

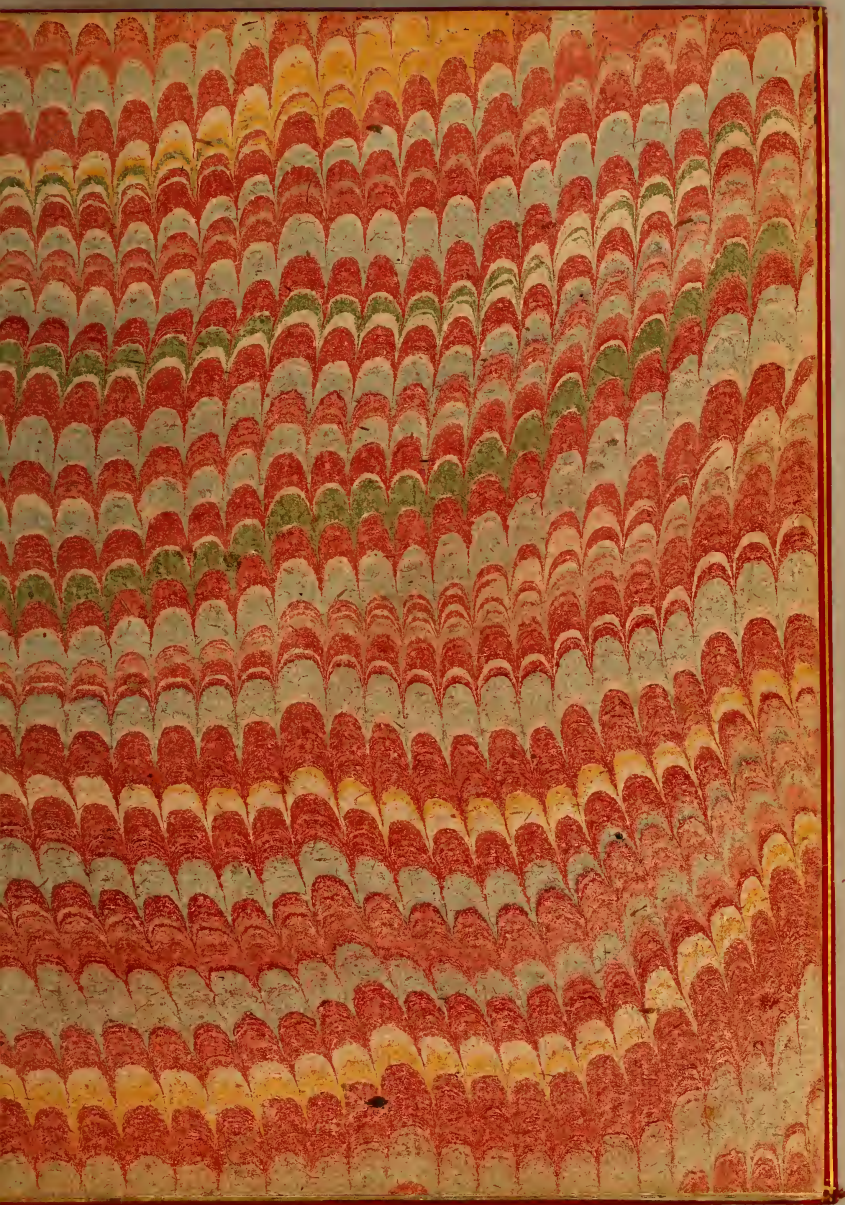


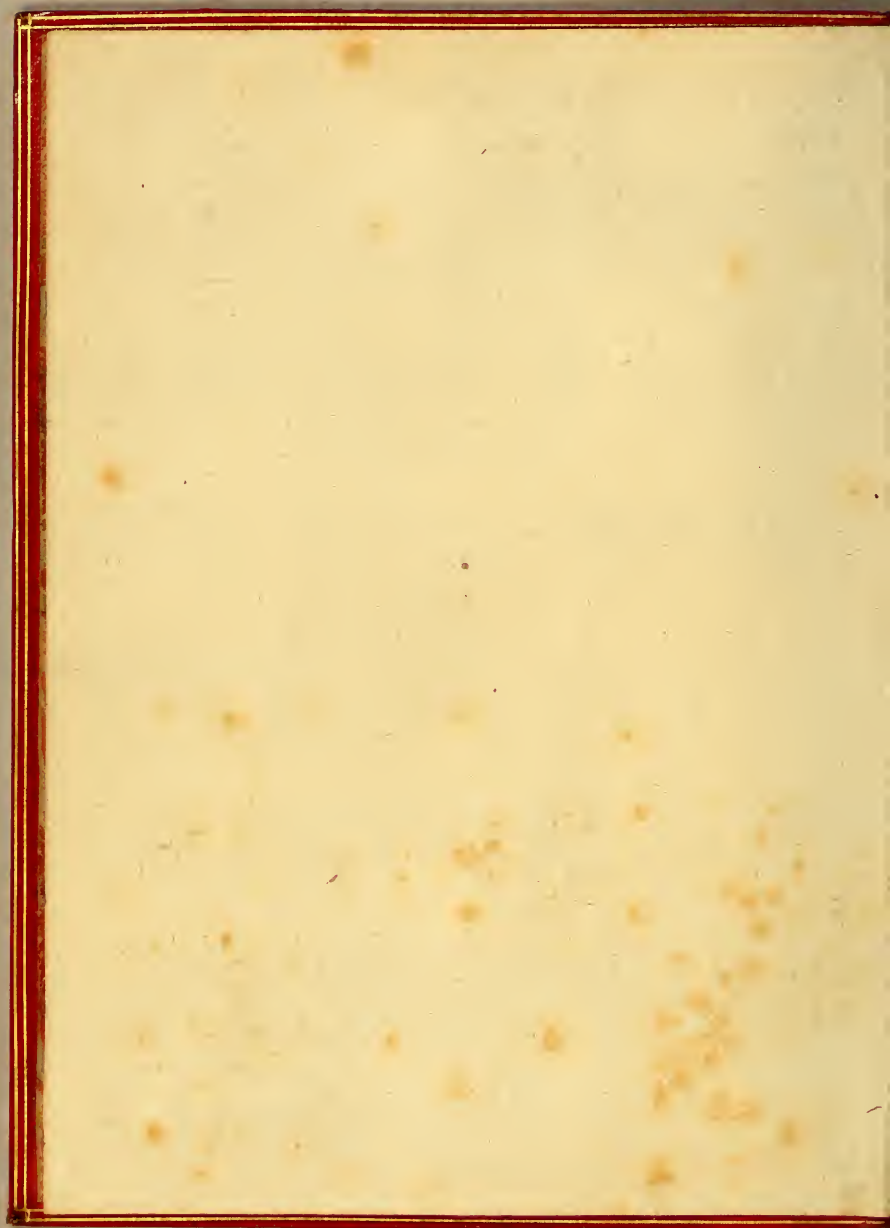
HT

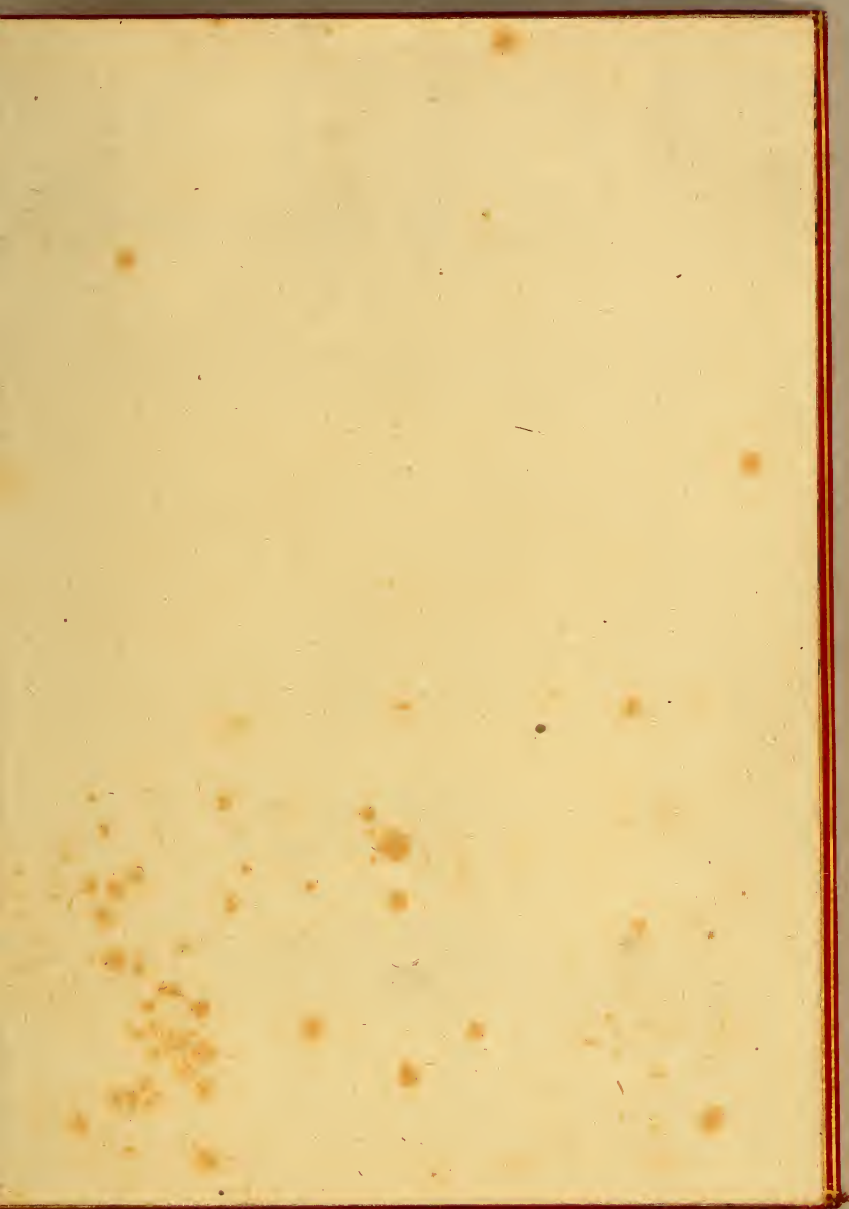




John Carter Brown.







Wagner 2 ff

N 257.

2^d letter

Gomara

Louise

257

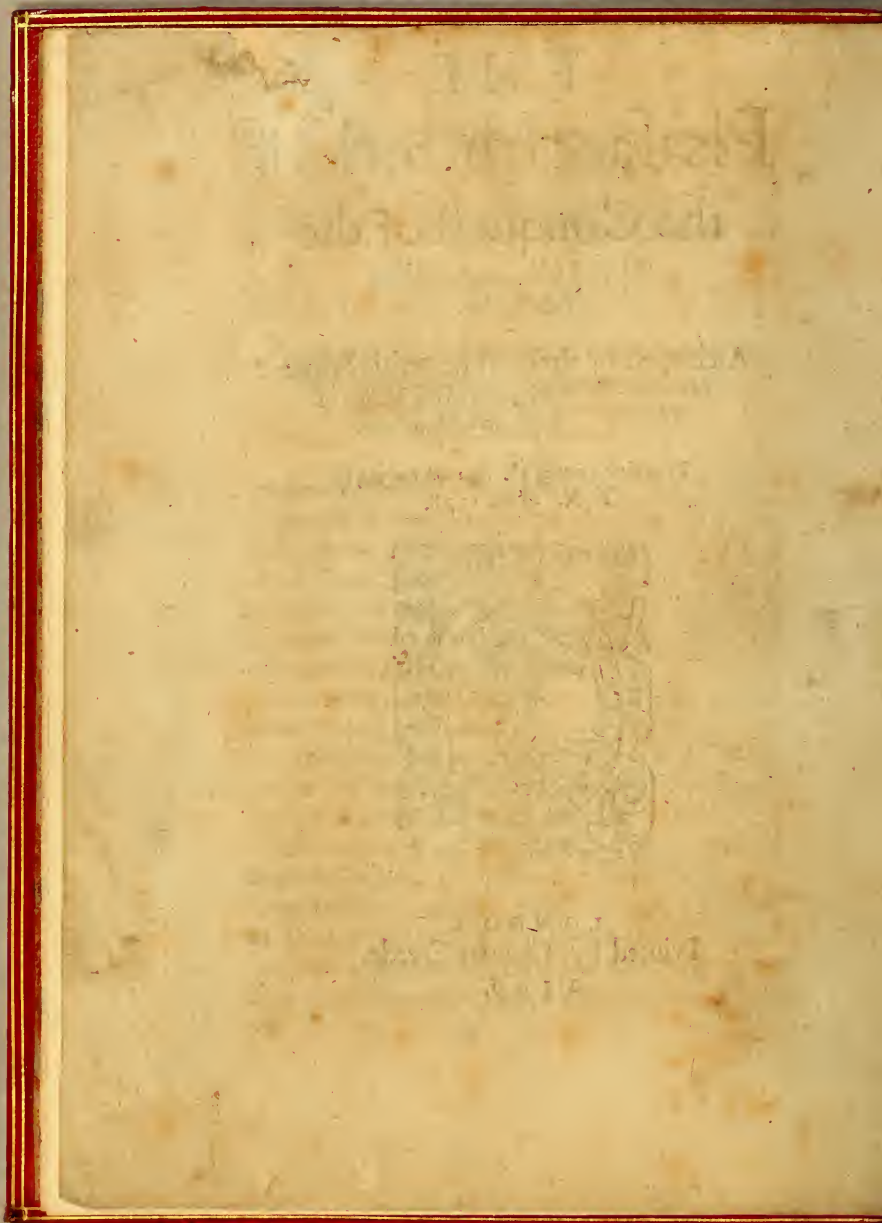
THE
Pleasant Historie of
the Conquest of the
West India, now called
new Spaine.

Atchieued by the most woorthie Prince
Hernando Cortes, Marques of the Valley of
Huaxacac, most delectable to reade.

Translated out of the Spanish tongue, by
T. N. Anno. 1578.



LONDON
Printed by Thomas Creede.
1596.





To the right Honourable

Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, principall
Secretary to the Queenes most excellent Ma-
iestie, and one of her highnesse most Ho-
nourable priuie Counsell.

JAMES CARTER BROWN



Hilest I abode (right Honorable)
in the Isle of Palma, in affaires of
merchandize for the worshipfull
Thomas Lock deceafed, and his cō-
pany, time then permitted me, to
haue conference with auncient
gentlemen which had serued in
the Conquest of the Weast India, now called
new Spaine, vnder the princely Captaine *Hernando
Cortes*. By whom as present witnesses at many of
the actes herein contained, I was credible infor-
med, that this delectable and worthie Historie is a
most true and iust report of matter past in effect:
wherfore I did the more willingly turne ouer and
peruse the same, which is a Mirrour and an excel-
lent president, for all such as shall take in hand to
gouerne new Discoueries: for here they shall be-
hold, how Glory, Renowne, and perfit Felicitie, is

The Epistle.

not gotten but with great paines, trauaile, peril and daunger of life: heere shall they see the wisdom, curtelie, valour and pollicie of worthie Captaines, yea and the faithfull hearts which they ought to beare vnto their Princes seruice: heere also is described, how to vse and correct the stubborn and mutinous persons, and in what order to exalt the good, stout, and vertuous Souldiours, and chiefly how to preferue and keepe that beautifull Dame *Ladie Victorie*, when she is obtained. And where it was supposed, that the golden mettall had his beginning and place in the East and West *India*, neare vnto the hote Zoan, (as most learned writers held opinion) it is nowe approoued by the venterous trauellour and worthie Captaine *Martin Frobisher*, Esquier, yea and also through the great paines, procurement, and first inuention of the worshipfull *Michael Locke* Merchant, that the same golden mettall dooth also lie incorporate in the bowels of the Northwest parties, enuironed with admirable Towers, pillars and pinacles, of rockes, stone, and lse, possessed of a people both straunge, and rare in shape, attire and liuing; yea such a Countrey and people, as al *Europe* had forsaken and made no account of, except our most gracious Queene and her subiects, whom vndoubtedly God hath appointed, not onely to be supream Princessse ouer them; but also to be a meane that the name of Christ may bee knowne vnto this heathenish and sauage generation.

Not long since (right Honourable) I happened
to

The Epistle.

to trauell from the famous Citie of *Toledo* in *Spainie*,
towards high *Castile*, and by fortune ouertooke an
auncient Gentleman, worshipfully accompanied,
vnto whom I was so bolde as to approach, besee-
ching his worship to aduertise me of his iourney:
who (after hee had behelde my white head and
beard) answered full gently, that his intent was to
trauell vnto the king of *Spaines* Court, and welco-
med me vnto his companie. In short space that we
had iourneied together, and communed of each o-
ther his Countrey, it pleased him to say as follo-
weth: My good friend, if you knewe my sute
vnto the Kings maiestie, you would iudge that I
were a mad man, and therefore to shorten our way,
I will declare my attempted sute vnto you. You
shall vnderstand, that I am a Gentleman of three
score and ten yeares of age, and sometimes I serued
in the ciuill warres of *Pirru*, where I was woun-
ded in diuerse parts of my bodie, and am now ther-
by lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I haue
neither wife nor childé, and at this present (God
be prayes) I haue in the Contractation house in
the Citie of *Suill*, in golde and plate, the summe of
thirtie thousand Duckets: and I haue also in *Pirru*
in good landes and possessions, the yearely rent of
twelue thousande Duckets, which rentes and
readie money is sufficient to mainteine a poore
Gentleman. But al this notwithstanding, I do now
sue vnto the kings Maiestie, to haue a licence and
authoritie to discouer and conquer a certaine part
of *India*, which adioyneth with *Brazile*, and is part
of

The Epistle.

of the Empire of *Perru*, I pray you nowe declare what you think of my sute. By my troth sir (quoth I) I trust your worship will pardon a rash and sudden iudgement, which you now demaund at my hand: yea truly (quoth he) say what you list. Then (quoth I) my opinion is, that you are not well in your wit, for what would you haue? will not reason suffice you? or els would you now in your old daies be an Emperor, considering that your Sepulchre attendeth for you. Now truly I thanke you (quoth he) for of your iudgement are most men: but I say vnto you, considering that all flesh must finish, I seek for no quiet rest in this transitorie life: yea the wise and Christian doctors doe teach and admonish, that euery true Cristian is born, not for his owne priuate wealth and pleasure, but rather to helpe & succor others his poore brethren. Likewise do I consider the great number of gentlemen yonger brethren, and other valiant persons, who through want of liuing, doe fall into many disorders. Wherefore to accomplish my dutie towarde God and my prince, & to relieue such poore Gentlemen, doe I now attempt this iourney, with the aduenture of my bodie & goods, and for that purpose I haue in readines foure tall ships, well furnished in the port of *S. Lucar de Barrameda*, hoping assuredly, that before the life depart out of my bodie, to heare these valiant yong gentlemen (whom now I mean to haue in my company) say, oh happy day, when olde *Zarate*. (for so is my name) brought vs from penurie, yea and from a number
of

The Epistle.

of perils that we were like to fall into. I hope also, that the royall estate of my Prince shall bee by my paines, and poore seruice enlarged: beleue you me, this is the onelie sumptuous tumbethat I pretend to build for my poore carkas. But yet I know there are some, vnto whō I may compare the Bore that lieth wallowing in the Stie, who will not let to say, what need we anie other world, honour, or kingdoms? let vs be contented with that we haue: who may easly be answered, Sir glutton, your panch is full, and little care you for the glorie of God, honour of your Prince, neither the need and necessitie of your poore neighbours. With this conclusion the Gentleman ended his tale, the iudgement whereof, I leaue to noble Gentlemen his peeres to be determined.

And where our Captaine *Hernando Cortes*, of whose valiant acts this historie treateth; hath deserued immortal fame, euen so doubtlesse I hope, that within this happie Realme is nowe liuing a Gentleman, whose zeale of trauell and valiant beginning doth prognosticate great, maruellous, and happie successe: for perfection of honor and profit is not gotten in one day, nor in one or two voyages, as the true histories of the East and West conquests by Spaniardes and Portingals doe testifie. And calling to remembrance the great zeale and good will which your honor hath alwaies extended to good and profitable attempts, and especially in the proceedings of the new discouerie, your honor hath not only vsed liberality in your adu-
tures,

The Epistle.

tūres, but also taken great paines in Court to ad-
uaunce and further the voiage, a number I say of
Gentlemen, Mariners, and other Artificers, shall
haue great cause to pray for your honour. And
where I for my part haue tasted of your honours
goodnes sundrie waies, I am now most humbly to
beseech your honor to accept this poore gift, the
which I haue translated out of the Spanish tongue,
not decked with gallant colours, nor yet filed with
pleasant phrase of Rhetorike, for these things are
not for poore Merchant trauelers, but are reserved
to learned Writers: yet I trust the Author will par-
don me, because I haue gone as neare the sense of
this historie, as my cunning would reach vnto. I
also craue, that it may please your honour, when
your great and waighty matters will permit, to be-
hold this worke, and that shalbe for me an encou-
ragement to take in hand the translation of the
East India, which is now enjoyed by the
king of Portingale. Thus I end, be-
seeeching the Almighty to
preserue your hono-
rable estate.

