appoynted other fortie mē to carrie the bridge of timber, and other *Indians* to carrie the Ordinance, and a little grayne of *Centli* that remayned.

The vantgarde he committed to *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, and *Antonio de Quiniones*: and the reregarde he committed to *Pedro de Aluarado*, and he hymselfe remayned with a hundred men, to vse his discretion. In this order, and with good deliberation, at midnight he departed from *Mexico* in a darke myst,

and so quietly, that none of the *Indians* knewe thereof, commendynge themselues vnto *GOD*, beséechyng hym in theyr prayers, to delyuer them from that presente daunger, and tooke the way of *Tlacopan*, béeyng the same way that he came into the Citie.

The firste arche whereof the bridge was throwen downe, they passed with the timber bridge whiche they carried with them at ease.

In this meane time the watche and espies which warded in the hiest temples, had descried their flight, and began to sounde their instruments of warre with a maruelous crie, saying, they flie, they flie: And sodenly with this noyse, they hauing no armour to put on, nor other impedimēt, ioyned an infinite company of them together, and followed with greate celeritie, yea and with suche a heauy and terrible noyse, that all the lake pronounced the Eccho, saying, let the cursed and wicked be slayne, who hath done vnto vs such great hurte.

But when *Cortes* came to plante his bridge vpon the second arche of the Cittie, there mette him a greate company of *Indians* to defende the same, yet with much adoe he planted his bridge and passed thervpon with fiue horsemen and a hundred Spaniardes, and with them procéded through the Calsey to the mayne lande passing many perilous places, wherein swamme both man and horse, for the bridge of timber was broken: this done, he lefte his foote menne on the firme lande, vnder the gouernement of *Iohn Xaramillo*, and returned backe with the fiue horsemen for to succour and helpe the residue of his company whiche were behinde. But when he came vnto them, he found some fighting with great courage, but many slaine. He lost also his golde and fardage, his ordinance and prisoners, yea in fine he founde a maruellous change and alteration of the estate he lefte them in, wherevpon lyke a good Captayne he shewed his wisdom and valour, helpyng and recoueryng as many of his men, as he myght, and brought them into safetie. He lefte also Captayne *Aluarado* to succour the reste.

But *Aluarado* with all his power and strength could not resiste the fury of the enimies, wherefore with the Lance in his hande he beganne to flie, seyng the

greate slaughter of his company, so that hée was forced to passe ouer the dead carkases, yea and vpon some that were not throughly dead, who made a lamentable, pytifull, and dolefull mone. And commyng to the next arche, whose brydge was broken downe, of necessitie he tooke hys Lance, and therewith leaped such a space, that the *Indians* were amased to sée, for none of his fellowes could doe the like, although they approued the enterprise, and were drowned for their labour.

When *Cortes* sawe this sorrowfull sight, he sate hym downe, not to take any rest for his wearinesse, but only to bewayle the dead men, yea and also them that were aliue and in greate daunger, and also to ponder the vnstedfastnesse of cruell fortune in the perdition of so many his friends, such great treasure and lordshippe, so greate a Citie and Kingdome, but also to bewayle the sorrowfull estate that he himself stooode in, seyng the moste of his men wounded & hurte, and knowyng not whyther to goe, for that he was not certayne of the helpe and friendship of *Tlaxcaltecas*. Yea and what harde hart, woulde not haue relented to behold the dead bodies, who a litle before had entred that same way, with suche magnificall triumphe, pompe and pleasure. But yet hauing care of those whom he had left on the firme lande, he made haste to *Tlacopan*.

This sorowfull night, which was the tenth of July in *An* .1520. were slaine aboute .450. Spaniardes, 4000. *Indian* friends, and .46. horse, yea & (as I iudge) all the prisoners which were in his company. If this mishap had fortunied in the day time, possible so many and so great a nūber had not perished. But where it fortunied by night, the noyse of the wounded was sorrowful, & of the victors horrible and feareful. The *Indians* cried victory, calling vpon their diuelish and filthy Goddes with ioy & pleasure, our men being ouercome, cursed their vnfortunate lot, yea the hower, and he that brought them thither, others cried vnto God for succour, others sayd helpe, help, for I stande in daūger of drowning. I know not certainly whether moe perished in the water or the lande, hoppyng to saue themselues by swimming and leapyng ouer the sluces and broken places, for they say, that a Spaniarde was no sooner in the water, but an *Indian*

was vppon his backe. They haue great dexteritie & skill in swimming, so that catching any Spaniarde in the water, they would take him by the one arme, and carrie him whither they pleased, yea & would vnpanch him in the water. If these *Indians* had not occupied themselues in taking the spoyle of those that were fallen and slaine, certainly one Christian had not escaped that day: but in fine, the greatest number of Spaniardes that were killed, were those that went moste laden with golde plate and other iewels, & those which escaped, were they that carried least burdens, & the first that with noble courage made way to passe through the troupe of *Indians*.

Nowe wée may safely say, that the couetous desire of gold, wherof they had plenty, was cause of their death, and they may answere that they died riche. After that those, whiche had escaped, were paste the calsey, the *Indians* stayed and followed them no further, eyther for that they contented themselues with that whiche they had done, or else they durst not fight in open fields: But principally it is thought, that they abode to mourne and lament for the death of *Mutezuma* his chyldren, not knowing till then their sorrowfull ende. But nowe seyng the thyng present before their eyes, they wrang theyr hands, and made a pitifull dole and crie, and the rather, bycause they themselues had slayne them against their willes.

The battayle of Otumpan, a notable victory.

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he Inhabitants of *Tlacopan*, knewe not how our men came spoyled, hurte, and ouerthrowen, and againe our men stode in a maze, and knew not what to doe nor whither to goe. *Cortes* came vnto them, & cōforted them & placed them in order before him, requyring them to make hast, vntill they might come into the broade field, before such tyme as the men of *Tlacopan* should heare of the newes passed, & so to arme thēselues and to ioyne with fourtie thousande *Mexicans*, who after the mournyng for their friends, came marchyng after them. He placed in the vantgard the *Indians* his friēds, and passed through certayne tilled groundes, and continually fought as they went, vntill they came to a high hill, where was a tower and a Temple, whiche is called our Lady church at this day.

A vvery iourney.

The *Indians* slewe some of the Spaniardes whiche came in the reregard, and many of their *Indian* friends, before they could get vp to the toppe of the hill. They loste much of the golde, that had remayned, and with greate hazarde escaped through the multitude of *Indians* with life, their horses whiche remayned aliue, were foure and twentie, who were tyred both with trauell and hunger, & the Spaniardes their maisters, with the residue coulde scarcely stirre hande or foote with wearinesse of fightyng, and penurie of hunger, for al that day and night they ceassed not from fight, eating nothing at all.

A payneful man.

In this Temple were reasonable lodgings, where they fortified themselues as well as they myght, and dranke one to an other, but theyr supper was very slēder. After their simple feast was ended, they went and beheld an infinite number of *Indians*, whiche had beset them almost round about, makyng a maruellous

shoute and crie, knowyng that they were without victuals, whiche onely is a warre worser than to fight with the enimie. They made many fires with the woodde of sacrifice, rounde about the tower and Temple, & with this pollicie, at midnight departed secretely. It happened that they had *Tlaxcalteca* to be their guide, who knew well the way, assuring to bring them into the iurisdiction of *Tlaxcallan*: with this guide they began to iourney. *Cortes* placed his wounded men and fardage in the middest of his company, the souldiours that were whole and in health, he deuided into the vantgarde & reregarde: he could not passe so secretly, but y^t they were espied by the *Indian* scoute, whiche was neare at hand, who gaue aduise therof incōtinent. Fiue horsemē which went before to discouer, fell among certayne cōpanies of *Indians*, which attended their cōming to robbe thē, & seing the horsemen, they suspected that the whole army was at hand, whervpon they fled, but yet seing them few in number stāde and ioyned with the other *Mexicans* that followed & pursued our men thrée leagues vntil they came to a hill where was an other temple with a good tower & lodgyng, where they lodged that night without supper. They departed in the mornyng from thence, and wente through a cragged & naughty way, to a great towne the enhabitantes whereof were fledde for feare, so that they abode there two daies to rest thēselues, to cure their mē, & horses: also they somewhat eased their hūgery stomakes and carried frō thence prouision, although not much, for they had none to carrie it. And being departed frō thence, many enimies pursued them & persecuted them very sore. Likewise y^e guide erred out of his way, & at lēgth came to a little village of few houses, where they reposed y^e night. In the morning they procéded vpon their way, and the enimies still pursuyng and troubled them sore all the day.

Cortes vvounded vvith a slyng.

Oh noble Cortez.

Cortes was wōūded with the stripe of a sling, and therewith was in greate daunger of life, for his head so rancbled, that of necessitie they were forced to take out certaine péeces of his skull, whervpon he was driuen to séeke a solitarie place in the wildernesse to cure him, and in goyng thitherwardes, the enimies

wounded fiue Spaniardes and foure horses, whereof one died, and that was eaten among them for a sumptuous supper, and yet not sufficient for them all, for there was none of them whiche were not vexed with hunger. I speake not of their woundes and wearinesse, things sufficient to haue made an ende of lyfe. But certainly the Spanishe nation can abide more hunger than any other, and especially these with *Cortes* dyd shewe the prooffe. The nexte day in the mornyng departing from a litle Village, and fearyng the multitude of enimies, *Cortes* commaunded eche horseman to take a sicke manne behinde him, and those that were somewhat stronger, to holde by the horse tayles and stirroppes: he likewise made cruches for other some to ease them, and woulde not leaue one of his men behinde him to be a pray and supper for the *Indian* enimies. This aduise was very profitable as things fell out, yea also there were some of them that carried vpon their backe their fellowes, & thereby were saued. They had not iourneyed a full league into a playne field, when there mette them an infinite number of *Indians* who compassed them round aboute, and assaulted our men in such sorte, that they verily beléeued that day to ende generally their liues, for there were many *Indians* that durst wrastell with our men, man to man, yea and layd some of them in the duste, and drewe them by the héeles, whether it were with the great courage whiche they had, or whether it were with the trauayle, hunger and hurtes of our men I know not, but great pittie it was to see, how they were drawn by the *Indian* enimies, and what grieuous mone they made.

Oh valiant Cortez.

200000. Indians.

Cortes that wente with vigilant care comfortyng his men, as muche as was possible to doe, and well perusing the great daunger that they were in, commendyng himselfe to God, sette spurres to his horse and made way thorow the greatest troupe of *Indians*, and came vnto the captayne generall who bare the Royall standart of *Mexico*, and passed him through with his Lance, whereof he incontinent died. But when the *Indians* sawe the standart fallen, they threw their auncient on the grounde and fled, scattering them here and there like men amazed, knowing not whither to fly, for such is their custome in warre, that when

they sée the generall slayne, they forthwith leaue the fielde. Then our wery soules began to recouer hart and strength, and the horsemen followed thē to their great anoyance and slaughter. It was credibly reported, that there were that day in fielde .200000. *Indians*. And the fielde where this battayle was fought is called *Otumpan*: there was neuer a more notable facte done in *India*, nor greater victorie since the first discouery of the same. And as manye Spaniardes as sawe *Hernando Cortes* fighte that day, did holde opinion, that neuer one man did more greater feates in armes, and that he only was the meane in his owne person to saue and deliuer them all.

The entertaynement vvhicke the
Spaniardes had in Tlaxcallan.

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fter this victory obtayned, *Cortes* with his company went to lodge in a house planted alone, in a playne ground, from whence appeared the Mountaynes of *Tlaxcallan*, whereof our menne muche reioyced: yet on the other side they stoode in doubt whether they should finde them their friendes in such a daungerous season, for bycause the vnfortunate man that flieth, findeth nothing in his fauour, for all thing that he pretendeth, happeneth cleane contrary. That night *Cortes* himselfe was scout, not bycause he was more whole than his fellowes, but like a good Captayne, he deuided the trauayle & paynes equally, euen as their hurte and damage was come.

Being day, they iourneyed in plaine and straight way, directly to the Mountaynes and Prouince of *Tlaxcallan*, they passed by a swéete foūtaine of water, where they wel refreshed themselues, and after they came to *Huazilipan*, a towne of *Tlaxcallan*, of .4000. housholdes, where they were louingly receiued & abundantly prouided for thrée dayes, whiche they abode there refreshing & curing their weary bodies. Some of the townes men would giue thē nothing without payment, but the moste parte did vse them very gently: Vnto this Towne came *Maxixca*, *Xicotencath*, *Axotecath*, and many other principall persons of *Tlaxcallan*, and *Huexozinca* with .50000. men of warre, who were going to *Mexico* to succour the Spaniardes, knowyng of their troubles, but not of their hurte and spoyle, yet some holde opinion that they hauyng certayne knowledge of all theyr mishappes and flight from *Mexico*, came only to comforte them, and in the name of all theyr communaltie and state, to offer them their Towne, in conclusion, they séemed sorrowfull for their misfortunes, and agayne ioyfull to sée them there: Yea some of them with anguishe of harte wepte, and sayde, wée did aduise and warne yée, that the *Mexicans* were Traytours and wicked persons, and yet yée woulde not beléeue vs: wée doe pyttie and bewayle your troubles, but if it please you, lette vs goe thither to reuenge your iniuries, and the death of your Christians, and our Citizens: and if now ye will not, that then it may please you to goe with vs home to our houses, for to recreate youre persons, and to cure your woundes.

Cortes did cordially reioyce, to heare and finde such succour and friendship, in such good men of warre, whereof he stode in doubt as he came thitherward. He gaue them most hartie thanks for their louing offer, curtesie, and good will. He gaue vnto them of such Iewels as remayned, and sayd vnto them, the time will come, that I shall desire your helpe against the *Mexicans*, but now presently it is néedefull, to cure my sicke and wounded men.

The noble men that were there present, besought him to giue them leaue to skirmish with the *Indians* of *Culhua*, for as yet many of them wandered there

aboute. *Cortes* graunted their request, and sente with them some of hys men, which were lustie, and in good health, who procéded forth all together, and in that iourney slewe many *Indian* enimies, so that after this time, the enimies appeared no more. Then with triumph, pleasure, and victory, they departed toward the Citie, and oure men followed. It is credibly reported, that twenty thousande men and women met them by the way with sundry kindes of meates: I do beléeue that the most of them came to see them, for the great loue whiche they bare vnto them, and likewise to enquire of their friends which had gone with them to *Mexico*, of whome few returned. In *Tlaxcallan* they were honorable receyued, and well vsed. *Maxixca* gaue hys house to *Cortes*, and the residue of hys company were hosted at Gentlemens houses, who cherished them excéedingly, whereby they forgate the paynes, sorrowes, and trauels past, for in fiftéene dayes before, they lay on the bare ground.

Certaynely the Spanyardes were muche indebted to the *Tlaxcaltecas*, for their loyaltie and faithfull friendship, especially vnto that good and vertuous Gentleman *Maxixca*, who threwe *Xicotencatl* downe the stayres and steppes of the chiefe Temple, for giuing his counsell to kyll the Spanyardes, meaning to reconcile hymselfe with the *Mexicans*.

He also made two Orations, the one to the men, and the other to the women, in the greate fauoure and prayse of the Spanyardes, putting them in remembrance, howe that they hadde not eaten salt, nor worne cloth of cotten wooll in many yeares before, vntil now that their friends were come: and to this day these *Indians* doe muche presume of their fidelitie, and likewise of the resistance and battayle they made with *Cortes* in *Teoacazinco*, so that now when they celebrate any great feast, or receyue any Christian vizeking, there commeth of them out into the field sixtie or seauentie thousande men, to skirmishe and fight in the same order as they did with *Cortes*.

The protestation and request of the Souldyers to Cortes.

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hen Cortes departed firste from *Tlaxcallon* towards *Mexico* to visit *Mutezuma*, hée lefte there twentie thousande Castlins of golde and moe, besides the Kings portion which was sent with *Monteio* and *Portocarrero*. He lefte there also manye other things if néede should haue happened in *Mexico* of money, or other things to prouide his men in *Vera Crux*, and this he lefte there also, to proue the fidelitie of his friendes in *Tlaxcallon*. And after he had obteyned the victory against *Naruaez*, he wrote vnto the Captayne that he shoulde sende for the same, for reason required that in all things they should haue their partes.

Exclamation.

The Captaine of *Vera Crux* sente fiftie Spanyardes and fiue Horsemen for the same, who at their returne, were slayne and taken prisoners with all that treasure, by y^e men of *Culhua* who had rebelled through the comming of *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, robbing and spoyling sundrye dayes. But when Cortez vnderstoode this newes, his ioy was turned to sorrowe, not onely for the golde and treasure so muche, as for the losse of his menne, fearyng also some other warre or vprore to haue bin in the riche Towne of *Vera Crux*, wherevpon hée sente a messenger thyther, who returned in shorte time, certifying that all the inhabitantes there were in good health, and also all the *Comarcans* quiet, and without any token of alteration. This newes and answer pleased Cortes and all his company, whiche desired to goe thither, but he woulde not permitte them, wherefore they began to murmure and to exclaime, saying, what thinketh Cortes, what meaneth he to doe with vs? why, will he kéepe vs héere to dye an euill death? what haue we offended him, that he will not let vs goe? we are alreadye full of wearinesse, our bodyes are yet ful of fresh woundes, we haue spent our bloude, and are now

without strength and apparell: wée sée oure selues in a straunge Countrey, and full of miserye, enuironed with enimies, yea and without hope to come to that hygh place from whence we fell, yea then mighte wée bée accompted for worse than madde men, to come into the perils from whence wée escaped: wée meane not nowe to ende oure lyues so desperately, as he would haue vs, for wyth the insatiable thirste of honoure and glorye, hée estéemeth not hys life, neyther oures. He doth not lykewyse consider, that he wanteth menne, horses, artillerie, and armoure, things so necessarye for the warres, yea he also wanteth victuall, whyche is a thyng moste principall: what shall wée saye, but that, he erreth, and is deceyued, in giuing credite to these *Tlaxcaltecas*, who are, like vnto the other nations of *India*, which are light, changeable, and louers of newe things, yea and rather, in effecte of troth, they better loue the *Culhuacans*, than the Spanishe nation, yea and although they nowe dissemble, yet when they shall sée a greate army of *Mexicans* come vpon them, they will then deliuer vs aliue, to be eaten, and sacrificed, for it is an olde rule, that friendship dothe not long endure betwixte them that are of sundry religion, apparell, and spéech.

After all these complayntes and murmurations amōg themselues, they made a protestation and request, in forme as it were in the name of the King and all the company, praying him incontinent to departe frō thence, and to goe with them to the Towne of *Vera Crux*, before the enimies mighte disturbe their way and passage, and then they to remayne both bought and solde, and shutte vp as it were in a prison: also they declared, that in *Vera Crux* they should haue better opportunitie to make themselues strong, if that he meante to retorne agayne vpon *Mexico*, or else to take shipping, if so it shoulde séeme conuenient.

Cortes hearing this request, and determination of hys Souldyers, was at his wits ende, ymagining that theyr pretence was, onely to procure him to goe from thence, and afterwardes to rule him at their pleasures, and béeing a thing cleane contray to his pretended purpose, hée aunswered them as followeth.

The Oration made by Cortez in answere
to his Souldyers demaunde.

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y maisters, I would do and fulfill youre request, if it were a thing méete and conueniente for you, for there is not one alone of you, how much more all in generall, for whome I shoulde not willingly aduenture my goodes and life, if he shuld néede the same: for why? your deedes haue bin such, that I stand bound neuer to forget thē, or else to shewe my selfe an ingratefull man. And thinke you not good friendes, although I do not fulfill the thing whiche you so earnestly desire, that therefore I estéeme not youre authoritie: but in not graunting to the same, I do exalt and estéeme you in greater reputation: for why? in oure departing nowe from hence, oure honor is blotted and stayned for euermore, and in abiding héere, we shall like valiant menne preserue the same. What nation is there, that had rule, dominon, and Empire in this world, that hath not bin ouercome at some time? What famous Captayne returned home to his house, for the losse of one battayle? none truly, for he that dothe not perseuer, shall neuer triumph with Lady Victory: he that retyreth, sheweth that he flyeth, and remayneth a mockingstocke for all men: but hée that sheweth nobly his face, dothe vtter the courage of his heart, yea and is both feared, and also beloued.

If we now should depart from hence, these our friēds would accept and iudge vs for cowardes, and refuse perpetually our friendship. Likewise oure enimies woulde iudge the same, and neuer héereafter stande in feare of vs, which shoulde be a greate shame vnto oure estimation. Is there any amōg vs, that would not holde himselfe affrented, if it shoulde be sayde, that he turned his backe and fledde, how much more would it be a dishonor for vs all to haue the same report?

I doe much maruell at the greatnesse of your inuincible heartes in battell: you

were wont to be desirous of warres, and nowe that suche iust and laudable warre doth offer it selfe, you doe feare and refuse the same: sure it is a thing cleane contrary to oure nature. What is hée that will prate of harnes, and neuer ware none? It was neuer yet séene in all this *India* and new world, that any of our nation retired with feare. And woulde you nowe that it should be said, that *Cortes* and his company fledde, being in securitie, and without perill or daunger? I beséech God not to permitte any suche thing. The warres doe muche consist in fame: why then? what better thyng would you desire, than to be héere in *Tlaxcallan* in despite of all youre enimes, yea proclayming open warres againste them, and they not dare to annoy vs? Therefore you may well consider, that héere you are more sure than if you were from hence, so that héere in *Tlaxcallan* you are honored with securitie and strength, and besides this, you haue al things necessary for phisick and medicine to cure youre woundes and obteyne your health: yea, and I am bolde to saye, that if you were in youre owne naturall Coûtrey, you should not haue the like, nor yet be so much made off.

I do nowe meane to send for our men that are in *Coazacoalco* and *Almeria*, and so we shall haue a reasonable army: yea and although they come not, wée are sufficient, for we were fewer in number when first we entred into thys Countrey, hauyng no friendes: and likewise you knowe well, it is not the number that doth fighte, but the couragious hearte and minde. I haue séene one of you discomfyte a whole army, as *Ionathas* did, yea and many among you haue had victory against a thousand, yea ten thousand *Indians*, as King *Dauid* had againste the *Philistines*. I looke dayly for Horses from the Ilandes, and other armoure and artillerie we shall haue from *Vera Crux*. And as for vittayles, take you no care, for I wyll prouide you abundantly, for they are thinges that alwayes followe the Conqueroures: and as for these Citizens of *Tlaxcallan*, I binde my selfe that you shall finde them trustie, loyall, and perpetuall friendes, for so they haue promised me vppon their solemne othes, yea, and if they had meante otherwise, what better opportunitie of time could they haue wished, thā these latter dayes, where as we lay sicke in their owne beddes and houses, yea some of vs lame,

wounded, and in manner rotten, and they like louing friendes haue not only holpen you, but also serued you with diligence of seruantes, for they woulde rather choose to be your slaues, than subiectes to the *Mexicans*: theyr hatred is suche to them, and their loue so great to you. And bycause you shall see the troth, I will now proue them and you, againste these of *Tepeacac*, who slewe of late dayes twelue Spanyardes. And if this iourney happen euill, then will I followe youre request, and if it please God that it happen well, then wyll I entreate and pray you to follow my counsell.

The Souldyers hearing this comfortable speeche, began to lay aside their desire to goe from thence to *Vera Crux*. They aunswered generally, that they woulde obey his commaundemente, it shoulde seeme with the promise made, touching the successe of the victory in *Tepeacac*, and lightly seldome it happeneth, that a Spanyard saith no, when he is required to goe on warfare, for it is holden for a dishonor and shame.

The vvarres of Tepeacac.