Your honors most readie at commandement

Thomas Nicholls.

Stephan Gosson in praise of the Translator.

THe Poet which sometimes hath trod awry,
And sung in verse the force of fire loue,
When he beholds his lute with carefull eye,
Thinks on the dumps that he was wont to proue,
His groning spright yprickt with tender ruth,
Calles then to minde the follies of his youth.

The hardie minde which all his honor gotte,
In bloudie field by frute of deadly iarre,
When once he heares the noyse of thirled shotte,
And threatning trumpet sound the points of warre,
Remembers how through pikes he lovde to runne,
When he the price of endlesse glory wonne.

The traoueller which nere refusde the paine,
To passe the daunger of the streights he found,
But hoysted saile to search the golden vaine,
Which natures craft hath hidden in the ground.
When he perceiues Don Cortez here so peart,
May well be mindfull of his owne desert.

Then yeeld we thanks to Nicholas for his toyle,
VWho strings the Lute that putteth vs in minde,
How doting dayes haue giuen vs all the foyle,
VWhilste learned wits in forreine lands do finde.
That labour beares away the golden fleece,
And is rewarded with the flower of Greece.

Loe here the trumpe of euerlasting fame,
That rendes the aire in sunder with his blast,
And throwes abroad the praises of their name,
VWhich oft in fight haue made their foes agast.
Though they be dead, their glory shall remaine,
To reare aloft the deeds of haughtie Spaine.

Loe here the traoueller, whose painfull quill,
So liuely paints the Spanish Indies out,
That English Gentlemen may view at will,
The manly prowesse of that gallant rout.
And when the Spaniard vaunteth of his gold,
Their owne renouwe in him they behold.

FINIS.

In Thomæ Nicholai occidentalem Indiam
Stephan Gollon.

SOr defcant Cræsi raiantia tecta Pyropo,
Et iaceat riuili pompa superba Myde.
Aurea felici voluntur secula cursu,
Pactôli assidè flumina vera tument.
Terra ferax pandit, sua viscera plena metallis
Pregnans, diuitias pariurit illa suas.
India luxuriat, locupleti prole triumphat,
Pinguè solum gemmis fundere gessit opes.
O vos qui patriæ cupitis fulcire ruinas,
Et dare mella bonis aurea, montis ape.
Corietz hos animo cupidè lustrate labores,
Postquè, reluctanti credite vela Salo.



To the Reader.



Thought it good gentle Reader, to aduertise thee to consider in reading this hystoꝝy, that Hernando Cortes was not the firste that did discover the newe Spaine, for after the Ilands of Santo Domingo and Cuba were discovered, conquered, and inhabited by the Spaniards, Hernando Cortes, was then a

dweller in the Iland of Santo Domingo, and at that time was gouernoure in the Iland of Cuba one Iames Velasques, who had vnderstanding (by others) that nere vnto those Ilands stode a firme land, rich of golde and plate, wher vpon the same Velasques prepared certaine Ships, and in them sent for Generall a kinsma of his, called Iohn de Grijalua, who with one Francisco Hernandez de Cordoua, discovered the said firme land in trafike of marchandise, and for things of little value, he broughte greate treasure, as shall appeare in an Inuentorie placed in this hystoꝝie.

This Grijalua pretended not to conquer, nor yet to inhabit, but onely to fill his hungry bellie with golde and silver, for if he had pretended honour, then Cortes had not enioyed the perpetuall fame which now is his, although his corple be clothed in clay.

In this hystoꝝy doth appeare the simplicitie of those ignozant Indians in time past, yea and how they were de-

To the Reader.

luded in worshipping Idolles and wicked Mamon, their
bloudie slaughter of men in sacrifice, and now the greate
mercie of Iesus Christ extended vpon them in lightning
their darknesse, giuing them knowledge of the eternitie,
and holy trinitie in vnitie, whereby they are nowe moze
deuoute vnto heauenly things then we wretches Chri-
stians, (who presume of auncient Ch�istianitie) especially
in Charitie, humilitie, and liuely woꝝkes of faith.

And now (gentle Reader) I do soꝝ my part but one,
ly craue, that it may please the to accept these
my paines taken, in god part, soꝝ other
benefite I seeke not.

Farwell.

(T.N.)





The Conquest of the West India.

The byrth and linage of *Hernando Cortez.*



In the yeare of our Saviour, 1485. being kings of Castill and Aragon, the Catholike princes Fernando and Isabel his wife, was bozne Hernando Cortez, in a towne called Medellin, situated in the prouince of Andulozia : his father was named Mar-

tin Cortez de Monroy, and his mother was called Katherine Pizarro Almirano, they were both of good birth, and proceeded of foure principal houses, that is to say, the house of Cortez, the house of Monroy, the house of Pizarro, & the house of Almirano, which foure houses are ancient, noble and honourable : yet these parents but poore in goods, but rich in vertue and good life, for which cause they were much esteemed and beloved among their neighbors. His mother was of inclination deuout, but somewhat hard : his father was charitable and mercifull, who in his youth applied himselfe to the warres, and was lieutenant to a companie of horsemen. Hernando Cortez in his childhood was very sickly, so that many times he was at the poynnt of death. And when he came to xiiij. yeares of age, his parents sent him to the vniuersitie of Salamanca, where he remained two yeres, learning Grammer, and then returned to Medellin wearie of his studie, yea possible for

The Conquest of

want of mony: yet his parents were much offended with him for leauing his studie, for their onely desire was to haue had him a student at law, which is a facultie both rich and worshipfull, considering their son to be of a good wit and abilitie: yet he caused much strife in his fathers house, for he was a very unhappie lad, high minded, and a louer of chiuallrie, for which cause he determined with himselfe to wander abroad to seeke aduentures. And at that instant hapned two iourneys fit for his purpose and inclination. The one of them was to Naples with Gonfalo Hernandez of the Citie of Cordoua, who was a worthy man, and named the great captaine. And the other iourney was to the West India, with the Lord Nicholas de Ouando, a knight of the order of Larez, who was then appointed for gouernor of those parties. And musing with himselfe which way to take, determined to passe into India, chiefly because the gouernor 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 moze then the iourney vnto Naples. Now in the meane while that the flete was preparing for India, it chanced Hernando Cortez pretended to go vnto a certain house in the night season to talke with a woman, and climbing ouer a wall which was of weake foundation, both he and the wall fell together: so that with the noise of his fall, and rattling of his armour which he ware, came out a man newly married, and finding him fallen at his doore, would haue slaine him, suspecting somewhat of his newly married wife, but that a certaine olde woman (being his mother in law) with great perswasions staid him from that fact. Yet with the fall he fel into a grieuous ague, and continued sicke a long season, so that he could not proceede vpon his voyage with the gouernour Ouando. And when he had obtained, and fully recovered his health, hee

minded

the west India.

3

minded to passe into Italie, and so toke his way towarde Valentia, wandering here and there almost a whole yere with much necessitie and pouertie, and then returned home againe to Medellyn, with determination to proceede vpon his pretended voyage of India: Where vpon his father and mother weying their sonnes estate, desired God to blesse him, and gaue him money in his purse for his iourney.

The age of Cortez when he passed
into India.



Ernando Cortez was of the age of nineteen yeres, in the yere of Christ, 1504 & then he went toward India, and agreed for his passage and victual with Alonso Quintezo, who went in companie of other foure ships laden with marchandice, which nauie departed from S. Lucas de Barramedo, with prosperous nauigation, until they arined at the Iland of Gomera, one of the Cauiary ilands, wher they did prouide themselves of al things necessarie for so long a voyage as they then had in hand.

Alonso Quintezo, being greedy of his voyage, and desirous to come to the Iland of Santo Domingo before his fellowes, hoping to sell his commoditie the better, departed from Gomera in the night season without knowledge gaining vnto his company. But incontinent after he had hoysed by his sayles, arose by so great a winde and tempest, that his maine mast brake, whereby he was forced to returne backe againe to the Ilande of Gomera. And hee made earnest request to them of the other Shippes to stay for him, vntill hee had mended his shiffe, who friendly and neighbourly graunted his desire,

The Conquest of

and departed altogether, saying in sight the one of the other certaine dayes: yet the saide Quintero, seeing the weater stedfast, and harping upon gaines, flew from his fellows againe. And where as Frances Ninio de Guelua his pilote was not expert in that navigation, they knewe not where they were: at length the Mariners gaue sundrie iudgements. The Pilote was in great perplexitie and sadnesse, their passengers lamented, and bewayled their vnfortunate successe: the Maister of the ship layde the fault to the Pilote, and the Pilote likewise charged the Maister, soz it did appeare they were fallen out before. In this meane time their victuall waxed scant, and their fresh water wanted, so that they prepared them selues to die. Some cursed their fortune, others aske mercie at Gods hand, looking soz death, and to be eaten of the Carues. And in this time of tribulation came a Doue flying to the ship, being on good Friday at Sunne set, and satte him on the ship toppe: whereat they were all comforted, and toke it soz a myracle, and good token, and some wept with ioy, some sayd that God had sent the Doue to comfort them: others saide that land was neare, and all gaue heartie thankes vnto God, directing their course that way that the Doue flew: and when the Doue was out of sight, they sozrowed againe, but yet remained with hope to see shortly land. And on Easter day they discouered the Island of Santo Domingo, which was first discied by Christopher Zorlo, who cried, land, land, a cheerfull voice to the saylers. The Pilote looked out, and knew that it was the point, or cape of Semana, and within foure daies after, they arrived in the port of Santo Domingo, which was long wished soz, and there they found the other ships of their companie arrived many dayes before.

Comfort of
God.

The

the west India.

5

The time that Cortez abode in Santo Domingo.



Done after that the Governour Quando was in his regiment and office, Cortez arriued at Santo Domingo, and the Governours Secretarie, called Medina, receyued and lodged him, and also informed him of the estate of the Island, and aduised him what was needefull to doe, wishing that hee would be a dweller there, and that he should haue a plot to build vpon, with certaine ground for husbandrie. But Cortez his thought was cleane contrarie: for he iudged, that as soone as he came thither, he should lade with gold, whereby he did little esteeme his friend Medina his counsell, saying, that he had rather goe to gather gold, then to trauell in husbandrie. Medina yet perswaded him, that he should take better aduise ment, for to finde golde, was doubtfull, and verie troublesome. This talke ended, Cortez went to kisse the Governours hands, and to declare the cause of his comming, with other newes from Estremadure the Governours countrey. The governour friendly welcomed him, and also perswaded him to abide there, the which counsell hee accepted, and shortly after went to the warres, whereof was captaine Iaymes Velasques, in the prouince of Angua laqua, and Guaca Ianima, and other Lordships which were not as yet pacified with the late rebellion of Anacoana widow, who was a gentle woman of great living. Quando gaue vnto Cortez certaine Indians in the Countrey of Daiguao, and also the office of publike notarie in Azua, a towne which the Governour had builded, and there dwelt Cortez five or six yeares, and began to play the good husband. Now in this meane season hee woulde haue gone to Veragua,

The Conquest of

which was reported to be marvellous riche, with the Captayne James de Nicuesa: but because of an emposume that he had vnder his right knee, he went not, and as it happened, he was therein fortunat, for that thereby he escaped great perils and troubles, whiche happened to them that went on that voyage and iourney.

Things that happened to Cortez in
the Land of Cuba.



He Lozd James Coloni being Admiral and chief Governour of y new India, set one James Velasques to conquer the Land of Cuba, in the yeare. 1511. And gaue vnto him men, Armour, and o theer thinges necessary. And then Hernando Cortez wet to that conquest as a clearke to the Treasozer, called Michaell de Passamon-tes, for to keepe the accompts of the Kings sistes and reuenues, being so intreated and required by the same James Velasques, because he was hol: e for a man both able and diligent. And it folowed, that in the repartition of y lands conquered, James Velasques gaue vnto Cortez the Indians of Manicorao, in coniunct company with his byother in lawe called Iuan Xuarez, whereupon Cortez did inhabite in Saint Iames de Barucoa, which was the first place of habitation in that Lande, whereas hee bredde and brought by hinc, Shæpe, and Hares, and was the first that hadde there any heard of floske, and with his Indians he gathered great quantitie of golde, so that in short time he was rich, and toyned in company with one Andres de Duero a Marchaunt, and put in two thousande Castlins for his floske. He was also highly esteemed with James Velasques and put in authoritie to dispatch busincte, and to giue

give order for edifices. In his time 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 thre sisters, whiche came to
 the Island of Santo Domingo, with that vicequene the
 Lady Mary of Toledo, in Anno. 1509. hoping to marry
 them there with rich men, for they were verie poore. And
 the one of them named Cathelina was wont to say, That
 she shoulde be a greafe Gentle woman: it was eyther by
 dramas and fantasies, or else some Astronomer hadde
 made her believe so, but her mother was reported to be
 very cunning. The maydens were beautifull, for which
 cause, and also being there but fewe Spannishe 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 a-
 bout the matter, and Cortez put in prison, because he re-
 fused hir for his wife, but she demaunded him as hir hus-
 band by faith and troth of hand: where in James Velasques
 did stande hir friende, by reason of an other sister of hers
 which he had, but of an euill name. It so fell out that one
 Baltazar Bermudez, Iuan Xuarez, & the two Anthony Ve-
 lasques, with one Villegas accused Cortez, that he ought to
 marrie with Cathelina, yet these witnessas spake of euill
 will many things, as teaching y affairs committed to his
 charge; alleadging y he used secret dealing with certaine
 persons. The which causes although they were not true,
 yet they carried great colour therof: For why many went
 secretly to Cortez his house, complaining of James Velas-
 ques. Some because they had not iust reparation of the co-
 quered Indians, and other some not according to deserte.
 Contrariwise James Velasques gaue credit to his talebea-
 rers, because Cortez refused to marry w Cathelina Xuarez
 & used incourteous words vnto him in y presence of many

The Conquest of

that stood by, and also commaunded him to warde. And when Cortez sawe himselfe in the stocks, he feared some proces of false witness, as manie times doth happen in those parties. At time conuenient he brake the locke of the stocks, and laide hand vpon the sword and target of the keeper, and brake by a window, escaping thereby into the stræte, and toke the Church for Sanctuary. But when Iaymes Velasques had notice therof, he was greatly offended with Christopher Lagos the Jailor, saying that for money he had losed him: wherefoze he procured by all means to pluck him out of the Sanctuary. But Cortez hauing intelligence of his dealing, did resist and withstand his force. Yet notwithstanding, one day Cortez walking befoze the Church dooze, and being carelesse of his businesse, was caught by the backe with a Sergeant called Iohn Esquier, and others, and then was put aboard a Ship vnder hatches. Cortez was well beloued among his neighbours, who did well consider the euill will that the governour bare vnto him. But now Cortez seeing himselfe vnder hatches, dispaired of his libertie, and did verely thinke, that he should be sent prisoner to the Chancerie of Santo Domingo, or else to Spaine, who being in this extremitie, sought all meenes to get his foote out of the chaine, and at length he got it out, and the same night he chaunged his apparell with a lad that serued him, and by the Pumpe of the Shippe he got out, not heard of anie his keepers, climbing softly along the Shippe side, he entred the Skiffe, and went his way therewith, and because they should not pursue after him, he losed the Boate of another ship that rood by them. The Currant of Macaguanigua, a Riuier of Barucoa, was so fierce, that he could not get in with his Skiffe, because he had no helpe to row, and was also very fearefull to be drowned if he should put himselfe to the land, where,

Cortez escapeth.

the west India.

9

wherefoze he stripped himselfe naked, and tied a night
hercheffe about his head, with certaine wrytings ap
pertaining to his office of Potarie and Clerkship to
the Treasurer, and other things that were agaynst the
Gouernour James Velasques, and in this sort swamme
to lande, and went home to his owne house, and spake
with John Xuarez his brother in law, and tooke Sanctuar
ie againe with armour. Then the Gouernour James
Velasques sent him woꝛde, that all matter should be soꝛ
gotten, and that they shoulde remayne friends as in
time past they had bene, and to goe with him to the
Warres agaynst certaine Indians that had rebelled.
Cortez made him no aunswere, but incontinent mar
ried with mistresse Catalina Xuares, according to his pro
mise, and to liue in peace. James Valasques proceeded on
his iourney with a great companie agaynst the Re
bels. Then saide Cortez to his brother in lawe Iohn
Xuares, bying me (quoth he) my Launce, and my Cros
bow to the Townes ende. And so in that euening he
went out of Sancturie, and taking his Crossebowe
in hande, hee went with his brother in lawe to a cer
taine farme, where James Valasques was alone, with
his housholde seruants, soꝛ his armie was lodged in a
village thereby, and came thither somewhat late, and
at such tyme as the Gouernour was perusing his
Booke of charges, and knocked at his dooze which stode
open, saying: Here is Cortez that would speake with
the Gouernour, and so went in. When James Valasques
saw him armed, and at such an houre, hee was maruey
lously afraide, desiring him to rest himselfe, and also to
accept his Supper: No Sir (quoth he) my onely com
ing is, but to know the complaints you haue of mee,
and to satisfie you therein, and also to bee your friend
and seruitoꝛ. They then embraced each other, in token

The gover
nor was fore
afraide.

The Conquest of

of friendship. And after long talke, they lay both in one bedde, where James de Orrelano found them, who went to carrie newes to the Gouvernour, how Cortez had fledde. After this sozt came Cortez againe to his former friendship with James Velasques, and proceeded with him to the Marres, but afterward at his returne, he was like to haue bin drowned in the sea: for as he came from the Caues of Bani, to visite certaine of his shepherdes and Indians that wozought in the Mines of Barucoa, where his dwelling was, his Canoa or little bote ouerthrew, being night, and halfe a league from land, with tempest, whereby he was put to his shifts, and forced to swim, and hapned to espie light that certaine Shepherds had, which were at supper nere the sea side. By such like perils and dangers, run the excellent men their race, vntil that they arriue at the hauen where their god lot is preserved.

The discouerie of new Spaine.



Francés Hernandes de Cordcua, did first discouer Xucatan, going with thre shippes for Indians, or else to barter. These Shippes were set forth by Christopher Morante, and Lope Ochoa de Saizedo, in Anno 1517. And although hee brought home nothing at that time but stripes, yet he brought perfect relation, how the countrey was riche of gold & siluer, and the people of the countrey clothed. Then James Velasques gouernoz of the Iland of Cuba, sent the next yere following his kinsman, called Iohn de Grijalua with two hundred Spaniards in foure shippes, thinking to obtaine much gold and siluer for his merchandise at those places, which Frances Hernandes had infozmed him: So that

that Iohn de Grijalua went to Xucatan, and there soughte with the Indians of Campoton, and was hurt. From thence he entred the riuer of Tauasco, which Grijalua had so named, in the whiche place he bartered for things of small value. He had in exchange golde, cloth of cotten wolle, and other curious things wrought of feathers. He was also at Saint Iohn de Vlhua, and toke 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 had considered his good fortune, hee 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 such wealth was not for him which knew it not, although he excused him selfe, 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 Islande, or no. And finding it a maine land, and populous, he left off for very feare. Likewise, some of his company were desirous to returne to Cuba, among whom, 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 Governoure of such things as hadde happened till that day, and sayled homewardest along the coast to Panuco, and so came to Cuba, to the greate griefe of many of his company. Yea some of them wept with sorrowe, that hee would not abide in that rich countrey. He was sixe monethes upon his voyage homewarde from lande to lande, and eight moneths till his returne to the Citie. But when he came home, the Governoure hauing heard of his proceedings, would not looke upon him, whiche was his iust reward.

Men tangled
in foolish loue.

The Conquest of

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



Lohn de Grijalua, bought of the Ind-
ans of Potōchan, Saint Iohn de Vihua
and other places of that coast, such
things as made his fellowes farre in
loue with h̄ countrey, & loth to depart
frō thence. The woꝝkmanſhip of ma-
ny of the things that they bought,
was moꝝe woꝝth than the thing it ſeſſe, as this Inuen-
toꝝie particularly doth ſhew.

The Inuentorie.

A Little Idooll of gold hollow.
A greater of golde, with hoznes and haire, with a
ſtring of beadſtones about his necke, and a flydapp
in his hand, and a little ſtone ſoꝝ his nanill.

A pēce of golde, like a patent of a Chalice, garniſhed
with ſtones.

A Skull of gold, with two hoznes, and blacke haire.

Two and twentie eare-rings of gold.

Two and twentie pēces of another faſhion.

Four ebracelets of golde very broad.

A paire of beades of golde, the ſtones hollowe, with a
Frogge of gold hanging at the ſame.

Another paire with a Lyon of gold.

A great paire of ear-rings of gold.

Two little Eagles of gold hollow.

A little Saltſeller of gold.

Two ear-rings of gold with Turkie ſtones.

A collar to hang about a womans necke, of twelue
pēces, with ſoure and twentie ſtones hanging thereat.

A great collar of gold.

Sixe little collers of gold thin,

Seuen

- Seven other collers of gold with stones.
 Foure ear-rings of golden lease.
 Twentie fishing hookes of gold.
 Twelue graines of gold, waying fittie Duckets.
 A headlace of gold.
 Certaine thin planches of gold.
 A Pottage pot of gold.
 An Ibol of gold hollow.
 Certaine thin brouches of gold.
 Pine bead stones of gold.
 Two paire of gilt beades.
 One paire of wooden beads gilt.
 A little cuppe of golde, with eight purple stones, and
 twentie thre stones of another colour.
 Foure belles of gold.
 A little saucer of gold.
 A little bore of gold.
 Certaine small collers of gold of small value.
 A hollow apple of gold.
 Foztie hatchets of gold mixed with copper, valued in two
 thousand five hundred Duckets.
 A whole harnesse & furniture for an armed man of gold,
 thin beaten.
 An other whole armour of wood with leaues of gold, gar-
 nished with little blacke stones.
 A certaine pæce made like vnto a feather, of an hide and
 gold soynly wrought.
 Foure pæces of armour of wood made for the knes, and
 covered with golden lease.
 Two Targets covered with feathers of many and fine
 colours.
 Diuerse other targets of gold and feathers.
 A tuffe of feathers of sundrie colours, with a little bird in
 the middell, very liuely.

The Conquest of

- A wing of gold and feathers.
 Two flyflappes of feathers.
 Two litle chamberpottes of Allabaster, beset with many trimme stones, and some fine, & among them there was one esteemed at two thousand Duckets.
 Certaine beades of tinne.
 Five paire of wooden beades rounde and couered with a leafe of gold very thinne.
 A hundzeth and thirtie hollow bead stones of gold.
 Many beades of wood gilt.
 A paire of Sissoys of wood gilt.
 Two gilt vissoys.
 A vissoy of strange iecture of gold.
 Foure vissoys of wood gilt.
 Foure dishes of wood couered with golden leafe.
 A dogges head of gold beset with stones.
 An other beastes head garnished with gold.
 Five paire of rush shoes.
 Thre red hides.
 Seven razors of flint stone, soz to cut by men that were sacrificed.
 Two painted dishes of wood with an Ewer.
 A garment with halfe sleeves of feathers of exceeding fine colours.
 A couerlet of feathers.
 Many couerlets of cotten very fine.
 Many other couerlets of cotten course.
 Two kercheffes of good cotton.
 Many perfumes of swæte odour, much of that countrey fruite.
 They also brought a gentlewoman that was giuē them, and other pysoner Indians. And soz one of them was offered his weight in golde, but Grijalua woulde not take it.

They

They also brought newes that there were Amazons women of warre, in certaine Ilandes, and manie gaue credit, being amazed at the things that they had brought bartered for things of a vile price: as here-bnder appeareth the Marchandice that they gaue for all the aforesaid Jewels.

The Inuentorie of the Spanish Marchandice.

Three course shirts.

Three paire of Mariners breeches of linnen.

Five paire of womens shoes.

Five broad leatherne girdles wrought with coloured thred, with their purses.

Many purses of sheeps skinne.

Six glasses a little gilt.

Foure bouches of glasse.

Two thousand beadstones of glasse greene.

A hundred paire of beads of diuerse colours.

Thentie wooden combes.

Six paire of Silfers.

Fiftene knives great and small.

A thousand saylers needles.

Two thousand pinnes of saylers.

Eight paire of cozded shoes.

A paire of pinfers, and a hammer.

Seuen red night cappes.

Three coates of colours.

A freese coate with a cap of the same.

An old greene veluet coate.

An olde veluet cap.

The

The Conquest of

The determination of Cortez to prepare a
Nauie for discouerie.



Because Iohn de Grijalua was absent a longer season than was Frãisco Hernandez de Cordoua, befoze his return or giuing aduise of his proceedings, y^e gouerno^r Valasques prepared a Caruel, & therein sent one Christopher de Olid, fo^r to seeke Grijalua with succour if need were, & gaue Olid great charge, y^e he should return with newes frõ Grijalua with all speed. But this messenger taried but a smal while vpon his boiage, and saw but little of Yucatan, & not finding Grijalua, he returned back again to Cuba, which returne hapned not wel fo^r the gouerno^r, no^r yet fo^r Grijalua. fo^r if he had proceeded soozth on his way to S. Iohn de Vlhua, hee had then met with whom he sought fo^r, & likewise caused him to haue inhabited there: but he excused himself, alledging y^e he had lost his ankers, & was therfoze forced of necessitie to returne.

And as soone as Olid was departed on that boiage, Pedro de Aluarado returned to Cuba, with full relation of the discouerie, & brought many things wth him, w^zought in gold, with strange coloured feathers, and cotten woll. The gouerno^r Iames Valasques reioiced much to behold those principles: And all the Spaniards of Cuba wondered thereat, & likewise to heare the whole relation of the iourney. Yet the gouernour feared the returne of his kinsmen, because some of his companie 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

courage of his kinsman. Whereupon he determined to send thither certaine shippes, with sculdiers and armour 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 thre thousand duc-kets for his furniture and provision. Their gouernour hearing this demaund, answered, that in suche force the charges would be moze then the profite: And so for that time leste off that matter, because he was couetous, and loth to spend, thinking to provide an army at other mens cost, as he had done befoze, when Grijalua went first on that voyage, for at that time one Fracisco de Montezoz did furnish one shippe. And also certaine gentlemen called Alaunfo Fernandez, Porto Carero, Alaunfo de Auila, and Iames de Ordas, with many others, went with Grijalua at their proper costes and charges. It followed that the gouernour bzake the matter to Cortez, and required that the voyage should be let forth betwixt them, knowing that Cortez had two thousande Castlins of golde in the power of one Andres de Duero, a merchant, and also that Cortez was a man diligent, wise, and of stout courage. Cortez being of haughtie stomacke, accepted both the voyage and the charges, thinking the cost would not be much, &c. So that the voyage and agreement was concluded, whereupon they sent one Iohn de Sanzedo to the kings councell and chauncery, resident in the Iland of Santo Domingo, (who were then religious persons) to haue and obtain of them licence, freely to goe and traffike into those parties of newe discovery, and also to seeke for Iohn de Grijalua, for they imagined that without him small trafficke would be hadde, which was, to exchange trifles of Haberdashe for golde and siluer.

The chiefe Rulers of gouernement at that tyme

The Conquest of

in the kings counsell there, were these following, Segnior Alouiso de Santo Domingo, Segnior Luys de Figueroa, and Segnior Barnardo de Munfanedo, who graunted the licence, and appointed Hernando Cortez for captaine Generall of the voyage, and setter forth in company of James Velasques. They also appointed a Treasurer, and Surue your, to procure for the kinges portion or parte, which was according to custome one fift part. In this meane season Cortez prepared himselfe for the Journey, and communed with his especiall friends to see who would beare him company: And hee founde thre hundzeth men that agreed to his request. Hee then bought a Caruell and Bergantine, and another Caruell that Pedro de Aluarado brought home. An other Bergantine hee had of James Velasques: he provided for them armour, artillery, and other Ordnition: he brought also wyne, Dyle, Beanes, Pease, and other vittails necessary: hee toke by also vpon his credite, of one James Sauzedo muche Haberdashe, to the value of seuen hundzeth Castlyns in golde. The Governour Velasques deliuered vnto him a thousande Castlyns whiche hee possessed of the goods of one Pamfilo de Naruaiz in his absence, alleaging that he had no other money of his owne proper. And being in this manner agreed, the Articles and Couenants were drawne and set downe in writing, befoze a Notary, called Alouiso de Oscalantes, the thre and twentie day of October, 1518.

The coming home
of Grijalua.

In this meane time arrived at Cuba, Iohn de Grijalua, vpon whose arriuall, the Governour chaunged his purpose and pretence, for hee refused to disburse any moze money, nor yet would consent that Cortez should furnish his Rauc. For the onely cause was, that he ment to dispatch backe againe his kinsman and his army. But to be holde the stout courage of Cortez, his charges, and liberallitie

berallitie in expences, it was straunge, and to see how hee was deceiued. And also to consider, 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 honoz, which were tokens that he wold rebel, being in place conuenient, and that he woulde reuenge old griefes. Also it griued Vermudez that he had not excepted the voyage, vnto who it was once offered, seeing the great treasure that Grijalua had brought, and what a rich land the countrey newly discovered was. Also he pretended that the gouernoꝝ wold be chieftain of the fleet, although his kinsman were not fit for the same. The gouernoꝝ also thought that he being slack, Cortez wold also be slack. But yet he seeing Cortez earnestly proceed, he sent one Amador de Larez a principall man, to intreat him to leaue off the voyage (considering that Grijalua was returned) and that he wold pay him al the costs & charges that he had layd out. Cortez vnderstanding the gouernoꝝs mind, made answer vnto Larez, that he wold not leaue of the Journey for very shame, nor yet breake the agrément made. And also if Velasques wold send a Paue for his own account, he wold be contente, for (quoth hee) I haue already my licence and dispatch of the fathers & gouernours. And then he conferred with his friends, to knowe their mindes if that they wold fauour and beare him company, at whose handes he found both ready helpe and friendship. Hee sought then for money, and toke by vpon his credit foure hundred Castles in gold, of his friend Andreas de Duero, & of Pedro de Xerez & others. With the which money he bought two ships, six horses, and much apparrel, and begun to furnish a house, & keep a good table for comers & goers: he wēt also armed like a captaine, and many waiting & attending vpon him, wherāt diuerse murmured, saying that he was a Lord without reue.

In this meane while came

D 2.

Grijalua

The gouernour
an old
enemy.

Courage of
Cortez.

The Conquest of

Grijalua to the Cittie of Sainte Iames de Cuba : but his kinsman the Governour woulde not take vpon him because hee had left and forsaken so riche a lande. Also it graued him inwardly that Cortez proceeded thitherward so strong and mightie, and coulde by no meanes disturbe or let him, and to see the great traine that wayted vpon him, with many of them that had bene the other voyage with Grijalua: yea if that hee should disturbe him, bloodthead would follow in the Cittie. So that he was forced to dissemble his sorrow. Yet (as many affirme) hee commaunded that hee should haue no victualls solde vnto him. Now Cortez departed from thence, proclaiming himselfe for Generall, and that the Governour Velasques had nothing to do with his Paue, requesting his souldiers to embarque themselues with such victualls as they had. He also bargained with one Fernando Alfonso, for certaine Hogges and Shæpe that were prepared for the Chambers, and gaue vnto him a chayne of golde and brouches for payment, and also money, to paye the penaltie that the Butcher fell into for not prouiding the Cittie. And so he departed from Saint Iames de Baracoa, the eighteenth of Nouember, with about thre hundred Spaniards in sixe shippes.

The Nauie and men that Cortez carried with
him to the Conquest.



Ortez departed from Saint Iames de Baracoa, with small prouision of victualls for such a number of men, and also for the Nauigation whiche as yet was vncertaine. And being out of that parte, hee sente Pedro Xuarez

Xuarez Gallinato, with a Caruel to Iaymaica for vittails, commaunding him, that these things which hee should there buy, to goe there with to Cape de Corientes, or to S. Anthonies pointe, whiche is the farthest parte of that Iland Westward. And he himselfe went with his companie to Macaca, and bought there great quantitie of bzead, and some Hogges, of one Taymaio. Then he proceeded to the Trinitie Ilande, and there bought an other Shippe of one Alonso Guillen. And of particular persons he bought thre Horses, and five hundred bushels of Cozne. And being there at road, he had aduice, that Iohn Nonez Sedenio passed that way with a Ship laden with vittails, for to make sale thereof at the Pines. Whereupon he sent James de Ordas, with a Caruell well armed, for to take him, and to bring him vnto S. Anthonies point. Ordas went and toke him at the Chanel de Iardines, and brought him to the place appointed. Sedenio brought the register of his marchandice, which was great stoz of bzead, Bacon, and Hennes. Cortez gaue him chaines of gold, and other peces for payment, and a bill for the rest. In consideration whereof, Sedenio went with him to the Conquest. In the Trinitie Iland Cortez gathered together two hundred men moze, who had bin in Grijalua his companie, 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 riner called Onicaxinall, but there they would sell him no prouision, for feare of the Gouerno; Velasques. But yet one Christopher Galkada, rent gatherer to the Bishop, and receyuer for the Popes Bulles, solde to him great stoz of Bacon and bzead of that Countrey called Maiz, and other prouision; whereby his fleet was reasonably prouided, &c. And then he began to distribute his men and

The Conquest of

distayles aboord ech vessell in good order. Then came Aluarado with his caruell, with his other friends Christopher de Olid, Alonso de Auila, Francisco de Monteio, & many others of Grijalua his companie, who had bin to talke with the Governour Velasques. And among them came one Garnica, so called, with letters for Cortez from Velasques, in wherein he wrote, desiring him to abide there, for that he meant to come himselfe, or els to send vnto him, to treat of matters profitable for them both.

A snare layd
for Cortez.

Also the said gouernour sent other secret letters to James de Ordas, and others, requiring them to apprehend & take prisoner Cortez. Now Ordas did invite Cortez to a banquet aboord his Caruell, thinking by that meanes to catch Cortez in a snare, and so to carry him prisoner to the citie of Saint Iamas de Barocoa. But Cortez vnderstood his matter, and fained himselfe to be very sicke, and also fearing some vpproze, he went aboord his ship Admirall, and shot off a peece of Ordnance, giuing warning to his nauie to be in a readinesse to make saile, and to follow him to saint Anthonies point, which was don with expedition, & there in the Towne of Guani Guaniga, he mustred his men, and found five hundred and fiftie Spaniards, whereof fiftie were mariners. He diuided them into eleuen companies, and appointed these persons following for captaines, that is to say, Alonso de Auila, Alonso Fernandez Porto Carrero, James de Ordas, Francisco de Monteio, Francisco de Morla, Francisco de Salzedo, Iohn de Escalante, Iohn Velasques de Leon, Christopher de Olid, and one Escouar, and he himselfe as Generall took one companie. He made these manie Captaines, because his whole flete was eleuen sayle, and that each of them should generallly be Captaine, both of Shippe and men. He also appointed for chiefe Pilote Anthonio de Alaminas, who had taken charge befoze with Francisco de Hernandez

nandez de Cordoua, and Grijalua, &c. He caried also 200. Indians, bozne in the Ile of Cuba, to serue and to cary baggage, & also certata Negros, with some Indian womē, and Griene horses and Mares, with great pꝛouision of bacon, cozne, bisket, hennes, wine, oyle, pease, and other fruits, with great stoze of Haberdash, as bels, necklaces, beades of glasse, collers, points, pinnes, purses, néedels, girdels, thzed, knives, fillers, pinners, hammers, hatchets, Shirts, Coyfes, headkirchiefs, handkirchiefs, bꝛèches, coates, clokes, caps, Parriners bꝛèches. All the which marchandise he diuided among his nauie. The ship admirall was of the burthen of a hundzed Tunnes. Other thꝛee ships of the burthen of eighty Tunnes the pꝛce. All the residue were small without ouerloppe, and bergantines. The deuise of this ensigne or auncient, was flames of fire in white and blew, with a red crose in the midst, and boꝛdzed round with letters, in the Latine and Spanish songs, which signified this in effect: friends, let vs follow the Crose, and with liuely faith with this Standard we shall obtaine victorie. The pꝛemises (as ye haue heard) was the furniture that Cortes pꝛouided for his iourney, and with so small a thing he conquered so great and mighty an Empire, and strange countreys vnknowne at that time. There was neuer captaine that did with like army ouercome so infinit a people, & bzing both them and their country vnder subiection. He caried no mony to pay his souldiers, but was rather much indebted to others at his departure. And to say the truth, there needed any mony to make pay to those souldiours that went to the Conquest, for if they should haue serued for wages, they wold haue gone to other places nere hand. But in India, every one pꝛeferred his state of a noble man, or else great riches. Now all the fleet being in readinesse (as ye haue heard,) Cortez began an exhortation to his company as foloweth.

The

The Conquest of

The Oration that Cortez made to
his Souldiers.



M louing fellowes, and deere friendes, it is certaine that euerie valiant man of stout courage, doth procure by deedes to make him selfe equall with the excellent men of his time, yea, and with those that were befoze his time. So it is, that I doe now take in hand such an enterprize, as God willing shall be hereafter of great fame, soz mine heart doth prognosticate vnto me, that we shall win great and rich countreies, and manie people, as yet neuer seene to any of our Nation, yea, and (I beleue) greater Kingdomes then those of our Kings. And I assure you, that the desire of glorie doth further extend, then treasure, the which in sozt, mozt, tall life doth obtaine. I haue nows prepared Shippes, armour, horses, and other furniture soz the warres, with vittaille sufficient, and all things that are vsed as necessarie in Conquests. I haue bene at great costs and charges, wherein I haue not onely employed mine owne goodes, but also the goodes of my friends, yet me thinketh that the employment thereof doth encrease my treasure and honour. Wee 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, & a nation of this our enterprize, then hath heretofore of any other. I doe not speake how acceptable it will be to God our Saviour, soz whose loue I do chiefly and willingly hazard my goodes and trauell. I will not new treat of the perils and daunger of life that I haue passed since I began this voyage. This I say, that god men doe rather expect renowne, then treasure. Wee doe now attempt and begin warre that is both god and iust,

lust, and the almightie God in whose name and holy faith this voyage is begunne, will assuredly graunte vnto vs victorie, and the time will shew the end of things well begunne. Therfoze we will now haue an other manner in our proceedings, than either Cordoua or Grijalua hadde, whereof I meane not nowe to dispute, for the presente time doth hasten vs away, but at our arrivall, we will do what shall seeme vnto vs conuenient. Here deere friends do I lay before you great gaynes, but wrapped in greate trauell, yet Vertue is an enimie to idlenesse. &c. Therfoze 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 thozte time the richest men that euer passed this way. I doe see you are but fewe in number, but yet such men of haughtie cozage, that no force or strength of Indians can offende. Likewise wee haue experience, that Christ our sauour hath alwayes sauoured our nation in these parties. Therfoze my deere friends, let vs now in Gods name depart ioyfull, expecting god successe, according to our beginning. &c.

The entrance of Cortez into the
Iland of Acusamill.



With the aforesaid communication, Cortez gaue great hope to his company of waightie matters, yea & great admiration of his person, so that all his company had an earnest desire to proceede on that iorney. And Cortez likewise reioyced, to see his men so willing: and incontinente, they embarqued them

selues, and after their prayers made vnto God, hoysed by their sailes, and with faire winde departed the eighteenth day of February. Anno 1519. And being at Sea, he willed all his nauie (as the vse is) to haue S. Peter for
 C. their

The Conquest of

their patron; warning them alwaies to follow the Admirall (wherin he went) because he carried a light for the night season to guide them the way, whiche was almost East and West from S. Antonies point, being the nereff part of Cuba to Cape de Cotoche, which is the first land point of Yucatan, whither they were bound, so that being there, they might run along the coast, betwene the North point and the West. The first night y^e Hernando Cortez, began to passe ouer the gulse betwene Cuba and Yucatan, being little about 17. leagues, the winde rose vp at North east with much force, so that all the flete were separated without sight y^e one of the other: yet by the account that their Pilots kept, they arriued all sauing one at the Island of Acusamil, although not at one time, and those that last arriued, were the Admirall, and Captaine Morla his Ship, who had lost his Kuther, but by shooting off a peere, Cortez vnderstode his necessitie, and came veying to him, and armed his sailes to succour him, being in y^e night season. Yet when the day appeared, it pleased God that the rage of the tempest ceased, & being clere day, they found agayne their Kuther, and trimmed the Ship, and made sayle, and sayled that day and the next following, without sight of land, or any of the flete. But the thirde day they arriued at a cape or point of land, called Womens cape. Cortez commanded Morla to follow him, directing his course to seeke the residue of his flete, and arriued in this sorte at the Island of Acusamil, and there found all his nauie excepte one, whereof they heard no newes in many dayes after. The people of that Islande beholding suche a strange sight, were in great feare and admiration, so that they gathered their kuffe and wente vp into the Mountaines. Cortez caused a certaine number of his men to goe a land to a Towne which was nere the place where they were arriued, and they sold the solme wrought with Dasons worke, and good building, but they founde no creature therein.

The feare of
the Indians of
Acusamil.

thereln, yet in some houses they found cloth made of cot-
 ten wooll, and certain iewels of gold. Also they entred into
 a high tower made of stone worke, neare the sea side, and
 there they founde nothing but Idolls of earth and stone.
 With this newes they returned to Cortez, and enforzard
 him what they had serue, and also many faire solwen fi. lbs.
 of Maiz, and great stoze of hiues of Bees, and many trees
 of fruites, and also presented vnto him the gold and other
 things that they had found. Cortez reioyced with y newes,
 but yet marvelled that the people were fled, considering
 that when Grijalua was there, they had not sodone, where
 by he iudged, that his nauie being greater, caused them
 to feare and flie, and like wise he feared least a snare were
 prepared for him. Then he commanded to vs ship his ho-
 ses for thre causes: the one to discover the Countrey, and
 the other to fight if need were: and also to graze them, ha-
 uing there abundance. Also he vs shipped his men of war,
 and sent them to discover the land. And in the thickest of
 the Mountaines, they found foure women, and thre chil-
 dze, whom they bzought to Cortez, so that not vnderstan-
 ding their language, by signes and tokens they imagined
 that one of them was the mother to y childzen, & mistresse
 to the other women. The poze creatures be wayled their
 captiuitie. Cortez made much of them, and apparelled the
 mistresse as wel as he might with Spanish attire: and to
 his seruants he gaue looking glasse and siffers: and to the
 litle childzen others toys to play withall, vsing no disho-
 nestie towards them. And then he determined to send one
 of the wenches to call her maister, & to enforze him how
 well they were intreated. In this meane season came
 certaine spies lurking a far off, by the commandement of
 their Lord, who was called Calachuni, to bring newes of
 his wife, and what else passed. Cortez receiued them gent-
 ly, & gaue vnto them certaine trifles, & sent others to their
 Lord, & returned them w embassage on his behalfe & his

How the peo-
 ple were
 found.