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ortez found himselfe at hearts ease with this answere, for it was a thing y^t had much troubled him: & vndoubtedly if he had followed his fellowes demand, he shoulde neuer haue recouered *Mexico* agayne, & they likewise had bin slayne in the way towards *Vera Crux*, for they hadde manye perilous places to passe. Eache one of them waxed whole of his wounds, sauing some which dyed for wāt of loking to in time, leauing their wounds filthy & vnbound, as Surgiōs doe affirme, with also their great trauell & weakenesse. And likewise other some remayned lame and halt, which was no small grieve and losse: but the most parte recouered healthe, as I haue declared. After twenty dayes fully past, whiche they had abode in *Tlaxcallan*, *Cortes* determined to make warre with the *Indians* of *Tepeacac*, which is a greate Towne, and not farre from thence, for they hadde slayne twelue Spanyards, whiche came from *Vera Crux* towards *Mexico*. Likewise they were of the league of *Culhua*, and therfore were holpen by the *Mexicans*, and did many times great hurt to the inhabitantes of *Tlaxcallan*, as *Xicotencatl* did testifie. *Cortes* desired hys louing friende *Maxixca*, and diuers other Gentlemen, to goe with him, who forthwith entred into counsell wyth the states and comunaltie of the Citie, and there determined with generall consente to gyue vnto him fortie thousand fighting men, besides many *Tamemoz*, who are foote carriers, to beare the baggage, victuall, and other things. With this number of *Tlaxcaltecas*, his owne men and horses, he wente to *Tepeacac*, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of y^e twelue Christiās that they shuld now yéelede themselues to the obedience of the Emperor, and that héereafter neuer more to receiue any *Mexican* into theyr towne or houses, neyther yet any of the prouince of *Culhua*.

The *Tepeacacs* answered, that they had slaine the Spaniardes for good and

iuste cause, whiche was, that being tyme of warre they presumed to passe through their countrey by force, without their will and licence. And also that the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* were their friendes and Lordes, whom alwayes they would friendly entertayne within their towne and houses, refusing vtterly their offer and request, protesting to giue no obedience to whom they knew not, wishyng them therefore, to returne incontinent to *Tlaxcallan*, excepte they had desire to ende their werie dayes.

Cortes innuited them diuers times with peace, and seing it preuailed not, he begā his warres in earnest. Their enimies lykewise with the fauour of the *Culhuacans* were braue and lustie, and began to stoppe and defend their pretended entraunce. And they beyng many in number, with diuers valiant men among them, began to skirmishe sundry times, but at the end, they were ouerthrowen, and many slayne, without killing any Spaniarde, although many *Tlaxcaltecas* were killed that day.

The Lordes and principall persons of *Tepeacac* seyng theyr ouerthrow, and that their strength coulde not preuayle, yéelded themselues vnto *Cortes* for vassalles of the Emperour, with condition to banish for euer their allied friendes of *Culhua*. And that he should punishe and correct at his will and pleasure, all those whiche were occasion of the death of the twelue Spaniardes. For which causes and obstinacie, at the firste *Cortes* iudged by his sentence, that all the townes whiche had bene priuie to the murder, should for euer remaine captiues and slaues: others affirme that he ouercame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being Sodomites, idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for exāple of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaues, and within twenty daies that these warres lasted, he pacified all that prouince, which is very great: he draue from thēce the *Culhuacans*: he threw downe the idols, and the chieftest persons obeyed him. And for more assuraunce he builde there a towne, naming it *Segura de la Frontera*: he appoynted all officers for the purpose, being a towne situated in the high way from *Vera Crux* to *Mexico*, whereby the Christians and straungers

mighte passe without daunger. In these warres serued lyke faithfull friendes the *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco* and *Cholalla*, promysing the lyke seruice and succour agaynst *Mexico*, yea and rather better than worse. With this victory the Spaniardes recouered great fame, for they were thought to haue bene slayne.

The great auctoritie that Cortez had among the Indians.

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fter all these things were finished, *Cortes* cōmaunded & gaue licence to al the *Indian* friēds, to returne home vnto their houses, except his assured friends of *Tlaxcallan*, whō he kept in his company for the warres of *Mexico*: he nowe dispatched a poste to *Vera Crux*, commaundyng that foure of the shippes which *Naruaez* had brought, should be sent with al spéede to y^e Iland of *Santo Domingo*, for men, horses, armour, pouder & other munition, also for wollen cloth, linnen, shooes, and many other things: and wrote his letters for the same to the licenciāt *Rodrigo de Figueroa*, and to the whole magistrates of Chancery, certifying them of all their procéedings in that countrey; beséechyng them of helpe and succour, and that forthwith to be sent by the messenger.

This done, he sente twentie horsemen, twoo hundred Spaniardes, and many *Indians* vnto *Zacatami* and *Xalaxinco*, whiche were townes subiect to the *Mexicans*, and placed in the high way to *Vera Crux*, who had slayne certaine Spaniardes passyng that way. This company wente thither, with their accustomed protestations, whiche preuayled not, wherevpon followed fire and spoyle: many Gentlemen and other principall persons came to yéelde themselues to *Cortes*, more for feare than for good will, crauyng pardon for theyr offence, promising also not to offende agayne, nor yet at any tyme to take armour agaynst the Spaniardes. *Cortes* pardoned them, & then hys armie returned, with determination to kéepe his Christmasse in *Tlaxcallan*, whiche was within twelue dayes followyng. He left a Captaine with thrée score Spaniards in the newe towne of *Segura*, to kéepe that passage, and also to put in feare the *Comarcans* that dwelled thereabout: he sente before him his whole armie, and he himself went with twentie horsemen from thence to *Coliman* to lodge there that night,

being a cittie of his allied friendes, and there to ordaine and make by hys auctoritie, bothe Noble men and Captaynes in lue of them whiche died with the disease of small pockes. He aboade there thrée dayes, in the whiche the newe Lordes were ordeyned, who afterwarde remayned his especiall friendes. The nexte day hée came *Tlaxcallan*, beyng sixe leagues distant from thence, where he was triumphantly receyued. And truely at that time he made a iourney most worthie of renowne and glory.

At this season his déere friende *Maxixca* was departed this transitorie lyfe, for whome he mourned clothed in blacke, after the Spanishe fashion: he lefte behinde him certaine sonnes, of whom the eldest was .xij. yéeres of age, whome *Cortes* named and appoynted for Lorde of his fathers estate, and the commons did certifie it to appertaine vnto him. This was no small glory for *Cortes* to giue estates, and also to take them away at his pleasure, yea and that those *Indians* should haue him in suche feare and respect, that none durste doe any thyng in acceptyng the inheritaunce of their fathers without his good will and licence.

Now *Cortes* procured that euery man shoulde make his harneys, weapons and prouision readie and in good order: he made also great haste in building Vergantines, for his timber was already cutte and seasoned: he sente vnto *Vera Crux* for sayles, tackle, nayles, roapes and other necessarie things, whereof there was store remaynyng of the furniture of the shippes that were sunke. And hauyng wante of pitche, for in that countrey the *Indians* knewe not what it meant, he commaunded certayne of his Mariners to make the same in the highe Mountaynes where was store of Pine trées, and not farre from the cittie.

The Vergantines that Cortez commaunded
*to be built, and the Spaniardes which he had ioyned together to
besiege Mexico.*

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he fame of prosperitie whiche *Cortes* enioyed, was wonderfully blowen abroad with the newes of the imprisonment of *Mutezuma*, and the victory against *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, wherevppon there came many Spaniardes by twenty and twentie in a company from *Cuba*, *Santo Domingo*, and other Ilandes. Although that iourney coste some their liues, for in the way they were murdered by those of *Tepeacac* and *Xalacinco*, as is before declared, yet notwithstanding there came many to *Tlaxcallan*, whereby his hoste was muche encreased, beséechyng him to make haste towarde the warres.

It was not possible for *Cortes* to haue espies in *Mexico*, for the *Tlaxcaltecas* were knowen by their lippes, eares, and other tokens, and also they had in *Mexico* garde and greate enquirie for that purpose, by reason wherof he could not certainly knowe what passed in those parties, accordyng as he desired, for to haue prouided himself of things néedefull: yet a Captayne whiche was taken prysoner in *Huacacholla*, certified that *Cuetlauac* Lorde of *Iztacpalapan*, Neuewe to *Mutezuma*, was elected Emperour after his Vncles death, who was a wise and valiant man, and hée it was that had dryuen *Cortes* out of *Mexico*, who now had fortified *Mexico* with many bulworkes and caues, and with many and sundry sortes of weapon, but chiefly very long Lances, yea and planted them in the grounde to resiste and molest the horsemen. He proclaymed pardon and frée libertie, without paying any tribute for the space of one whole yéere, yea and further as long as the warres should laste, he promysed also great rewardes to all them that shoulde kill any Christian, or expulse them from that countrey. This was a policie whereby he gatte muche credite among his vassals, yea and gaue

them greate courage to play the valiant men. All this newes was founde to be true, sauynge onely *Cuetlauac* was dead. And that *Quahutimoc*, Neuue also, as some doe say, of *Mutezuma*, raygned at that tyme, who was a valiant man and a good warrier, as hereafter shalbe declared, who sente his messengers through out his Empyre, proclaymyng as great rewardes as *Cuetlauac* had done before, declaryng vnto them that it was more reason to serue him than straungers, and also to defende theyr olde auncient Religion, and not to credite suche Christians as woulde make themselues Lordes of other mens goodes, yea and make them slaues and captiues as they had done in other places. *Quahutimoc* encouraged muche his subiectes, and kindled with his talke their wrath agaynst the Spaniards: yet there were some prouinces that gaue no eare to his information, but rather leaned to our side, or else medled with neyther side. *Cortes* seyng the effect of the matter, determined forthwith to beginne the warres: he mustered his men on Sainct Steuens day, and founde fourtie horsemen, and fiue hundreth & fourtie footemen, wherof foure score were Hargabushiers, and crossebow men, niene péeces of ordinaunce, and little powder: his horsemen he diuided into foure squares, and his footemen into nine: he named & appointed captaynes, and other officers for the host, vnto whom in general he spake as followeth.

The exhortation of Cortez to *his Souldiers.*

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y louyng brethren, I gyue moste hartie thanks vnto Iesu Christ, to sée you now whole of your woundes and frée from diseases: likewise I muche reioyce to sée you in good order trimly armed, yea and with suche desire to sette agayne vpon *Mexico*, to reuenge the death of our fellowes, and to winne that greate Citie, the whiche I truste in God shalbe brought to passe in shorte time, hauing the friendship of *Tlaxcallan* and other prouinces, who haue as great desire to sée the ouerthrowe of the *Mexicans*, as we our selues, for therein they gette both honour, libertie & safegarde of life. Also it is to be considered, that if the victory should not be ours, they poore soules should be destroyed and remaine in perpetuall captiuitie. Also the *Culhuacans* do abhorre them worse than vs, for receyuing vs into their houses and countrey: therefore sure I am that they will sticke vnto vs vnfaynedly. I muste néedes confesse their vnfayned friendship, for presente workes doe testifie the same. They will not onely be a meane to bryng others their neyghbours to our seruice, but also haue now in readinesse .100000. mē of warre, to sende with vs, besides a great nūber of *Tamemez* or carriers to carrie al our prouision. Ye also, are now the same which alwaies heretofore ye haue bene, for I as witnesse beyng your captayne, haue had the victory of many battayles fighting with a .100. yea & 200000. enimies: we got also by strength of arme many strōg cities, yea & brought in subiection many prouinces, not beyng so many in number as we are now, for when we came firste into this countrey we were not so many as now presently we are. Agayne in *Mexico* they feare our cōing: it should also be a blot vnto our honour that *Quahutimoc* should inherite y^e kingdome that cost our friēd *Mutezuma* his life. Likewise I esteme al that we haue done is nothing, if we winne not *Mexico*, our victories shoulde also be

sorrowfull if we reuenge not the death of our déere fellowes. The chiefe and principall cause of our cōming into this countrey, was to set forth the faith of Iesu Christ, & therwithal doth folow honour & profite which seldome times do dwell together. In those fewe dayes that we were in *Mexico*, we put downe the idols, we caused sacrifice and eatying of mans fleshe to bée layde aside, and also in those dayes wée beganne to conuerte some to the fayth. It is not therefore nowe reason to leaue of so laudable an enterpryse, so well begonne. Lette vs now goe whither holy fayth doth call vs, and where the sinnes of our enimies deserueth so great a punishment, and if yée well remember, the Citizens of that citie were not cōtent to murder such an infinite number of men, women & children before the idols, in their filthy sacrifice, for honour of their Diuelishe Goddes, but also to eate their fleshe, a thyng inhumayne, and much abhorred of God, and al good men doth procure, and especially Christians, to defende and punishe suche odious customes.

Besides all this, they committe that horrible sinne for the whiche the fiue cities with *Sodom* were burned by fire from heauen: Why then what greater occasion should any man wishe for in earth, than to abolish such wickednesse, and to plant among these bloudy tirants the fayth of Iesu Christ, publishing his holy gospel? Therfore now, with ioyfull hartes lette vs procéde to serue God, honour our nation, to enlarge our Princes dominions, and to enriche our selues with the goodly pray of *Mexico*, to morrow God willyng we will beginne the same.

All his men answeared with chéerefull countenance, that they were ready to departe when it pleased him, promising their faithful seruice vnto him. It should séeme the rather with the desire of that pleasure and greate treasure whiche they had eyght moneths enioyed before.

Cortes commaunded to proclayme throughout his army, certaine ordinaunces of warre for the good gouernement of his hoste, whiche he had written among others: and were these that followeth:

That none should blaspheme the holy name of Iesus.

That no Souldier should fight with his fellowe.

That none shoulde play at any game, his horse nor armour.

That none should force any woman.

That none should robbe or take any *Indian* captiue without his speciall licence and counsellors.

That none should wrōg or iniurie any *Indian* their friēds: he also taxed yron worke and apparell, for cause of the excessiue prices that they were there solde for.

The exhortation made by Cortez to *the Indians of Tlaxcallan.*

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he nexte daye following, *Cortes* called before him all the Lordes, Captaynes, and principall persons of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco*, *Chololla*, *Chalco*, and of other townes, who were there presente at that time, saying as followeth. My Lords and friendes, you know the iourney which I haue nowe in hande, to morrowe God willing I will departe to the warre and siege of *Mexico*, and enter into the land of youre enimies and mine: And the thing that now I do require, and also pray, is, that you remayne faithfull and constant in your promise made, as hithervnto you haue done, and so I trust you will continue. And bycause I can not bring so soone my purpose to passe according to youre desire and mine, without the *Vergantines* which are now a making, and to be placed in the lake of *Mexico*, therefore I praye you to fauoure these workemen whiche I leaue héere, with suche loue and friendship, as héeretofore you haue done and to giue them all things necessary for their prouision, and I do faithfully promise to take away the yoke of bondage, which the inhabitantes of *Culhua* haue layde vpon you, and also will obteyne of the Emperoure great libertie and priuiledges for you.

All the *Indians* shewed countenance of obedience, and the chieftest Gentlemen aunswered in few words, saying, we will not onely fulfyll youre request, but also when your vessels are finished, we will bring them to *Mexico*, and we all in generall will goe with you, and truly serue you in your warres.

Hovv Cortez tooke Tezcucu.

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ortez departed from *Tlaxcallan* wyth hys Souldyers in good order, whyche was a goodly sight to beholde, for at that time he had eyghtie thousand men in his host, and the most of them armed after their manner, which made a gallant shew: but *Cortes* for diuers causes would not haue them all with him, vntill the *Vergantines* were finished, and *Mexico* beséeged, fearing wante of vittayle for so greate an armye: yet notwithstanding hée tooke twentie thousand of them, besides the Carriers, and that night came to *Tezmoluca*, which stādeth sixe leagues from *Tlaxcallan*, and is a Village apperteyning to *Huexocinco*, where he was by the principall of the Towne wel receyued. The next day he iourneyed foure leagues, into the territorie of *Mexico*, and there was lodged on the side of a hill, where many had perished with colde, had it not bin for the store of woodde which they found there. In the morning he ascended vpwards on this hill, and sente hys scout of foure footemen and foure horsemen to discouer, who found the way stopped with great trées newly cutte downe, and placed crossewise in the way: but they thynking that yet forwards it was not so, procéded forthe as well as they might, till at length the let with great hugie trées was such, that they could passe no further, and with this newes were forced to returne, certifying *Cortes* that the Horsemenne coulde not passe that way in any wyse. *Cortes* demaunded of them, whether they hadde séene anye people, they aunswered no, wherevpon he procéded forwarde with all the Horsemen, and a thousande footemen, commaundyng all the residue of hys armye to followe hym wyth as muche spée as myghte bée, so that wyth that companye whyche he carried with him, he made waye, takyng away the trées that were cutte downe to disturbe his passage: and in this order, in short time passed his host, without any hurt or daunger, but with great payne and trauell, for certaynely if the enimies had bin

there to defende that passage, oure menne hadde not passed, for it was a verye euill way, and the enimies also thoughte the same to be sure with the trées whiche were crossed the way, wherevppon they were carelesse of that place, and attended their comming in playne ground: for from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico* are thrée wayes, of the whiche *Cortes* chose the worst, ymagining the thing that afterwards fell out, or else some hadde aduised him howe that way was cléere from the enimies. And béeing past this crooked passage, they espyed the lake of *Mexico*, and gaue vnto God moste hartie thanks for the same, and there made a solemne vowe and promise, not to returne, vntill they had wonne *Mexico*, or lost their liues. They abode there and rested themselues, till all the whole armye were come together, to descende downe into the playne, for nowe they myghte descrye the fires and beacons of theyr enimies in sundrye places, and all those whyche hadde attended theyr commyng by the other two wayes, were now gathered together, thynkyng to sette vppon them betwixte certayne bridges, where a greate company abode, exspecting theyr commyng: but *Cortes* sente twenty Horsemen, who made way among them, and then followed the whole armye, who slewe manye of them, wythoute receyuyng anye hurte. And in thys order they came to *Quahutipeç*, whiche is of the iurisdiction of *Tezcuco*, where they abode that nyghte, and in that place founde neyther manne nor Woman: but not farre off was pytched the Campe of the *Indians* of *Culhua*, which myght be néere a hundred thousand men of warre, who were sent by the Seniors of *Mexico*, and *Tezcuco*, to encounter oure armye, in consideration whereof, *Cortes* kept good watch with tenne Horsemen, and all his Souldyers were warned to be in readynesse at a call, if néede should happen.

The next day in the morning he departed from thence towarde *Tezcuco*, whiche standeth thrée leagues distante, and procéeding on their iourney, foure principal persons, inhabitantes of *Tezcuco*, mette with them, bearing a rod of golde, with a little flagge, in token of peace, saying, that *Coacuacoyozin* their Lord had sent them to desire him not to make any spoyle in his Countrey, and likewise, to offer his friendship, praying also, that it might please him with his

whole army to take his lodging in the Towne of *Tezcuco*, where he shoulde be well receyued. *Cortes* reioyced with this message, although he suspected that it was a fayned matter, but one of them he knewe verye well, whome he saluted, saying: My comming is not to offend any, but rather to do you good. I will also receyue and hold your Lord for a friende, with condition, that hée doe make vnto me restitution of the treasure whyche hée tooke from fiue and fortie Spanyards, and thrée hundred *Tlaxcaltecas*, all the which were by his commaundements also slayne of late dayes. They aunswered that *Mutezuma* caused them to be murthered, who had likewise taken the spoyle, and that the Citizens of *Tezcuco* were not culpable in that fact, and with this aunswere they returned.

Cortes went forward on his way, and came to *Quahutichan* and *Huaxuta*, which are suburbes of *Tezcuco*, where he and all his host were plenteously prouided of al things necessary, and threw downe the Idolles. This done, hée entred into the Citie, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the Spanyardes, with many other the *Indian* friends. And bycause that at his first entry, he sawe neyther women nor children, hee suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaymed, vpon payne of death, that none of his men should go out. The Spaniards began to triumph in their lodgings and chābers, placing euery thing in good order. In the euening they went vp into the *Zoties* and galleries, to beholde the Citie, which is as bigge as *Mexico*, and there they sawe the greate number of Citizens that fledde from thence with their stuffe, some towardes the mountaines, and others to the water side to take boate, a thing straunge, to see the great hast and stirre to prouide for themselues, at the least ther were twentie thousand litle boates (called *Conoas*) occupied, in carying houshold stuffe and passengers. *Cortes* would fayne haue remedied it, but that night was so nygh at hand, that he coulde not. He would gladly also haue apprehended the Lord, but he was one of the first that fledde vnto *Mexico*. *Cortes* caused many of the Citizens, to be called before him, and hauing in hys company a yong gentleman of a noble house in that cōūtre, who was also last christened, & had to name *Hernādo*, *Cortes* being his godfather, who loued him

well, sayde vnto the citizens, that this new Christian lord, *Don Hernādo*, was sonne vnto *Nezaualpincintli* their louing Lord, wherfore he required them to make him their king, considering that *Coacnacoyocin*, was fled vnto the enimies, laying also before them his wicked fact in killing of *Cacuzā* his own brother, only to put him from his inheritance & kingdome, through the enticement of *Quahutimocin*, a mortal enimie to the Spaniards. In this sort was *Don Hernando* elected king, and the fame therof being blowen abroad, manye citizens repayred home againe to visite their newe Prince, so that in short space the citie was as wel replenished with people, as it was before, and being also well vsed at the Spaniardes handes, they serued them dilygentlye in all thyngs that they were commaunded. And *Don Hernando* abode euer after a faithfull friende vnto the Spaniardes, and in short tyme learned the Spanishe tongue: and soone after came the inhabitants of *Quahutichan*, *Huaxuta* and *Auntenco*, to submytte them selues, crauing pardon, if in any thyng they had offended. *Cortez* pardoned them, and gaue them licence to departe home vnto their houses.

Quahutimoc, *Coacnacoiyo* and other magistrates of *Culhua* sente to rayle vppon those townes, for yéeldyng themselues to the Christians, but they layde hold vpon the messengers, and brought them vnto *Cortes*, of whome he enformed himselfe of the state of *Mexico*, and sent them backe againe, requiring their Lords of peace and friendshippe: but it preuayled not, for they were fully armed for the warre.

A good correction.

At this instante certaine friendes of *Iames Velasquez* went vp and downe the Campe, procuring secretly a mutenie among the souldiers, to haue them to returne to *Cuba*, and vtterly to destroy *Cortes* his procéedings. This thing was not so secretly wrought, but that *Cortes* had knowledge, wherevppon he apprehended the doers thereof, and by their confessions the matter did plainely appeare, whervpon he condemned to death one *Antonio de Villafania*, who was natural of *Samora*, and forthwith executed the sentence, wherwith the punishment and Mutinie was ended, and ceased.

The Spaniardes vvwhich vvvere
sacrificed in Tezcuco.

ayly increased *Cortes* in strength and reputation, and many townes as wel of the partes of *Culhua* as others came vnto his friendship and obedience. Within two days that *Don Hernando* was made king, came certayne gentlemen of *Huaxuta* and *Quahutichan*, to certify vnto him, how al the power of the *Mexicans* was comming towardes them, and to knowe if it were his pleasure, that they should carry their wiues, children, and other goods into the Mountaines, or els to bring them where he was, theyr feare was so great. *Cortes* made vnto thē this answeare, saying: be ye of good courage, and feare ye not. Also I pray you to cōmaunde your wiues & families to make no alteratiō, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And cōcerning the enimies, I am glad of their comming, for ye shal see how I will deale with them. But the enimies wente not to *Huaxuta*, as it was thought: neuerthelesse *Cortes* hauing intelligence where they were, wente out to encounter them, with two pieces of Ordinaunce, twelue horsemen and two hundred Spaniardes, with many *Indians* of *Tlaxcallā*. He fought with the enemie, and slew but few, for they fledde to the water. He burnt certaine townes where the *Mexicans* were wonte to succour themselues. The next day came the chiefest men of thrée townes to craue pardon, and to beséech him not to destroy thē, promising neuer to harbour nor succour, any of *Culhua*.

The *Mexicans* hearing what these townes men pretended, with greate yre made a foule correction among them, as dyd appeare by many of them, which came vnto *Cortes* with broken heads, desiring reuengement.

The inhabitaunts of *Chalco* sent also vnto him for succour, declaring that the *Mexicans* made greate spoyle among them. But *Cortes* being ready to send for his Vergantines, could not relieue them all, and especially wyth Spaniardes: wherefore he remitted them to the helpe of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and vnto thē of *Huexocinco*, *Chololla*, *Huacacholla* and other friends, promising that shortly he would come himselfe. But this answeare pleased him not, yet for the present néede they required his letters to be written vnto those townes. And being in this communication, there came messengers from *Tlaxcallan*, with news, that the

Vergantines were ready, and to knowe if he stoode in néede of any succour, for of late, (quoth they) we haue séene many beacons, and fiers, which are greater tokens of warre, than heretofore hath bene séene.