The Conquest of

wiues, to desire him to come vnto him, and to see those folke from whome he had fledde, promising, that neyther his person, nor none of his countrey should receyue any molestation of him, nor of any of his company. Calachuni vnderstanding this friendship, and also with the loue he bare to his wife and childzē, came the next day following with all the Townsmen, in whose houses the Spanyards were lodged, who woulde not permitte that their guesstes should giue place. And the Lozde commaunded, that they should be wel entertained, and fro that day sozward provided them of bread, fish, honney, & fruite. Calachuni spake and saluted Cortez with greate humilitie and ceremonie, and euen so was hee louingly receyued, & wel entertained. Cortez did then declare vnto him by the commoditie that would ensue vnto him by that nation. And also presented vnto him & his cōpany many toys, which were vnto them of small valewe, but muche esteemed among them, yea moze then golde. And mozesuer Cortez cōmaunded, that all the golde and other things that his men had taken in the Towne, should be broughte befoze him, and placed it so that every Indian knewe his owne, and was restozed vnto them, whereat they were not a little ioyfull, wondering at the liberalitie of the straungers, and departed both merrie and riche with their strange giftes, and went thzoughout al the Iland, the wing to their fellowes their presentes, commaunding them in the name of Calachuni their Lozd, to returne euery man to his house, with their wiues and childzen, commending highly the honest and gentle nature of the straungers. With this newes and commaundements, euery man returned to his house and Towne from whence he had fledde. And after this sozt their feare was past, and they provided the Camp abundantly of honney, bread, ware, fische, and frute, all the time that they abode in that Iland.

A fakte wor-
chy of praise.

the west India.

29

The Indians of Acufamil gaue newes to Cortez
of certaine bearded men.



When Cortez seeing these Indians quiet
and wel pleased, and also very seruice-
able, he did determine to take away
their Idols, & to giue them a remem-
brance of Iesus Chrift, hozne of the
virgin Mary, by one Melchior a fisher
man, & very rustical, who had bin ther
befoze with Francisco Hernandez de

Cordoua, who declared vnto thē, that Cortez his lord and
captaine would enforzme them of a better God, and better
lawes, thē those which they maintained. The Indians ans-
wered, that they were contented therewith, and went
with them vnto their temples; and there bzake downe
their Idols, and celebrated diuine seruice, teaching them
to adoze and worzship Chrift crucified, so that they were
very attentiuē to the doctrine, and ceased sacrifice of men
which they were wont to vse. These Indians did wonder
much at the ships and hozles, yea, and maruelled as much
at our colour and beards, so that many times they would
come and seele them, and signified vnto them by signes
and tokens towarde Yucatan, that there were fine or six
bearded men. When Cortez considering how profitable it
would be to haue an interpzeter, to vnderstand and to beē
vnderstood, he besought Calachoni that he would appoint
a messenger to carrie a letter to the bearded men, who
were in the power of a great Lord and Tyrant, and Ca-
lachoni found none that durst take that iourney in hand,
fearing that they should be slaine and eaten. Cortez seeing
this, entreated with faire wordes, thzee of the Indians that
serued him to accept the iourney, and gaue them rewardes
for their labour: yet the Indians excused them, saying that

Newes of
bearded men.

The Conquest of

they should be layne, notwithstanding with faier promises and rewardes, they accepted the voyage, so that Cortez wrote with them this letter following.

Without fail, I departed from Cuba with eleven saile in my flote, furnished with five hundred and fiftie Spaniardes, & I am here at Acusamil from whence I write you this letter. The people of this Island haue certified me, that there is in that countrey five or six bearded men, and in all points like vnto vs: they cannot here enforme me of anye other signes or tokens, but hereby I do coniecture, and certainly beleue, that ye be Spaniardes. Both I and these gentlemen of my company do come to discouer and inhabite this land, we hartly pray you, that within sixe dayes after the receit herof, ye come vnto vs, without any excuse or delay, and if ye so doe, at vs of this kinde wil gratifie your gentleness and good seruice that ye shall do vnto vs. I do send you a Bergantine wherein you may come, and two shippes for your safe conduct.

Hernando Cortes.

This letter being written, there was found an inconvenience, which was, they knew not how to carrye the letter so secretly y^t it might not be seene, and they take it for spies, wher of the saide Indians stood in greate feare. The Cortez thought him, y^t the letter would passe wrapped in the haire of the head of one of the, for ordinarily the Indians wear long haire, & on their solemn feasts & in wars they vie their haire platted and boūe about their foreheades. And he appointed captaine of the Bergantine wherin the messenger was, Iohn de Escalate, & James de O. das for captaine of the other two ships, with fiftie men if any neede should happen. So shortly after the ships arriued at the place appointed, Escalate set a land his messengers, and abode there eight dayes they returned, although he promised them to abide there but sixe dayes. And the saying that

the y

the vvest India.

they came not, he surmised that they were either slaine or taken captiues: and so returned backe againe to Acusamil without his messengers, wherof al the army were sorrowful, & chiefly Cortez, thinking that the Indians had wrong informed him. Now in this mean season they trimmed their shippes of the hurt receiued by the late tempest, and at the returne of the two ships and Morgantine, they hoysed by sayles and departed.

A miraculous chance how Geronimo de Aguilao came to Cortez.



Alachuni and all his subiects were full of heauines (as it seemed) with the departure of the Christians, because they were well used at their hands. From Acusamil the flecte sayled to get the coast of Yucatan to the cape called Molmens point, with pro-

spersous weather, and there Cortez came to an anchor, desirous to see the disposition of the land, and the maner of the people: but it liked him not, so that the next day following being thronctuesday, he departed, meaning to double the said Cape, and so to passe to Cotoche, and to biewe it. But before they had doubled the poynt, Peter de Aluarado shotte off a pæce, in token that he was in great perill, whereupon the other Shippes by we neare, to knowe what had happened: And when Cortez vnder stood that Aluarados shippe was in so great a leake that with two pumpes they might not emptie the water, he found no other remedy but to returne backe againe to Acusamil with al his flect. The Indians of the Island came incontinent to the water side very ioyfull, and to knowe whether they had left any thing behind them. The Christians informed the of their mishap, and came a shoze, & in short time found the leake and amended it. The later day following they toke shipping againe, all the army except Hernando

The Conquest of

Hernando Cortez, and fittie of his cōpanie, then the wind arose contrarie, and so much, that they could not depart that day: and the furie of the wind endured all that night, but in the morning it wared calme, so that they might procede on their voyage. But for as much as that was the Sabbath day, 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 towarde the shippes, which seemed to come from Yucatan: with that newes Cortez arose from his meate, to behold whether the Canoa went, and perceiuing that she left the way towarde the shippes, hee sent Andrew de Tapia with certaine others, as secret & closely as might bee deuised, to lye in ambush for their coming ashore. The Canoa arriued in a calme place, out of the which came foure men all naked, except their priuie members, and the haire of their heades platted and bounde about their foreheades like vnto women, with bowes and arrowes in their hands: these of them which were Indians, were afraid when they saw the Spaniards with their drawn swordes, and would haue fled againe to their Canoa, but the Chyistian feared not, and desired his fellows in the Indian tongue to abide with him. And then he beganne to speake in the Spanissh tongue in this wise: Masters are ye Chyistians, yea (quoth they) and of the Spanissh nation. When 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 hee daily praised.

He then besought them earnestly to assist him with their prayers and thansgiuing vnto God for his deliuey, and kneeling deuoutly downe vpon his knees, holding vp his handes, his eyes toward heauen, and his face bathed with

with teares, made his humble praier vnto God, giuing most hartie thankes, that it hadde pleased him to deliuer him out of the power of Infidels and infernall creatures, and to place him among Christians and men of his owne nation. Andrew de Tapia holpe him vnto, and tooke him in his armes, & so didal the others embrace and louingly salute him. Then he commaunded the other thre Indians to follow him, and went talking with his friendes, where Cortez aboade, who receiued him ioyfully, and gaue vnto him such apparrel as he needed, and with greate pleasure hauing him in his companie, hee demaunded the estate of his misfortune, and what was his name, who answered befoze them all, saying, Sir my name is Geromino de Aguilar, I was bozne in the Citie of Esija in the Andolozia, and by misfortune I was lost after this sorte: In the warres of Darien and in the time of the contentions and passions of Iames de Nicuesa, 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 happened, and my comming was for men and victuals: and likewise we brought twenty thousand Duckettes of the kinges in Anno. 1511. And when we appozted at Iamayca, our Caruel was lost on the Gallies whiche were called the Cipars, and with greate pain we entred (about twenty persons) into the boate, without sayle, water or bread, and weake prouision of oares: we thus wander thirtene or fourtene dayes, and then the currant, which is there very great & runneth alway weastward, cast vs a shoare in a prouince called Maija, & traueiling on our way, seauen of our fellowes died with hunger and 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 potwer we fell, &c.

The coming
of Aguilar
to Cortez.

F.

And

The Conquest of

And after the sacrifice, they were eaten among the Indians for a solemn banquet; and I, & other six were put into a Cage or coupe, to be fatned for an other sacrifice. And for to escape such abhominable death, we brake the prison and fled thzough certaine mountaines: so that it pleased God that we met with another Cazike, who was enemie to him that first toke vs, his name was Quinqu, a man of moze reason and better condition, he was lozd of Xamanfana: he accepted vs for his captiues, but shortly after he dies, and then I aboad with Taxmar his heire. Then deceased other five of our fellowes, so that there remained but onely I, & one Gonfalo Guerrer, a mariner, who now abideth with Nachancan the lozd of Chetamal, and he married with a rich gentlewoman of that countrey, by whom he hath chilozen, and is made a captaine, and well esteemed with the Cazike for the victozies that he hath had in the wars against the other lozds. 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 beleue for very shame, because he had his nose full boared of holes, and his ears tagged, his face and hands painted according to the vse of the country, or else he abode there for the loue he bare to his wife and chilozen. All those which God by and heard his hystozy, were amazed, to heare Geronimo de Aguilar report how those Indians did sacrifice and eate mans fleshe. They also lamented the miserie and death of his fellowes, & highly prayed God, to see him free frõ his bondage, and from such cruell and barbarous people, and to haue like wise so good an enterpreter with them, for vndoubtedly it seemed a miracle, that Aluarcados ship sel into a leak, for with that extremitie they returned back againe to that Iland, whereas with contrary winde they were constrained to abide the comming of Aguilar. And certainly he was the meane and speech of all their
 proceed

the west India.

35

proceedings. And therfore haue I bin so p̄olitions in the
rehearfall of this matter, as a notable point of this histo-
rie. Also I wil not let to tel how the mother of Geronimo
de Aguilar, became mad, &c.

When she heard that her son was captiue amōg people
that vsed to eat mans flesh, & euer after when 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 dearely beloued son, who was all my comfort.

The Iland of Acufamil.



The Indians naturall of that countrey
doe call their Iland Acufamil, and cor-
ruptly Cosumil. John de Grijalua was
the first Spaniard that appozted ther,
and named it the holy Rode; because
he fell in sight thereof on holie Rode
day. It containeth ten leagues in
length, and thre leagues in breadth;

although some say moze, some lesse: it standeth 11. degrees
on this side the equator, & five leagues from the Womens
cape: it hath thre vilages, in the which lieth nere 3000.
men. The houses are of stone and brick, and couered with
straw & bowes, and some w̄ tile. Their temples and towers
are made of lime and stone very well built: they haue no
other fresh water but out of wells & rain water. Calachuni
is their chiefe lord: they are browne people, and go naked;
and if any weare cloth, it is made of cotten wool only to co-
uer their p̄tuy members: they vse long haire, platted and
bound about their foreheads: they are great fishermen, so
that fish is their chiefest food and sustenance, they haue al-
so Maiz which is so; bread: also good fruits and honey, but
some what soure: and plots so; bees, which containe 1000
hives. They knew not to what vse wax serues, but when
they saw our mē make cades therof, they wōged therast

The Conquest of

Their dogges haue fore faces and barke not, these they gelde and fatten to eate. This Iland is ful of high mountaines, and at y^e foete of them, god pastures, many Deare, and wilde Boares, Connyes and Hares, but they are not great. The Spaniardes with their hand guns and crosse bowles prouide them of that victual, fresh, salt, and dzyed. The people of this Iland are Idolaters, they doe sacrifice childzen, but not manye. And manye times in stead of childzen they sacrifice dogges. They are poze people, but very charitable and louing in their false religion and beliefe.

The religion of the people of Acufamil.



The temple is like vnto a square Towze broad at the foete, and steps round about it, and from y^e middelt vpward very straight: the top is hollow and couered with straw: it hath foure windowes with frontales and galleries. In the hollow place is the ir

chappel, whereas their Idols do stand. The temple that stode by the sea side was such a one, in the which was a maruellous straunge Idoll, and differed muche from all the rest, although they haue manye and of diuerse fashions. The bodie of this Idoll, was greate and hollow, and was fastened in that wall with lime: hee was of earth. And behinde this Idols backe was the Vesserie, where was kept ornaments & other things of seruice for the temple. The priests had a little secret doze hard adoyning to the Idoll, by which doze they crept into y^e holiow Idoll, and answered the people y^e came with prayers & petitions. And with this receit y^e simple soules beleued al y^e the idol spake, and honozed y^e god moze th^e al y^e rest, w^{ch} manye perfumes & swete

A strange
Idol.

Swæte smelles, and offered bread and fruite, with sacrifice of Quails bloud, and other birds, and dogges, and sometime mans bloud. And though the same 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 pinacles, in the middell whereof stood a Crosse of ten foote long, the which they adozed for God of the rayne, for at all times when they wanted rayne, they would goe thither on Proceſſion deuoutely, and offered to the Crosse Quails sacrificed, for to appease the wꝛath that the God seemed to haue against them: and none was so acceptable a sacrifice, as the bloud of that little birde. They bled to burne certaine swæte gumme, to perfume that god with, all, and to besprinkle it with water, and this done, they believed assuredly to haue raine. Such is the Religion of those Indians of Acusamil. They could neuer knowe the original how that god of Crosse came amongst them, for in all those parties of India, there is no memoꝛie of any Preaching of the Gospell that had bene at any time, as shall be shewed in another place.

The God
of raine.

The Battell and winning of
Potonchan.



Ortez proceeded with his flæte very ioyfull, because he had found one of his ships which he thought had bene lost, and apozed at the riuer de Grijalua, which in the Indian tongue is called Tauasco, & anchored at y riuers mouth, fearing to enter in with y bigger vessels ouer the barre: and incontinent came many Indians to gaze at them & their ships, who were armed with feathers,

The Conquest of

thers, and such like armes as they vse, seeming a farre off trim fellows. They wondred not much to see our shippes and men, because they had seene befoze John de Grijalua in the same Riuer. The behauiour of that people, and situation of the Countrey, liked Cortez very well, so that leauing sufficient garde in his shippes, he manned his Bergantines and Boates, and carried with him certaine pieces of Ordnance, and with force of Dares he entered the Riuer against the streame, which was very great, and hauing rowen little moze then halfe a league, they espied a greate Towne walled with Limber, and the houses made of mudwall, couered with strawe. The Townewall was verye strong, with loope holes to offende with all. And befoze oure menne came neare the Towne, they mette with manye little Boates, whiche the Indians call Tahucup, full of armed menne, the wyng themselves detrous of battaile. Cortez proceeded forwarde, and made vnto them signes of peace, declaring vnto them by his enterpreter, that his comming thether 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 neede thereof, promising good payments for any thing that they shoulde take. The Indians hearyng their request, promised to shewe their message to the Townesmen, and woulde also returne with theyr aunswere and vittayles, and so departed. In shozt space they returned againe, and brought bread and fruite, and eyght Turkie Cockes, and presented it franckely vnto them. Cortez gaue them thankes, but (quoth he) the provision that ye haue brought, is very little, for I neede that I and so many persons which I haue within yonder great vessels locked and shutte by, therefore I pray you to bring me moze vittayles, or else to permitte and suffer mee and my folkes to come vnto youre Towne to seeke oure remedie.

Policie

remedio.

The Indians demanded one nyghtes space to doe the one and the other, and departed towardes the towne. Cortez also went to a little Iland that standeth in the riuer, to abide their answer, so that eache pretended to deceiue the other, for the Indians demanded that tyme, to the intent to carrie that night away their godes, and to put in safetie their wiues and children in the Spountaynes, and likewise to gather their men of warre to besse their Towne. Cortez also commaunded his *Diligence of a good Cap- taine.* Har- gabushiers and Crossebowmen to goe a lande vpon the Ilande, and caused the Riuer vpwordes to be soughte for way, to wade ouer, so that these things were done that nyghte without anye knowledge to the contrarye side. And all those whiche aboade abaynde the Shippes, came vnto Cortez, and those who wente to seeke the passage, founde within lesse then halfe a league vpwordes, a place that was of depth to the girdle of a manne. And likewise, founde suche couerte of woddes, that they myghte come nere vnto the Towne, and not to be seene.

Thys newes liked well Cortez, wherevpon he appointed two Captaines, whose names were Alonso de Auila, and Peter de Aluorado, and to eache of them fiftie menne. The same nyghte hee sente certaine Souldyers with a sea compasse, to lie in an ambush in the wodde whiche stode betwene the riuer and the towne, for two considerations. The one, because the Indians shoulde see, that there were no more Spanyarde in the Ilande, then were the daye befoze. 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 litlle

The Conquest of

viffaile, faying they could get no more, becaufe that the inhabitants of the Towne were fledde, with feare of them, and their deformed beffels, defiring them to returne aboard their Shippes, and not to difquiet the people of that Countrey. The Interpreter answered, that it was againft humanitie to fuffer them to perifh with hunger, yea, and if they would heare the caufe of their comming they fhould fhortly fee what profite would rebound vnto them. The Indians replied, that they would take no counfell of ftraungers, and men whome they knew not. Likewise, they thought not good to lodge fuch gueffts in their houfes, for they feemed terrible, and fuch as would be commaunders. But if they would needs haue water, they might take riuer water, or elfe make wellles on the floze, for fo did they at their neede.

When Cortez feeing that wordes preuailed not, hee fignified vnto them that he would enter their Towne by force, to take it and their Countrey, for to giue thereof relation to the greateft prince in the world, who had fent them thither: requeffing them to be therewith contented, confidering he ment not to difquiet them: and if they would not permit the fame, he would commend himfelfe to his God, and to the ffrength and force of his men. The Indians answered againe, that they fhould depart, and not thus bragge in other mens land, for in no wife they would permitte them to enter their Towne. And if with this warning they would not depart, they meant to kill both him, and as many as were with him. Yet Cortez ceafed not to vse all humanitie with thofe barbarous people, according to the commaundement and inftructions giuen vnto him by the King of Caftill, which was, to require thofe people oftentimes with peace, before the attempting of warre, or entring perforce into their Townes and Countrey, fo that yet a

gaine

the west India.

41

gayne he consulted them with peace, promising them libertie with good entertainement, assuring them of things profitable both for body and soule, and that they myght accompt themselves happie with the knowledge thereof: but if now they would refuse his offer, he did then warne them to make them ready for the evening, for befoze the going downe of the Sunne, he did hope with the help of his God, to rest and take up his lodging in the Towne, in despite of all the inhabitants thereof, who had refused his offer.

The Indians laughed at his talke, and skozning at him, they returned to the Towne, to enforme their fellows of the pride and madnesse that they thought they hadde heard. When the Spanyardes went to dinner, and having well refreshed themselves, they putte on their Armour, and went aboide their Boates and Wergantines, looking for some aunswere from the Indians, and seeing the Sunne decline apace, and no aunswere, Cortez advised the Spanyardes that lay in ambush in the wodde, to give assault, and he imbarqued himselfe with his rapier and Targette, gyuyng like wise assaulte with nere two hundred men, who coming nere the Towne walles, discharged his Ordinance, and lept into the water to the knees, and began valiantly to assault the walles and bulwarkes. The Indians seeing their enemies so nigh unto them, beganne to fight with courage, shooting arrowes, throwing of vartes and stones, wherewith they hurte aboute twenty Spanyardes: yea, and though the fearefull noyse of the Ordinance did many times so annoy them, being things so straunge, and neuer befoze scene of them, yet they fledde not from the walles, but resisted the Christians valiantly, 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

G

heard

The Conquest of

heard the shooting of their fellows, they began likewise their onset. The Indians knowing nothing what was prepared behinde their backs, and hauing also their hands full in defending the entrance by the riuer: and the Christians finding that part of the towne without resistance, entred in with a terrible noyse, killing as many as they met. Then the townemen vnderstood their oversight, and would haue remedied it, and fledde from the place where Cortez was giuing combat, whereby Cortez and his company entered the towne at ease, without contradiction, so that hee and the other company of his Souldiers met together at the Market place, and expelled all the Indians out of the towne, except those that were taken prisoner, and the carcases of the dead. Then the Christians sought the spoyle, and founde nothing but Turkie Venues, and some things wrought of Cotten woll, but very little Gold.

There was that day aboute foure thousand Indians in fight and defence of the towne: There was much Indian blood shed, because they fought naked, many were wounded, and selue captiue. Cortez lodged himselfe with his arme in the chiefeest Temple of the Idolles, where was room sufficient. They kept that night good watch, as in a house of enemies, but the poore Indians durst not once interrupt them. After this fort was Potonchan taken, being the first Citie that Cortez wanne by force in all his Conquest.

The

The Battell of Cintla.

ALl that night Cortez slept not, but rather occupi-
ed himselfe in carrying the wounded men, and o-
ther staffe aboord the ships, and also to disenbarke
thirtene Horses, and the residue of his men that
he had left aboord, the which he brought to passe befoze the
Sunne rising, although the Tauscans had notice there-
of. When the Sunne was risen, hee had with his com-
pany made vnto **G D D** their prayers, and mustered
his men, where were at that time in Campe neare
fue hundred Spanyarden, thirtene Horses, and fire
peeces of Ordnance: These Horses were the first that
ever came into that Countrey, whiche nowe is called
new Spaine. He planted his men and Ordnition in good
order, and thus marched forwarde towarde Cintla. The
Indians seeing this preparation, began also to make rea-
die, and to place in good order fouthe thousand men in five
companies: their meeting was in ploughed land among
many deepe lakes and pondees, very daunge rous to passe,
so that our men by reason thereof were brought out of
order. And Hernando Cortez with his horsemen went to
seeke a better passage, and to encluse himselfe among cer-
taine trees on their left hand, soz to set vpon the enemies
when time should serue. The souldiers proceeded on, and
passed many marishe groundes, vntill they came to the
filled. The Indians were expert in those places where
they beganne the battaile, shooting with their bowes
and stinges, and thzowing of daries. Although our men
did some hurt among them with their Crossebows, hand-
gunnes, and ordnance, when they were in place to shot,
yet the Indians pursued our men so thicke, that they could
not put them off, soz by pollicie, the Indians of Potonchan
hadve sought out that place: and it is to bee thought

Care of a
good Cap-
taine.

Fortie thou-
sand Indians.

The Conquest of

Perill of
the Christi-
ans.

A miracle.

that they were not barbarous, nor of small understand-
ing in warres, yet notwithstanding with muche
payne, our men gatse out of that place, and obtained a
nother somewhat better, and moze playner grounde,
whereas they might vse their Ordinance, and fighte
with their weapons bodye to bodye. But the Indians be-
yng so greate a number, dyaue our men to so narrowe a
place, that they were fayne to ioyne backe to backe
for their owne defence, yea and for all that were in mar-
uellous great daunger, for they had no roome to vse their
Ordinance, nor yet Horsemen to make them waye.
They beying in thys perplexitie, and readie to dye, sud-
daynely appeared a Horseman with a speckled Horse,
whome they iudged to be Captaine Morla, which Horse-
manne sette vppon the Indians, and made them retyze:
and hauing moze space then befoze, they sette afreshe
vppon the enemies, and slewe some of them. In this
meane tyme the Horsemanne vaded away, and was
not sene, and with his absence the Indians beganne a-
freshe, and enclosed the Christians in the same daun-
ger that they were in befoze: then the Horsemanne ap-
peared againe nere our menne, and made marvellous
way among the enemies, where vpon our menne seeing
this succoure, gaue the onset againe 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 Horsemanne, with feare
of whome they fledde, thinking that he hadde bin a Cen-
taure, and that the Horse and man was all one incorpo-
rate, they returned againe with liuely courage, and vsed
our Christians worse than they hadde done befoze. Then
the Horseman returned the chird tyme, and putte the In-
dians to flight with great hurte, whom our souldiers pur-
sued with great laughter.

Polve

Soe at this instant came Cortez with all his company of horsemen, being wearied with the trauell in passing such strange lakes and wildernesse, whereof the country is replenished. Our men being togfull of his comming, they began to enforme him what wonders they had scene a horseman do, which came to succour them, demanding of him which of their companie it was. Cortez answered and faithfully assured them, that it was none of their company, because it was not possible for any of them to come any sooner: Then they all gave God praise, believing that it was a helpe sent from heauen. Cortez said (my deare fellows) for wards, for God is with vs. Then the horsemen set vpon the Indians, and with force of lance dzone them out of the marshy ground, and brake their maine battell, The Indians incontinent left the field, and fled into the thicke woods, the footmen followed them, and slue about three hundred Indians, besides many other that were hurt. There were aboue fouentie Spaniards wounded with arrowes and stones.

And whether it were with labour of the battell, or with excessive heate, or with drinking the water of that place, there fell such a stich in their loynes, that about a hundred of them fell flat vpon the ground, not able to go nor stand, their fellows being forced to carry them on their backs. But it pleased God that the same night the paine went from them, being in the morning wel again. Who seeing themselves deliuered from so many perils, gaue most humble thanks to the almightie God, that had miraculously deliuered them. They all agreed that three times they had scene the strange Horseman, with the speckled horse, fight in their fauour, as is aforesaid, believing generally it was a myracle, as certainly it did appeare, for the Christians did not alone see this thing, but also the Indians did much note it, for the marvellous fiercenesse

A sodaine
discale.

The Conquest of

where with he came vpon them, with such great murder, that they were amazed, and almost blinde with his brightnesse, being so frodden vnder his seete. The captiue Indians after the battell declared the circumstance thereof.

The Lord Tausco submitteth himselfe to the Christians.



Cortez released some of his Prisoners, and sent them to their Lorde, saying: that it grieued him the hurt done on both parties, but the fault was theirs. And that God was witness of his innocencie, and also of his curtesie offered vnto them.

But notwithstanding all that was past, he pardoned their errour with such condition, That if incontinent or within two dayes, their Lorde would come vnto him, to geue satisfaction of their malice and Rabboynesse, and to treat of peace and friendship, warning and aduising them, that if they came not within the time appointed, hee would enter into his Countrey, burning and spoiling with slaughter both great and small, 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 ancient Indians to craue pardon for their offence, and also licence to bury the dead, with likewise safeconduct that their rulers and principall persons might safely come vnto the towne. Cortez graunted their request, warning them to make any lyes or yet to conspire againe: and also

The Cacike
embassadors.

the vvest India.

so if their lordes came not personally, he would not heare any moze embassadoz: with this rigozous comādemēt and protestatiō they departed. These Indians feeling their strength woulde not pꝛuaile, thinking the Chꝛistians to be inuincible, their Lordes and chiefest persons did determine to goe and visite the chꝛistians and their captaine. And according to the time appointed, the Lord of that towne and other foure Lordes his neyghbours came vnto Cortez with a good trayue of their ballals and seruicours, and presented vnto him, bꝛead, turkie hennes, and fruites, with other like pꝛouision for his host, with foure hundred pieces of gold of the value of 400. double duckets, wth other small iewels, and certaine Turkie stones of small value. And twentie women slaues, to serue to make bꝛeade and bꝛeke meate for the whole army. He craued and beseeched Cortez to pardon his former offence. And to accept and receiue them into his friendshippe. And in token of his obedience, hee and his fellowes did willingly deliuer their bodies, landes and goods into his handes and power. Cortez did louingly receiue them, & gaue vnto them certaine trifles of his warres, which they esteemed much. And those Indians hearing the hozles and maresney, they maruelled at their noying, thinking that the hozles could speake, and demaunded of the Chꝛistians what they said, (many quoth they) these hozles are soze offēded with you because ye fought with them, and would haue you cozꝛected and chastened for your so doing. The simple Indians hearing this, presented roses and Gynea Hens vnto hozles, desiring them to eate and to pardon them.

Certaine

The Conquest of

Certaine questions that Cortez deuised of
the Cacike Tausco.



Any things passed betwéne our men and the Indians: soz where the Indians vnderstood them not; their behauiour was much to laugh at. And seeing conuersation with our men, and seeing they receyued no hurt of them, they bzought to the town their wiues and chilozen, which were no small number. And among many matters that Cortez communed with Tausco, by the mouth of Ieronimo de Aguilala his interpreter.

The first question was: Whether there were mines of gold or siluer in that countrey, and from whence they had that small quantitie that they had bzought vnto them?

The second question was: Why they denied him their friendship, moze then the other captaine that had bene there the yeare befoze?

The third was: Why they being so many in number, fled from them being so few?

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

The answers
of Cacike.

As touching sir (quoth he) the Mines of gold and siluer in our countrey, we seeke soz none, soz we seeke not after treasure and riches, but we procure and desire a quiet life. And that gold which we haue, was found by chance: soz we know not what mines doe meane. Yet notwithstanding further within the land, whereas the Sun doth hide himselfe, there the people do find much gold, and are giuen to seeke the same.

And

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 said that their comming was, to change their merchandise for gold and nothing else, wherefoze we granted to their request. But now seeing greater vessels and moe in number, we feared least ye came to take our substance. And I knowing my selfe nothing inferiour to any of my neighbours, would not permit any iniury to be offered me, and that he & his subiects did esteeme themselves the most valiant of men of warre in all these parties, and that none durst take away their goods, women, and children, to bee sacrificed by force, where vpon he thought to withstand those fewe Christians, but (quoth he) I found my selfe deceiued, seeing we could not kil any of your company. And likewise the brightnesse of your weapons did blinde vs, and the woundes you made were incurable.

But the noyse and lightning of your ordinaunce dyd moze amaze vs, then either thunder-clappes or tempest: and also the great spoyle that you made among vs there, with: likewise your straunge hozes 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 the first horse that fought with vs, put vs in marvellous fear, being but one, but when wee espied many, then all our helpe was past, for wee belieued that the horse and man was all one incorporate.

How

The Conquest of

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



With the relation of Trauasco Cortez
saue that the countrey was not for
Spaniards, noz yet hee tooke it a
thing conuenient to settle them-
selues where no golde noz silver
was, oz other riches. And so preten-
ded to passe forwarde to discouer
Westward the land endeued with
golde. But befoze his departure, hee declared to those
newe conquered Indians, that the Lord in whose name
he and his company had taken that tourney, was king of
Spaine and Emperour of Christians, and the greatest
Prince in the worlde, vnto whom many Kinges and
Princes did homage and obey. And that his rule and
gouernement in iustice proceeded from God; being
iust, holte, peaceable and swæte, and also the Monar-
chie of the vniuersall did appertaine vnto him. And for
these causes he required them to yeeld themselues as his
subiectes. And if they would doe so, there should ensue
vnto them great profite, lawes and pollicie. And as tou-
ching their religion, he declared their blindnesse & great
abuses which they vsed in worshipping many Gods, and
in making sacrifice vnto them with mans blood, yea and
thinking that those images and Idols, did oz coulde doe
good oz euill vnto them, being dumbe, without life oz
soule, yea and the worke of their owne handes. He certi-
fied them of one goodmaker of heauen and earth, and all
creatures whom the christians did worship and serue, and
that

that all creatures ought to doe the same. In conclusion with this doctrine they bzake downe their Idols, and returned the crosse, Cortez hauing first declared vnto them the great miseries that the son of God suffred on the crosse for mankinde. And in the greatest temple of Potonchan, set vp a Crosse in remembrance 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 daies to come againe to their diuine seruice. And that day was Palme Sunday, And so they did, and brought an infinite number of men, women and childzen of other villages with them which was strange to behold. And there generally gaue their vassalship to the king of Spaine into the handes of Hernando Cortez, with protestation of perpetuall friendship with the Spanishe nation. So that these were the first vassals that the Emperour had in the new Spaine. And this feast and ceremonie ended, our men tooke shipping with the palme boughes in their handes. In this doing Cortez deserued no lesse praise then in his victorie, for he vsed wisdom with manhoode in all his doings: he left those Indians with a new faith, and the towne free and without hurt, he toke none for slaues, nor yet any spoile, nor exchanged his merchandize for any thing, although he abode there twentie daies. The towne is called in the Indian tongue Potonchan, that is to say, a place that sincketh, and our menne named it, the Victorie.

The Lord (as ye haue heard) was called Tualco, and therefore the first Spaniardes that came thither, named the riuer Tualco, but Grijalua called it after his owne name, whose name and remembrance will not soone be forgotten. And truly all those that doe discover

The Conquest of

newe Countries, ought to make perpetuall their owne names. This town doth containe neare five and twentie thousand houles (as some say) but as euery house standeth by himselfe like an Ilande, it seemeth much bigger then it is indeed. The houles are great, made of lime, stone, and brick: others there are made of mud-wall and rafters, and covered with straw or bords. Their dwelling is in the upper parte of the house, for the great moistnesse of the riuers and lakes, and for feare of fire, they haue their houles separated the one from the other. Without the towne they haue moze fairer houles then within, for their recreation and pleasure. They are browne people, and go almost naked, and eat mans flesh sacrificed. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, slings, darts, and lances. The armor wherewith they defend themselues, are Targets and skulles made of wood or barke of trees, and some of gold very thinne. They haue also a certaine kinde of harneis made of cotten wolle wrapped about their smacke.

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



Aptaine Cortez and his company being embarked, sayled Westwards as nigh the shoare as they might. And this coast hauing no harboures, they found no place where they might anker safely with their greater vessels, vntill they arriued vpon Maundie Thursday at Saint Iohn de Vlhua, which seemed a good harbor for them. The Indians of this place call this harbor Chalchicoeca, there the first came to anker. They were not so fene at Road, but incontinent came

came two little boates named Acales, enquiring for the Generall of the flæete, who when they came to his presence, did humble reuerence vnto him, and sayd vnto him, that Teudilli the Gouvernour of that Province sent to knowe what people they were, and what they would haue, and whether they meant to stay there, or proceede further. Aguilar did not well vnderstande that language. Cortez caused him to come aboarde his Shippe, giving them thanks for their paynes, and visitation. He made vnto them a banquet of Wine and Conserua, and sayde vnto them, that the next day following hee would come alande, and talke with the Gouvernour, whom hee besought not to alter him, nor his people with his comming a shoare, for he meant not to molest him, but rather to pleasure and profite him. So that these messengers were rewarded with cer- tayne giftes, they eate and dranke, but yet suspected euill, although they liked the Wine well, wherefore they desired to haue the reof, and also of the Conserua, to present vnto their Lord, which was ginen them, and so departed.

The next day beeing good Fryday, Cortez came alande with his Boates full of merne, and brought his Horses and Artillarie a shoare, by little and little, with all his men of warre, and two hundredeth Indians of Cuba, which serued to toyle and labour. Hee planted himselfe in the best situation that hee could finde among the sandie Bankes on the Sea side, and there pitched his Campe, and hauing neare that place manie trees, they buylt them Cottages with boughes.

From a little Village that was at hand, came manie Indians to gaze at things so straunge, and the like neuer seen vnto them, and brought with them gold so barter for
 such

The Conquest of

such toys as the two little Boates had brought from them before. They brought also bread and meate ready dressed after their vse likewise to sell. Our men chaunged with them Bead-stones of Glasse, looking Glasses, Silfers, Knives, Pinnes, and such other wares, where of the Indians were not a little glad, returning home to their houses, shewing their neighbours. The joy and pleasure that these simple soules toke with these trifles, was so great, that the next day they came againe with other Indians laden with Jewels of gold. Turky hens, bread, meate, and fruit, that sufficed for all the Campe, and for the same they receyued needles, and Bead-stones of Glasse, but the poore soules thought themselues thereby so rich, that they knewe not where they were with joy and pleasure, yea, and they thought that they had deceyued the Straungers. Nowe Cortez seeing the great quantitie of golde brought and bartered so foolishly for trifles of no valewe, proclaymed throughout all his hoste, that no Chyistian shoulde take anie golde bypon great penaltie, and that they shoulde all shewe, as though they knewe not to what purpose the golde served, and that they passed not for it, because they shoulde not thinke that the desire thereof had brought them thither, and so they did dissemble that great demonstration of golde, to see what was meant thereby, and whether the Indians hadde brought that Golde, to prove whether their comming was for that or no. On Easter day in the morning, came Teudilli the Governour to the Campe, from Cotocha his dwelling place, which was eight leagues from thence. He brought attending bypon his person foure thousande men without weapon, and the most part well cloathed, some of them with garments of Cotton, rich after their manner. And others naked, laden with victuals in great abundance, which was

Wisdoms.

The comming
of the gover-
nour.

the west India.

33

was straunge to see. Teudilli according to their vsance, did his reuerence to the Captaine, burning frankincense, and little strawes touched in the blood of his owne bodie, he presented vnto him the victuals, and certaine Jewels of golde verie rich and well wrought, and other things made of feathers verie curious, straunge and artificall. Cortez embraced him in his armes, and receiued him toyfully, saluting all his companie. He gaue to Teudilli a coate of silke, a booch, and a collar of glasse, with manie other peeces of Haberdash wares, which was highly esteemed of him.

A strange
salutation.

The talke of Cortez with Teudilli.



At the former talke was had with-
out an enterpretour, because Icro-
nimo de Aguilar vnderstode not
this language, because it differed
much from the speech of the other
Indians, whereas hee had bene cap-
tue: for which cause Cortez was
some what careful, because hee

would largely haue discoursed with Teudilli. It chaun-
ced that among those twentie women giuen him in
Potonchan, one of them stode talking with a seruaunt
of Teudilli, because shee vnderstode them as men of her
owne language. Cortez espying this, called her asyde,
and promised her more then libertie, so that shee woulde
bee a trustie and faithfull interpyeter betwixt him and
those Indians, and that he would esteeme her as his Se-
cretarie. And further demaunded of her of what linage
shee was, then shee answered, that shee was naturall of
the Countrey that bordered vpon Xalisco, and of a towne
called

A maruellous
hap.

The Conquest of

called Viluca, daughter unto riche parentes, and of the kindred of the Lozde of that lande. And being a little while, certaine Merchantes did steale her away in tyme of warre, and brought her to be solde at the fayre of Xicalanco, which is a greate Towne nere Coasaqualco, not farre distant from Tualco: and after this sojte she came to the power of the Lozd of Potonchan. His woman was Christened Marina. She and her fellows were the firste Christians baptised in all the newe Spayne, and she onely with Aguilar, were Interpreters betwixt the Indias and our men.

Howe Cortez being assured of his true Interpreters, he celebrated his accustomed diuine seruice, and Teudilli with him, and after they hadde dyned in Cortez hys Tente in presence of many Spanyardes and Indians, Cortez enformed Teudilli howe that he was vassall to the Lozd Charles of Austria, Emperour of the Christians, and King of Spayne, and Lozde ouer a greate parte of the worlde, whome great Kinges and princes did serue and obey: and that all Princes were glad to be his friends for his Vertue and mighte. And he hauing aduertisement of that Countrey and Lozde thereof, hadde sente him thither to visite him on his behalfe, and to informe him of certaine secrete matters, the effecte whereof he hadde in wryting. Sir (quoth Teudilli) I am very glad to heare the Gracie and Vertue of the Emperoure youre maister, but you shall vnderstande, that my Lozde the Emperoure Melzuma is as greate and as good a Prince as he. And I doe muche maruell, that there shoulde be anye so greate a Prince in the whole worlde, but yet according to youre request, I will certifie hym, and knowe hys pleasure, for I trust (quoth hee) in the clemencie of my Prince, that youre newes and message shall be acceptable vnto him,
and

The answer
of Teudilli.

and you well recompensed for your paines. Cortez then commanded al his men to set themselues in order of battayle with pise and drumme, and so kirmish befoze Teudilli. And that the Hozemen should runne, and the ordinaunce shotte off, to the entent that Mutezuma should be aduertised thereof. The Indians did muche behold the gesture, apparell and beardes of our men, they wondered so se the hozes runne, they feared the brightnesse of the swozdes, and at the noyle 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 ayze called Quezalcoatl, which 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 scene, and demaunded golde of him for to giue vnto the Captaine of that newe people. Because Cortez had inquired of him, whether Mutezuma had gold or no, he aunswered (yes) many quoth Cortez, I and my fellows 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, which is 210. mile, and the poste carried paynted, the hozes and hozemen vpon them, the maner of their armour, & howe many peces of ordinaunce they had, and what number of bearded men there were: and as for the shippes, he had giue aduise as sone as they arriued, shewing the greatnesse and quantitie of them. All these things also sayd, Teudilli caused to be paynted in cloth of Cotton very liuely, that Mutezuma mought see it. The cause that this message wente so farre in so shorze a space, was, they had certaine places that postes attended, as we may say hozepostes, which gaue alwaies from hand to hande the paynted cloth: they doe runne on soote faster in this sozte, then by hozepost, and is moze of antiquitie than hozepost: Also Teudilli sent to Mutezuma the garnets & many other

The disease
of the Spaniards.