There came at that time, a Spaniard also from *Vera Crux*, with certaine newes, that there had arriued a ship, whiche had brought thirtie Souldiers besides the mariners of the shippe, with eight horses, great store of poudre, shotte, crossebowes, and Harquebushes. The plesent newes reioyced much our men, wherevpon *Cortes* sente forthwith to *Tlaxcallan* for the Vergantines, *Gonzalo de Sandoual*, with two hundered Spaniards, and fiftéene horsemen, and commaunded that in their way they shold burne and destroy the towne where the fourty fiue Spaniardes, and thrée hundered *Tlaxcaltecas* were slayn, with fiue horses moe, when *Mexico* was last besieged: and y^t village is in y^e iurisdiction of *Tezcuco*, and bordereth vpon the territorie of *Tlaxcallan*, yea, and for that purpose hée would gladly haue corrected and punished the dwellers of *Tezcuco*, but time then permitted not y^e same, although they had deserued more punishment than the others. For why? in their town they were sacrificed and eaten, yea & the walles painted with their bloud, shewing moreouer perfit tokens, how it was spaniards bloud. They pluckt off also the horses skinnēs & tanned thē in the heare, and afterwards hung them vppe, with the horseshoes in their great temple, & next vnto them, the spaniards garmētes, for a perpetual memory.

Sandoual went vnto that place with determinate entēt to follow his cōmission, & also before he came to y^e place, he found writtē in a house w^t a cole, these words: here in this house was a prisoner y^e vnfortunate *Iohn Iust*, who was a gentleman, and one of the fiue horsemen that wer taken. But the people of that towne, being many, fledde when they saw the Spaniardes approch neare vnto thē. But *Sandoual* followed them, and slewe many of them: he toke also prisoners, manye women and children, who yelded themselues vnto his mercie, and their bodies for slaues. He séeing so little resistance, and beholding the pitiful mone of the wiues for their husbandes, and the children for their fathers, had

compassiō on them, and wold not destroye their towne, but rather caused the dwellers to come again, and pardoned them, with othe, that hereafter they shoulde serue them truely, and be vnto them loyal friends. In this sorte was the death of the Christians reuenged, yet *Sandoual* asked them howe they slewe so manye Christians without resistaunce, marye (quoth they) we made an ambush in an euil and narrow way, ascending vp a hill, and there as they went vppe by one and one we spoyled them, for there, neyther horses nor other weapon could defend or help thē, so y^t we tooke them prisoners and sente them to *Tezcuco*, where, as is before declared, they were sacrificed in the reuengement of the imprisonment of *Calama*.

Hovv the Vergantines vvere brought frō *Tlaxcall* to *Tezcuco*.

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owe when the enemies which murdered the Spaniardes, were reduced and chastened, *Sandoual* procéded forwarder towarde *Tlaxcallan*, and at the border of that prouince, he mette with the Vergātines whiche were broughte in pieces, as tables, planches, and nayles, with all other furniture, the whyche eight thousand men caryed vpon their backes.

There came also for their safeconduicte twentie thousande men of warre, and a thousande *Tamemez*, who were the carriers of victuals, and seruantes. Thē the Spanishe Carpenters sayde vnto *Sandoual*, that for as muche as they were nowe come into the countrey of enimies, it might please him to haue regarde thervnto, for daungers that myght happen: he allowed wel theyr iudgement.

Nowe *Chichimecatetl*, being a principal man and a valiant also, was captaine of a thousande men & desired to haue the vantguard with the Tymber, and hauing had the same charge hithervnto, it should be an affrent for him, to be put from it, and gaue manye reasons in hys behalfe. But notwithstanding his request, he was entreated to take the reregarde. And that *Tutipil* and *Teutecatl* captaines, very principal gentlemen, should haue the vantgard, with ten thousand men. In the myddest were placed the *Tamemez*, and those that carryed the foyst, with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Before those two captaynes, went a hundered Spaniardes, and eight horsemen, and behind and last came *Sandoual* with all the residue, and seuen horsemen. But now although *Chichimecatetl* was offended, touching his firste charge, now much more bycause the Spaniardes were not in his company, saying (quoth he) ye take me not for valiant, or else not faithful. That matter being pacified, and euery thing in good order, they toke their way towarde *Tezcuco*, with a marueylous noyse, crying, Christians, Christians,

Tlaxcallan, Tlaxcallan, and Spayne.

On the fourth day they entred into *Tezcuco*, in verye good order, with the sounde of drummes, snayle-shelles, and other like instrumentes of Musicke, and againste their entry into the Citie, they put on al their brauerye of clothes, and bushes of feathers, whiche truely was a gallant sight: they were sixe houres, in entryng into the towne, keping their array.

Cortez came forth to receyue them, and gaue greate thanks vnto the gentlemen, and all the company, and prouided them of good lodgings and entertaynement.

Of the Docke or trench vvhich
was made to launch, the Vergantines.

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anye prouinces of *India*, came to submitte and offer their seruice vnto *Cortes*, some for feare of destruction, and others for the hatred whyche they bare to the *Mexicans*: so that nowe *Cortes* was strong both with Spaniardes and *Indians*. Also the Spanishe Captaine of *Segura*, sent a letter to *Cortez*, the which letter he had receyued of another spaniard, the effect therof was as foloweth. Noble gentlemen, diuerse times I haue written vnto you, but as yet I neuer receiued answere, nor yet now doe I. I thynke otherwise, notwithstanding yee shall vnderstande, that the *Culhuacans* haue done much hurte in thys countrey, but we remayne with victorie. This prouince desireth to see and knowe Captaine *Cortez*, for to render themselues vnto him, and nowe they stande in neede of our nation, wherfore it may please you to sende vnto vs thirtie Spaniardes.

Cortez aunswered the letter in suche sort, that he then presently coulde not sende the thing desired, for that he was readye to the siege of *Mexico*: notwythstanding hée gaue them great thankes, with hope shortlye to see thē. He that writte the former letter, was one of the Spaniardes that *Cortez* hadde sente to the prouince of *Chinanta*, a yeare paste, to enquire of the secretes of that place, and to seeke for golde and other commodities. And if it so happened, that the Lorde of that place made that Spaniarde a Captayne, agaynste the *Culhuacans* theyr enemyes, for *Mutezuma* made them warre béeyng farre from *Mexico*, bycause they had entertayned the Spaniardes. But through the industrie of that Christian, the Lorde aboade alwayes with victorie, and hauing vnderstanding that some of hys nation were in *Tepeacac*, he wrote so often as the letter declareth, but none of them came to their handes, but only this last letter: our men reioyced muche to heare that the Spaniardes were aliue, and also the Lorde

of *Chinanta* to be their friende: likewise they marueyled much howe they had escaped, for at the time that they fledde from *Mexico*, all other Spaniardes that were abidyng in the Mynes and other Lordshippes, were slaine by the *Indians*.

Cortes made his preparation for the séege of *Mexico* with all hast, and furnished hym with scalling ladders, and other necessaryes, fitte for such a purpose. His *Vergantines* being nayled, and throughly ended, he made a sluise or trench of halfe a league of length, twelue foote broad & more, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fiftie dayes a doying, although there were foure hundred thousand mē daily working, trully a famous worke and worthy of memory.

A strange tallovve.

The *Vergantines* were calked with Towe and cotten woll, and for want of tallow and oyle, they were (as some reporte,) driuen to take mans grease, not that they slewe men for that effect, but of those which were slayne in the warres. The *Indians* who were cruell and bloudy butchers, vsing sacrifice, would in this sort open the dead bodye, and take out the grease. The *Vergantines* being lanced, *Cortes* mustered his men, and founde nine hundred Spanyardes, of the which were 86. Horsemen, and a hūdred and eyghtéene with Crossebowes and Hargabushes, and all the residue had sundry weapons, as swords, daggars, Targets, Launces, and Halbertes. Also they had for armour, corselets, coates of mayle, and Iackes. They had moreouer thrée great pièces of cast yron, fiftéene small pièces of brasse, and tenne hundred waighte of powder, with store of shotte. All that ye haue hearde, was the prouision that *Cortes* had for the séege of *Mexico*, the strongest and greatest Citie in all *India* and newe world. In eache *Vergantine* he placed a pièce of brasse. He proclaymed agayne all the institutions and ordinances of the warre, praying and commaunding that they might be well and faithfully obserued, and said, Brethrē and my fellowes, now do you sée our vessels readye, yea and also you do remember howe troublesome a thyng it hathe bin to bring them hither with the coste and sweate of our friendes, and one of the chieftest hopes that I haue shortly to winne *Mexico*, are

these vessels, for with them we will burne all their *Canoas*, or else we will so locke them vp, that they shall not help them, whereby we wyll annoy our enimie as muche that way, as our army shall do by land. I haue also a hundred thousand men of warre my friends to beséege this Citie, who are (as you know) y^e valiantest men in all these parties. You haue also your vittailles prouided abundantly, and that which now importeth, is, that you play the menne, as héeretofore you haue done, and most humbly to pray vnto God for victorie, for that this warre is his.

The order of the host and army of
Cortes for to beseege Mexico.

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he nexte day following, *Cortes* sente vnto the prouinces of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco*, *Chololla*, *Chal*, and other Townes, warning thē within tenne dayes to come vnto *Tezcuco*, with theyr armoure, weapon, and other necessities, for the séege of *Mexico*. He certifyed them also, how the *Vergantines* were ready with all other furniture accordingly, and the Spanyardes were very desirous to lose no time, wherefore they meante not to delay their pretence, farther than the day appoynted.

The *Indians* hearing this newes, and bycause they would not come too late to the beginning of the assaulte, came incontinente, and entred into *Tezcuco* in good order of warre, aboue sixtie thousand men, gallantly trimmed after their vse and custome. *Cortes* friendly welcommed them, and prouided them lodgings accordingly.

On Whitsonday, all the Spanyardes came into the fielde, whereas *Cortes* made thrée chiefe Captaynes among whome he deuided his whole army. Vnto *Pedro de Aluarado* the first Captayne, he appoynted thirtie horsemen, and a hundred and seauentie footemen of the Spanyardes, two péeces of ordinance, and thirtie thousande *Indians*, commaunding him to campe in *Tlacopan*. Vnto *Cristoual de Olid* the seconde Captayne, he gaue thrée and thirtie Horsemen, and a hundred and eyghtéene footemen of the Spanish nation, two péeces of ordinance, and thirtie thousand *Indians*, and appoynted him to pitch his camp in *Culhuacan*. To *Gonsalo de Sandoual* who was the thyrde Captayne, he gaue thrée and twenty Horsemen, and 160. footemen, two péeces of Ordinance, and 40000. *Indians*, with commission to choose a place to pitch his Campe.

In euery *Vergantine* he planted a péece of ordināce, sixe hargabushes, or

crossebowes, and 23. Spaniards, mē most fittest for that purpose. He appointed also Captaynes for eache, and himselfe for general, whereof some of the chiefest of his companie began to murmure that wente by lande, thinking that they had bin in greater daunger, wherefore they required him to goe with the mayne battell, and not by water. *Cortes* little estéemed their words, for although it is more daunger in the water than in the land, yet it did more importe to haue greater care in the warres by water, than on the land, bycause his men had bin in the one, and not in the other.

On the tenth of May *Aluarado*, and *Cristoual de Olid* departed, and went that night to a Towne called *Acolman*, where was betwéene them greate discorde touchyng their lodgings, yea and if *Cortes* had not sente to take vp the matter, much mischief had ensued. The nexte daye they lodged in *Xolotepec*, whych was not inhabited. The thyrde daye they came vnto *Tlacopan*, whyche was also as all the Townes of the lake, wythout people, there they were lodged in the Lordes house of the Towne.

The *Tlaxcaltecas* began to viewe *Mexico* by the calsey, and foughte with their enimies, vntill the nighte made them to ceasse.

On the thirtéenth of May, *Cristoual de Olid* came to *Chapultepec*, and brake the conduites of swéete water, wherevpon *Mexico* was destitute of the same, being the conduit that did prouide all the Citie. *Pedro de Aluarado* wyth his company procured to amende all the broken places of the calsey, that the horsemen might haue frée passage, and hauing muche to do in these affaires, he spent threé dayes, and fighting with many enimies, some of his men were hurt, and many *Indian* friendes slayn. *Aluarado* abode in *Tlacopan* with his armye, and *Cristoual de Olid* retired to *Culhuacan* with his men, according to the instruction receyued from *Cortes*, and fortified themselues in the Lordes houses of the Towne, and euery daye skyrmished with the enimies, and some went to the Townes néere at hande, and brought *Centli*, fruite, and other prouision. In this businesse they occupied théeselues a whole wéeke.

The Battaile and victory of the Vergantines *against the Canoas.*

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he newe Kyng *Quahutimoc* hauing intelligence how *Cortes* hadde launched hys *Vergantines* and so mightie a power to besége *Mexico*, entred into counsell wyth the chieftes péeres of hys Realme. Some were of opinion, and dyd prouoke hym to the warres, considering theyr greate multitude of people, and fortitude of the Citie.

Others were of opinion, who tendred muche the common weale, that no *Spanyarde* that shoulde happen to be taken prysoner shoulde be sacrificed, but rather to be preserued for conclusion of peace if néede shoulde so requyre. And finally some sayde, that they should demaunde of their Goddes what was best to doe.

The King that inclined himselfe more to peace than to warre, sayde that he woulde remitte the matter to the iudgement of the idolles, and that he would aduise them what answeere should be made vnto him but: in harte he desired to come to some honest order and agréement with *Cortes*, fearing the thyng that after did ensue. But seyng his Counsell and subiectes so determined to warre, he cōmaunded foure Spaniardes whiche he had prysoners in a cage, to be sacrificed vnto the Goddes of warre, with a greate number more of *Indians*.

A Diuelish sentence.

He spake to the Diuell in the image of *Vitzilopuchtli*, who answered him that he shoulde not feare the Spaniardes being but fewe, nor yet those whiche were comen to helpe them, for that they shoulde not long abide in the siege, commaunding him to goe forth and to encounter them without feare, for he would helpe them and kill his enimies. With this answeere of the diuel, *Quahutimoc* commaunded forthwith to breake downe the bridges, watche the

Cittie, make bulwarkes, and to arme fiue thousande boates, and sayde vnto the Spaniardes, that the Goddes woulde be pleased with the sacrifice of their bodies, the Snakes filled with their bloud, and the Tigres relieued with their flesh, they sayde also to the *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, ah yée Cuckold knaues, slaues and traytors to your gods and kyng, will you not repent the wickednesse whiche yée haue committed agaynst your maisters, therefore shall you nowe die an euill death, for either you shall die with hunger, or else vpon the knife: and then wil we eate your fleshe, and make thereof solemne a banquet as the like hath heretofore neuer bene séene, and in token therof hold take these armes and legges whiche we throwe vnto you of your owne men, which we haue now sacrificed for the obtayning of victory. And after these warres we will goe vnto your countrey and spoyle your Towne, & leaue no memory of your bloud or generation. The *Tlaxcaltecas* laughed at their madde talke, and sayd, that it should be better for them to yéelde and submitte themselues to *Cortes* his mercy, and if not, yet it were more honorable to fight than to bragge, willyng them to come out into the field. And bad them assuredly beléeue, that the ende of all their knauery was at hande: it was a world to heare and see the bragges and crakes on both sides. *Cortes* hearyng of all these matters, sent *Sandoual* to take *Iztacpalapan*, and he embarked himselfe to méete him at that place.

Sandoual combated the towne on the one side, and the townes menne and people with feare fledde vnto *Mexico*, on the otherside by water: he burned the towne. *Cortes* came at y^t time to a strōg rocke lyke a tower, situated in the water, where many men of *Culhua* were, who seyng them approche with their Vergantines, sette theyr beacons on fire, and threwe downe vpon them stones and shotte of theyr arrowes. *Cortes* wente ashore with a hundreth and fiftie menne, and combatted the forte, till at length he wanne the battlement, whiche was the *Indians* beste defence, and with muche adoe hée came to the toppe, and there fought vntill he had not lefte one aliue, sauynge women and chyl dren. It was a fayre victorie, although fiue and twentie Spanyardes were hurte and wounded, yet the forte was strong, and the ourethrowe a great discouragynge of the enimie.

At this instant were so many beacons and other fires made rounde aboute the lake and vpon the hilles, that all séemed a lighte fire. And also the *Mexicans* hearyng that the Vergantynes were comyng, they came out in their boates, with fiue hundreth Gentlemen whiche came to sée suche newe kinde of vesselles, and to proue what they were, beyng a thyng of so greate a fame. *Cortes* embarked himselfe with the spoyle of the forte, and commaunded his men to abide all together for the better resistance, and bycause the enimies shoulde thynke that they feared, wherevpon they mighte without any good order gyue the onsette vpon the Christians, and so to fall suddenly into the snare. But it followed, that when they came within shotte of the Spaniardes ordinaunce: they stayed abydyng more company, but in shorte space there came so many *Canoas*, that it séemed a wonder to beholde: They made suche a terrible noyse with theyr voyces, drummes, Snayle shelles, and other like instruments of warre, that they could not heare one an other, with such great crakes and bragges, as they had done in time paste.

And beyng bothe parties in readinesse to fight, there happened suche a poupewinde to the Vergantines which came from the shore, that it séemed meruellous. *Cortes* thē praysing God, commaunded al his Captaines to giue the onset altogithers, & not to ceasse vntill the enimies should be dryuen to retire into *Mexico*, for that it was the pleasure of God to sende vnto them that prosperous winde in token of victory. This talke ended, they beganne to sette vpon the enemy, who seyng the Vergantines come with such lucky winde, yea & such a sight as the like vnto them had not bene séene, they began to flie with suche greate haste, that they spoyled, brake, and sunke many of them, and suche as stoode to defende themselues were slayne, so that this battayle was soone ended. They pursued them twoo leagues, vntill they had locked them vp in the water streates of *Mexico*, and tooke many Lordes and Gentlemen prisoners. And the key of al these warres cōsisted in this victory, for our mē remayned for Lords of the whole lake, and the enimie with great feare and losse: they had not bene so soone spoyled, but that there were so many of them, who disturbed one an

other. But when *Aluarado*, and *Cristoual de Olid* saw the fortunate successe of *Cortes* by water, they entered the calsey with their army, and tooke certaine bridges and bulwarkes, and draue the *Indians* from them, with all their force and strength. But with the helpe of the Vergantines which came vnto them, the *Indians* were dryuen to runne a whole league vpon the calsey, and where they founde the calsey broken, they procured to leape ouer, and so fel into the middest.

Cortes procéeded forwards, and findyng no *Canoas*, he landed vpon the calsey that commeth from *Iztacpalapan*, with thirtie men, and combatted two towers of idolles whiche were walled with wall of lyme and stone: it was the same place where *Mutezuma* receyued *Cortes*. He wan those towers in shorte time, although they were defended with all possibilitie: he vnshipped thrée péeces of ordināce to scoure the calsey, which was full of enimies: at first shotte he did greate hurte among thē, and beyng the night at hande, they seased on bothe sides for that day. And although *Cortes* had determined otherwise with his Captaynes, yet he aboade there that night, and sente to the campe of *Gonsalo de Sandoual* for poudre and fiftie mē, with halfe the company of *Indians* of *Culhuacan*.

Hovv Cortez besieged Mexico.

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he night of *Cortes* his abiding there, was perillous, for he had not above a hundreth men in his cōpany, and aboute midnight set vpō him many *Mexicans* both by water and lande, although they accustomed not to fight in the night, but the Vergantines made them soone to retire.

In the morning came vnto *Cortes* from *Cristoual de Olid*, eight horsemen, and foure score footemen. The *Mexicans* combated the towers, where *Cortes* was lodged, who incontinent came forth & draue them along the calsey, vntil he had wonne an other bridge and a bulwarke, and made a great spoyle among them, with the ordinaunce & horse men, pursuyng them to the vtmoste houses of the Cittie: and bycause many of the *Canoas* whiche were on the other side of the calsey galled *Cortes* and his menne, he brake downe so muche of the calsey, that he mighte well passe some of his Vergantines to the otherside, the which with few encounters shutte vp the *Canoas* on that side, within the succour of *Mexico*: and in this wise he remayned Lord ouer bothe the lakes.

The next day *Sandoual* departed from *Iztacpalapan* toward *Culhuacan*, and in his way he tooke and spoyled a little Citie that standeth in the lake, bycause they came out to resist him. *Cortes* sente vnto him two Vergantines to passe his men where the calsey was broken. *Sandoual* left his company with *Cristoual de Olid*, and wēt to *Cortes* with tenne horsemen, and when he came he found him in fight with the enimies, and he alightyng from his horse, an *Indian* persed him through the foote with a dart. Many Spaniardes were hurte that day, but theyr grieve was well reuenged, for from that day forward the *Indians* courage was muche abated. With the paynes, labour and victory already obtayned, *Cortes* might now at ease pitche his campe at his owne pleasure where he woulde, and also prouide his army of victuals: sixe dayes he ceased not skirmishyng, and the Vergantines

likewise founde out channels that they mighte goe rounde aboute the Cittie, yea and wente spoylyng and burning many houses within the Suburbes.

Mexico was besieged in foure places, although at the first they determined but thrée. *Cortes* was placed betwixt the twoo towers of the calsey: *Pedro de Aluarado* in *Tlacopan*: *Cristoual de Olid* in *Culhuacan*: *Gonsalo de Sandoual* in *Xaltoca*: for they had aduise that the same way they would flée out of the Citie, seyng themselues in any daunger. It would not haue grieved *Cortes* to haue lefte a passage for the enemy, but only bycause they should not profite themselues vpon the lande, and prouide the Cittie that way of armour & victuall, yea, he also thought to preuaile against his enemies better vpon the lande than vpon the water. And againe according to the olde prouerbe, When thine enemy flieth make him a bridge of siluer.

The first skirmishe vvithin the *cittie of Mexico.*

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Cortes pretended to enter the Citie, and to gette what he could, & also to sée what stomacke the enemy had: he sent to aduise his captaines, that eche of them should do the like, requiring them to sende vnto him some of their horsemen and footemē. He gaue speciall commaundement to *Cristoual de Olid* to haue regard to the kéeping of his calsey, and to forsée that the inhabitants of *Xochmilco*, *Culhuacan*, *Iztacpalapan*, *Vitzilopuchtli*, *Mexicalcinco*, *Cuetlauac*, & other cities thereaboutes come not that way behinde them and vnwares. He commaunded that the Vergantines should goe along the calsey on bothe the sides, if any néede shoulde happen. *Cortes* early in the morning came out of his campe with .200. Spaniardes and .80000. *Indian* friends: they had gone but a small space, when they met with their enemies well armed, keping the gappe where the calsey was brokē, which broken place mought be a speares length, and as much in depth. They fought with them, who for a great space defended themselues behinde a bulwarke, but in fine he wanne the passage, and followed them vnto the entrance of the citie, where was a Tower, and at the foote thereof a bridge drawen, where a good streame of water passed. This place was very strong to combat, yea and fearefull to behold the passage where the draw bridge was. They ceased not shotyng of arrowes and hurlyng of stones, so that our men coulde not come neare, vntill the Vergantines came, and by meanes of them they wanne that fort with lesser paynes than they imagined: for without the Vergantines it had not bene possible to haue entred the Cittie.

The enemies being now fled from that holde, our men alanded there, with the *Indian* friendes, who incontinent dammed vp the broken place with stones and earth. The Spaniardes of the vantgarde, tooke another bulwarke, which was

planted in the largest and fayrest streate of the Citie, and pursued the enemy to another draw bridge, which remayned, but with one poste or beame, vppon the which many of the Indians passed ouer, and then toke y^e beame awaye and aboue to defende the place: but when our men approched & sawe how the matter went, *Cortez* commaunded two pieces of Ordinaunce to be broughte, with the whiche, and with their Harquebushes, they did great hurt among the *Mexicans*, who began to fainte, and lose their courage, the which being vnderstoode, certayne Spaniards swā ouer where the draw bridge was, w^t their weapons in their mouthes. But when the enemy sawe them passe ouer, they began, as well from that place as from the house toppes, zoties and bulwarke, whiche they had defended for the space of two houres, to flie. *Cortes* and his whole army beyng passed ouer, he commaunded to damme vp that broken place of the drawe brydge, with earth, rubbishe and stones, and procéedyng forward they came to an other bridge whiche had no bulwarke, but was neare one of the chiefest places of the cittie, and there placed a péece of ordinaunce wherewith they dyd greate hurte, and seyng them now past all the bridges, they determined to enter into the harte of the Citie. When the *Mexicans* perceyued their determination, they beganne to prouide euery one for himselfe, for some fledde one way and some another, but the moste wente to the great temple of Idols. The Spaniardes and theyr friends pursued after them, and among the throng gotte into the Temple, where they slewe many, and at length they wente vp into the high tower, and there threwe downe the idols, among whome they made a great spoyle.

Quahutimoc beganne to reprehende his men for their cowardie and flight, who gathered themselues together, and considering theyr ouersight, and that there were no horses, began a freshe to sette vppon the Spanyardes, and with force and strength draue them out of all the circuite of the Temple, and made them truste to their féete. But when *Cortes* sawe his menne come flying, he caused them to returne and to shewe face vnto the enemy, declaryng vnto them how shamefull a thyng it was to flie: But seing the strength and multitude of their enemies, they had no other remedie but onely to retire to the greate market place, yea & from

thence also they were expelled, and lost a péece of their ordinaunce. But beyng nowe in this extremitie, there came thrée horsemen who played the valiant men and made way through the troupe of enimies, who at the sight of the horses began to flie, and our men to follow with suche harte and courage, that in short time they wan the great temple agayne: then came other sixe horsemen who ioyned with the other thrée, and lay in ambushe, where they slew .30. *Mexicans*. The day being now farre spent, and the nighte at hande, *Cortes* commaunded his army to retire, and they obeying his commandemēt, hadde not so soone turned their backes, but an infinite number of enimies were at their héeles, who if it hadde not bin for the Horsemen, had slayne many Spanyardes, for they came vpon them like rauening dogges without any feare, yet with the succoure of the Horsemen, the enimie was putte agayne to flighte, and our men burned many houses, to auoyde at their next comming the daunger of stones whiche were throwen from their toppes. The other Captaynes, who were *Sandoual* and *Aluarado*, fought valiantly on the other side of the Citie.

The great hurt and dammage in the *houses of Mexico with fire.*

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1 this meane while, *Don Hernando* of *Tezcuco*, wente throughout his Lordship, to allure his vassall to the seruice and friendship of *Cortes*, according to his former promise: and whether it were seying the Spanyards prosperitie in the séege of *Mexico*, or otherwise, he broughte almost the whole prouince of *Culhuacan*, whiche is vnder the gouernement of *Tezcuco*, with sixe or seauen of his owne bréethren, for more he could not, although he had more than a hundred bréethren, as héereafter shall be declared. One of them named *Iztlixuchilh* béeyng a valiant yong man, of the age of foure and twenty yeares, he appoynted generall Captayne ouer fiftie thousande men of warre, well armed and trimmed according to their fashion. *Cortes* dyd friendly receyue and welcome them, giuing them greate thankes for their ayde and good willes. Of these newcome men, he tooke into his owne host thirtie thousande, and deuided the residue equally among the other Captaynes.

This was a sorrowfull newes to the *Mexicans*, to heare of the succoure which *Don Hernando* hadde sente to serue *Cortes*, and with holden the same from them, yea and also among them were come kinsmen, bréethren, and fathers to many of them which were in *Mexico* in the seruice of *Quahutimoc*.

Two dayes after that these menne were come, there came also men of *Xochmilco*, and certayne husbandmen of the Moūtaines, who spake the *Otomitlh* spéech, beséeching *Cortes* to pardon their long tarrying, offering also both men and vittayles for the séege. *Cortes* was pleased wyth their cōming and gentle offer, for they being his friēds, he was assured of them of *Culhuacan*, and sayd vnto them, within these thrée daies (God willing) I wil combate the Citie, therefore againste that time I praye you prepare your selues accordingly, and

therein shall I knowe whether you are my friendes or no: and with this aunswere they departed, promising to fulfill his request, as they did in déede. This done, he sente thrée *Vergātines* to *Sandoual*, and other thrée to *Aluarado*, for to disturbe anye succoure that mighte come from the land to the Citie, and likewise to defende and ayde the Spanyardes at all times, when they would land vpon the calsey, to combate the Citie, for he well vnderstoode howe profitable those vessels would be néere vnto the bridges.

The Captaines of the *Vergantines* ceased not night and day to runne the coast and Townes of the lake, where they tooke manye boates from the enimies, laden with men and victuall, and permitted none to come into the Citie, nor yet any to come out.

The daye appointed to the enimies for the combate, *Cortes* made his prayers vnto God, & then enformed each Captayne what he should do, and came foorth with twētie horsemen, thrée hundred Spanyardes, and a great number of *Indians*, with their péeces of Ordinance, and where in thrée or foure dayes before they had not skirmished, time serued the *Mexicans* at will to open al those places which were dammed vp before, and also to builde better bulwarkes thā those which were throwen downe, attending with that horrible noyse accustomed. But whē they sawe the *Vergantines* on eache side, theyr ioy was turned into sorrowe, and beganne to fainte, the whiche oure men vnderstood well, and therewith alanded themselues vpon the calsey, and wanne the bulwarke and the bridge. Our army procédyng forward, set vppon the enimies, vntill they came to another bridge, the whyche was likewise wonne in shorte time, and this pursued from bridge to bridge, alwayes fighting, vntill they had driuen them from the Calsey and stréetes.

Cortes for his part lost no time, for he with tenne thousande *Indians* laboured to damme vp againe the sluses and broken places of the bridges, making the way plaine both for Horsemen and footemen: it was so much to doe, that all those ten thousand *Indians* were occupied therein from the morning vntill the euening.

The other Spanyards and *Indian* friends skirmished continually, and slew

many of their enimies. Likewyse the Horsemen so scoured the stréetes, that the enimies were forced to locke them vp in their houses & Temples. It was a notable thing to sée how our *Indians* played the menne that daye againste the Citizens: sometimes they would chalenge them the field: other times they would conuite them to supper, and shewe vnto them legges, armes, and other péeces of mās flesh, saying behold your owne flesh which shal serue for our supper and brekefast, and to morrow we wil come for more, therefore flye not, you are valiant fellowes, yet it were better for you to dye fighting than with hunger. And after all this spéech, euery one of them called vppon the name of his owne Towne with a loude voyce, setting fire vppon their houses. The *Mexicans* were replenished with sorrow, to sée themselues so afflicted with Spanyardes, but yet theyr sorrowe was the greater, to heare their owne vassals so raile againste them, saying and crying at their owne dores, victory, victory, *Tlaxcallan*, *Chalcho*, *Tezcuco*, *Xochmilco*, and other Townes: the eating of the fleshe gréeued them not, for they did the like.

Cortes séeing the *Mexicans* so stoute and hard harted, with full determination eyther to defend themselues or else to dye, therevpon he bethought himselfe vppon two things, the one was, that he shoulde not obteyne the treasure whiche he had séene in the time of *Mutezuma*: the other was, that they gaue him occasion totally to destroy the Citie. Both these things gréeued him much, but especially the destructiō of the citie. He ymaged with himselfe what he mighte doe, to bring them to acknowledge their error, and the hurt that mighte fall vpon them, and for these considerations he pluckt downe their Towers, and brake their idolles. He burned also the greate house wherein he was lodged before, and the house of foule which was néere at hād. There was not one Spanyard who had séene that magnificall building before, but lamented sore the sight: but to agréue the Citizens, it was commaunded to be burned. There was neuer *Mexican*, that thought any humane force, how much lesse so fewe Spanyards, shoulde haue entred into *Mexico* in despite of them all, and to sette fire vpon their principallest edifices within the Citie. While this house was a burning,

Cortes gathered his men, and retired to his Campe. The *Mexicans* would fayne haue remedyed the fire, but it was too late, and séeing our men retire, they followed wyth their noyse accustomed, and slue some of our men, who were laden with the spoyle, and came behinde the reste. The horsmen relieued our men, and caused the enimy to retire, in such wise, that before night al our men were in safetie and the enimies in their houses, the one sorte full of sorowe, and the others wearied with fighte and trauel. The slaughter was great that day, but the burning, and spoyle of houses was greater, for besides those whiche wee haue spoken of, the Vergantines did the like where they wente, and the other Captaines also were not idle where they were appointed.

Things that happened to Pedro de *Aluarado* through his bolde attempt.

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edro de Aluarado, would passe his army to y^e market place of *Tlalulco*, for he toke much payn & stooode in perill in susteyning y^e bridges which he had gotten, hauing hys forte almost a league frō thence. And again, he being a man of a haughtie stomacke, thinking as wel to get honor as his general, and likewise being procured by his company, who sayde, that it were a shame for them if *Cortez* should winne that market place, being more nearer vnto them, than vnto him: wherevpon he determined to winne those bridges which as yet wer vnwonne, and to place himselfe in the market place. He procéded with all his army vntill they came to another brokē bridge, which was sixtie paces of length, and two fadome depe, the whiche with the helpe of the Vergantines, he wan in short space, and gaue order to certaine of his men to damme it vppe substancially, and he himselfe pursued his enimies, with fiftie Spaniardes. But when the Citizens sawe so few in number, and al footemen, (for the horses coulde not passe the sluice so soone,) they came vpon them so sodainely & fiercely, that they made our men to turne their backes, and trust to theyr legges, yea and our men fel into the water, they knewe not which way. They slew many of our *Indias*[=a?], and four Spaniards, who forthwith they sacrificed, and eate their fleshe in the open sight of al the army.

Aluarado saw his owne folly, in not beleauing *Cortes*, who had always forewarned him, not to procede foreward, vntil he had made the way sure behinde him: but *Aluarado* his counsellors payde their counsel with life *Cortes* sorrowed for the same, for the like had happened vnto him, if he had giuen credite to their counsel. But as a prudent captain, he considered the matter better, for euery house was then an Ilande, the calsey broken in many places, and the

zoties or house toppes beset with stones, for these and suche like places vsed *Quahutimoc*. *Cortes* went to see where *Aluarado* had pitched hys campe, and also to rebuke him for that which was past, and to aduise him what he shold do: But when he came and found him so farre within the libertie of the Citie, and the daungerous places which hadde passed, he dyd highly cōmend his valiaunt and good seruice: he also cōmuned with him of manye things concerning the siege, and then returned to his owne campe.

The tryumph and sacrifice vvhich the
Mexicans made for their victorie.

ortez delayed the time to pitche his campe in the market place of *Mexico*, although daily his menn entrede and skirmished with in the Citie, for the causes before alleaged, and likewise to see if *Quahutimoc* would yéeld himself. And also the entrie could not be but very daungerous, for the great multitude of enimies that filled vp the streates.

Al his company Spaniardes ioyntly, with the kings Treasurer, séeing the determination of *Cortes*, and the hurt already receyued, besought and also required him to passe his campe vnto the market place: who aunswered them, that they had spoken like valiaunt men, but as yet (quoth he) it is not time conuenient, & we oughte to consider better of the matter: for why? the enimies are fully determined to ende their liues in defence of that place. But his men replied so much, that hee was compelled to graunte to theyr requeste, and proclaymed the entraunce for the nexte daye following. Hee wrote also in his letters to *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, & to *Pedro de Aluarado*, the instructions of the things that they should doe, whiche was in effect, to *Sandoual*, that hee shoulde remoue hys campe wyth all hys fardage, as thoughe he woulde retire and flye, and that vppon the calsey he shoulde haue tenne horsemen in ambushe, behinde certaine houses to the intent that when the Citizens should espie thē flie, and would pursue after, thē to passe betwixt them and home with the said horsemen, & after the hurt done among them, in this sort, that then he with al his army shoulde come where *Pedro de Aluarado* aboade, with other tenne horsemen, a hundered footemen, and the Nauye of Vergantines, and leauing with hym his men, should then take thrée of the Vergantines, and to procure to winne that broken bridge, where *Aluarado* of late receiued the foyle: and if he fortunéd to wyne that place, that then he should damme it vp, and make it sure, before he passed anye further: and the like order he gaue vnto him for al other broken places that he should passe.

Vnto *Aluarado* he gaue commission, that he shoulde passe as farre into the Citie as he myght possible, requyring him also to send vnto him eightie

Spaniardes. Hée also appointed the other seauen Vergantines, to passe into both y^e lakes, with thrée thousand *Canoas*. He deuided likewise all his army into thrée companies, bycause they had thre ways to enter into the citie. By the one of these wayes or streates, entred the Treasurer and Auditor, with seauentye Spaniardes, twentie thousande *Indians*, eight horsemen, twelue labourers with pickeaxes and Shouels, and many other ydle felowes, to cary earth and stones, and to fill vp the broken places, and to make the way plaine.

A kinde harted captaine.

The seconde streate he commended to *George de Aluarado* and *Andres de Tapia*, with eightie Spaniardes, tenne thousande *Indians*, two pieces of Ordinaunce, and eight horsemen. *Cortes* himselfe toke the thirde way, wyth a great number of friendes, and a hundred Spaniardes footemen, of the whiche were twentye fiue with Crossebowes and Harquebushes, and cōmaunded his horsemē which were eight in number, to abide there behinde, and not to falow after, vntil he shold sende for them. In thys order, and al at one instaut, they entred the Citie, shewing the harts of valiaunt men, greatly annoying the enemy, and wan many bridges, but when they came neare vnto y^e towne house called *Tianquiztli*, there gathered together such a number of the *Indian* friendes, who before theyr eyes scaled, entred, and robbed their houses, that they thought assuredly, that y^e same day the citie had bin wonne. *Cortez* commaunded that they should procéede no further, saying, that they had done sufficientlye for that day, for also he feared afterclappes. He likewise demanded whether all the broken bridges were made sure, in the whych (quoth he) cōsisteth the peril and victorie. But those that went with the Treasurer, following victorie and spoyle, had left a bridge not well dammed vp, but verye hollowe and false, the whiche was of twelue paces broad, and two fadom in depth. When *Cortez* was aduertised hereof, he went thither to remedy the same, but he was no sooner come, when he sawe his men fléeing, and leaping into the water, with feare of the cruel enimies, which followed, who leapt after them into the water, to kill them. There came also along the calsey manye *Indian* boates of enimies, who

toke many of y^e *Indian* friends and Spaniards aliue. Then *Cortes* and other fiftéene persons, which were with him, serued for no other purpose but to helpe out of the water those that were fallen, some came wounded, and others halfe drowned, and without armour: yea and the multitude of enimies so beset *Cortes*, and his fiftéene companions, who wer helping their mē, and so occupied in the same, that they had no regarde to their owne peril. Wherevpon certaine *Mexicans* layd hād vpō *Cortes*, who truly they had carried away if it had not bin for one *Francisco de Olea* his seruāt, who cut off at one blowe the armes of them that had hold of him, and he by the enemies was immediately slain, so that he died to saue his maisters life. Then came *Antonio de Quinionez* captaine of the guard, who caught *Cortes* by the arme, & by force pluckt him out of the throng of enimies, wyth whom valiantly he fought. But thē with the fame that *Cortez* was prisoner, came many spaniards, among whō was one horseman, who made some roome, but in shorte space they thrust him through the throte with a launce, and made him to retire. The fight ceassed a little, & *Cortes* had a horse brought vnto him, on the which he lightlye amounted, and gathering his men together, came to the streate of *Tlacopan*, whiche was large and faire. There died *Guzman* his Chamberlayne, giuing a horse vnto his maister, whose death was much lamented among them all, for he was a man valiant, honeste, & welbeloued. There fel also into the water two horses, the one was saued, but the other was killed by the *Indians*. As the Treasurer and his company were Combatting a bulwarke, the enimies threw out of a window thrée Spaniards heads vnto them, saying, the like they would do with their heads, if they went not from thence the sooner. They séeing this sight, and likewise cōsidered the great hurte and spoyle made among them, began to retire by little and little.

The *Mexican* Priestes went vp into the Towres of *Tlatelulco*, and made their fiers in chafing dishes, and put therevnto the swéete gūme of *Copalli* in token of victorie, and forthwith stripped fiftie Spaniards captiues as naked as they were borne, and with their fine rasors opened them in the breastes, and pluckt out their hartes for an offering to the Idols, and sprinckled their bloud in the ayre. Our

men seing before their eies the doleful sight, would fain haue gone to reuēge the cruel custome. But as time then required they had ynough to doe, to put themselues in sauetie through the great troupe of *Indians* which came vpon them, who now feared neither horse nor sword. This day as ye haue heard, were fortie Spaniards sacrificed, and *Cortes* wounded in one of hys legges, and thirtie moe of his men: they loste a piece of Ordinance, and foure horses. Also that day was slayne aboue two thousand *Indian* friends, and many *Canoas* lost and the Vergantines in great daunger, and the captain and maister of one of them were wounded. Whereof the captaine died within eight dayes, the same day wer also slaine foure of *Aluarado* his men, that daye was an vnfortunate or dismal day, and the nyght heauy, sorrowfull and replenished with lamentable grieve among the spaniardes and their friendes. On the other side, the *Mexicās* tryumphed with ioy, and made great bonefiers, blewe their hornes, stroke vp their drummes, daunced, banqueted and dranke themselues drunk: they also opened their streets and bridges, as they were before, and placed their scout and watch about the Citie. And as soone as it was day, the king *Quehutimoc*, sent two Christians heads, and two horse heads into al the comarcanes there aboute, to signifye their victorie and to require them to forsake the Christians friendship, promising in short space to make the like ende of all those that remayned, and deliuer the countrey from warre, these things encouraged some prouinces to take armour againste *Cortes* being his allied friendes, as *Maliualco* and *Cuixco*. This newes was soone blowen abroade into many prouinces, wherevppon our men feared rebellion among their new friends, yea and mutinie in their owne campe, but it pleased god that it fel out otherwise. The next day *Cortes* came out againe to fight, to shewe face to the enimies, but he turned again from the first bridge, without doing any great act.

The determination of Cortez to destroy *the citie of Mexico.*

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hichimecatl, a noble man of *Tlaxcallan*, (who hadde brought the Timber of y^e Vergantines, frō whence it was wrought, and was placed in the companye of *Aluarado* at the beginning of the siege of *Mexico*,) séeing that the Spaniards fought not as they wer wont to do, he alone with y^e men of his owne countrey, went forth to cōbate the Citie, being a thing which toofore he had not attēpted, gaue assault against those which defended a certain bridge, and with great noyse cryed and named his City and lynage, and in short space wanne the bridge, where he lefte foure hundered archers, and followed after the enimie, who of industrie fledde, thinking to take him at his returne, and at length the enemy returned vppon him, where they made a fayre skirmishe, for the fight was equall. There were many hurt and slaine on both sides, so that with the dead carcasses they supped at will. But they thoughte to ouerthrowe him at the bridge, not knowing of y^e foure hundered archers which were there to attend *Chichimecatls* comming, by meanes of whome, he passed at pleasure, to the greate griefe of the *Mexicans*, yea and remayned not a little amazed to see the valor and bolde attempte of the *Tlaxcaltecas*.

The Spanyards likewise highly commended the fact, for where oure men combated not as they were wont to do, the *Mexicās* ymagined that the cause was cowardize, infirmitie, or want of vittayles: wherevpon one daye at the sunne rising, they set vpon *Aluarado* his Camp, whiche being espyed by the watch, they began to crye, arme, arme, who came forth as well footemen as horsemen, and put them to flight, at whiche retire many of the *Mexicans* were drowned, and others sore hurt and wounded. Then said the *Mexicans*, that they desired to talke with *Cortez*, who came vnto a drawe bridge to knowe what they would haue,

vnto whome sometime they sayd, that peace was their request, and other times they demanded truce, but finally required that the Spanyards shoulde departe from that Countrey. All this policie was but to féele what strength and courage our menne had, and to haue truce for a certayne time, for to prouide them of such necessities as they wanted, for their determinate purpose was, to dye in the defence of their countrey and religion. *Cortes* aunswered, that truce was not conueniente for eyther partie, but peace was laudable at al times, the whiche for his parte, although he hadde beséeged the Citie, should not be denied: therfore he willed them to wey his plentiful estate of vittayles, and their owne néede and necessitie of the same. They being in this communication with their interpreters, appeared an auntient olde man on the toppe of the Bulwarke, who in the sighte of them all, pluckt bread out of his satchell péece by péece, and began to eate, giuing them to vnderstand, that they stode in no néede of vittayles, and so made an ende of theyr talke.

The séege of this Citie séemed a long time to *Cortes*, for in néere fiftie dayes that he had begun the same, yet could not he bring his desire to passe, yea and much maruelled that the enimies coulde endure so long a season with dayly skirmishing, and also how they refused peace and concord, knowing how many thousands of them had bin slayne, and ended their miserable liues with hunger.

Yet once agayne he sente this last message vnto them, that if they woulde not yéelde themselues, then he hauing them enuironed by land and water, woulde slea thē all, and not permitte anye kinde of victuall to come vnto them, so that theyr extremitie shoulde be so greate, that they should eate one another: their aunswere was, that firste the Spanyardes shoulde tast of the same cuppe, so that threatning increased their courages, and occupyed themselues in carrying stones to the market place, and many other stréetes, to stoppe the way against the Horses and their maisters.

Cortes, although it gréeued him to destroy totally so beautifull a Citie, yet he determined to bring all the houses of the stréetes that he should winne to be equall with the ground, and to stoppe with them the Chanel of water. He

cōmuned the matter with his Captaynes, who liked well of his intente, although it was a troublesome thing. He also aduertised the Gentlemen *Indians* hys friends of his determination, who highly commended his deuice.

Cortes séeyng the towardnesse of all his armye, he called and prepared all his labourers, with their pikeaxes and shouels, so that in these affaires, and in setting hys men in good order, he spent foure dayes, and then he begā to cōbate the stréete, which goeth directly to the market place, then fainedly the Citizēs desired peace. *Cortes* stayed, and asked for their King: they aunswered, that they had sent for him, wherevpon *Cortes* taried an houre, and then they began to reuile him, and to throwe stones, and shot at him. The Spanyards séeing this, gaue the onser, and wanne a forte, and came into the chiefe place of the Citie. They cleansed the stréetes of the stones whiche they had laide to disturbe their passage, and stopped so vp the water stréete in that place, in suche wise, that neuer after it was opened againe, and threw downe all the houses, making the entrance into the Citie an open playne high way, and then retired to their camp. Also sixe dayes arowe they did the like, without receyuing any hurt, sauing the last day two horses were hurt.

The nexte day *Cortes* laide an ambush with fiftie horsmen, and sent before him the Vergantines, but hée himselfe with thirtie horsemen, abode in certaine great houses in the Market place. They foughte that day in many places of the Citie, and at the retire, one shot of a handgun, whiche was the token that those which lay in ambushe should come forth. The enimies folowed our men, that séemed to flée with maruellous greate courage. But they were not so soone passed the snare, when *Cortes* came forth with his thirtie horsemen, saying, vpon them, vpon them: By this onely meane were slaine aboue fiue hundred *Mexicans*, besides the prisoners.

Our *Indian* friends had a good supper that nyght with mans fleshe, whiche as yet they would not be perswaded to leaue. Certaine Spaniards went vppe into a Tower of Idols, and there opened a sepulchre, where they found fiue hundred Castlins in golde: With this ouerthrowe the *Mexicans* remayned in suche feare,

that all their threatnings and triumphes were turned into mourning: and euer after whē they saw our men retire, they would not folow them, fearing the like danger, so that this was a meane, the sooner to win *Mexico*.

The hunger and infirmitie vvwhich the
Mexicans suffered with greate courage.

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wo poore soules who were vexed wyth hunger, came in the nighte season out of the citie vnto *Cortes* his Camp, who certified, how the Citizens were in greate necessitie, and so manye dead with hunger and sicknesse, that there were heapes of dead bodyes in the houses, only to kéepe close their extreame miserie: and said also, that in the night season manye came out to fishe betwéene the houses with feare of the *Vergantines*, and others came out to séeke for wodde, hearbes, and rootes to eate.

A cruell fact of Cortez.

Cortes hearing these newes, determined to knowe the troth thereof, so that the nexte night he commaunded the *Vergantines* to goe round about the Citie, and he himselfe with fiftéene Horsemen, a hundred footemen, and manye *Indian* friends, placed themselues betwixte certaine houses, with order to his espyes, to aduertise him what they shoulde sée. It was no sooner day, but manye poore folke came out to séeke for foode, and when *Cortes* had intelligence thereof, he made a greate slaughter among them, whereas at that time of vnarmed men, women, and chyl dren, were slayne to the number of eyght hundred: and the *Vergantines* on their side made another spoyle. The pitiful noise being heard into the Citie, the Citizens were astonyed, and knew not what to doe, fearing the like ambushe that they had séene and fealt the day before, & also wondered, that at such an houre not accustomed, y^e Spanyardes were so nigh. The next day following, béeing S. Iames his euen, *Cortes* entred againe into the Citie, according as he had done before, and wanne the stréete of *Tlacopan*, where he burned the riche and faire houses of king *Quahutimoc*, whiche were motted round aboute: so that nowe of foure partes of the citie, thrée partes were wonne,

and the Spaniardes might safely passe from *Cortes* his campe, to the campe of *Aluarado*, by reason that all the houses were burned, and beaten downe playne with the grounde.