The Conquest of

ether things which Cortez had giuen him, which things were after wards found in the tresozie of Mutezuma.

The present and answere that Mutezuma sent vnto Cortez.



After the message sent, and the answer promised, Teudilli tooke his leaue, and within two slight thote of Cortez his campe, he caused a thousand cottages of boughes to be made, and left there two pzincipall men as Captaines ouer two thousand persons men & women, and thē departed for Corofa his dwelling place. The two Captaines had charge to provide the Christians of all things necessary, and the women serued to grinde their cozne and make bread of Maiz, and to dresse their fish and flesh and other bittails, and the men serued to carry the dresed meate to the Christians campe, and wood, water, and grasse for the horses, and all other necessaries, and this they passed eight daies. In this meane season returned the poste with a riche and gentle present, which was many couerlets and clothes of cotten, white, and of other colours wrought, many tuffes of feathers very faire, and some things wrought with gold and feathers, quantitie of Jewels & peeces of gold and silver, two thinne wheelles, the one of silver which wayed 25. markes with the signe of the Spone, and the other wheelle of gold which wayed a hundred markes, made like vnto the Sunne, with many leaues and brasts, a very curious peece of toozke, these two things they helde for Gods in that country, & giueth them the colours of the mettall that is likest them, every wheelle was two yards & a half broad, and so propozionally in compasse rounde about, this present was esteemed at 20000. Ducats. This present should
haus

haue bene giuen to Grijalus, if he had not so soone departed as the Indians reported. He also gaue vnto Cortes this answer, that Mutezumas his Lozde was verie gladd 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 seene before, and that he was ready to shew them at pleasure & honour, requesting him to see what things he stood in neede of for the 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 and 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 haue communication with him, he thought it vnpossible, because that he was sickly and coulde 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 mountains, as also the countrey, wild, desart, and 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 shoulde passe, were his enemies, both cruel & cursed people, and knowing the to be his friends, they should not escape with life.

The excuse of Mutezuma.

All these excuses did Mutezuma by the mouth of Teudilli declare vnto Cortes, thinking to driue him fro his purpose & pretended iourney, alleaging the foresaid difficultes and perils, the Indians did also hope that with some contrary weather they should be forced to leaue that coast and countrey. Notwithstanding this objection, so much the more desire had Cortes to visite Mutezuma, who was so great a prince in that parties, & throughly to discouer the treasure which he imagined to be ther. And hauing receiued & presented, & also & answer, he gaue vnto Teudilli a garment of his

olone wearing, and many other trifles of his Haberdashy, to be sente vnto Mutezuma, saying that if it were for any other purpose but onely to see so mightie and vertuous a Prince, it should be requisite and iuste to trauaile vnto his Court, how much the more, he was of dueitie constrained to doe the Embassage which the Emperour of Christians had willed and commaunded him to doe, for otherwise hee should incurre the displeasure of the King his mayster, wherefoze he besought Teudilli yet once againe to aduertise Mutezuma of his constant determination, because he should vnderstande that hee would not leaue off his pretended purpose for any inconuenience that was obiected vnto him. Alleging moreover, that he who had comen 2000. leagues by sea, mought well goe 70. leagues by lande, and considering that he had many at his charge with small provision, and likewise his shippes in danger, he required that with all expedition the messengers should be dispatched. Teudilli desired him to recreate himselfe, & not to take any grieffe, for as much as he himselfe did daily aduertise Mutezuma of his proceedings, euen so with all expedition the full resolution should come from Mexico, although it were somewhat farre off. And as for his victuals, he should take no care, for abundantly he should be provided. 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 certaine townes aboute five or seuen leagues from thence. Cortez refused that offer, where vpon Teudilli departed, and he abode there ten dayes looking for answer from Mutezuma.

Now

theyvest India.

61

How Cortez knew of discord and dissention
to be in the Countrey



At this meane season, certain Indians were espied, that went lurking a far off among the sandy hilles. And those came not neare the Indians that serued the Spaniard, Cortez demaunded what people they were, and soꝛ what cause they went lurking so far off, and came not neerer vnto them.

The two captaines answered, that they were husbandmen, that went about their husbandry. Cortez lyked not their answer, but suspected that they had told him a lie: soꝛ it seemed vnto him that those people desired to come among the Chriftians, and that they durst not soꝛ feare of the Indians of Teudilli, and so it was in very verde. For all that coast and maine land within as farre as Mexico, was full of the newes and strange things that our men had done in Potonchan. Wherefoꝛe they all desired to see them, and to talke with them, but they durst not soꝛ feare of the Indians of Culhua, who are subiects vnto Mutezuma, where vpon Cortez sent five Spaniards to cal them with signes and tokens of peate. This company of Indians were in number twentie, and were glad to beholde those five men comming towardes them, and were desirous to see such strange people and ships, wherefoꝛe they came willingly altogether vnto Cortez his Tent.

These Indians did differ much from all the other Indians yett seene, soꝛ they were higher of person, and had the gristles of their noses stitte, hanging ouer their mouths, and rings of Jette and Amber hanging thereat. They had also their nether lippes boꝛed, and in the holes rings of gold, and Turky Stones, which they used so much,

The Indians
attire.

The Conquest of

that their lips hanged downe ouer their chinnes, and their teeth remained bare: The which custome although they vsed for a brauerie, it seemed a foule and ugly sight in the Spaniards eyes, and very loathsome.

The other Indians of Mutezuma, had their lippes and eares bozed, with rounde stones hanging at the tagges thereof, yet they had not such foule slittes in their noses, but they had such bozed hailes that a man might put any finger of his hand thzough them, with rings of golde and stone hanging thereat, the euill fauoured sight of their faces made our men to muse.

Cortez communed with them by his interpreter Marina, to knowe from whence they were, they answered, that they were dwellers in Zempoallan, a Citie distant from thence one dayes iourney, situated vpon a riuer side, and bordered vpon the Countrey of Mutezumazin, and that their Cazike or Lords had sent them, to see what Gods were come in those Teucallis, that is to say, temple, saying, also that they durst not come sener, not knowing what people they were.

Cortez made much of them, and shewed a cherefull countenance vnto them, soz they seemed very bestiall, he declared vnto them that hee was gladd of their coming, and so knowe the good will that their Lords bare vnto him, and gaue them Haberdash toys, and shewed them the hozles and armour, a strange sight to them. And so they went thzough the armie looking and gazing here and there as men amazed. And in all the time they abode there, they vsed no conuersation with the other Indians. Cortez enquired of Marina the cause thereof, and she said, that those men did not only speak an other language, but also did appertaine to another Lord, who was not baf- fall to Mutezuma, but by foze and extortion.

Cortez was verie glad of that newes, soz hee con-
 lectured

lectured by the talke of Teudilli, that Mutezuma had warres and enemies, wherevpon hee toke aside three of those Indians which seemed most wyldest, and demanded of them by Marina, what Lordes there were in that Countrey: they aunswered that Mutezuma was Lord over all, although in euerie Citie and Prouince was a Lord, yet neuerthelesse all in generall did pay tribute and serue him as vassals, nay rather like slaues. But yet many of them of late dayes did reknowledge him by force of armes, and payde vnto him such tolls and tribute that they were not accustomed to pay, of which number their Lord of Zempoallan was one of them, and other his neighbours, who many times helde him warre, to be free from his tyrannie and bondage, but yet sayd they, if pzenayled not, for his host was great and his warriors valiant.

Cortez receyued great pleasure to finde in that Countrey dissention and disoord among some noble men, and at diuision among themselves, thinking thereby the better to bying his purpose to passe. He gaue thanks vnto those Indians for their aduise, offering vnto them his fauour, helpe and friendship, praying them to come offer to his campe: and so toke his leaue of them with his commendations to their Lord, and sent his certayne presents with aduertisement, that shortly he would come and see him, yea, and also serue him.

How

The Conquest of

How Cortez went to suruey the countrey
with foure hundred men.



At the end of fenne dayes came Teudilli backe againe, and brought certaine cloth of Cotton, and other things made of sea-thers, well wrought, for recompence of the thing sent vnto Mexico. And warned Cortez to depart, for at that time there was no remedie to see Mutezuma, and to looke what was necessarie for his provision and furniture, and it should be provided, offering the same service at any time that he should happen to come that way. Cortez would not accept the offer, saying: That he would not depart from that Countrey, vntill he had both seen and talked with Mutezuma. The gouernour Teudilli yet againe replied, that he should not contend therein, and with those wordes departed from him. The next night following he with all those Indians, as well men as women which attended to serue and provide the Spanish campe, went from thence: so that in the morning all the cottages were empty, where those seruitors had bene.

Cortez suspecting this alteration, provided himself with preparation for battel, and finding the matter contrary to his expectation, he deliberated to seeke a sure road or harbor for his nauy, and also a good plot or situation to build vpon, for then he fully ment to obtaine perpetuities, and to conquer the land, considering that he had found such great tokens of gold, plate, & other riches, and there about within a whole league compass, was so fit place for y purpose: for why? all was sandy ground, & such as tolled to & fro with the wind, with other moorish ground not meete for habitation. In consideration wherof he sent Francisco de Moteio, with two bergantines, and fittie men, to runne along the coast,

the west India.

65

coast, vntill they should finde some reasonable poart and good situation to build vpon.

Monteio proceeded on his boyage, and sayled in sight of lande, vntill he came to Panuco, without finding any port or harbour, sauing the shadowe of a Rooke, which stode some what distant from the lande a sea-ward, so that at thre weekes ende he returned backe againe with the foresayd newes. Hauing runne so little a way, he fell into such terrible currants, that although hee made waye with oares and sayles, yet the saide Curreant forced him backe againe. Also he brought newes, that the Indians of that coast did let themselues blood, offering the same vnto them vppon little strawes, in token of friendship or deitie.

The relation of Monteio contented not Cortez, yet notwithstanding hee pretended to goe to the shade or succoure of the Rooke, because he was enformed, that neare that place, was two faire Riuers, with store of wooddes, necessary for Timber and fire woodde, great quantitie of stones to builde with, faire pastures, and grounde for tillage, although the harbour was not sufficient for his Hauie and contratation, because that roade was without defence, and open vppon the North, which is the winde that moste ruleth with greatest hurt vpon that coast.

And also considering that Teudilli and his menne were departed, fearing also the want of victuals, and likewise, that his Shippes mighte perishe vppon the shoze, hee commaunded to lade aboarde all their stufte, and hee with foure hundzeth menne, and all his Horses, followed on the hygge waye that the Indians hadde gone.

After he had iourneyed thre leagues, he came to a faire vadeable Riuer, and passing ouer the Riuer, he
founde

The Conquest of

founde a towne not inhabited, for the inhabitantes there, of were fledde with feare: he entered into a great house, which seemed the place of the Hoize of the Towne, built with timber and earthen walles, the foundation whereof was raised with handie woꝛke, about a sadome high: the rooſe was covered with ſtraw, but of a faire and ſtraunge woꝛkemaſhippe inwarde, with many great partitions, ſome full of pottes of honey, and Paiz, with other graine which they keep in ſtoze all the year: other rooms had cloth of Cotten wolle, wrought with feathers, golde and ſiluer.

Cortez commaunded Proclamation to be made, that none of his company ſhoulde take any thing away, upon payne of death (onely victuals excepted) to the end to obtaine 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 bloodie papers, and much mans blood of thoſe which hadde bene ſacrificed, as Marina did certifie.

They founde alſo the blocke whereupon they bled to cutte open the men ſacrificed, and the razours made of Flint, wherewith they opened their breaſtes, and plucked out their hearts being aliuie, throwing them vp 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 behold theſe things. From this Village they went to other three or foure, and founde none about two hundred houſes, and all without people, yet well prouided with victual, as the firſt towne was.

Cortez

the west India.

67

Cortez returned from thence to discharge his ships, and to take order to send for more men: and with desire to beginne habitation, in these affaires hee occupied himselfe seuen dayes.

How Cortez rendred vp his charge and office
with pollicie.



When Cortez was come where his shippes were, and the residue of his company, he began this talke, saying:
How my louing friends and fel-
lowes, ye doe see what great mercie
God hath shewed vnto vs, in bring-
ing vs safe and in health to so good
and riche a Countrey, as by manifest

signes and tokens we haue already seene, yea and how plentifull of meate, inhabited of people, better cloathed, and of moze iudgement & reason, then the others which ye haue seene, since your first comming: also better buildings, fields of grain & cozne: yea and it is to be thought, that the things not yet seene, do surmount all that hitherto vnto ye haue plainly seene. Wherefoze we ought to giue most hartie thanks vnto God, and to begin our habitati-
on here, whereas we shall enioy the grace and mercy of God. And to bring this matter to passe, me think best that we abide here, vntil we may finde a better port or scitu-
ation. Also that we make a wall or Castell for our defence, if neede should happen, for the people of this land hath little ioy of our comming and abiding here.

It was then considered that from that place they might the sooner haue friendship and contractation with the Indians and Townes nexte adioyning, as Zempoalan, and others which were enemies to Mutezuma, and being in this order once placed, they mighte

discharge their shippes, and sende them incontinent to Cuba, Santo Domingo, Iamayca, Borriquen, and other Ilandes, or else to Spayne for moze men, armour and Horses, and for clothing and victuals.

Pollicie.

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

And becaule all these things should be done in good order, Cortez determined as captaine generall, to appoint a Councell, Aldermen, and Judges.

And also ordeyne all other offices that should be necessary and néede full to rule & governe a Citie, which 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
Libicte.

After this diligence put in vze, he solemnely toke possession of all the land, in y 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 appointed, that he should giue vnto him by testimonie in wyting, all the actes done therein. All his company answered, that they did very well allowe hys proceedings and praysed, and also approued his determination, besieching him to procéde accordingly, sithence they were come to serue and obey hym. Then Cortez named Judges, Aldermen, Attozney, Sericant, Potary, and Towne cleark, and all other officers apperteyning to the good gouernement of a Citie, in the name and behalfe of the Emperoure his naturall Lozde, and deliuered incontinent to the Judges white rodde to beare in their handes in token of Justice, and named the newe Citie to be builte, The rich Towne

De la

De la vera Cruz, because that on godfriday they had entered into that land. After these things finished, Cortez began before the said Potary, another act in presence of the iudges, who were Alouiso Fernandez Portocarero, and Francisco de Morteio, in whose hands he made cession, and did desist from all rule and offices whiche heretofore hee had receiued, which was his gouernership, captainship, and generall discoverer, receiued in the Chauncerte of Santo Domingo, at the handes of the Presidents, who were there chiefe of the kings counsell, and Presidents, likewise he protested not to vse the power and authoritie of the gouernour of Cuba, Admirall of India, soz so much that now none of them had any rule or gouernment in that Countrey which he and his fellowes had newly discovered, and begun to inhabite in the name of the king of Castill, as his naturall subiects. The which authoritie he likewise required to be set downe in record, and to haue a copie of the same.

How the Souldiers chose Cortez for Captaine
General, and chiefe ruler in Iustice.



Al the new Officers toke possession and charge of their Offices, and entered into the Towne-houle to counsell, 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 gouernement of the Commonweale. And among many other things, they all agreed to elect Hernando Cortez soz Captaine generall and chiefe Iustice, and to giue vnto him full powder and authoritie

The Conquest of

foz all matters appertaining to the warres and conquest, vntill such time as the Emperour should otherwise provide: with this determination the next day following all the Aldermen, Judges, and Counsellors, went vnto Cortez, and said vnto him: Sir, we haue great neede of a guide and captaine foz the warres, to pcedē vpon the conquest of this countrey, wherfoze vntill such time as the Emperour shall provide therein, they all besought him to accept that office and charge, approuing him a man most fit foz the same, both to rule & gouerne, foz the great experience that they had seene of his courage, wisdom, and policie, and by vertue of their offices, did commaund him to accept the same, saying, that in so doing, God and the king should be faythfully serued. And they woulde thankfully gratifie the same, knowing that at his handes they should be ruled with iustice, bled with humilitie, and be pserued with diligence and strength. And foz that purpose, they had chosen him foz that office, giuing vnto him their full & whole authority, submitting theselues vnder his hæds, iurisdiction & defence. Cortez accepted the charge at smal entreating, foz he desired nothing so much.

And being in this sort elected general, the counsell said vnto him, Sir you do wel vnderstand, that vntill such time as we shall be better planted in this countrey, we haue not wherwith to maintaine our selues but only with such things as are aboard our ships. Wherefoze it may please you to commaund it to be brought ashore, and that you take therof what shall seeme good vnto you, foz your household and familie, and the residue may be taxed at a reasonable price, & so to be diuided among them: and foz payment they would al bind themselues, or else y presently it should be deducted out of the stocke, after that the kings siff part were subtracted. Likewise they desired him to value his ships and artillerie, because they would make like

like payment for the same, and that from thence forwards the shippes should serue in common, for to passe to the Ilands for bread, wine, clothes, weapons, hozles, and other things which should be needful for the new towne and army, for thereby they might bee better cheape provided then if merchaunts should provide them, considering alway they seeke for excessiue gaine, saying that if it would please him to accept this offer and request, they woulde thankfully requite the same. Cortez answered, that at the time he made his preparation and furniture in Cuba, he ment not to sell his provision as others vsed to do, but he would and did frankly giue it vnto them, although hee had spent his goods and indebted himselfe therein. And incontinent hee commaunded the maisters of the ships and puruers, to buy a land al their victual to the town house, requiring the Aldermen to diuide it equally, to euerie man his part, without making any difference of him or of any other, for (quoth he) in time of neede of victuals the yongest hath as much allowaunce as the eldest. And although I am indebted and doe owe moze then seuen M^{ss} . Duckets, I giue this victuall all frankly vnto you. And as concerning the ships, I will do that which shall be most conuenient for you all. And (quoth he) I will determine nothing to be done wth them, but will first giue you aduertisement of the same.

All this did Cortez for to get their loue and fauour, because there were many that loued him not, although in very truth he was of his owne nature liberall and large in experience with all his souldiers in the warres.

The

The Conquest of

The receuying of Cortez in so
Zempoallan.



As much as the situation there was not conuenient to place the newe woꝝke, they determined to goe from thence, to Aguiahuiztlan, which standeth neare the shadowe of the rocke that Montecio had inſourmed them of, where vpon Cortez commaunded the Shippes to depart for that place. And hee with his foure hundred men and hoꝝes would goe by land, and there meeete them, which may be about ten leagues iourney. In this order the ſaet departed, and like wiſe Cortez with his company towarde Zempoallan, which ſtoode directly weſtward, and after he had iourneyed thꝛee leagues, he came to the riuer which diuided the Lordſhip of Mutezuma and Zempoallan, and could finde no paſſage, wherefoꝛe hee was forced to re-
turne to the ſea ſide, where with much a doe they paſſed ouer, and ſo trauelled on that ſide of the riuer, and found cottages of fiſhermen, and other poꝛe houſes, and ſome ſowne ground, and proceeding on their iourney, at length they came into very faire valleys, where was great ſtoꝛe of deare, and ſtill they went along the riuer ſide, hoping to finde ſome good towne, and in ſhoꝛt ſpace, they eſpied neare twentie perſons vpon the top of an hill. Cortez commaunded foure of his hoꝛſemen to fetch them vnto him, willing them to make ſigns of peace vnto them, but if they ſie (quoth he) then follow them, vntill you ouer-
take them, for they ſhall ſtand vs in ſtead, as well to lead vs the way, as to ſerue vs for enterpreters.

The

The horsemen tooke on their way, and when they came to the hill toppe, they made signes of peace vnto them, but the poze and fearefull Indians fledde with speede, yea being amazed and in great feare to beholde suche a monstrous thing as a horseman, beleuyng assuredly, that horse and man was one thing incorporeate, but in theyr flight they were sone ouertaken, and they yelded themselues, and so were all brought vnto Cortez.

Simplicite.

These men had in their eares and noses bozed holes, with rings of golde hanging thereat, for so was the vse of Zempoallan: they enformed Cortez that the Citie was neare at hande. Cortez demaunded the cause of their coming thither, they answered, to behold and see so strange a sight, but why fledde you then (quoth he?) for feare only Sir sayde they, of people which he knew not. Then Cortez willed them to put all feare aside, and tolde them that he with his small company woulde goe vnto their Citie to visite their Lorde, and to be acquainted 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 him they would conduct him to a village whiche stode on the other side 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 seemed well, so they wente to that village, and when they were comen thither, the Indians craued licence to goe & to aduertise their Lorde how the strangers abode in that place, promising to returne the nexte day with answer. Some of the Indians had licence to do the message, the others abode there, attendyng and providing for the newe gesses, & in this order they were all lodged and their supper abundantly provided. That night Cortez fortified himselfe as strong as mought be, and the nexte morning came a hundred men laden with Venues, sayng that

L

they

The Conquest of

their Lozd much reioyced at their comming, and because he was so grosse and vnwealbie, hee came not personally vnto him, but yet notwithstanding he aboade in the cittie expecting his comming. Cortez friendly welcomed them, and with that present, hee and his company brake their fatte, and then proceeded with his guides in good order, with two fauconets in readinesse, if nede should happen: and from that passage of the Riuer they had a faire way vntill they came to another Riuer, which being likewise waded ouer, they discied Zempoallan, which stood a myle distant from them, all beset with faire Dycharbs & Gardens, very pleasant to behold: they vsed alwaies to wader them with sluses when they pleased.