A true prophesie.

But yet the poore *Mexicans* would say to the *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, goe to, go to, make hast, burne and destroy these houses, for time will come that yée shall buylde them againe at your owne coste. For if we haue victory then shall ye buylde them for vs, and if we be ouercome then shall yée buylde them for these straungers.

Within foure dayes after, *Cortes* entred the citie againe, and also *Aluarado* on his side, who to shewe hys haultie stomacke, laboured all that was possible to gette two towers of the temple of *Tlatelulco*, the whiche at the length he wan, although he loste thrée horses in the cōbat.

An extreme penurie.

The next day followyng, the horsemen walked vp and downe in the greate market place at pleasure, the poore *Mexicans* beholding that sorrowful sight frō their houses. And as the Spaniardes wente walking in the cittie, they founde heapes of dead bodies in the houses, streates, and in the water: they found also the barke of trées and rootes gnawen by the hungry creatures, and the men so leane and yellow, that it was a pitifull sighte to beholde. *Cortes* yet agayne required them to yéelde, and they although they were so leane of body were strong in harte, and answered that he should not speake of any friendshippe, nor yet hope of their spoyle, for when no fortune would fauour them, then they woulde eyther burne their treasure, or throwe it into the lake, where they should neuer profite therby, and that they would fight while one alone shoulde remayne aliue. At *Cortes* his nexte entry into the citie, he founde the streates full of women, children, olde folke, and many miserable sicke persons whiche were perishyng for want of foode.

Cortes commaunded that none of his army should doe any hurte vnto such miserable creatures. The principall folke who were whole and sounde, they

stoode in their zoties or house toppes, without weapon, and clothed in mātels. It was thought that they kepte a certaine holy day, peace was againe offered, but they answered with dissimulation. The next day followyng *Cortes* required *Aluarado* on his side to combat a streat of .1000. houses that was not yet won, and that he would doe the like on the otherside: for a little space the Citizens defended thēselues, but their defence endured not, but were driuen to flie, being not able to resiste the force of theyr contraries. So that the Spanishe army wan also that streate, and slewe 12000. Cittizens, the murder was so great bicause the *Indian* friends would shewe no mercie or compassion vpon them, although they were required to the cōtrary. So that now the *Mexicans* hauing lost this streate also, the houses that were not beatē downe could scarcely hold the people y^t were aliue, the streates also being so full of dead carcasses and sicke bodies, that our men coulde not passe but must néedes treade vpon them. *Cortes* desirous to sée what remayned of the cittie to win, went vp into a high tower, and hauyng well vewed the Cittie, he iudged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And y^e next day following he assaulted the same, with speciall cōmaundement giuen to his army, not to kil any but only such as should resist.

A sorovvfull tale.

The sorrowful Citizens bewayling their vnfortunate fate & destinie, besought the Spaniards to make an ende, and to kill them all out of hande. Then certayne of the horsemen called *Cortes* in great hast, who went vnto them incontinent, hoppyng of some agrement of peace: and standing at the brymme of the water neare vnto a drawe bridge, the *Mexicans* sayde, oh captayne *Cortes*, consideryng that thou art the childe of the Sunne, why doest thou not entreate the Sunne thy father, to make an ende of vs: oh thou Sunne that canst goe rounde about the worlde in a day and a night, we pray thée make an end of vs, and take vs out of this miserable lyfe, for we desire death to go and rest with our God *Quetcauatlh* who tarieth for vs. After these speaches they made a lamentable crie, callyng vpon their Goddes with loude voyces. *Cortes* answered what he thought good, but yet could not perswade them to yéelde, truely it was a pitefull sight to

beholde.

The imprisonment of Quahutemoc.

An euill revvarde.

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ortes seing the great extremitie that these poore wretched people were in, thinkyng nowe that they woulde yéelde vnto him, therevppon hée spake to an vnkle of *Don Hernando de Tezcuco*, who was taken prisoner thrée dayes before, whom he desired to go to the king & treatate of peace: this Gentleman refused the message, knowyng the determinate will of *Quahutimoc*, but through much entreatie he graunted to his request. So the next day followyng *Cortes* entred into the Cittie, & sent that Gentleman & certayne Spaniardes before him. The *Indian* garde of that strete receyued him with the honour which vnto such a noble man did appertayne. He procéded forward toward the king, & being come where he was, he declared vnto him his embassage. When *Quahutimoc* had hearde his tale, he was so moued with yre & choller, that forthwith he commaūded him to be sacrificed, and gaue the Spaniardes for theyr answere blowes with stones, stauess and arrowes, saying also that they desired death and no peace, and fought so stoutly that day, that they slewe many of our menne, and one horse. Lykewise on their side many were slayne.

The nexte day *Cortes* entred the cittie agayne, but he fought not, hoping then that they woulde submitte themselues, but yet the Citizens had no such thought. He came néere vnto a certayne bulwarke on horsebacke, and spake vnto certayne Gentlemen with whome he was acquaynted, saying that now within a shorte space he could make an ende of their finall destruction, but yet of meare compassion he wished it not, for the loue whiche he bare vnto them, so that they would in time rēder themselues: wherfore (quoth he) entreate yée the king to doe the same, and in so doynge ye shalbe well vsed, and haue victuals sufficient. The Gētlemen hearing these wordes, fell on weping, and answered, that now they knew well their errour, and felte their losse and destruction, notwithstanding they

were bounde to obey their king and Goddes. But yet (quoth they) abide a while, and we will certifie *Quahutimoc* what you haue sayde, and in shorte space they went and returned againe, saying that the next day without fayle their Lord woulde come and talke with him in the markette place. With this answeere *Cortes* returned to his campe, and thought at their méeting to conclude an honorable peace. So against the next day he caused a Canapie and chayre of estate to be sette in the markette place, accordyng to the *Mexican* vse, and also a dinner to be prepared. The day followyng came *Cortes* at the houre appoynted, with many of his men armed, but the king came not: neuerthelesse he sente fiue noble men to treat of the matter, excusing the kyng, saying he was not well at ease. *Cortes* welcomed those Gentlemen, and was gladde of their cōming, hoping thereby to conclude and make some good ende. And when they had dined and well refresshed their hungry bodies, *Cortes* gaue them victuals, and desired them to returne agayne to the King, and to declare vnto him that without his presence the conclusion coulde not be certayne. They wente and returned againe within twoo houres, and brought vnto *Cortes* certaine mantels made of cotton woll, very good & well wrought, with answeere that the king would not come in any wise, both for shame and feare. And the next day these messengers came agayn, saying that the king would come to the place appointed. But yet he came not, although *Cortes* attended his commyng more than foure houres: who seing the mockerie, he forthwith sente *Sandoual* with his Vergantines one way, and he himself went an other, combatting the houses & fortes that yet remayned, where he founde small resistaunce, so that he might doe what he pleased. There was that day slayne and taken prysoners aboue .40000. persons, & then he retired to his campe. The lamentable crie and mourning of the women and children woulde haue made a stony hart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wōderfull noysome. That night *Cortes* purposed to make an end the next day of the warres, and *Quahutimoc* pretended to flie, and for that purpose had embarked hymselfe in a *Canoa* of twētie ores. When the day appeared *Cortes*, with his men, and foure pièces of ordinance, came to the corner where those that yet remayned

were shut vp, as cattell in a pounde. He gaue order to *Sandoual* and *Aluarado* what they shold do, which was, to be ready with their Vergātines, and to watche the comyng out of the *Canoas* whiche were hidden betwixte certayne houses, and especially to haue regard vnto the kings person, and not to hurte him, but to take him aliue. He commaunded the residue of hys men to force the *Mexican* boates to goe out, and he himselfe wente vp into a tower, inquiryng for the King, and there founde *Xihuacoa*, gouernour and Captayne generall of the Cittie, who woulde in no wise yéelde himselfe. Then came out of the Cittie a greate multitude of olde folkes, men, women and childrē to take boate. The throng was so great with hast to enter the *Canoas*, that many by that means were drowned in the lake. *Cortes* required his mē not to kil those miserable creatures: But yet he could not stay the *Indians* his friends, who slewe and sacrificed aboue fiftene thousand. After this, there was a great rumour among the cōmon people, that the king would flie, making a piteous mone and saying that they sorowfull creatures knew not whither to goe: But yet procuryng to goe into the *Conoas*, whiche were so full that there was no rounge for thē, by reason thereof many were drowned.

The men of warre stode in the house toppes and zoties beholding their perdition. All the nobilitie of *Mexico* were embarked with the kyng. Then *Cortes* gaue signe with the shotte of a handgunne, that his captaines should be in a readinesse, so that in shorte space they wanne fully and wholly the great Cittie of *Mexico*. The Vergantines likewise brake in among the fléete of boates, without any resistaunce, and euery one sought where he might beste succour himselfe, the Royall Standarte was beaten downe. *Garcia Holquin*, who was captayne of a Vergantine, had espied a great *Canoa* of .xx. ores déepe laden with men. And one of his prysoners sayde vnto him, that the king wente in that greate *Canoa*. *Holquin* beyng gladd of the newes, gaue chase to that *Canoa* and ouertooke him. In his foreship he had thrée crossebowe men. And when *Quahutimoc* who stode on the puppe of the *Canoa* ready to fighte, sawe those bowes ready bente, and many drawen swordes, he yéelded himselfe, declaryng that he was the king. *Garcia Holquin* being a gladd man of his prysoner, tooke and carried him vnto

Cortes who receiued him reuerently. When *Quahutimoc* came neare vnto him, he layde his hande vpon *Cortes* his dagger, saying, I haue done all my possibility to defende me and mine, accordyng to my duetie, hoping not to haue come to this estate and place where now I stande: And considering that you may doe with me what you please, I beséeche you to kill me, and that is my only request. *Cortes* comforted him with faire words, giuyng him hope of life and seniory, and tooke him vp into a zotie, requiring him to commaund his subiectes to yéelde and render themselues: he obeyed his request. At that time there was about thrée score and tenne thousande persons, who in seing their Prince, threwe downe their weapons and submitted themselues.

The taking of Mexico.

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At the order before declared, wanne *Hernando Cortes* the famous cittie of *Mexico*, on tuesday being the .xiiij. of August, An. 1521. in remembraunce wherof, and of the great victory, euery yéere on that day they make a sumptuous feast & solemne procession, wherin is carried the standart royall, with the whiche the cittie was won. The siege endured thrée moneths, & had therein .200000. *Indians* .900. Spaniardes .80. horses .17. péeces of ordinaunce, 13. Vergantines, & 6000. *Canoas*. In this siege were slayne fiftie Spaniardes & sixe horses, & no great number of the *Indians* their friends. There was slaine on the cōtrary side a hundred thousand, and some affirme many moe: but I speake not of them that died with hunger and pestilence.

At the defence of the citie were al the nobilitie, by reason wherof many were slayne. The multitude of people was great, who eate litle, dranke salte water, and slepte among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stenche: for these causes the disease of pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Wherevpon is to be considered, their stedfaste determination, for although they were afflicted with such hunger, that they were dryuen to eate boughes, ryndes of trées, and to drinke salte water, yet woulde they not yéelde themselues. But at the laste they would haue submitted them, and then their kyng *Quahutimoc* woulde not, bycause at the begynnyng they refused his will and counsell, and also with their generall deaths, should appeare no cowardise, for they kept the dead bodies in theyr houses to kéepe that secrete from theyr enimies. Here also is to bée noted, that although the *Mexicans* eate mans fleshe, yet they eate none of their owne Cittie or friendes, as some doe thynke: for if they had, there woulde not so many haue died with hunger. The *Mexican* women were highly commended, not onely bycause they aboade with their husbandes and Fathers,

but also for the greate paynes they tooke with the sicke and wounded persons, yea and also they laboured in makyng slings, cuttyng stones fitte for the same, and throwyng stones from the soties, for therein they dyd as muche hurte as their men. The Cittie was yéelded to the spoyle, and the Spanyardes tooke the Golde, Plate and Feathers, the *Indian* friends had all the rest of cloth and other stuffe.

Cortes commaunded greate bonfiers to be made in token of victory, and also to mortifie the horrible stenche of the dead bodies, whome he lykewise commaunded to be buried, and some of the prysoners menne and women he caused to be marked in the face, for the Kings slaues, and pardoned all the residue. He commaunded the Vergantines to bée brought ashore, and appoynted one *Villa fuerte*, with .80. men to garde thē, fearyng least the *Mexicans* shold set fire or otherwise destroy them. In this businesse he occupied himself foure dayes, & then remoued his campe to *Culhuacan*, where he rendred hartie thanks to all the Gentlemen his friendes, promysing to gratifie their good and faythfull seruice, desiryng them to departe home to theyr houses, cōsidering y^e warre was at an end, wherevpon they departed almost all in generall, both rich and iocond with the spoyle of *Mexico*, and also to remayne in the fauour and grace of *Cortes*.

Maruellous signes and tokens of the *destruction of Mexico.*

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Not long before *Hernando Cortes* came vnto the newe *Spain*, did many nightes after the midnichte appeare in the aire, and in the same port and place where *Cortes* entred into that land, great lightning of fire, whiche amounted vpward, and suddaynely vaded away. The *Mexicans* at that time saw flames of fire toward the orient, where now *Vera Crux* standeth, with a great and thicke smoke, that séemed to touche the heauen and earthe: thys sight was fearfull vnto them.

They also saw the figures of armed men fighte in the aire one with another, a new and strange sight for them, and a thing that filled their heads with ymaginations: for when there was a prophecie spoken of among them, how that white men with beardes should come and rule their kingdome in the time of *Mutezuma*. The Lordes of *Tezcuco* and *Tlacopan* were much amazed, saying, that the sword whiche *Mutezuma* hadde, was the armes of those folke, whose figures they had séene in the ayre, with their apparell and attire. *Mutezuma* had muche adoe to pacifie them, fayning that the weapon and apparell was of hys forefathers, and bycause they should see the troth thereof, he gaue them the sworde, and willed them to breake it if they coulde, and they prouing to breake the same and could not, they maruelled thereat, and also were resoluéd of their opinions.

It shoulde séeme, that a little before these things happened, some of *Mutezuma* his subiectes founde a chest of apparell and a sworde in it on the sea coast, which came floting out of some shippe that had wracked there about, and broughte it to their prince. Others affirme, that the cause of alteration among the noble men, was, when they saw the sword and apparell that *Cortes* had sent vnto *Mutezuma* by *Teudilli*, séeing it a thing so like the attire of the figures whiche

they had séene in the ayre, but howsoeuer it was, they beléeued with these new tokens, that their Kingdome shoulde haue an ende, when they saw those straungers come into their Countrey.

The same yeare that *Cortes* came into *Mexico*, appeared a vision vnto a certaine *Malli*, which is to say, a slaue taken in the warres to be sacrificed, who at the time of his deathe and Sacrifice, bewayled his sorrowfull ende; calling vppon the God of Heauen, who at that instant sawe in spirite a vision, and heard a voyce, bidding hym not to feare that death, for the God whome he had called vpon, would haue mercy vpon hym, willing hym also to say vnto the pristes and ministers of the Idols, that their wicked sacrifice and bloudshedding was néere at an ende, and that there was a people at hand, that should take away all that wicked and abhominable religion.

This *Malli* was sacrificed in the middest of the market place of *Tlatelulco*, where at this daye is the place of execution.

They remembred, and noted well the wordes of the *Malli*, and the vision whiche they called a breath from heauen.

The earth also brake open, out of the whiche issued a maruellous greate streame of water, with many greate fishes, which they iudged and held for a strange pronostication.

The *Mexicans* did reporte, that when on a time *Mutezuma* came triumphantly with victory of *Xochnuxco*, said vnto the Lorde of *Culhuacan*: Now (quoth he) *Mexico* is strong and inuincible, for I haue in subiection *Xochnuxco*, and other prouinces, so that now I am without feare of anyemie. The Lord of *Culhuacan* aunswered, saying, trust not good King too muche, for one force forceth another, with the whiche aunswere, *Mutezuma* was not a little offended. But when *Cortes* hadde taken them both prisoners, then he called to remembrance the former talke, and held that saying for a prophesie.

The building vp agayne of *Mexico.*

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ortes pretended to recdifie againe the Citie of *Mexico*, not onely for the scituation and maiestie, but also for the name & great fame thereof, and also to builde vp that which he hadde beaten downe, by reason whereof he trauelled to make this Citie greater, better, and to be more replenished with people. He named and appoynted Iudges, Aldermen, Attourneys, Towneclearke, Notaries, Skauengers, and Seriants, with all other officers, necessarie for the common weale of a Citie. He deuided the Citie among the Conquerors, hauing first taken out places for Churches, market places, townehouse, and other necessarie plottes to builde houses, profitable for the common weale. He also separated the dwellings of the *Spanyards* from the *Indiās*, so that the water passeth and maketh deuision betwixt them. Hée procured many *Indians* to come to the building of the Citie, for auoiding charges, although therein he had somewhat to do, by reason that many kinsmen of *Quahutimoc* were not as yet come vnder obedience.

Seauen thousand Ceder beames.

He made Lorde of *Tezcuco*, *Don Carolus Iztlixuchitl*, by the consent of the Citie, in place of *Don Hernando* his brother, who was deceased, and commaunded many of hys vassals to labour in the workes, bycause they were Carpenters, masons, and builders of houses. He promised also to them that were naturals of the Citie of *Mexico*, plottes to build vpon, inheritance, frédome, and other liberties, and the like vnto all those that woulde come and inhabite there, whiche was a meane to allure many thither. He sette also at libertie *Xihuaco* the generall Captayne, and made him chiefe ouer the *Indians* in the Citie, vnto whome he gaue a whole stréete. He gaue likewyse another stréete to *Don Pedro*

Mutezuma, who was sonne to *Mutezuma* the King. All this was done, to winne the fauoure of the people. He made other Gentlemen Seniors of little Ilands and stréetes to builde vpon, and to inhabite, and in this order the whole scituation was reparted, and the worke began with great ioy and diligence: but when the fame was blowen abroad, that *Mexico* should be built againe, it was a wonder to sée the people that resorted thither, hearing of libertie & frédome, the number was so greate, that in a whole league compasse was nothing but people both men and women. They laboured sore, and eate little, by reason whereof, many sickned, and pestilence followed, whereof dyed an infinite number. Their paines was great, for they bare on theyr backes, and drew after them stones, earth, timber, lyme, bricke, and all other things necessary in this sort, and by little and little, *Mexico* was built againe with a hundred thousande houses, more stronger and better than the olde building was. The Spanyardes also built their houses after the Spanish fashion. *Cortes* built his house vpon the plotte where *Mutezuma* his house stoode, whiche renteth now yéerely foure thousand duckates a yeare. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* accused him for the same, saying, that he hadde spoyled the woddess and mountaynes, and spent seauen thousand beames of Ceder trées in the worke of his own house. The number séemeth more héere than there, for where all the Mountaynes are replenished with Ceder trées, it is a small matter. There are Gardines in *Tezcuco*, that haue a thousand Ceder trées for walles and circuite, yea and there are Ceder trées of a hundred & twēty foote long, and twelue foote in compasse from ende to end. They built faire dockes couered ouer with arches for y^e Vergantines, whereas (for a perpetuall memorie) all the thirtéene Vergantines do remayne vntil this day. They dammed vp the stréetes of water, where now faire houses stand, so that *Mexico* is not as it was wont to be, yea and since the yeare of 1524. the lake decreaseth, and sometime casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwise it is a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountaynes that standeth round about it, and well prouided through the fertilitie of the Countrey, and commoditie of the lake, so that now is *Mexico* one of the greatest Cities in the world, and the most noble in

all *India*, as well in armes as policie. There are at the least two thousande Citizens, that haue each of them his horse in his stable, with riche furniture for them. There is also great contractation, and all sortes of occupations. Also a money house, where money is dayly coyned: a fayre schole, whiche the Vizeroy *Don Antonio de Mendosa* caused to be made. There is a greate difference betwixte an inhabitant of *Mexico*, and a Conqueror, for a Conqueror is a name of honor, and hathe landes and rentes, and the inhabitante or onely dweller payeth rente for hys house. When this Citie was a building, & not throughlye furnished, *Cortes* came from *Culhuacan* to dwell there. The fame of *Cortes*, and maiestie of *Mexico*, was blowen abroad into farre prouinces, by meanes whereof, it is now so replenished, as I haue before declared, yea & hath so many *Spanyards*, who haue conquered aboue 400. leagues of land, being all gouerned by the princely seate of *Mexico*.

Hovv the Emperour sent to take accompt
of Cortes of his gouvernement in the newe Spayne.

1 these dayes *Cortes* was the man of the greatest name of all the Spanish nation, although many had defamed him, and especially *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, who was in the Court of Spaine accusing him. And where, of long time the Counsell of *India* had receyued no letters from him, they suspected, yea and beléued, whatsoeuer euil was spoken of him. Wherevppon they prouided the Admirall *Don Diego Colon*, for Gouvernour of *Mexico*, who at that time went to lawe wyth the king, pretending the said office and many others, with condition to carrie at his owne coast a thousand men to apprehend *Cortes*. They prouided also for Gouvernour of *Panuco*, one *Nonio de Gusman*, and *Simon de Alcazaua* portingall, for gouvernour of *Honduras*. To kindle more thys mischief, and to set this businesse forward, one *Iohn de Ribera*, the Attourney of *Cortes*, was a fitte and an earnest instrument againste his maister, and the cause was, for falling out with *Martin Cortes*, father vnto *Hernando Cortes*, about foure thousand Duckates which *Cortes* had sent by him to his father, which money the said *Ribera* his Attourney kept to his owne vse, and therefore raised many slaunders against his maister, yea and credite was giuen to his tales, but on a night he had a morsell of bacon gyuen him vppon a skaffolde, wherewith he was choked in the chiefe time of his businesse. These newe officers, and their prouisions, were not so secretely obteyned, but the matter was as secretely talked in the Courte, whiche at that time was abiding in the Citie of *Toledo*, and the procedings séeme not iust vnto the friends of *Cortes*. The Commendador *Pedro de Pina* opened the matter to the Licenciat *Nouez*, and vnto father *Melgareio*, wherevppon they reclaymed of the Counsels determination, beséeching them to stay for a season, to sée what newes should come from *Mexico*. Also the Duke of *Beiar* tendred the cause of *Hernando Cortez*, for that *Cortez* by promise of faith and troth, was assured in marriage to his brothers daughter, named the Lady *Iane de Zuniga*, who aplaked the Emperoure his anger, and the saide Duke became suretie to aunswere in all causes for him.

The matter standing in this estate, there arriued in *Spayne Diego de Zoto*, with

a whole Coluerin made of siluer, and 70000. castlins in golde, the newes whereof was blowen ouer all *Spaine*. And to say the troth, this presente was y^e cause, that *Cortes* was not put out of his office, but a Iudge of residence was sent thither to take an accompt of him. Now a wise and a learned man was sought for that purpose, yea suche a one as could rule the matter, for some souldiers are oftentimes vnmanerly: whervpō they thought the Licenciat, *Lewes ponce de Leon* a fitte mā, who had bin Lieutenante to *Don Martin de Cordoua*, Earle of *Alcaudete*, & chiefe gouernour of the citie of *Tolledo*. This Licenciante with power sufficient, was sent vnto the new *Spaine*, who carried in his company as assistant, the batcheler *Marcus de Aguillar*, who hadde ruled in time past, in a worshipfull office of Iustice in the Ilande of *Santo Domingo*.

With prosperous weather they departed from Spayne, and in shorte tyme arriued at *Vera Crux*, *Cortez* hauing newes of their arriual by foote postes within two dayes. And vppon Midsomer day came letters to *Cortes* from the Licenciante *Ponce*, with another letter from the Emperour, wherby he vnderstood y^e cause of their comming. He returned backe incontīnēt an aunswere, and desired to know which way he would come to *Mexico*, eyther by y^e way inhabited, or else the other way which is néerer. The Licenciante replied, that he woulde for a while abide in *Vera Crux*, to refresh himselfe, béeyng seasicke, and a man y^t had not heeretofore at any time passed the seas, thinking that *Cortes* meante to haue done iustice on certain offenders, yea & also to haue takē hym by the way: wherefore he suspected, that *Cortes* had sent, bycause he woulde knowe whiche way he meant to come, wherevpon he secretly tooke post horse, with certaine Gentlemē, and other religious persons that came in hys company, & passed through the Townes, although it was the farther way, and made suche hast, that in fiue dayes he came to *Iztacpallapan*, refusing the entertaynement and prouision of meate and lodging that *Cortes* had prepared by his Gentlemē, that wēt both the wayes to méete him.

In *Iztacpallapā* they receyued him with great feast and maiestie, but after dinner, the Licenciante fell a vomiting, and the most of hys companye, and after

the vomite, they fell into a flixe. They thoughte that certayne hearbes was the cause thereof, whiche were in a dishe of curdes. The Licenciante was somewhat gréedie of the curdes, and tooke the dishe, and offered it to father *Thomas Ortiz*, no (quoth the Stewarde) hys reuerence shall haue another dishe, no (quoth father *Ortiz*) I will none of these, nor yet of anye other, of whyche wordes there were afterwarde Verses made, suspecting somethyng of the curdes: but truely there was no hurte, or anye euill thyng putte in them, (as héereafter shalbe declared) for the *Comendador, Proano*, who was then chiefe Sheriffe, did eate of all those dishes, yea in the same dishe that the Licenciante ate of, who neyther vomited nor yet receyued any hurte or alteration. But I thinke, that they cōmyng hoate, wery and hungry, did eate too muche, and dranke also colde water, whereby their stomackes reuolted, and thereof followed the flixe with vomite. On the behalfe of *Cortes* there was presented to the Licenciante a riche present, but he refused it.

Cortes with al the flower of Gentlemen in *Mexico*, came to receyue him, and giuyng him the right hand, they went togyther vntill they came to *Saint Frances* abbay, where after their praiers made, *Cortes* demaūded to see the kings prouisions, who answered, that the nexte day he woulde shew them vnto him: then they accompanied him to his house, where he was well lodged.

The nexte day followyng, all the magistrates of the Cittie mette the Licentiate in the cathedrall Church, and by acte, before the notary, he presented his auctoritie from the Emperour. He tooke the Vares of Iustice from the Iudges and Sargeants, and incontinent restored them agayne, and saide with gentle speach, this rodde of the Senior gouernour, I will haue for my selfe. *Cortes* with all the other Magistrates kissed the Emperours letters, and put them vpon the crowne of their heads, in tokē of great obedience, saying, that they woulde obserue and obey all that was therein contayned, as the commaundement of their king and Lorde, requyring the same to be set downe by acte and testimony.

After these things done, they proclaymed the residence and account of iustice, of *Hernando Cortes*, to the intent that all persons who coulde accuse him of any vnrightful dealing, should come and make their complaint, and to haue remedy

for the same. There should you then see the stirre and talke among them, euery officer fearyng his owne cause, with desire to see the ende of their businesse.

The death of the Licenciat *Luys Ponce.*

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he Licenciat comming one day from *Saint Frances* abbay from seruice, fell into an extréeme burnyng feuer, and lay him downe in his bedde, where he remayned the space of thrée dayes, as a man out of his wittes, and the feuer stil encreasing, so that on the seuenth day he yéelded vp the ghost. In the time of his sicknesse he receyued the communion, and made his laste will & testament. He left for substitute in his office, the bacheler *Marcus de Aguillar*. *Cortes* made as greate sorrow for his death, as if he had bene his owne father, his funeralles were celebrated with great pompe.

A madde daunce.

The enimies of *Cortes* published, that he died of poyson. But the Licenciat *Pero Lopez*, and Doctor *Hoieda*, who were his Phisitions, swore that he died of a burnyng feuer, and shewed a further consequence, that the euenyng before he deceased, he desired them to play the measures vpon a lute, and as he lay in his bedde, shewed with stirryng his féete the compasses and pointes of the daunce. It was a thing which diuers persons saw, and forthwith he lost his speach, and that night towarde the dawning of the day he yéelded vp his spirite. I thinke that fewe men do die daūsing, as this Lawier did. The number of a hundred persons came out of Spayne with the Licenciat, whereof the moste parte died by sea and on the lande. It was suspected to be a pestilence, for one of them infected another. There were in his company many Gentlemen & ech of them had an office. There was a Frier who was a very slaunderous fellow, & reported that *Cortes* had poysoned the Licenciat, and also that the Licenciat had an expresse order from the Emperour to cut of *Cortes* his head, as sone as he had taken the Vare of Iustice from him. The subtle Frier, had thought to haue gotten money of the one,

and thankes of the other, and at the ende had nothyng.

Hovv Cortez came into *Spayne.*

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here one *Alonso de Estrada* gouerned the state of *Mexico*, as substitute of *Marcus de Aguillar*, accordyng to the Emperours commaundement, *Cortes* considered with himselfe that it was not possible for him to haue agayne his office, except he wente personally to the Emperours court, where he had many aduersaries and fewe friendes, so that he was afflicted on euery side: yet he in fine determined to goe into *Spayne*, as well for businesse of importaunce of his owne, as also matters touchyng the Emperour and his new kingdoms whereof I will reherse particularly some.

As touchyng his owne causes, first he beyng a man of good yéeres, went to marry, hoping to haue children, vnto whom he might leaue the profite of his labour and payne: also to appeare before the King his maister face to face, and to enforme his Maiestie what landes and Kyngdomes hée had wonne and brought vnto his royall crowne: To signifie lykewise vnto hym, of the dissention among the Spanyardes hys subiectes in *Mexico*, and to answeere for himselfe, to any false reportes whiche had bene made agaynst hym: And finally, to receyue a condigne rewarde for hys worthie and faythfull seruice. *Cortes* beyng in these imaginations, there was brought a letter vnto him, from the reuerend father *Garcia de Loaisa* ghostly father vnto the Emperour, and afterwarde was ordeyned Cardinall, in the whiche letter he conuited him earnestly to come vnto *Spayne*, to the entent that the Emperours Maiestie mighte bothe sée and know him, assuring him of his friendshippe. After the receyte of this letter, he made al the hast possible to departe vpon his iourney, ceasing from his voyage whiche he had in hande, for to inhabite the riuier *De las Palmas*. Before his departure he dispatched twoo hundred Spaniardes, & thrée score and ten horsemen, with

many *Mexicans* for the countrey of *Chichimea*, to inhabite there, finding the lande riche of siluer mines, as it was reported, giuyng vnto those men expresse order, that if the people of that prouince did not entertayne them with friendship, that then they should accept thē as enimies, and forthwith to make warre, and to take them for slaues, for that they are a barbarous people. He wrote his letter to *Vera Crux*, to prepare with all spēede twoo good shippes, and for that purpose he sent *Pero ruiz de Esquiuel*, who was a Gentleman of Siuill: But he wente not on the iourney, for a moneth after, they founde him buried in a little Iland of the lake, with one hande out of the graue, whiche was eaten with dogges and foule: he was buried in his dublet and his hose: he had one onely wounde in his forehead: And a *Negro*, his slaue, who wente in his company, was neuer hearde of, nor yet the *Canao* and *Indians* that wente with him, so that the truth of his death was neuer knowen.

Cortes made an Inuentary of his moueable goodes, whiche was valued at twoo hundred thousande Castlins of golde: he left for gouernour of his owne estate, the Licenciat *Altamirano* his kinsman, with other two friends: he furnished twoo shippes, and proclaymed frēe passage and victuals vnto all those that would goe in his cōpany: he shipped for his owne account a thousand fiue hundred markes of siluer, twentie thousand Castlins in good gold, and ten thousand Castlins of base golde. He tooke in his company *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, *Andres de Tapia*, and other of the chiefest of the conquerours. He brought with him a Sonne of *Mutezumas*, & another Sonne of *Maxixca*, who was become a Christian, & named *Don Lorenzo*, with many other *Indian* Gentlemen of *Mexico*, *Tlaxcallan*, and other cities: eight players with a cudgell, twelue tennis players, with certaine men & women of that countrey, who were white of colour, and other dwarfes & deformed persons. He brought also wilde beasts, as Tigres, & other strange beastes called *Aiotochtli*, and one *Tlaquaci*. Moreouer he brought a great number of mantels made of feathers & Conny heare, Targets, bushes or tuffes of galant feathers, and looking glasses of stone. In fine, he came lyke a great Lorde, & arriued in Spayne, in the ende of the yéere 1528. the Courte being then in

Tolledo. The newes of his arriuall was blowen through out all Spayne, and euery one desirous to sée him.

The honour vvhicke the Emperour
shewed vnto Hernando Cortes, with rewarde.

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he Emperour receyued *Cortes* magnifically, and to giue him the greater honour, he went & visited him at hys owne lodging.

The Emperour beyng in a readinesse to passe into Italy, to be there crowned with the Emperiall crowne, *Cortes* went in his maiesties company vnto the Citie of *Saragoza*, whereas his Maiestie calling to remembrance his worthy seruice, & valour of his person, made him *Marques del valle de Huaxacac*, accordyng to his desire, on the .vi. of July, An. 1528, and Captayne generall of the newe Spayne, with all the prouinces and coast of the south sea, chiefe discouerer and inhabiter of the same coaste and Ilandes, with the twelfth parte of all that after that tyme should be discouered, for a sure inheritaunce to him and his discendentes: he offered vnto him also the habite of the order of Knighthoode of Saint Iames, the whiche offer *Cortes* refused, bycause there was no rent gyuen with the habite, but he besought his Maiestie to graunt vnto him the gouernmēt of *Mexico*, the whiche request the Emperour denied, bycause that no Conquerour shoulde thinke that the office of gouernment and iustice is due vnto hym, for the like demaunde was desired of the king *Don Fernando*, by *Cristoual Colon* who firste discouered the *India*, and also the great Captaine *Gonsalo Hernandoz de Cordoua*, who conquered *Naples*. *Cortes* deserued muche, and also the Emperour gaue him much, to honour him as a most bountifull and gratefull King, who neuer taketh away that whiche once he giueth. He likewise gaue vnto *Cortez* all the kyngdome of *Michuacan*, but hée had rather haue had diuers other townes whiche he demaunded, many other great fauours and rewardes he receyued at the Emperours handes, but the principall are those before declared.

The Mariage of Cortez.

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hen it was knowen in Spayne, that the lady *Catherin Xuares*, wife vnto *Cortes*, was deceassed in *India*, by intercessours he was assured vnto the Duke of *Beiar*, his brothers daughter, who was named the Lady *Iane* of *Zuniga*: hyr fathers name was *Don Carolus de Arrellano*, Earle of *Aguilar*. This Lady was a bewtifull Dame, and hyr brethrene noble personages, who were highly in fauour with the Emperour. And *Cortes* to matche with so honorable an house and lynage he iudged himselfe fortunate and well married.

The riche Emeraldes.

Among many Iewelless whiche *Cortes* broughte with him, were fiue moste riche and fine Emeraldes, whiche were valued at a hundreth thousande Duckets: the one was wrought lyke vnto a Rose, an other like a Cornet, an other lyke a fishe with the eyes of golde, whiche was a maruellous péece of worke, beyng wrought among *Indians*: an other péece was wrought lyke vnto a bell, with a great and a riche pearle for the clapper, garnished with golde, ingrauen about with letters, whiche sayde, Blessed is he that created thee. The fifth was made lyke a cuppe with the foote of gold, and had foure little chaynes of gold, that were ioyned all at the top together, in a great pearle, and the brimme of this cuppe was of gold, with this verse ingrauen rounde aboute, *Inter nates mulierum non furrexit maior*. For this onely péece the Merchantess of *Geneua* did offer fourtie thousand Ducates, for to sel the same again to the great Turke. But at that tyme *Cortes* would not giue it for any money, although afterwarde he lost them all in the warres of *Argel*, beyng there with the Emperour. It was told *Cortes* that the Empresse desired to haue those péece, meaning to demaunde them of him, and that the Emperour shoulde pay for the same, for whiche cause he sent them to the Lady his newe wife, with many other Iewelless before he came at the

Courte, and there, when he was enquired for them, he answered, and excused himselfe, for then certaynely he gaue suche Iewels vnto his Espouse, that the lyke neuer Lady had in Spayne. And after he was married to the Lady *Iane* of *Zuniga*, he departed with hyr to the newe Spayne, with title of *Marques*.

Howv the Chancery vvas first placed
in Mexico, and certayne Diuelishe pretences wrought against Cortes.

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efore *Cortes* his cōming into Spayne, *Pamfilo de Naruaez* his old enemy wēt vp & down in the Court, procuring the conquest of the riuer *De Palmas & Florida*, where at the laste he died, and alwayes when he saw time conuenient he made cōplaints against *Cortes*, yea and to the Emperours owne hand he deliuered a scrole of many articles, amōg the which was one, wherein he affirmed that *Cortes* had as many barres of gold and siluer, as in *Biscay* were barres of yron, and offered to proue the same: but although it was not true, yet it was suspicious. He also earnestly procured that he shold be punished, saying that he had plucked out one of his eyes, & killed with poyson the Licenciat *Luys ponce de Leon*, & *Francisco Garay*. Through his many and importunate petitiōs, it was determined to send to *Mexico*, *Don Pedro de la Cueva*, who was bothe fierce and seuere, and Lorde stewarde of the Emperour his house, and afterwarde made general of the ordinance, and chiefe Comendador of the order and knighthood of *Alcantara*, who findyng the accusation true, should cut off *Cortes* his head.

But as God would, in the meane season came the testimoniall from the Doctor *Hoieda*, and the Licenciat *Pero Lopez*, Phisitions, who had cured the persons that were reported to haue bene poysoned, whervpon that commission ceased. And when *Cortes* came into Spayne, *Don Pedro de la Cueva* would many times laugh and iest with him, saying, From farre places long lies.

Before the Iudges came, Cortez vvas gone to Spayne.

The Emperour and his councell of *India* prouided a Courte of Chancery in *Mexico*, as chiefe place, where as all controuersies and matters of righte throughout the new *Spayne* mighte there be determined, and also to correct the mutinies, and partes taking among the Spanyardes: likewise to take residence

and accompte of *Cortes*, and to be satisfied both of his seruice and offences. Moreouer that they should visite the officers, and royall Treasorie there. *Munio de Gusman* was appoynted president and gouernoure, with other foure Licenciates for Iudges to accompany him. He departed toward *Mexico* Anno 1529. and at his comming, he began to vnderstande in his regimete and office, with the Licenciate *Iohn Ortiz*, for the other thrée Iudges died by the way. *Cortes* béeing nowe absente, and vppon his iourney toward *Spayne*, this newe Iudge made a terrible residence and condemnation againste him, and commaunded all his goodes to be solde by out-thrappe, for a greate deale lesse then hys goodes were worth, and in his absence they called him by Proclamation: but if he hadde bin there present, his life had bin in daunger, although face to face some respect is had, and it is an ordinarie rule that the Iudge sheweth rigoure against him that is absent. This hatred was not only against *Cortes*, but also againste his friendes, for hée apprehended *Pedro de Aluarado*, who was newly come from *Spayne*, bycause he spake in the fauour of *Cortez*, laying to his charge the rebellion of *Mexico*, when *Naruaez* was there. He also apprehended *Alonso de Estrada*, & manye others, doing manifest wrongs vnto them.

A good sentence.

In shorte space the Emperour had more complayntes against *Nunio de Gusman*, and the other Iudge, than had bin héeretofore againste any other, wherevpon he was put out of office in the yeare 1530. His wrongful dealing in iustice was not onely proued in *Mexico*, but also in the Court of *Spayne*, with many persons that were come from thence, so that the nexte president and Iudges that went thither, did pronounce *Nunio de Gusman* and his fellowe for partiall Iudges, and enimies vnto *Cortes*, and condemned him to pay all his goodes whiche were euill solde. But whē *Nunio de Gusman* vnderstoode that he was put out of office, he then was afraide, and tooke his iourney against the *Teuchichimecas*, séeking after the Towne of *Culhuacan*, from whence the *Mexicans* descended. He caried in his company fiue hundred Spanyardes, whereof the most were horsemen, and many of them went as prisoners, and

against their willes.

Abhominable fact.

In *Mechuacan* he tooke prisoner the King *Caconcin*, who was a great friende vnto *Cortes*, a seruator vnto the Spanyards, and vassal to the Emperour, and as the same goeth, he tooke from him tenne thousande markes of plate, and much golde, and afterward burned him, and many other Gentlemen, and principal persons of that kingdome, bycause they shoulde not complayne, saying, that a dead dogge biteth not. He tooke from thence sixe thousand *Indians* for the seruice of his army, and with them conquered *Xalixco*, whiche is nowe called the new *Gallizia*. He abode there, vntill the Vizeroy *Don Antonio de Mondoza*, and Chancery of *Mexico*, caused him to be apprehended, who sent him prisoner into Spayne, to giue accompte of his office. If *Nunio de Gusman* had bin so good a gouernour and Iudge, as he was in bloud a Gentleman, he had then enioyed the best plot of all the West *India*, but he behaued himselfe euill, both with the *Indians* and *Spanyards*.

The same yeare that he came from *Mexico*, went thyther for president *Sebastian Ramirez*, who was a Bishop, and had in time past bin presidente in *Santo Domingo*, and the Licenciates *Iohn de Salmeron*, *Gasco Quiroga*, *Francisco Ceynos*, and *Alonso Maldonado*, for Iudges to accompany him.

These Iudges gouerned well the land, and caused the Citie of *Angels* to be inhabited which the *Indians* called *Cuetlaxcoapan*, that is to say a Snake in water. The reason was, bycause they haue two fountaynes, the one of euill water, and the other of good. This Citie standeth twentie leagues from *Mexico*, in the high way to *Vera Crux*. The Bishop set the *Indians* at libertie, and therefore many Spanyards departed from thence, who hadde inhabited there before, and wente to seeke their liuing at *Xalixco*, *Hunduras*, *Quahutemallan*, and other places where warre was.

The returne of Cortez to Mexico.

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t this season arriued *Cortes* at the riche Towne of *Vera Crux*, and when his comming was published, how he came wyth title of Marquez, and had broughte hys wife with him, an infinite number of *Indians* came to visite him, and almost all the Spanyards of *Mexico*, so that in few dayes there came a thousand persons of his owne nation, who made theyr complaintes vnto him, how they were vndone, and that the Iudges which had bin there, had destroyed both him and them, and asked his iudgement whether that nowe they might kill both them and theirs. *Cortes* hearing their odious request, reprehended them, and also gaue them hope shortly to reléeue their necessitie with new discoueries, and in this order fearing some mutinie, he held them in pleasure and pastime.

When the president hearde howe *Cortes* was visited of the Spanyaryds, they commaunded forthwith euey one of them shoulde immediately returne to *Mexico*, or else, where their dwelling places were vpō paine of death, yea and they were aboute to apprehende *Cortes* for a stirrer of vprere, and to sende him backe againe prisoner into *Spayne*. But when he saw howe soone these Iudges were moued, he commaunded to proclayme himselfe openly in *Vera Crux* Captayne Generall of all the dominions of the new *Spayne*, and there caused the Emperours letters pattentes to be redde, whiche thing being knowen to the *Mexican* Iudges, it caused them to wring their noses. After this diligence ended, he departed toward *Mexico* wyth a great company of *Spanyards* and *Indians*, among whom were a good company of horsemen: but when he came to *Tezcuco*, the President sent to commaund him not to enter into *Mexico*, vpon payne of losse of his goodes, and hys body to be at the Kings pleasure.

He obeyed the commaundemente with greate wysedome, being a thing conuenient to the seruice of the Emperour, and profite of the land, which he had

wonne wyth great toyle and laboure: but yet he abode in *Tezcuco* with a greater maiestie and court, than the President in *Mexico*, and wrote vnto him, that he should consider his good will and whole intent, and not to giue occasion to the *Indians* to rebell, and for the *Spanyards* he might assure hymselfe.

The *Indians* vnderstāding y^e discord betwixt the President and *Cortes*, slew as many *Spanyards* as they coulde get at aduantage, so that in fewe dayes there wanted aboue two hundred of the Spanish nation, being slayne as well in Townes, as in the high wayes, yea and also they had communed among themselues to rebell in déede. But when the Bishop and the Iudges heard this newes, they began to feare the matter, and considering that they had no better remedy, nor other sure defence, but only y^e name valor, person, and authoritie of *Cortes*, they sente to desire him to come vnto *Mexico*, wherevpon he obserued theyr commaundement and request, & wente toward the Citie, well accompanied with men of warre, so that he shewed himselfe in estate a generall captaine. All the Citizens came out to receiue him and the lady Marques his wife: his entrie into the cittie was a day of great pleasure among them. Then the president and iudges entred into counsell for to remedie the greate hurt whiche had bene done by the *Indians*. *Cortes* toke the matter in hand, and apprehended many *Indians*, of whom some he burned, others wer torne with dogges, he did such correction, that in shorte time al the countrey was quiet, and the highe ways without daunger, a thing worthy of great thanks.

The letters that the Indians vsed in *Mexican.*

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here hath not bin found letters at any time in the Weast *India*, onely in the newe Spain were vsed certain figures which serued for letters, with the which they kept in memorie, and preserued their antiquities. The figures y^t the *Mexicans* vsed for letters are great, by reason whereof they occupy gret volumes: they ingraue them in stone or timber, and paint them vpon walles, and also vpon a paper made of cotten wool, and leaues of the tree *Metl*. Their bookes are great and folden vp like vnto our broade clothes, and written vpon both sides. There are some bokes rolled vp like a piece of flannel. They pronouce not .b.g.e.f. Therfore they vse much .p.e.l.x. This is the Mexical spéech, and *Nahual*, which is the best, playnest, and moste eloquent, in al newe Spayne. There are some in *Mexico* that do vnderstand ech other, by whistling, whiche is ordinarily vsed among louers, & théeues, a spéeche truely to wonder at, & none of our men could come to the knowledge therof.

The order hovv to reckon.

<i>Ce</i>	One
<i>Ome</i>	Two
<i>Ei</i>	Thrée
<i>Nauí</i>	Foure
<i>Macuil</i>	Fiue
<i>Chicoace</i>	Sixe
<i>Chicome</i>	Seauen
<i>Chicuei</i>	Eight
<i>Chiconauí</i>	Nine
<i>Matlac</i>	Tenne

<i>Matlactlioce</i>	Eleuen
<i>Matlactliome</i>	Twelue
<i>Matlactlomei</i>	Thirtéene
<i>Matlactlinaui</i>	Fourtéene
<i>Matlactlinacui</i>	Fiftéene
<i>Matlactlichicoace</i>	Sixtéene
<i>Matlactlichicome</i>	Seuentéene
<i>Matlactlichicuei</i>	Eightéene
<i>Matlactlichiconauui</i>	Ninetéene
<i>Cempoalli</i>	Twentie

Euery number is simple, vntil you come to sixe, and then they count, six and one, sixe and two, sixe and thrée. Ten is a number by himselfe, then you must counte ten and one, tenne and two, tenne and thrée, tenne and foure, tenne and fiue.

Then you count ten fiue and one, tenne fiue and two, ten fiue and thrée. Twenty goeth by himselfe, and al the greater numbers.

The Mexican yeare.

The *Mexicans* yeare is thrée hundered sixtie dayes, for they haue in their [TOC](#) yere eightéene monethes, and euery moneth contayneth twentie dayes. They haue other fiue odde dayes, whiche goeth by themselues, in the which they vsed to celebrate greate feastes of cruell and bloudy sacrifice, with much deuotion. And reconing after this sort, they could not choose but erre, for they could not make equal the punctuall course of the Sunne. Yea the Christian yere is not perfit, although we haue learned Astronomers. But yet these simple *Indians* wente neare the marke.

The names of the moneths.

Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tozcuztli.

Huei Tozeuztli.

Toxcalt.

Ecalcoaliztli.

Tocuilhuicintli.

Hueitecuilhuitl.

Miccailhuicintli.

Veymiccailhuitl.

Vchpaniztli.

Pachtli.

Huei Pachtli.

Quecholli.

Panquecaliztli.

Hatemuztli.

Tititlh.

Izcalli.

Coavitleuac.

The names of dayes.