There proceeded out of the Towne many persons, to behold and receiue so straunge a people vnto them. They came with smiling countenāce, and presented vnto them diuers kindes of floures, and sundry frutes, which none of our men had heretofore seene. These people came without feare among y^e Ordinance, with this pompe, triumph and ioy, they were receiued into the Citie, which seemed a beautifull Garden: for the trees were so greene and high, that scarcely the houses appeared.

At the Citie gate stood many graue persons of nobilitie, as Magistrates of the Citie, who solemnely welcomed the strangers. Sire Hoysmen, which hadde gone before the army to discouer, returned backe as Cortez was entring into the Cittie, saying, that they had seene a great house and Court, and that the walles were garnished with fluer: Cortes commaunded them to proceede on, willing them not to heare any token of wonder of any thing that they should see. All the streets were replenished with people, which stood gaping and wondering at the hoyses and strangers. And passing through a great market place, they saw on their right hand, a great wall
led.

Mens folly
with a great
he.

led house made of lyme and stone, with loupe holes and
 fowers, whited with plaister that shined like 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 beleue that with the imaginatiō
 and great desire which they had of golde and siluer, al that
 shined they deemed to be the same mettall.

Within this great house was a long row of lodgings,
 and on the other side six or seven Towers one higher than
 another. They proceeded on, dissimulyng the error of the
 siluer walles, and followed their guide vntil suche time as
 they came to the Lordes lodging, who came forth accom-
 panied with many auncient persons, & better attired then
 the other Citizens were, with two Gentlemen that ledde
 him by the armes. They saluted eche other according to
 the vse of their countreys, and then entred into the pallaice,
 where certaine p̄ncipall men conducted Cortez and all
 his traine to their lodgyng, & Captaine Cortez was lod-
 ged in y^e house which had the glistering walles, situated in
 the markette place, whiche house was sufficient for him
 and all his companie. And when they were placed,
 and behelde the walles, they were ashamed of their owne
 folly: for where they thought those walles had bene adoz-
 ned with siluer, they found them cleane contrary. Cortez
 deuided his men, caused his hozles to be trimmed, & plan-
 ted his ordynance at his wyze, making himself as strong as
 though he had bene in campe and nere his enemies. And
 commanded, that none of his men shoulde goe out of the
 house without his expresse licence v̄d̄ paine of death. The
 officers of the Lord prepared a plenteous supper for them,
 and bedding according to their vse.

A vigilanc
 Capta. ac.

The

The Conquest of

The talke that the Lord of Zempoallan had with Cortez.



The next day in the morning came the Lord, to visite Cortez with an honorable company, and presented vnto him many garments wrought of Cotton wolle, according to their fashion, with a knot on y^e shoulder like vnto the Egyptian garments, and certaine iewels of golde that might be worth two thousand Ducates, beseeching both him and his company to recreate themselves and take their rest, and at that present he meane not to trouble him with any matters: And so toke his leaue for that time as he had done the day before, willing him to demaund and call for any thing that he should neede. Cortez gaue him hartie thanks and so departed.

Then came more Indians in number then there were Spaniards, with their courses & seruice of meate ready dressed, and many boughes of daintie fruits. In this sort they were feasted & baked fiftene daies most plentifully. The next day following, Cortez sent vnto the Spaniards certaine olde garments of the Spanishe fashion, and many other trifles, beseeching him to appoynt a day of conference at his olone pallyce: word was sent agayne that he was ready and very well contented. Where vpon Cortez toke with him fiftie of his men all armed, and left the residue at his lodging in a good readinesse, and appoynted an vnder Captaine to gouerne them. The Lord hearing of his comming, came out of his Courte into the streete to receiue him. And hande in hand they entred together into a lowe hall, whiche they vse for the extremitie of heate in that country, the plaite that they buyld vpon, is raised a fadome from the grounde, so that they ascende vpon.

Upon steeppes, and the walles plaistred with berie white lime, their tile is either of straw, or leaues of trees, very beautifall and straungely wrought, and a good defence against the raine. The Lord and Cortez sate them downe upon thre soted stoles, made all of one peece, the Lorde commaunded his seruitours to stande aside, and by their interpreters they began to commune of their affayres a great space, in demaunds and answers, because Cortez desired to bee well instructed of the affayres of that countrey, and likewise of that mightie king of Muezuma.

This Cacike or lord, although he were huge and laden with flesh, yet in his demaundes and questions seemed berie wise. The summe of all Cortez his talkie, was to shewe the cause of his comming thither, and who had sent him, euen as he had done in Tauasco to Teudili, and others.

This Cacike after he had heard Cortez attentiuely, he began a long communication, making his complaint, and opening his griefe in this sort.

Mightie Sir, my Ancestors liued a long time in
 great peace, libertie and quietnes, but of late yeeres The Indians
complaint.
 my countrey and Citie was destroyed by tyrannie, because the Lordes of Mexico Tenuchtlan with their men of Culhua, did not only vsurpe my citie, but also my lands by force of armes, in such sort that my power could not resist them. And in the beginning those Princes began their vsurpation by way and colour of religion and holinesse, Vnder colour
of holinesse. and afterwards with force of armes, and with this title became Lords ouer vs.

And now we seeing our error, haue thought it too late to preuaile agaynst them, so take away our yoke of seruitude and bondage, although we haue attempted it. And as often as wee haue so done, still the victorie was theirs, and the ouertrow ours. Nowe all such as doe

The Conquest of

submit themselves unto them, are taxed with certaine tributes, and reknowledging them for Lordes, are defended by them, and esteemed as friends. But if after such submission made, any chauce to speake agaynst them, or rebell, then they are terribly corrected, yea murdered, and after Sacrifice made to the Goddes of warre, called Tezcachpuca and Vitzilopucheli of their carkasses, then is their flesh eaten in banquet, & those who remaine alive, doe serue for slaues, yea, and the fathers, Mothers and children, are compelled to labour and toile from the Sunne rising, to the Sunne setting, with confiscation of all their goods and landes. And besides all this crueltie and bituerie, they send their officers and Sergeants, to execute the premises, who without eyther pitie or mercie, many times suffereth them to sterue with hunger. And beeing thus cruelly punished of Mutezuma, who nowe raigneth in Mexico, who would not suffer to be Vassall willingly to so good a Prince as you enjoyned me of the Emperour, although it were but onely to be free from such vexation and robberte, which such a mightie King coulde doe. And with these wordes the teares gushed out of his eyes, and pausing a while, he began to extoll the strength, magnificense and situation of Mexico, planted in a great lake of water; also he exalted the riches, Court, State, and mightie power of Mutezuma. He sayde also howe Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, and other Prouinces thereabout, as also the people called Totonaquez of the Mountaines, were of contrarie opinion to the Mexicans, yea enemies unto them, who had intelligence what had happened in Tausco. Hea, sir (quoth he) if it please you, I will treat such a compact with this people, that Mutezuma with all his power shall not preuaile against vs.

Cortez reioyced in heart to heare this newes, and
 said

said vnto him. It grieueth me to heare of the euill vltage of Mutezuma toward his Countrey and subiects. But I assure you with Gods helpe I will deliuer you, yea, and reuenge all your iniuries, for my comming hither is to take away all euill customes, and to helpe the oppressed, to fauour the prisoner, and comfort the afflicted, and chiefly to abolish tyzannie. And for the good entertainment that I haue receyued at your hands, I remaine yours to doe you any pleasure, and to defend you against your enemies, and the like will I doe for your friends, wherefoze I pray you aduertise them thereof, as many as are of our consideracie.

Cortez then toke his leaue, saying that he had bene many dayes there, and that hee had great neede to goe visite his shippes, and men, who much desired his returne, and abode in Aquiahuizelan, where hee meant to sojourn for a certaine season, and from thence dayly they might conferre of their affayres. The Lorde of Zempoallan sayde, that if it pleased him to abyde with him, hee would gladly accept it, and if his businesse were such that he might not, that then he besought him to remember him.

Then the Lord commanded eight maydens to be called, who were very well apparelled after their maner, their attire was much like the Morisca fashion, (the one of them was moze costly apparelled then the others) and said vnto Cortes, all these maydens which you here see are gentlewomen, noble and rich, and this maiden which is best attyred, is a Ladie of Alasca's, and my brothers daughter, I doe present her vnto you (meaning that Cortez should marry her) and the others you may bestowde vpon the Gentlemen in your companie, in a token of perpetuall loue and friendship.

Cortez receiued the present with thanks, because hee would

The Conquest of

would not offend the giuer thereof. And so departed with their women riding behind them, with many Indian women to wait vpon them, and many Indian men to beare them companie, and to purney all things necessarie.

Things that happened to Cortez in
Chiauiztlan.



The same day that they departed frō Zempoallan, they came to Chiauiztlan, and yet the ships were not arriued. Cortez marched at their long tarrying in so short a iourney. There was a village within shot of a bargabush, from the rocke called Chiauiztlan, standing vpon a hill. Cortez hauing little to do, went thither with his men, and the Indians of Zempoallan, who certified Cortez that the village was appertayning to a Lord oppressed by Mutezuma. They came to the foot of the hill, without sight of any man of the towne, except two, that Marina vnderstande not, and going by the hill, the hozsmen to fauour their hozses would alight, because the ascending was cragged and euill way. Cortez commaunded that they should not alight, because the Indians should thinke that there was no place high nor lowe, but that these hozses should and coulde come vnto it. So by little and little they came into the towne, and finding no creature there, they feared some deceyfe, yet approaching further, they met with twelue auncient men, which brought with them an interpreter, who vnderstande the language of Culhua and the speach of that place, which is the language of the Totonaquez, or inhabitants of the Mountaines. These auncient menne declared that the cause of their going out of the

the towne, was because that they had neuer sene anye such men as the Spaniardes were, noz yet heard that any such had passed that way, wherefoze with feare they had fledde from thence. But (quoth they) when the Lord of Zempoallan aduertised vs, how you did hurt no bodey, but rather being a people good and peaceable, then we were well assured who ye were, when we saw you come toward vs. And we are nowe comen vnto you on the behalfe of the Lord, to bring you to your lodging.

Cortez gaue them thankes, and went with them to a certaine place where the Lord was abyding their comming well accompanied: he the wed vnto the Christians great good wil, and maruelled to se those straungers with their long beards.

The Lord tooke a little chaffingdishe in his hande, and cast into it a certaine gum which saoured in swete smell much like vnto sraikinse. And with a sencer he mocked Cortez, with the ceremony they vse their salutations to they gods and nobilitie.

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

The Cacike certified Cortez euē as the Lord of Zempoallan had done, but he stood in great feare lest Mutezuma should be offended for receyuing and lodging him with, in that towne, without his commaundement, and being in this communicatton, sodeinly appeared twentie men entring where they sate, w certain wands like cudgels in their hāds, which did signifie y they were rent gatherers, and in ech other hand, a fly flap of fethers, the Cacike & his company were soze afraide. Cortez demaunded wherefoze he so altered himself, he answered, bicause these twety Indians were collectors of Mutezuma, and that he feared that they would complayne of him, having founde those

The Conquest of

Christians there, hee feared likewise cruell punishment for the same. Cortes comforted him, saying that Mutezuma was his friend, and that he would so vse the matter that he should receiue no blame at all, but rather that Mutezuma should giue him thanks for that which 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 me is sufficient for a thousand Mexicans, as Mutezuma himselfe was well enformed by the late warres at Poronchan.

Yet for and notwithstanding all this talke, the Lorde and all his folke were in great feare, and meant to arise and to lodge the receiuers. Cortes would not suffer him, and because (quoth he) thou shalt see what I and my men can do, commaund thy seruants to apprehend and take prisoners these receiuers of Mexico, and I wil abide here with thee, in such sort that Mutezuma with all his power shall not offend thee.

With the courage that hee receiued at these words, he commaunded to laie hand vpon the Mexicans, and because they defended themselves, they were sore beaten, and laide euery one in a severall prison, and bounde them to a great poste, whereat they were tied by the throate, fete and handes, and being in this sorte imprisoned, they asked of Cortes whether they should kill them. Cortes requested that they should not be slaine, but that they might remaine as they were, with good watch, that they might not escape. Then they were brought into a hall in the Spaniards lodging, and were placed round about a good fire, but yet bound hand and fote with gards of watchmen. Cortes also appointed certaine of his men to watche the hall doore, and then went to his lodging to supper, where he and his company was wel prouided at the Cazikes furniture.

The receiuers
put in prison.

The

The messages sent by Cortez vnto
Mutezuma.



Phe night being far spent, and the Indians that kept y watch being a slepe, Cortez sent vnto the Spanyards that watched at the hall towe where y prisoners were, and commanded them to let go two of the prisoners, as secretly as they might, and to bring them vnto him. The Spanyards hant led y mat-

Pollicie:

ter so well, that they fulfilled his desire, and brought two of them to Cortez his chamber, who looked vpon them as though he had not knowen them, and willed Aguilar and Marina to demand who they were, and what they would haue, and why they had bin in prison. They answered, that they were vassals of Mutezuma, and y they had the charge to receiue certaine tributes, that those of that towne and prouince paide vnto their Lord. And also (quoth they) we know not for what cause we are now imprisoned and so cruelly bled. We rather wonder to see this new custome and maner, for in time past these men were wont to mete vs & receiue vs with great honour & curtesie, shewing all seruice and pleasure. Wherefoze we thinke that the cause of this alteration is through the fauour of you & your company, who beare y name of immortality. We also feare least our fellows which are in prison shalbe slaine, before Mutezuma haue knowledge thereof. Also said they, these barbarous people dwelling in the Mountains, wold be glad to rebell if they found any succoz or aide, only to put their Justice to toll and charges, as heretofore they haue done. Therefore they made humbly besought Cortez that hee should not permit them and their fellows to be slaine,

The Conquest of

noꝛ yet to abide in the hands of their enemies wherein he should do singular pleasure to Mutezuma their Lord, and otherwise if they should perish, their Lord would be very sorrowfull that his olde, faithfull, and trustie seruants, should haue such a reward foꝛ their god seruice.

A wise man.

Cortez answered that it græued him much, that Mutezuma his friend should bee misused where hee was, noꝛ yet his seruants euill entreated, and that he would haue as much care ouer them as of his owne, willing them to praise the God of heauen, and to be thankfull vnto him that had commaunded them to be set at libertie, in the grace and friendship of Mutezuma, he certified that in all haste they should bee dispatched foꝛ Mexico with certaine businesse, therfoꝛe (quoth he) get you to meate, and make you strong to take in hand that iourney, trusting to your sête, leaſt ye should be taken againe to your great perill and daunger, Thus their meate was sone eaten with the great haste they had to be gone.

Cortez brought them out of the towne and gaue them victuall to carry with them. And charged foꝛ the libertie and curtesie shewed vnto them, that they should signifie to Mutezuma their Lorde, how that hee was his assured friend, and that after he had vnderstanding of his fame, godnes and mightie power, he much desired to serue him, yea and that he helde himselſe happie, to finde himselſe of such a time and season to lose those his seruants, and to shew therein his god will, likewise he would do all that lay in him to pꝛeserue the honoꝛ and authoritie of so great a Prince as hee was, and also to defende his subiects, and to looke to his affaires as his owne proper, although his highnesse did little esteeme his friendship, as appeared by Teudilli, who departed from him without bidding him farewell, and likewise absenting all the people of the sea coaste, yet this notwithstanding hee would not
let

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 hee was fully perswaded, that his highnesse woulde not refuse his good will and friendship, considering that with his acquaintance, God had done much for him, to make with a seruant of the Emperours, for thereby he might know great secrets of holy things, and also receiue great benefites, if then hee wold refuse the same, the fault should be his: but yet notwithstanding hee trusted in his wisdom, that considering the thing well, he would be glad both to see him, and talke with him, and also to be friend and brother with the King of Spaine, in whose happie name, both he & his company were come thither. And as touching his seruants that remained in prison, he would so vse the matter, that they should escape all perill, promising also to set them at libertie to pleasure him, and that incontinent hee would haue done it, but onely because hee would not offende the Lord of the Toloue, who had friendly entertained him with great curtesie, for which cause hee woulde not presume to controll him in his owne house, nor yet to shewe himselfe vnthankfull. The messengers departed with this message very glad and toyfull, promising to accomplish faithfully the charge committed vnto him.

The confederacie and rebellion done by the
industrie of Cortez.



When the Cazike founde missing y two
prisoners, he blamed much y guard or
watch, & pretended forthwith to mur-
der those that remained. When came
Cortez, and requested that their death
shuld be pardoned, for so much as they
were

The Conquest of

were but officers obedient to their lord and maister, and according to iustice they had committed no offence, nor yet deserued any correction in the fact, which was seruite to their King; but say so much as they shall not see as the other two haue done, deliuer them vnto me, and I will take them to my custodie and charge.

Upon this request the eightene prisoners were deliuered vnto Cortez, who sent them aboord his Shippes, and there commaunded them to bee put in yrons. The Lorde and his counsellors fearing what might followe, entred into counsell what was best to doe, considering that they certainly belieued that the two prisoners which were escaped, would certifie in Mexico the shame and cruell entertainment done vnto them. Some replied that it was iust and requisite to sende vnto Motezuma his tribute, with other presents, to mitigate his 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 error and oversight which they had committed as madde men, in dishonour of the maiestie of Mexico. Others answered againe, that it were much better to cast off that yoke of bondage and slauerie, and to giue no longer obedience to the Mexicans, who were both cruel and wicked tyrants, and also considering that now they had on their side those halfe Gods, and invincible hozemen, saying like wise that they should not want many others their neighbors and borderers to help and succour them.

Diners opinions
in counsell.

In this sort they resolved themselves fully to rebell, and not to lose so good an occasion, wherevpon they besought Hernando Cortez to be their defender and Captaine, considering that for his sake they had begun that enterprize, and whether Motezuma should prepare his armie agaynst them or no, yet they on their part were fully

fully pretended to hold him warre, and to desist from seruitude.

God knoweth how glad Cortez was to heare this matter, for he well weyed that it was the high way to his tourneys ende: yet dissembling the cause, he answered that they would well looke to the thing which they meant to take in hand, because (quoth he) I vnderstande that Mutezuma is a mightie Prince, but if ye will valiantly proceede, I will be your Captains, and safely defende you, for I doe moze esteeme your friendship, then the good will of Mutezuma, which I nothing care for: therefoze let mee knowe what number of men of warre ye are able to make. Sir (quoth they) among all our friends wee are able to make a hundreth thousande menne of warre. I like that well (quoth Cortez) wherefoze incontinent sende your postes, with aduice vnto all your friends in league agaynst Mutezuma, and certifie them of this agreement and succour of the Chyistians, not (quoth he) that I stand in neede of your helpe, for I alone with my companie, are able to stande agaynst those of Culhua, although there were as many moze, but reason required that they shoulde be warned of your pretence, and to be in readinesse for the same, fearing least Mutezuma might send his armie vpon a sudden, and find you vnprouided.

With this aduice and encouragement of Cortez, and also they themselues being a people hardie, and of small consideration, they dispatched incontinent their messengers to al the towncs and villages of neighbours and friends, aduertising them what they had determined, exalting the straungers about the cloudes.

And by this meanes rebelled many Cacikes, and towncs, and al the whole mountains, so that there was not left any collector or other officer in Mexico in al those borders,

with

The Conquest of

with open proclamation of warres against Mutezuma, and all his adherents.

Cortez his intent was on the other side, to stir by these Indians, to get both their goods, willes, and landes, for otherwise, he could not well bying his matter to passe: he only caused the officers of Mutezuma to bee taken prisoners, and to be lofed againe, he sained a great loue to Mutezuma, and stirred his subiects against him, he offered to be their defendour, and left them rebelled, to the intent that they should stand in neede of him.

The foundation of the riche Towne called Vera Crux.

At this instant the Flēte was arriued at the port, then went Cortez to visite them, and carried with him many Indians of the Rebels, both of y^e towne, and also of Zempoallan, who did god seruice to cut doونه timber, and to carry stones to the place appointed, for the building of the Citie, named the rich Towne of Vera Crux, according to the determination, when the officers were appointed for the same, and chosen in S. Iohn de Vlhua, and in god order made repertition to the inhabitants of the ground, and plottes to build vpon.