<i>Cipactli</i>	A Spade
<i>Hecatli</i>	Ayre or Winde
<i>Calli</i>	A House
<i>Cuez Pali</i>	A Lizart
<i>Coualt</i>	A Snake
<i>Mizquintli</i>	Death
<i>Macatl</i>	A wilde Hart
<i>Tochtli</i>	A Conny
<i>Atl</i>	Water
<i>Izcuyntli</i>	A Dogge
<i>Ocumatli</i>	An Ape
<i>Malinalli</i>	A Brome
<i>Acatlh</i>	A Caue
<i>Ocelotl</i>	A Tigre
<i>Coautli</i>	An Egle
<i>Cozcaquahutl</i>	A Bussard
<i>Olin</i>	A Temple
<i>Tepatlh</i>	A Knife
<i>Quiauitl</i>	Rayne
<i>Xuchitl</i>	A Rose

Althoughe these twentie names serue for the whole yere, and are but the dayes of euery moneth, yet therfore euery moneth beginneth not with *Cipactli*, which is the first name, but as they followe in order, and the fiue odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also bycause theyr wéeke is of thirtéene dayes, which changeth the names, as by example, *Cecipactli* can go no further thā vnto *Matlactlomeiacatl*, which is thirtéene, and then beginneth an other wéeke: and we do not say *Matlactlinaui Ocelotl*, whiche is the fourtéenth day, but we say *Ceocelotl* whiche

is one, and then reckon the other sixe names, vnto twenty. And when al the twentie dayes are ended, begin againe to reckon from the first name of the twentie, but not frō one, but from viij. And bicause ye may better vndrestand the matter, here is the example.

Cecipactli.

Omehecatl.

Ei Calli.

Nauí Cuezpali.

Macuilmouatl.

Chicoacen Mizquintli.

Chicome Macatl.

Chicuei Tochtli.

Chiconauiatl.

Matlaciz Cuintli.

Mailactlioce Ocumatli.

Matlactliome Malinalli.

Matlactlomei Acatlh.

The next wéeke following doth begin his dayes from one. And that one is the fouretéenth name of the moneth and of the dayes, and saith.

Ceocelotl.

Omecoautli.

Eicozcaquahutli.

Nauí Olui.

Macuil Tecpatl.

Chicoacen Quiauitl.

Chicome Xuchitl.

Chicoei Cipactli.

In this second wéeke, *Cipactli* came to fal on the eighte day, being in the first wéeke the first day.

Cemacatl.

Ometochtli.

Eiatl.

Nauizi cunitli.

Macuil Ocumatli.

And so proceede on to the thirde wéeke, in the which this name *Cipactli* entreth not, but *Macatl*, which was the seuenth day in the first wéeke, & had no place in y^e second, and is the first in the third. This reconing is no darker, than ours, which we haue in a.b.c.d.e.f.g. For they also change with time, and runne in such sort, that .a. whiche was the firste letter of this moneth, commeth to be the fift daye of the nexte moneth, and the thirde moneth he counteth to be the third day, and so orderly doth the other sixe letters.

The accounting of yeares.

These *Mexicans* had another order to reckon theyr yeares, which exceded not aboue foure in number, as one, two, thrée, foure, wherewith they accounte a hundred, fiue hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they lust. Those foure figures or names are, *Tochtli*, *Acatlh*, *Tecpatlh*, *Calli*, and do signifye, a Conny, a Caue, a Knife, and a House, saying.

<i>Ce Totchtli</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Acatlh</i>	Two yeares
<i>Ei Tecpatlh</i>	Thrée yeares
<i>Nauí Calli</i>	Foure yeares
<i>Macuil Tochtli</i>	Fiue yeares
<i>Cicoacen Acatlh</i>	Sixe yeares
<i>Cicome Tecpatlh</i>	Seauen yeares
<i>Chicuei Calh</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconauí Tochtli</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Matlactli Acatlh</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Matlactlioce Tecpatlh</i>	Eleuen yeares
<i>Matlactliome Calli</i>	Twelue yeares

Matlactliomei Tochtli Thirtéene yeares

So that the reconing passeth not aboue thirtéene, whiche is one wéeke of the yeare, and endeth where he began.

Another Weeke.

<i>Ce Acatlh</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Tlepatlh</i>	Two yeares
<i>Ei Calli</i>	Thrée yeares
<i>Nauí Tochtli</i>	Foure yeares
<i>Macuil Acatlh</i>	Fiue yeares
<i>Chicoacen Tecpatlh</i>	Sixe yeares
<i>Chicome Calli</i>	Seuen yeares
<i>Cichuei Tochtli</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconauí Acatlh</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Matlactli Tecpatlh</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Matlactlioce Calli</i>	Eleuen yeares
<i>Matlactliome Tochtli</i>	Twelue yeares
<i>Matlactliomei Acatlh</i>	Thirtéene yeares

The third vveeke of yeares.

<i>Ce Tecpatlh</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Calli</i>	Two yeres
<i>Ei Tochtli</i>	Thrée yeres
<i>Nauí Acatlh</i>	Foure yeres
<i>Macuil Tecpatlh</i>	Fiue yeres
<i>Chicoacan Calli</i>	Sixe yeares
<i>Chicome Tochthi</i>	Seauen yeares
<i>Chicuei Acatlh</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconauí Tecpatlh</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Matlactli Calli</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Matlactliome Tochtli</i>	Eleuen yeares
<i>Matlactliome Acatlh</i>	Twelue yeares
<i>Matlactliomei Tecpatlh</i>	Thirtéene yeares

The fourth Weeke.

<i>Ce Calli</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Tochtii</i>	Two yeares
<i>Ei Acatlh</i>	Thrée yeares
<i>Nauí Tecpatlh</i>	Foure yeares
<i>Macuil Calli</i>	Fiue yeares
<i>Chicoacen Tochtli</i>	Sixe yeares
<i>Chicome Acatlh</i>	Seauen yeares
<i>Chicuei Tecpatlh</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconauí Calli</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Matlactli Tochtli</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Matlactlioce Acatlh</i>	Eleuen yeares
<i>Matlactliome Tecpatlh</i>	Twelue yeares
<i>Matlactliomei Calli</i>	Thirtéene yeares

Ech of these wéekes, which our men cal Indition, doth conteyne thirtéene yeares, so that all the foure wéekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfit number in the reconing, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeres, to fiftie two yeares, they vsed to make solemne feastes, with strange Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they beginne againe, by the same order before declared, vntil they come to as many moe, beginning at *Ce Tochtli*, and so forward. But alwayes they begin at the Conny figure. So that in the forme of reconing they kepe & haue in mēmorye, things of 850. yeares, and by this Cronicle they know in what yere euerye thing hapned, and how long euery king raygned: howe many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the gouernement of the lande.

The Indians beleueed that fiue ages
were past, which they called Sunnes.

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he *Indians* of *Culhua* did beléeue that the Gods had made y^e world, but they knew not how, yet they beléeued that since the creation of the world four Sunnes were past, and that the fift and last is y^e Sunne that now giueth light to the world.

They helde opinion that the firste Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all liuing creatures perished likewise.

The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heauē, with whose fall all liuing creatures were slayne, and then (said they) were manye *Giantes* in that Countrey, and certayne monstrous bones, which our men found in opening of graues, by proportion whereof, some shoulde séeme to be men of twenty spannes high.

The third Sunne was consumed by fire, whiche burned day and night, so that then all liuing creatures were burned.

The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of ayre or winde, which blew downe houses, trées, yea and y^e mountaynes and Rockes were blowē asunder, but the lignage of mankinde perished not, sauing that they were conuerted into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now raigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the worlde fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of fiue and twenty yeares continually, and at the fiftenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did forme one man and a woman, who brought forth children, and at the end of the other tenne yeares, appeared the Sunne whiche was newly borne vppon the figure of the *Conny* day, and therefore they begin their account of yéeres at y^t day, & reckoning from the yeare of oure Lorde 1552. their age or Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they haue vsed many yeares their writing in figures: and they had not onely this vse from *Cetochtli*, whiche is the beginning of their

yeare, moneth, and day of their fifth Sunne, but also they hadde the same order and vse in the other foure Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slippe out of memorie, saying, that with the newe Sunne, all other things should be likewise new. They held also opinion, that thrée dayes after this last Sunne appeared, all the Gods did dye, and that in processe of time the Gods whiche nowe they haue, and worshippe, were borne. And through these false opinions, our Diuines did soone conuert them to the knowledge of the true lawes of God.

The nation of the Indians called *Chichimecas*.

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1 the lande nowe called newe *Spayne*, are dyuers and sundry generations of people: but they holde opinion, that the stocke of most antiquitie, is the people nowe called *Chichimecas*, which procéded out of the house of *Aculhuacan*, which standeth beyond *Xalixco*, about the yeare of our Lorde .720. Many of this Generation did inhabite aboute the lake of *Tenuchtitlan*, but their name ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they hadde no King, nor yet did builde eyther house or Towne. Their only dwellings was in caues in y^e *Mōūtaynes*. They went naked, they sowed no kind of graine, nor vsed bread of any sorte. They did mainteyne themselues with rootes, hearbes, and siluester fruites: and béeing a people cunning in shooting with the bowe, they kylled deare, hares, connyes, and other beastes and foule, which they eate also, not sodden or rosted, but rawe, and dryed in the Sunne. They eate also Snakes, Lizardes, and other filthye beastes, yea and at this day there are some of this generation that vse the same dyet. But although they liued suche a bestiall life, & being a people so barbarous, yet in their diuelish religion they were verye deuout. They worshipped the Sunne, vnto whome they vsed to offer Snakes, Lizards, & such other beastes. They likewise offered vnto their God all kinde of foule, from the degré of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They vsed not sacrifice of māslaughter, nor had any Idolles, no not so mucche as of the Sunne, whome they helde for the sole and only God. They married but with one woman, & in no degré of kinred. They were a stoute and a warlike people, by reason whereof, they were Lordes of the land.

The Coronation of the Kings of Mexico.

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lthough one brother was heire to an other among the *Mexicans*, and after their deceasse, did inherite the Sonne of the eldest brother, yet they tooke no possession of the state nor name of King vntil they were annoynted and Crowned openlye.

The oyntment.

As soone as any King of *Mexico* deceased, and his funerals ended, then were called to Parliamente the Lorde of *Tezcuco*, and the Lorde of *Tlacopan*, who were the chieftest estates, and then in order all other noble men, who owed any seruice to the Mexican Empire. And béeyng come together, if any doubt of the inheritāce of y^e crowne happened, then the matter was decided with al hast: then the newe King being knowen, he was stripped starke naked, except a cloth to couer his priuie partes, and in thys sorte was carried among them, to the greate Temple of *Vitzilopuchtli* with greate silence, and without any ioy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie whose office it was, ledde him vppe the staires of the Temple by the armes, and before him wente the Princes of *Tezcuco* and *Tlacopan*, who that day did weare their robes of Coronation, wherevpon was paynted their armes and title. Veye fewe of the Laytie wente vp into the Chappels, but only those that were appoynted to attire the newe king, and to serue in other Ceremonies, for all the residue stode vpon the steppes and belowe, to beholde the Coronation. These Magistrates being aboue in the Chappell, came with great humilitie and reuerence, knéelyng downe vpō their knées before the Idoll of *Vitzilopuchtli*, and touched the earth with one finger and then kissed the same. Then came the high prieste clothed in his pontificall vestmentes, with many others in his company, who did weare surplices: and withoute speaking any worde, they paynted or couloured the Kings person, with

ynke made for the purpose, as blacke as any cole. After thys Ceremonye done, they blessed the annoynted Kyng, and sprinckled him foure times with a certayne holly water, that was made at the time of consecration of the God, made of dowe or paste, with a sprinckle made of boughes of Cane leaues, Ceder, & willow leaues. Then they put vpon his head, a cloth painted with the bones and skulles of dead men, and next they clothed him with a black garment, and vpon y^t another blewe, and both were paynted with y^e figures of dead mens skulles & bones. Then they put about his necke certaine laces, whereat did hang the armes of y^e Crowne. And behind his backe they did hang certain little bottels ful of powders, by vertue wherof he was deliuered from pestilence and diseases, according to their opiniō: yea & therby witches, nor witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet euill menne deceyue him. In fyne, with those relickes he was sure from all perill and daunger. Vpon his lefte arme they bounde a litle bagge of incense, and then brought vnto him a chaffyng dishe of imbers made of the barke of an Oke trée. Then the king arose, and with his owne hande threw of the same incense into the chaffing dishe, and with great reuerence brought the same to the God *Vitzilopuchtli*, and after he had smoked him therewith, he satte him downe, then came the high Priest and tooke his othe to mainteyne the religion of the Goddes, to kéepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maynteyne iustice, and not to agrauiate any of his vassals or subiects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he shoulde cause the Sunne to giue his light, the clowdes to yéelde rayne, the riuers to runne, and the earth to bring foorth all kinde of grayne, fruytes, and other néedefull hearbes and trées. These and many other impossible things the newe kyng did sweare to performe: and then he gaue thanks to the high priest, and commended himself to the Goddes and to the lookers on, and they who brought him vp in the same order, carrieth him downe agayne. Then all the people cried, the Goddes preserue the newe kyng, and that he may raigne many yéeres in health with al his people. But then some began to daunce, other to play on their instrumēts, shewing outwardly their inwarde ioyes of harte. And before the king came to the foote of the steppes, all the noble men

came to yéelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faythfull subiectes they presented vnto him feathers, strings of snayle shelles, collours, and other Iewelless of golde and siluer, also mantels paynted with death, & bare him company vnto a great hal within the compasse of the temple, and there left him. The king sitteth downe vnder his cloth of estate, called *Tlacatecco*, and in foure daies departeth not out of the circuyte of the temple, the which he spendes in prayers, sacrifice and penaunce, he eates then but once a day, and euery day he bathes himselfe, and agayne in the night in a great ponde of water, and then lettes himselfe bloud in his eares, and senseth therewith the God of Water, called *Tlaloc*: he likewise senseth the other idols, vnto whome he offereth bread, flowers, Papers and little Canes died in the bloudde of his owne tongue, nose, handes, and other partes of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noblemen to beare him company to his palayce with great triumphe and pleasure of all the Cittie, but after his consecration fewe or none dare looke him in the face.

And now with the declaryng of the actes and Ceremonies that the *Mexican* Kings are crowned, I shall not néede to rehearse of other kyngs, for generally they all do vse the same order, sauynge that other Princes goe not vp to the toppe of the Temple, but abide at the foote of the steppes to be crowned, and after theyr Coronation they come to *Mexico* for their confirmation, and then at theyr returne to their countrey, they made many drunkē feasts and banquets.

The opinion of the Mexicans *concerning the Soule.*

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he *Mexicans* did beleue that the Soule was immortal, and that they receyued eyther ioy or payne according to theyr desertes & liuyng in this worlde, vnto which opinion all their religion did attayne, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They helde for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, & the chiefest place of glory to be neare vnto the Sunne, where the soules of those whiche were good men slaine in the warres, & those which were sacrificed were placed, and that all other sortes of euill persons their soules abode on the earth, & were deuided after this sorte, children that were dead borne went to one place, those which died of age or other disease went to another, those which died of sodden death to another, those whiche died of woundes or contagious diseases went to an other place, those which were drowned went to another, those which were put to death for offence by order of iustice, as for robbery and adultery to another: Those which slewe their fathers, mothers, wiues or childrē, to another place by themselues, also those who slew their maysters or any religious person went to another place. The common sorte of people were buried, but Lordes and rich men had their bodies burned & their ashes buried. In their shreudes they had a greate difference, for many dead bodies were buried better apparelled than when they were on liue. Women were shrewded after another sorte. And he that suffered death for adulterie was shrewded like vnto the God of leachery, called *Tlazoulteutli*, he that was drowned like vnto the God of water named *Tlacoc*, and he that died with drunkennesse was shrewded like vnto the God of wyne called *Ometochtli*. But the Souldier had an honorable shrewde like vnto the attyre of *Vitzilopuchtli*, and the lyke order in all other sortes of deathes.

The buriall of Kings in *Mexico.*

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hen any Kyng of *Mexico* happened to fall sicke, they vsed forth-with to put a visor vppon the face of *Tezcatlipuca*, or *Vitzilopuchtli*, or some other Idoll, whiche Visor was not taken awaye, vntill they sawe whether the kyng did amend, or else die: But if he chaused to die, then worde was sent throughout all his dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the Noble menne that were his nighest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure dayes to come vnto his buriall.

The dead body was layde vpon a fayre matte, & was watched foure nightes, with great lamētation and mournyng: then the body was washed, and a locke of heare cut from the crowne of his head, whiche was preserued as a great relicke, saying that therein remayned the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put into his mouth, and his body shrewded in seuentene riche mantles, of colours, both riche and costly wrought. Vpon the vpper mantle was sette the deuise or armes of *Vitzilopuchtli* or *Tezcalipuca*, or of some other idoll, in whome the kyng had greate confidence in his lyfe tyme, and in his temple should the body be buried. Vpō his face they put a visor, paynted with foule and Diuelish gestures, besette with many iewelless, precious stones, and pearles. Then they killed his slaue, whose office was to light the Lampes and make fire vnto the Goddes of his pallayce. These things done, they carried the dead body vnto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others song the death of the kyng by note, for so was the custome.

The Noble men and Gentlemen of his housholde carried Targets, Arrowes, Maces, and Ensignes to throwe into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie receyued him at the Temple gate,

with a sorrowfull song, and after he had sayde certayne wordes, the body was throwen into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the iewels that he had aboute him, and all the other things whiche was brought to honour the burial: also a dogge newly strangled with an arrowe, whiche was to guyde him his way. In the meane whyle that the King and dogge were burnyng, the Priests sacrificed twoo hūdred persons, howbeit in this Ceremonie there was no ordinary taxe, for sometymes they sacrificed many moe: they were opened with a rasour of flinte in the breastes, and theyr hartes taken out and throwen into the fire where the Kings body was. There miserable persons beyng sacrificed, and their bodies throwen into a hole, they beléeued assuredly that those shoulde serue for his slaues in another worlde: some of them were dwarffes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead body of the King before his buriall, Roses, Floures and sundry dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durste touche the same, but onely y^e Priests, for it séemed to be an offeryng.

The nexte day followyng, all the ashes were gathered together, and the téeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the whiche things were put into a chest, paynted on the inside with horrible figures of diuels, and the locke of heare whiche was cut from his crowne, and another locke of heare which was preserued from the tyme of his birth. Then the chest was lockte, and an image of wood made and clothed like vnto the Kings person, which was set on the toppe of the chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the whiche the wiues and daughters of the king offered great offerings at the place where his body was buried, and before the chest and his image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fiftene slaues were sacrificed for his soule, and on the twentieth day other fiue persons were also sacrificed, likewise on the sixtie thrée, and fourescore, whiche was lyke vnto the yéeres minde.

The order of buriall of the Kings of *Michuacan*.

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he kingdome of *Michuacan* is almoste as great as the Empire of *Mexico*, and when any king of that countrey happened to be visited with sicknesse, and brought to suche extremitie, that hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Phisitions, then would he name and appoint whiche of his Sonnes shoulde inherite the estate, and beyng knowen, the new king or heyre, incontinent sent for all the gouernours, Captaines, and valiant souldiers, who had any office or charge to come vnto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thencefoorth was helde for a Traytour and so punished. When the death of the olde King was certayne, then came al degrés of Estates and brought presents to the newe king, for the approbation of his kyngdome, but if the King were not throughly dead, but at the poynt of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter, and when hys lyfe was departed, then beganne a generall crie and mournyng, and they were permitted to come where their dead kyng lay, and to touche him with their handes: this beyng done the carkasse was washed with swéete waters, and then a fine shyrt put vpon him, and a payre of shoes made of a Déere skinne put on his féete, and aboute his ancles were tied certayne belles of golde, about his wrestes of his handes were put Manyllias of Turkies, and other bracelets of golde, lykewise aboute his necke they hong other collers of precious stones and golde, and rings in his eares, with greate Turkise in his neather lippe. Then his body was layde vpon a large beare, whereon was placed a good bedde vnder him: on his one side lay a bowe with a quyer of arrowes, and on his other side lay an image made of fine mantels of his owne stature or bignesse with a greate tuffe of fine feathers, shoes vpon his féete, with bracelets and a collar of gold. Whyle this worke was a doying, others were busied in

washyng the men and women whiche shoulde be slayne for to accōpany him into Hell: these wretched folke that should be slaine were banqueted & filled with drinke, bycause they shoulde receyue their death with lesse paine. The newe kyng did appoint those who shoulde die for to serue the king his father, but yet many of them had rather bene without his seruice, notwithstanding some simple soules estéemed that odious death for a thyng of immortall glory. First seuen Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appoynted to die, the one to haue the office of keper of his iewels which he was wont to were, another for the office of cup bearer, another to giue him water with a basen and ewer, another to giue him alwayes the vrinall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serue for landres. They slewe also many women slaues, and frée maydens for to attende vpon the Gentlewomen, and moreouer one of euery occupation within the citie. When all these that were appoynted to die were washed & theyr bellies full with meate & drinke, then they paynted their faces yellow, and put garlandes of swéete floures vpon each of their heads. Then they went in order of processió before the beare whereon the dead king was caried, some wente playing on instruments made of snayle shelles, others played vpon bones and shelles of seaturtills, others went whistlyng and the most part weping: the Sonnes of the dead kyng & other noble men carried vpō their shoulders the beare where y^e corse lay, & proceded with an easie pace towarde the Temple of the God *Curicaueri*: his kinsmen went round about the bere, singyng a sorowful song. The officers and houshold seruants of the Court w^t other Magistrates and rulers of iustice bare the Standartes and diuers other armes.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesayde out of the Kings palayce with great light of fire brandes and with a heauy noyse of trumpets and drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the corse passed, attended to make cleane the streate. And when they were come to the temple, they wente foure tymes rounde about a great fire made of the woodde of Pine trée, whiche was prepared to burne y^e dead body: then the beare was layd vpon the fire, and in the meane while that the body was burnyng, they mawled with a clubbe those

whiche had the garlandes, and afterwarde buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behind the Temple.

The nexte day in the mornynge, the ashes, bones and Iewels was gathered and layde vpon a riche mantle, the whiche was carried to the temple gate, where the priests attended to blesse those Diuelishe relickes, whereof they made a dowe or paste, and thereof an image whiche was appareled lyke a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sortes of Iewels that the dead King was wonte to weare, so that it séemed a gallant idoll. At the foote of the temple stayres, they opened a graue ready made, whiche was square, large, & twoo fadome déepe, it was also hāged with new mattes rounde about, and a fayre bed therein, in the whiche a religious man placed the idoll made of ashes, with his eyes towarde the east parte, and honge rounde aboute the walles Targets of golde and siluer, with bow and arrowes, & many gallant tuffes of feathers with earthen vessels, as pottes, dishes & platters, so that the graue was filled vp with houshold stuffe, chests couered with leather, apparell, iewels, meate, drinke, and armour. This done, the graue was shut vp & made sure with beames, bordes, and floored with earth on the toppe.

All those Gentlemen which had serued or touched any thing in the buriall, washed them selues, and wente to dinner in the Courte or yard of the Kings house without any table, and hauing dined, they wiped their hands vpon certayne lockes of Cotton wol, hanging downe their heads, and not speaking any word, except it were to aske for drinke. This Ceremonie endured fiue dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the Citie, except in the Kings house and Temples, nor yet any corne was ground, or market kept, nor none durst goe out of their houses, shewing all the sorrow that might be possible for the death of theyr King.

The order of Matrimony among *the Indians.*

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1 *Tlaxcallan* and many other Cities, was vsed as a principall Ceremonie and token of marriage, that the Bridegrome and his Bride, against the day of marriage, had their heads polled, whiche was to signifie, that from that day forward, al childishe orders should be laide aside, and from that tyme new heare myght grow, to declare another kind of lyfe. The chiefest knotte of marriage vsed in *Michuacan* was, that the Bride doe looke directly vppon hir spouse, for otherwise the Matrimony was not perfite nor auaylable.

In *Mixteoapan* which is a greate prouince, they vse to carrie the Bridgrome to be married vpon their backes, which is to be vnderstoode, that he goeth against his wil, but yet they take hands, in token that the one shall helpe the other, and then they knitte both their mantels togyther with a great knotte, signifying that they ought continually, while life lasteth, to dwell together.

The *Indians* called *Macatecas*, consūme not their Matrimony in twenty dayes after their marriage, but abide in fasting and prayer all that while, sacrificing their bodyes, and annoynting the mouthes of the Idolles wyth their owne proper bloud.

In *Panuco* the husbandes buy their wiues for a bowe, two arrowes, and a nette, and afterwarde the father in lawe speaketh not one worde to his sonne in law for the space of a whole yeare. And when the husbände hapneth to haue any child, he lyeth not any more with his wife in two yeares after, for feare least she might be with childe againe before the former childe were out of daunger, although some doe sucke vntyll twelue yeares of age, and for this consideration they haue many wiues. Likewise there is an order among them, that no woman may touch or dresse any thing being with theyr menstruall ordinarie.

Diuorcement was not permitted without a iust cause and authoritie of Iustice, among those who were openly married, but the other sort might be as easily forsaken as taken.

In *Mechuacan* was not permitted any diuorcement, excepte the partie made a solemne othe, that they loked not the one on the other stedfastly and directly at the time of their marriage. But in *Mexico* they must proue how the wife is barraine, foule, & of a naughty cōdition: but if they put away their wiues without order and commaundement of the Iudge, then the heare of the offenders head is burned in the market place, as a shame or punishment of a man without reason or witte.

The payne of adultery was death, as well for the mā as the woman: but if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers after that he was hāged, and his body burned, and for this offence was no pardon, eyther for man or woman, but for the auoyding of adultery they do permitte other common women, but no ordinary stewes.

Of the Iudges and order of Iustice.

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1 *Mexico* were twelue Iudges, who were all noble men, graue, and well learned in the Mexican lawes. These men liued only by the rentes that properly apperteyne to the maintenance of Iustice, and in anye cause iudged by thē, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale vnto other twelue Iudges, who were of the princes bloud, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were mainteyned at the Kings owne cost and charge. The inferior Iudges came ordinarily once euey moneth to cōsult with the higher. And in euey fourescore dayes came the Iudges of euey prouince within the Mexican Empire, to consult with the Iudges of *Mexico*, but all doubtfull causes were reserued to the King, onely to passe by his order and determination. The Painters serued for notaries, to paint al the cases which were to be resolued, but no sute passed aboue fourescore dayes without finall ende and determination. There were in that citie twelue Sergeants, whose office was to arrest, and to cal parties before the Iudges. Their garments were painted mantels, wherby they were knowen a farre off. The prisons were vnder ground, moyst and darke, the cause whereof, was to put the people in feare to offend. If anye wnesse were called to take an oth, the order was, that he shoulde touche the grounde with one of his fingers, and then to touch his tong with the same, whiche signified that hēe had sworne and promised to speake the troth wyth hys tōg, taking witnes therof, of y^e earth which did mainteine him. But some do interprete the oth, y^t if the partie sware not true, that then he mighte come to such extremitie, as to eate earthe. Sometime they name and call vppon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

The Iudge that taketh bribes or giftes, is forthwith put out of his office, whiche was accounted a most vyle and shamefull reproch. The *Indians* did affirme, that *Necualpincintli* did hang a Iudge in *Tezcuco*, for giuing an vniust sentence, he

himselfe knowing the contrary. The murther is executed without exception.

The woman with child that wilfully casteth hir creature, suffereth deathe for the same, bycause many women did voluntary vse that fact, knowing their children could not inherite. The punishment of adultery was death.

The Théefe for the firste offence was made a slaue, and hanged for the second. The traytor to the King and cōmon weale, was put to death with extreame tormēts.

The woman taken in mans apparel dyed for the same, and likewise the man taken in womans attire. Euerye one that challēged another to fight except in the warres, was cōdemned to die. In *Tezcuco* the sinne of *Zodomy* was punished with death, & that law was instituted by *Necaulpincintli*, & *Necaulcoio*, who were Iudges, which abhorred y^e filthy sinne, & therfore they deserued great praise, for in other prouinces y^e abhominable sin was not punished, although they haue in those places cōmon stewes, as in *Panuco*.

The order of cruell Sacrifice *vsed among the Indians.*

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t the ende of euery twenty dayes, is celebrated a festiuall feast called *Tonalli*, which falleth continually the last daye of euerye moneth, but the chieftest feast in the yeare, when most men are sacrificed & eaten, is at the ende of euerye fiftie two yeares. But the *Tlaxcaltecas* and other common weales, do celebrate this feast euery fourth yeare.

The last day of the first moneth is called *Tlacaxipeualiztli*, on the which day were slaine a hundred slaues, which were taken in the warres, and after the sacrifice, their flesh was eaten in this order. Al the Citizens, gathered themselues together in the high Temple, and thē the Ministers or Priestes came and vsed certaine ceremonies, the which being ended, they toke those whyche were to be sacrificed, by one and one, and layd them vpon their backes vpon a large stone, and then the slaue being on liue, they opened him in the breast, with a knife made of flinte stone, and toke out his hart, whiche they threw immediately at the foote of the Aulter, as an offering, and anoynted with the fresh bloude, the face of the God *Vitzilopuchtli*, or any other Idol. This done, they pluckt of the skinnes of a certaine number of them, the which skinnes so many auntient persons put incontīēt vppon their naked bodies, al fresh & bloudy, as they wer fleane from the deade carcasses. And being open in the backe part and shoulders, they vsed to lace them, in such sorte that they came fitte vppon the bodies of those that ware them, and being in this order attired, they came to daunce among many others. In *Mexico* the king him selfe did put on one of these skinnes, being of a principall captiue, and daunced among the other disguised persons, to exalte and honor the feast, and an infinite number followed him to behold his terrible gesture, although some hold opinion that they followed him to cōtemple his

greate deuotion. After the sacrificie ended, the owner of the slaues did carry their bodies home to their houses, to make of their fleshe a solemne feaste to all their friendes, leauing their heades and hartes to the Priests, as their dutie and offering. And the skinnes were filled with cotten wool, or strawe, to be hong in the temple, and kings pallyce, for a memorie.

The slaues when they went to their sacrifice, were apparelled in the habite or deuise of the Idol vnto whom ech of them did commende himselfe: and moreouer they decked them with feathers, garlands and floures. Many of these sort of people, do go to the slaughter with ioyfull countenanne, dauncing, demaunding almes through the Citie for their sacrifice, all the whiche almes is due vnto the priestes. When the gréene corne was a foote aboue the ground, they vsed to go vnto a certain hil whiche was appointed for such deuotion, and there sacrificed two children, a boy, and a girle of thrée yeares of age, to the honor of *Tlaloc* god of water, beséeching him therefore deuoutlye, to haue alwayes a care to prouide them water: these children were frée borne, and therfore theyr hartes were not taken out of their bodies, but after that their throtes were cut, their bodies were wrapped in a new mantel, and then buried in a graue of stone.

The feaste of *Tozoztli* was, when the fields of *Maiz* were growen two foote high, then a certaine summe of merchandise was gathered among the dwellers in the towne, wherewith were bought foure little slaues betwixt the age of fiue and seuen, and they were likewise sacrificed to the god *Tlaloc*, for continuall shoures of rayne. And those dead bodies were shut vp in a caue appointed for the same purpose. The beginning of this sacrifice of foure children was, at the time when in foure yeres space it rayned not, in the whiche season y^e springs were dried vp, and al gréene things perished: wherfore they were forced to leaue the countrey, and went to inhabite at *Nicaragua*. In the moneth and feast of *Hueitozotli*, when the corne fields of *Maiz* waxed ripe, then euery one in generall gathered his handful of *Maiz*, and brought it vnto the temple for an offering, with a certaine drinke called *Atuli*, whiche is made of the same *Maiz*. They brought also the swéete gum *Copalli* to sense the gods which do cause the corne to

growe: and all that night they ceassed not dauncing without drunkennesse. At the beginning of summer they celebrate an other feast called *Tlaxuchimcaco*, with all kinde of Roses and swéete floures that might be gotten, and thereof they vsed to make garlands to set vpon the Idols heades, and so spent all that day in dauncing. And to celebrate the feast called *Tecuilhuitli*, al the gentlemen, and principall persons of ech prouince, do come vnto the Citie, on the euening of the feast, and then they apparell a woman with the attire of the Gods of salt, who daunced among a great company of hir neighboures. But on the nexte day she was sacrificed with all the Ceremonies and solemnitie accustomed, and al that day was spent in gret deuotion, burning of incense in the fire pannes of the temple.

The merchants who had a temple by themselues dedicated to the god of gaines, made their feast vppon the day called *Miccailhuitl*, wherein they slewe many slaues in sacrifice, which they had bought, and banqueted that feast with mans flesh, dauncing al the day. The feast of *Vchpaniztli* they sacrificed a woman, and afterward hyr bodye was slayne, and hir skinne put vppon an *Indians* backe, who daunced two days a row with al the townsmen, which were apparelled in their best attire to celebrate y^e feaste. The day of *Hatamutzli* y^e feast is kept in *Mexico*, where they enter into y^e lake w^t a great nūber of *Canoas*, & there they drown a boy & a girle in a litle boat, which they cause to be sonke, in such sorte, that neuer after that boat appeareth again: and they hold opinion y^t those children were in company with the Goddes of the lake. So that, that daye was spent in feasting in the temples, and annoynting the Idols chéekes, with gum called *Vlli*. There were some Images that had their faces two ynches thicke with that gum.

The order of certaine religious *women.*

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n the backe side of euerye greate Temple, in euerye Cittie was made a greate Hall or lodgyng, standing alone, where as manye women did eate, drinke, lodge, & leade their liues. And although suche houses had no orders, they aboad there sure ynough. These women which lay in the houses of the Goddes, were of sundry intentions. But none of them came to abide there al their life time, although among them wer some olde women. Some entered into those religious houses being sicke and diseased, hoping there to recouer theyr health: others came thither through pure néede, and necessitie, to be there relieued: other some came thither to be good and vertuous: and some entered into the religion, hoping that the Goddes woulde giue vnto them riches, and long life. But generallye their comming thyther was, to haue good husbandes, and manye chyl dren: eche of them vowed the time that shee woulde or ment to abide in that order, and after that time expired they married.

The first thing that they did comming into the religion, was to polle their heads, to be knowen frō others. Their offices were to spinne cotton wool and feathers, and to weaue cloth, for to apparel the Goddes and themselues, to swepe the yarde and lodgings of the temple (for the stayres and high chappels, the ministers themselues did make cleane) they vsed also to let them bloud in certaine partes of the body, to offer to the Diuellish Idols. On euery festiual day they went on procession with the priestes, but it was not lawful for them to presume to go vppe the stayres of the temple, nor yet to sing. They liued on almes, for their kinsefolke being rich, did mayntaine them with almes as a charitable seruice done vnto the Goddes: their foode was boyled flesh, and hote bread, to the intent that they should offer therof to the Goddes, that they might

tast of the smoke of that victual: they vsed to eate in communitie, and lay altogether in one dormitorye, as a flocke of shéepe: they lay alwayes in theyr clothes, for honestie sake, and also to be the sooner ready in the morning to serue the Gods, & to go to their worke. And yet I know not why they shold put off their clothes, for they went almost naked. On the holy dayes they vsed to daunce before the Gods, and she that either talked or laughed with any religious or secular person, was reprehended for the same. And if any of them committed whoredome, then both the man & the woman were slain, yea they belieued that all suche offenders fleshe woulde rotte and consume away, and especially those which had lost their Virginitie in the time of their religion. So that with feare of punishmente and infamie, they were good women al the while that they abode there.

Hovv the Diuell appeared to *the Indians.*

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he Diuell did many times talke wyth the priestes, and with other rulers and perticular persons, but not with al sorts of men. And vnto him to whom the Diuel had appeared, was offered & presented great giftes. The wicked spirit appeared vnto thē in a thousand shapes, and fashions, & finally he was conuersant and familiar among them very often. And the fooles thought it a greate wonder, that Gods would be so familiar with mortal men. Yea they not knowing that they were Diuels, and hearing of them many things before the had hapned, gaue great credite and beliefe to their illusions and deceites. And bycause he commaunded them, they sacrificed suche an infinite number of creatures. Likewise he, vnto whom he had apeare, carried about him painted, the likenesse wherin he shewed himself the first time. And they painted his image vpon their dores, benches, and euery corner of the house. And as he appeared in sundry figures & shapes, euen so they painted him, of infinite fashions, yea and some foule, grieslye, & feareful to beholde, but yet vnto them, it semed a thing delectable. So this ignorant people giuing credite to y^e condēned spirite, were growen euen to y^e highest hil of crueltie, vnder the coulour of deuout & religious persons, yea they had suche a custome, that before they would eat or drink, they wold take therof a little quantitie, & offer it vnto the sun and to the earth. And if they gathered corne, fruite, or roses, they would take a leafe before they would smel it, & offer the same. And he that did not obserue these & such other ceremonies, was iudged one y^t had not god in his hart, yea & (as they say) a man out of the gods fauour.

The Viceroy of Mexico.

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he greatnesse of the newe Spayne, the Maiestie of *Mexico*, and the qualitie of the cōquerers, required a man of noble bloude to gouerne, wherevpon the Emperour sente thither *Don Antonio de Mendosa*, brother vnto the Marques *de Moniar*, for viceroy, at whose ariual there returned from thence *Sebastian Camires*, who had gouerned that countrey with great discretion and worthy commendation. In recompēce wherof the Emperour made him president of the chancery of *Valladolid*, and bishop of *Culuca*. *Don Antonio de Mendosa* was appointed viceroy in the yeare .1534. who carried with him many artificers verye experte in their sciences, likewise through his intercession, a money house was erected in *Mexico*: he also caused silke to be made and wrought in that countrey, and planted many Mulbery trées for the same, although the *Indians* little care for suche things through their slouthfulnesse and gret liberty. This viceroy *Don Antonio*, called all the Bishoppes, cleargy, and learned men together, to consult vpō ecclesiastical matters, which tended to the doctrine of the *Indians*. At that instant was decreed, that the *Indians* shoulde be instructed only in the latin tong, which they learned verye wel and also the Spanishe tong. They learne the Musicke with good wil, especially the flaute: their voyces are not good for the pricke song. At that season was also décréed, that no *Indian* should take order of Priesthood. The viceroy *Don Antonio* built certaine townes with Romaine pillars, in honor of the Emperour, and caused his name to be grauen in Marble. He also began the Kay or wharfe in the porte of *Medellin*, a costly and necessarie worke: he also reduced the *Chichimecas* to ciuel liuing: he spented much money in the entraunce of *Sibola*, without any profit, and also thereby remayned an enemy to *Cortes*. He likewise discouered much land on the south coast near *Xalixco*: he sente also shippes to *Molluca*, for spices, which were lost: he behaued himself

very prudētly in the rebellion time of the *Indians* of *Piru*.

The Emperour commaunded him afterwarde to goe vnto the *Piru* for viceroy, considering the licenciāt *Gasca*, who gouerned there, was returned into Spain, and likewise hauing vnderstood his good gouernement in the new Spaine, although some complaintes were made of hym. It grieued *Don Antonio de Mendosa*, to departe from the newe Spaine, where he founde himselfe wel beloued among the *Indians*, who had cured him of sundry disseases with bathes of Hearbes, where before he was starke lame, and also possessed of lands, Cattel, and other riche things, whiche he was loth to leaue. Likewise he desired not to haue to deale with other newe men, whose conditions he knewe not, although he knewe that the *Piruleros* were stubborne and vnruely felowes. But of necessitie he was compelled to take that iourney by lande from *Mexico* to *Panama*, which standeth fiue hundred leagues distant, in the yeare a 1851. And that yere came *Don Luys de Valasco* for viceroye to *Mexico*, who was a Gentleman wise and discrete in his gouernement. The office of viceroy in the newe Spaine, is a charge of great honor and profite.

The conuersion of the Indians.

h how greatly are those *Indians* bound to prayse God, who being seruants of Satan, and lost Shéepe, yet it pleased the goodnesse of the Almighty to haue compassion of thē, who hath giuen them light to come out of darkenesse, and brought them to the knowledge of theyr cruell and abhominable life, and hath nowe giuen vnto them the holy Ghost in baptisme: oh most happie *Cortes*, thy paynes was well employed, oh valiant Conquerors, your names shall liue for euer. I am now bolde to saye, that all the lande which is conquered in the new *Spaine*, the people thereof are generally conuerted vnto the faith of Iesus Chryste: oh what a greate felicitie is it vnto those blessed Kyngs who were the beginners thereof.

Some doe saye, that in the newe Spayne onely are conuerted Christians sixe Millions. Others hold opinion of eyght Millions. And othersome doe assuredly affirme, that aboue tenne Millions are Christened. But in conclusion, I am assured, that within the limittes of four hundred leagues, there are none vnchristened.

The conuersion began with the Conquest, but wyth the diligence in prosecuting the warres, little good was done, vntyll the yeare 1524. and then the matter wente forward effectuallye, by reason that certayne learned menne wente thither for the same purpose.

At the begynnyng it was a troublesome thyng to teach them, for wante of vnderstandyng the one of the other, wherefore they procured to teache the chyldren of Gentlemen whiche were most aptest, the Spanishe tong, and they likewise learned the *Mexican* spéeche, in the whiche language they dayly preached. It was at the firste a paynefull thing to make them leaue those Idols in whome they hadde euer beléued, yea and the Diuell gaue them cruell warres in spirite, and manye times, in appearing in diuers formes vnto them, threatning, that if they dyd call vpon the name of Iesus Christ, it should not rayne, and that all their delight and pleasure shoulde be taken from them, prouoking them still to Rebellion against the Christians, but his wicked counsell woulde not preuayle.

Through greate punishmente they haue left off the horrible sinne of Sodomy, although it was a greate griefe to put away their number of wiues.

There are nowe in the newe Spayne eyght Byshoprikes, whereof one is an Archbishoprike.

The death of Hernando *Cortes.*

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here was a greate contention betwéene *Hernando Cortes*, and *Don Antonio de Mendosa*, the Vizeroy, as concerning the prouince of *Sibola*, for each of them pretended a title vnto the same through the Emperoures gift, the one by meanes of his office of Vizeroy, and the other by his office of Captayne Generall, vpon the whyche matter they grewe into such hatred, that perfyte friendshippe coulde neuer after take place betwéene them, although at the beginning they were familiar and louing friendes: but malice grewe to such extremitie, that eache of them wrote vndecently agaynste other, to the Emperoure theyr maister, the whyche theyr doyngs blemished both theyr credites.

Cortes wente to lawe with the Licenciat *Villa Lobos* the Kings Attourney, aboute certayne of his vassals, and also the Vizeroy assisted agaynste him as muche as hée myghte. Vpon consideration whereof, he was enforced to come into Spayne in Anno 1540. and broughte *Don Martin* his sonne and heyre, béeyng a childe of eyghte yeares of age, and hys sonne *Don Luys*, to serue the Prince: he came very riche, but not so riche as the fyrste time. He entred into great friendship with the Cardinal *Loaisa*, and the Secretarie *Cobos*, but it preuayled not, for the Emperoure was gone into Flanders about matters of Gant.

In the yeare 1541. the Emperoure personally wente to the séege of Argell with a mightie armye, and *Cortez* with his two sonnes went also thither to serue him with a good companye of men and Horses, but it pleased God to raise vp suche a tempest, wherewith the most parte of the fléete perished. *Cortes* then being in the Galley of *Don Henrike Enrikes*, called the *Esperanca*, and fearing to lose his rich emraldes and other Iewels at the time that the Galley was driuen by violence of weather vpon the shore, he then bound about him the sayde fyue rich

emraldes, estéemed in a hundred thousande Duckates, yet notwithstanding through the throng of people, and hast to escape out of oese and mire, the Iewels fell from him, who could neuer heare more of them, so that the present warres cost hym more than any other, except the Emperoures maiestie, although *Andrea de Oria* lost eleuen Galleys.

But the losse of treasure gréeued hym not so much, as the excluding hym out of the Counsell of the warres, whereas other yong Gentlemen of lesse knowledge and abilitie were accepted, which was a cause of greate murmuryng among the host. And where in the counsell of warre it was determined to leaue the séege and to depart, it gréeued manye, whereupon *Cortes* made an open offer, that he alone with the Spanishe nation would presume to take *Argell*, hauyng but the one halfe of the *Tudescos* and *Italians*, if it woulde please the Emperoure to graunte vnto hym the enterprise. The Souldyers on the lande dyd hyghly commende hys courage, but the Sea menne woulde giue no eare vnto him, so that it is thoughte that the offer came not to the Emperoures knowledge. *Cortes* wente vp and downe in the Courte a long season, being sore afflicted in a certaine sute aboute hys vassals, and also the processe and allegations of *Nunio de Guzman*, layde vnto hys charge in hys residence. The whole processe was séene in the counsell of *Indias*, but iudgemente was neuer pronounced, whyche was a greate hartes ease for *Cortes*. And then hée departed from the Courte towarde Siuill, with determinate wyll to passe vnto the newe Spayne, and to ende his lyfe in *Mexico*, and also to receyue the Lady Mary, *Cortes* hys daughter, who was come from *India*, and promised in marriage vnto *Don Aluar Perez Osorio*, with a hundred thousande Duckates in dowry, and hyr apparell, but the marriage tooke no effecte, through the faulte of *Don Aluar* and hys father.

He then fell sicke of a flixie and indisgestion, whiche endured long, so that on hys iourney towarde the Citie of Siuill, he departed thys transitory lyfe, in a little Village called *Castilleia de La Cuesta*, whyche standeth a myle from the Citie of Siuill, on the seconde of December Anno 1547. béeyng thréescore and thrée yeares of age.

His body was deposited w^t y^e dukes of *Medina Sidonia*.

He left a Sonne and thrée Daughters begotten of the Lady *Iane de Zuniga* his wife, his Sonne was called *Don Martin Cortes*, who did inherite his fathers estate, and was married vnto the Lady *Ana de Arellano*, his cousine, daughter to the Countie *De Aguilar*, by order of his father.

The doughters vnto *Cortes* were named as foloweth, the lady *Donea Maria*, *Donea Catalina*, and *Donea Iuana* who was the yongest. He had another Sonne by an *Indian* woman, and he was called *Don Martin Cortez*. He had also another base sonne by a Spanish woman, who was named *Don Luys Cortez*, and thrée daughters by thrée seuerall *Indian* women.

Cortez buylt an hospitall in *Mexico*, and gaue order for a Colledge to be also erected there. He builte also a Temple in *Coioacan*, where he willed in his Testament that his bones shoulde be buried at the charges of his Sonne and heyre. He situated foure thousand Ducates of rent, whiche yéeldeth yéerely his houses in *Mexico* for the purpose aforesayd, of the which foure thousande Ducates, two thousand should be to maynteyne the Studients in the Colledge.

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TRANSCRIBER'S ENDNOTE.

Inconsistent and strange spelling and grammar has been retained, with a few exceptions noted below. Sidenotes have been moved from beside paragraphs to the heads of the associated paragraphs. In some cases this may result in several sidenotes appearing together, between paragraphs.

This book was printed in a kind of blackletter textura or fraktur typeface which contained three ligatures now uncommon, and which may be described as: SMALL E OVER SMALL Y, SMALL T OVER SMALL Y, and SMALL T OVER SMALL W. They looked like these: (three images). These have been rendered herein with superscript notation: y^e, y^t, and w^t, and are abbreviations for "ye", "that", and "with".

Certain names such as "Mutezuma" or "Vitzilopuchtli" were generally printed in italic type, and sometimes were printed with what appears to the transcriber to be an interior capital Z, like this: "VitZilopuchtli". These have all been rendered with small z in this ebook.

Occasionally commas were printed where full stops were wanted, and vice versa. These have sometimes been fixed without comment here.

This book was originally printed with some incorrect page numbers. For one example, starting at page 32, the sequence of printed numbers was 32, 37, 34, 35, 40, 41, 38, 39, 37, 41, 42, 43. . . . The printed page numbers have been discarded in this ebook. In the following notes, the page numbers referenced are the printed ones.

P. 23: "vergan ines" changed to "vergantines".

P. 47: "crrtaine" changed to "certaine".

P. 50: "*Tauasco Cortez*" changed to "*Tauasco, Cortez*".

P. 58: In "of siluer whiche wayde .25. markes", the text between "wayde" and "markes" was somewhat unclear.

P. 100: The word after "Ierome Friers" was unclear, but a different edition had "dame", which is adopted herein.

P. 170: In "as i paynted of the Antikes", changed "i" to "is", supported by a different edition of the book.

P. 179: "butttocke" changed to "buttocke".

P. 209: "crosse stéete" changed to "crosse stréete", supported by a different edition.

P. 218: "officers made a solēpne vowe" changed to "officers made a solēne vowe".

P. 309: "deblared" to "declared".

P. 312: "entefrayned" to "entertayned".

P. 375: "Chicoei Cipactti" to "Chicoei Cipactli".

P. 390: "Diuoremcent" to "Diuorcement".

P. 395: "solempnitie" to "solemnitie".

P. 400: "prudētently" to "prudētly".

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