They appointed also a place for the high Church, a Market place, a Towne house, a Gayle, store houses, a Bay or Wharfe, to lade or unlade, a butcher row, & other places necessary to the good gouernement and pollicie of a Towne. They also drew out a plot to build the Castle or Fort on, neare the roade in a place conuenient, and in this sort began their worke, and their houses made with mudwall, for the earth there is good for that purpose. And euery man being thus occupied in this new worke,
came

came from Mixico two kinsmen of Mutezuma, with other foure graue learned menne for Councillours, and many seruing men that attended vpon them, as Ambassadors from Mutezuma, they presented vnto Cortez cer- Embassadors.
 tayne cloth of Cotten well wouen, and feathers curi-
 ously and finely wroughte, other pæces of golde and sil-
 uer wroughte, and a Casket of graines of golde, as they
 were founde in the Pyres not molten, which wayed al-
 together two thousand & ninetie Castlins, and said y Mute-
 zuma hadde sente him the golde in the Casket, to cure
 theyr discafe, and woulde gladly knowe how they fa-
 red, giuing also vnto him most hartie thankes, for losing
 his two houtholde seruauntes, and preserving the others
 from slaughter, besieching him to make accompte, that
 he woulde doe the like in anye affayres of his, desiring
 him also to procure the libertie of the other eyghtene
 Prisoners: and because those Indians hadde entertayned
 him well in their houses, he did pardon theyr vproze,
 yet notwithstanding he knewe very well that they were
 suche a kinde of people, that in thozte space they woulde
 committe some other offences, whereby they might bee
 chastened for all together euen as a Dogge deserueth
 stripes. And as concerning the rest of his request,
 theyr Loyde was not well at ease, and also occupied in
 matters of warre of great impoztaunce, whereby at
 that presente, there was no remedie to visit eache other,
 but in pproesse of time his desire shoulde be accompli-
 shed.

Cortez welcommed them friendly and ioyfully, and al-
 so lodged them in Cottages neere vnto the water side, and
 sent forthwith for the Loyde of Chiantzilan, that had re-
 belled, who came at his commandement. Cortez sayd vnto
 him, lo see what troth I haue vied with thee, for Mutezu-
 ma dareth not to send any army, no no; yet displease anye

The Conquest of

person where I am. Therefore from this daye forwarde you and all youre lignage and friendes maye accompte your selues free and exempt from the seruitude of Mexico, without rendering the tributes accustomed. We requested to set at libertie the prisoners, and to restoze them to the Ambassadors of Mutezuma. This Cazike willed Cortes, to doe what pleased him, for saide he, euen as we haue chosen you for oure Captaine, we will not excede one tote of youre commaundemente: where vppon hee returned home to his towne, and the Ambassadors toward Mexico, all pleased and content.

So we fame flew abroade, blazing that Mutezuma feared the Christians, where vppon all the Tetonagues prepared themselues for the warres, taking cleane awaie from Mexico, their tribute and obedience.

The Ambassadors departed from Cortes with the prisoners, and manye other things that were giuen them, of linnen, wollen, skinnes, glasse, and yron, being greatly amazed at the things which they had seene.

How Cortez tooke by force of armes Tizapanfinca.



At long after y these things had hap-
pened, the Indians of Zempoallan sent
vnto Cortez, to desire him of succoz a-
gainst y garisō of Culhua, which Mu-
tezuma maintained in Tizapanfinca,
who did greatly annoy the, in ipoyling,
burning, and destroying their cozne in
the fields, and slew their husbandmen,
and toke many prisoners. The towne of Tizapanfinca,
doth confine with the Totonaquez and with y grounde of
Zempoallan, and is a good strong towne, situated
nere

neere the Riuer, and hath a fozt standing vpon a high rocke. And because this towne was strong, and planted among them who were alwayes seditious and Rebelles, Mutezuma placed there his garrison, who seeing the officers of recepuers and auditors come flying thither for helpe, being persecuted of the rebels, they went out to pacifie the rebellion, and for to chasten them, they burned and destroyed whatsoever they found, and also had taken many prisoners.

Cortez hearing this newes, departed toward Zempoallan, and from thence in two dayes iourney with a great army of Indians Tizapaninca, which stood eight leagues and more from that citie.

The garrison of Culhua came into the field, thinking to haue had battell onely with those of Zempoallan, but when they sawe the Horsemen, and the bearded men, they lost their courage, and beganne to flie as fast as they might possible: their succour being nere, they were sone in holde: they would haue entred into their Castell, but for the swiftnesse of the hozles which stopped their way.

The valiant
courage of
Cortez.

And when the hozles could not ascend vpon the fozt, Cortez alighted with other foure of his men, and among the preasse of the townesmen got into the fozt: and being within, they kept the doze till their companie came with many friends, vnto whom he deliuered the fozt & towne, desiring to doe no hurt to the inhabitants, but to suffer them to depart freely without weapon and standard. It was a new world to those Indians, who did fulfill Cortez his commaundement in all poynts. This done, Cortez returned againe to the sea coast, by the same way which he had come.

This was the first victorie that Cortez had among the subjects of Mutezuma, whereby all the Dunitapnts

remained

The Conquest of

remained free from the vexations of the Mexicans, and all our men with great fame and reputation, as well among their friends, as among their enemies, in so much that after wardes when any néede did happen among the Indians, they wold immediately send vnto Cortez for one of his men, saying, that one man alone of the Chyrtians, was sufficient to be theyr Captaine and securitie.

This was a good beginning for the presence of Cortez. Nowe when hee came to Vera Crux with his company triumphantly, he founde there Francisco de Salzeda, who was come with his caruell whiche he had boughte of Alóso Cauallero, a dweller in Saint Iames de Cuba, and was left there to be grounded and dyessed at his departure from thence. He brought with him .70. Spanyardes, and nine Voyles and Hares, wherewith they all maruelously reioyced.

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



Cortez made great hast in building by the new town and the Castle, because the Citizés and souldiers might haue succoure againste winde and rayne, and commoditie of household, and likewise to be assured of defence against enemies if néede should happen, pretending likewise withall expedition, to enter within the land toward Mexico, to visit Mutezuma, and to leaue in that new wayke all thing in good order, he finished many things, touching as well the peace as the warre.

the vvest India.

93

Hee commaunded to bee brought a lande out of his ships all the armour and other furniture for the warres, with the Merchandise, victuall, and other provision, and to deliuer it to the rulers of the newe Cittie, according to his promise. He also signified vnto all his company that it was mete and conuenient, to sende relation to the King of all their 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 diuide equally our treasure to every man his portion, according to the vse of the warres, the diuision being made, then first and principally lette vs deduct the Kings sif part. And for the better performance thereof, I doe name and appoynt Alonso de Auila Treasurer for the King, and also I doe elect Gonfalo Mexia Treasurer of the arme.

All the newe Magistrates ratified his sayings, and allowed his discretion and wisdom, praising the election of the newe officers as men most mete for such an office, and besought them to accept their charge.

This diligence done, he commaunded to bring forth into the market place all the goods and treasure whiche they had gotten, as well cloath of Cotten, Feathers, Golde, and Plate, which mought amount vnto in value the summe of 27000. Ducates: The same he caused to be deliuered vnto the newe elected Treasurers by account, requesting the whole council of the Cittie that they should make diuision thereof. The counsellours and communalitie replied, saying: Sir, here is nothing to diuide, for deducting the sif part which appertaineth to the King, all the rest shall be to make payment for the furniture which you prepared for this voyage, and you being satisfied, then the ships, munition and furniture, shall serue in common

The Conquest of

for vs all, beseeching him with one assent to take all the treasure, and to sende vnto the Kings Maiestie his portion of fift part, euen as should seme most conuenient vnto him.

Liberalitie
of Cortez.

Cortez replied and saide, that time hereafter should serue to pay him according to their gentle offer: But for this present time my louing fellowes (quoth he) I will receiue no more then the share or portion that apperteyneth vnto my office of generall Captaine, and all the rest shall be for the Gentlemen of my company, where with ye may begin to make payment of your debts, which ye ought when ye made your prouision to come with me on this voyage.

And where I haue appointed certain things to send to the King, of more value then his fift part, it might please them, for as much as they were such things as could not be well diuided, and likewise the first fruite of that Conquest, freely to giue him libertie to vse his discretion in that onely poynt. They all in generall granted to his request, whereupon he took out of the Stocke, these things following.

Inuentarie.



First the two whéles of golde and silver, which Heudilli presented vnto him on the behalfe of Muczuma.

A collar of gold of eight pées, whereat hanged a hundred and foure score and thye little Emeraldes, and two and thirtie little redde Stones, like vnto Rubyes,

bies of small value : there hanged at the same coller seven and twentie litle belles of gold, and certain heads of pearle.

Another coller of foure doubled twisse, with a hundzeth and two Rubies, and a hundzeth and scourtie and two Emeraldes, and tenne good pearles well sette, and for bozder. or fringe sixe and twentie belles of golde : both those collers were beautifull to beholde, and had many other fine things wrought in them, then is here declared.

Many graynes of gelde of the bignesse of a pease, such as they were founde.

A Casket of graynes of golde of the same sozte.

A Helmet of woodde champed with golde and besette with stones, and the beuer fine and twentie belles of golde, and vpon the toppe a græne birde, with his eyes, beake, and feete 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 like vnto a roiall Scepter, with two rings of golde hanging thereat, garnished with pearle.

Foure foxkes with thre thephokes at ech, covered with feathers of sundry colours.

Many payres of shoes made of Deere skinner, sowd with golde threed, and in the soales, were sette certaine bones of colour white and blew, which shined faire.

Sixe paire of Letherne shoes of diuers colours, garnished with gold, silver, and pearle.

A Target of wood covered with leather, be set round about with belles of Latton, and the boss in the midst was

The Conquest of

was plached with gold, and there was engraue'd by
on the same Vitilopuethli, God of the warres, and also
four heads set crosse wise, which heades were of a Li-
on, a Tigre, an Eagle, and an Owle, very liuely made
with feathers.

Many skinnes of beast and soule, curried and dzedled in
their feathers and in haire.

Four and twentie targets of gold feathers, and set with
pearle, both curious and gallant to behold.

Five targets of feathers and siluer.

Four fishes of gold well wrought.

Two birds called Auades, and other birds of gold.

Certaine Hatches and a rod of latten.

Diuers looking glasses garnished with gold.

Many Byters and Crownes of gold & feathers, wrought
of many colours, beset with pearle and stone.

Many faire feathers of sundry colours.

Many tuffes of feathers adozned with siluer and gold.

A garment like a coape of cotten, wouen of sundrie co-
lours, and in the middest a blacke whele made of fea-
thers.

Many surplices, vestments, palles, frontals and orna-
ments of Idols, Altars and Temples.

Many coverlets of cotten, of diuerse colours, which shew-
ed like unto bishoyme veluet.

Many Shirtes, Jackettes, headclothes, and other nape-
rie.

Many Carpets and hangings of cotten.

All these things were moze beautiful then rich, althogh
the wheles were very rich, the workmanship of all the
rest, was moze worth then the thing it selfe. The colours
of the cloth of cotten wool was exceeding fine, and the fea-
thers naturall.

The pounced worke in gold and siluer did exceede our
gold.

goldsmiths, of which things we will 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 solden like vnto clothes, and written on both sides. Some of these bookes were made of cotton & glew, and others were made of leaues of a certaine tree called Helt, which serue for their paper, a thing straunge to behold.

Strange paper

At that time the Indians of Zempoallan had many prisoners to sacrifice: Cortez demanded 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 took foure of them, and two women which were all yong and lustie.

But it was verie strange to see those that should be sacrificed, how they were trimmed and deckt with feathers, and went dauncing through the Citie, asking almes for their sacrifice & death. It was also strange to see the offerings that were giuen them. They had at their ears hanging, rings of gold beset with Turky Stone, and like wise other rings at their lips, which shewed their teeth bare, a grieously sight to see, but yet esteemed among them a thing beautifull.

Letters from the armie and Magistrates of the new towne, directed to the Emperour.



When this present and fift part was layde aside for the king, Cortez required his magistrates to name and appoint two attornyes, to carry the Emperours portion vnto Spaine. And that he for his part would

D

giue

The Conquest of

giue vnto them his full power, and letter of attourney, with also one of the best Shippes for that voyage.

The Councell of the newe Towne chose Alonso Fernandez Portocarero, and Francisco de Monteio for that journey: whercof Cortes was verie glad, and gaue them Antonio de Alominos for their pilot, with gold and plate sufficient for turne and returne of the voyage. Cortez gaue them instructions what they shoulde doe particularly for him in the Court of Spaine, as also in Ciuill, and the towne where he was borne. He sent to his father and Mother certaine money, with newes of his prosperitie: hee sent also with them the ordinaunces and actes instituted, and wrote by them a large Letter to the Emperour, in the which hee gaue full aduertisement of all things, which hadde passed from the tyme of his departure from the Ilande of Cuba, vntill that day, and of the discozde betwaine him and James Velasques, and of their great trauaile and paines, with the great good will which they all bare vnto his royall seruice: hee certified likewise of the riches of that Countrey, with the Maiestie and power of Mutezuma.

Hee offered to bring in subiection vnto his royall Crowne and state of Castill, all that Empire, and to winne also the great Citie of Mexico, and to bring that mightie king Mutezuma to his handes quicke or dead. Beseeching the Emperours Maiestie to haue him in remembraunce when offices and provisions shoulde bee sent vnto that newe Spaine lately discovered at his great costes, and in recompence of his paines and trauell.

The Councell and Magistrates of Vera Cruz wrote also

also two Letters to the Emperour, the one was touching the successe of their proceedings in his royall service. In that Letter, went onely the Aldermens firmes, and Judges.

The other Letter was firmed by the generalitie and chiefest of the armie, the contents whereof was in substance, that they should holde and keepe that towne and Countrey wonne, in his royall name, & end their lines in the quarrell, if his Maiestie did not otherwise determine.

A good protestation.

They also most humbly besought him, that the gouernement thereof, and of all that hereafter should be conquered, might be giuen to Hernando Cortez their guide, generall Captaine, and chiefe Justice by them elect and chosen, saying, that wel he had deserued the same, for that he alone spent more then the whole armie vpon that iourney. And that it might please his maiesty to confirme that, which they generally of free will had done for their owne safegard and securitie, in the name of his royall Maiestie.

And if by chaunce his Maiestie had alreadie giuen the sayde office of gouernement 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, slaunders, perils, and slaughters, that might ensue, if any other should gouerne and rule as Captaine generall.

And moreover, they besought his Maiestie to graunt them answere with benitie, and good dispatch of their Attourneys, who departed from the port of Aguahuistan in a reasonable ship, the twentieth daye of Iulie.

Anno. 1519.

The Conquest of

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 disturbance, and sayled with a prosperous winde, till they arrived in Spaine.

The cause why the generalltie had written these letters was, suspecting James Velasques, who had friends and great fauour in the Court and councel of Indians, and also some secret friends in Cortes his campe. For Francisco Salzeda brought newes that James Velasques had already obtained a grant of the Emperour for the gouernment of that land, by the meanes of one Bonito Martinez going into Spaine. And although they knew not the certainty thereof, yet it was most true, as shall appear in another place.

An vprere among the souldiers agaynst
Cortes, and the punishment
for the same.



There were some in the host that murmured against the election of Cortes, for thereby was excluded James Velasques, unto whom they bare good will.

Some were Velasques friends, and other some his kinsfolks, who letted not to say openly that Cortez by flatterie, subtiltie and gifts, had gotten and obtayned his purpose.

And that the dissimulation in making him selfe to bee entreated and prayed to accept that charge and office, was a thing craftily feigned, whereby such election coulde not bee of any value, and chieflye without any such authorizty of the Ierome Friars dame,
who

who ruled and governed the Indians as chief presidents: how much more they hadde newes that James Velasques had already obtained the gouernement of that land, and Yucatan. When Cortez began to vnderstand in these matters, and made information who had rayled by this murderation, and being knowne, he apprehended the chiefest, and sent them prisoners aboꝛde his Ship: and to mollifie their wꝛath, he shortly releaseth them againe, the which after wards was cause of more mischiefe, for these his enemies would haue fledde with a Bergantine and killed the maister, pretending to flye vnto the Ilande of Cuba, for to aduertise James Velasques of the great presēt ^{Mischiefe.} sent vnto the Emperour, to the intent it should be taken from their Attozners passing nere the port of Hauana, with all the letters and relations of their businesse, because the Emperour should not see it, to conceiue well of their proceedings. 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 there vpon according to the processe, hee condemned those that were most culpable, and caused forthwith two of them to be hanged, who were Iohn Escudero, and James Cermenio pilot, and condemned Gonfalo de Vmbria, and Alonso Penate to be whipped, & incontinent execution was done, all the rest being pardoned.

Two hanged,
and two whipped.

With this correction Cortez was more feared, and also esteemed, than before he was, for certainly if he hadde vsed gentlenesse, he should neuer haue famed them, yea and if he had not looked to them in time, he had bene spoiled: for their presence was, to haue aduertised James Velasques, who would haue prevented them of their Shippes and present, and yet after wards he sente a Caruell after the said Ship, although it were too late.

The Conquest of

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



A famous fact.

Cortez purposed to go vnto Mexico, and would not giue his Souldiers to vnderstand it, because they should not refuse the iourney, though the talke of Teudilli, especially hearing that citie of Mexico was situated vpon water, which they imagined to be exceeding strong, as in effect it was: & to the intent that they should all followe him, although against their willes, he determined to spoile all his ships, which was a strange case, perillous, and a great losse. His intent thoroughly weyed, he little esteemed the losse of his ships to withstand his men from disturbance of his enterprise, for doubtlesse they would haue staied him, yea and rebelled, if they had knowen his mind and pretended purpose. He did secretly accord with one of the maisters of his Fleet in the night season to boze holes in them, that thereby they might sunke, without any remedie to recover them againe.

Also he requested the other Maisters and Pilotes to publish among the army, that the ships were so rotten and wormeaten, that they were not fit to go to sea againe, and that they should, when they chanced to espie him and many of his Souldiers togither, come and certifie him openly of the estate and force of the said ships, because that after wardes they should not lay any fault to his charge.

According to this instruction, the Pilotes and maisters did accomplishe his commandement: for shortly after, they espied him among a flocke of his companie, and then came they vnto him, saying: Sir, your name is not

not to make anie moe voyages, by reason that they are all leake, and spoiled, rotten, and woymeaten, wherefoze according to our duetie, we do certifie you thereof, to p^ro- uide therein as you shall see cause. All the Souldiers gaue credite to their tale, because the ships had been there moze than thre monethes. And after long talke about the matter, Cortes commaunded that they shoulde profite themselues by them the best that they might, and as for Hulles, let them sinke or runne a shoze, faining great sorow for so great a losse, and want of such p^rouision. And in this manner they let runne a shoze five of the best Shippes, sauing their Ordnance, Vittailles, Sailes, Cables, Ankers, Ropes, and all other tackle: and shortly after they spoiled other foure vessels, but that was done with some difficultie, because they be- ganne to surmise the intent of Cortes, and be ganne o- penly to say, Cortes meant to carrie them to the slaugh- ter house. He then pacified them with gentle wordes, saying, what is hee that will refuse the warres in so riche a Countrey: if there bee any of you that will leaue my companie, he or they may (if it please them) returne to Cuba in a Shippe that yet remaineth. And this he spake, to knowe how many were the cowardes, meaning in time of needs to haue no trust or confidence in them. Then diuers shamelesse persons demanded licence to returne to Cuba, but they were sicke as leued no warres. There wer also others that said nothing, who woulde gladly haue returned, seeing the greatnesse of the Countrey, and the multitude of the people, but yet they were ashamed to shewe cowardise open- ly.

Cortes knowing his souldiers mindes, commaunded the other Ship to be sunke, so that then they were all with- out hope to go out of that Countrey at that time, sailing
and

The Conquest of

and praising the noble minde of Cortez shewed in that worthe fact. Certainly it was a dæde necessary for the present time, and done by the iudgement of a stout Captaine, although hee lost much by his shippes, and abode without succour of the sea. There are fewe of these examples, which are not of valiant personages, as was Oomez Barbaroza with the cut arme, who a fewe yeares past brake seuen Galleys and Foyts, to winne therby Bugia, as largely I do write thereof in battailes of the sea in our dayes.

How the inhabitants of Zempoallan brake
downe their Idolles.

Every day seemed long to Cortez, with the desire to see Muezuma. He now beganne to publish openly his iourney and departure, and chose out of the bodie of his hoste a hundzeth and fiftie men, which he thought sufficient to leaue for safegarde of the newe towne and fort, which was almost finished, and appointed Pedro de Hircio their Captaine, leauing with them two hozses, and two small peeces of Ordnance, with many Indians to serue them, and fiftie Townes rounde about them in faithfull friendship and league, out of the which Townes they might alwayes haue at their neede fiftie thousande men of warre: and he departed with the residue of his Spanyardes towarde Zempoallan, which might bee foure leagues from thence, and was scarcely come to the Towne, when newes was brought him that foure Shippes of Francisco Garray sayled along his coast, and were in sight of Vera Crux. With this newes he returned incontinent with a hundzeth of his men, suspecting euill of those Shippes. At his comming to Vera
Crux,

Newes for
Cortez.

Cruz, his Captaine there enforced him how he had gone himselfe to know what they were, and from whence they came, and what they would, but could speake with none of them. Cortez being informed how they roade at anchor, toke Captaine Hircio and certaine of his company to expect their comming a shoze, suspecting them muche, because they roade so farre off, being by signes and tokens willed to come into the Harboz. Cortez hauing wandered neare thre miles, mette with thre Sparades whiche came from the shippes; the one of them saide that he was a Potary, and the other two were to serue for witnesses in their affaires, which was, to ascite and notifie certaine writings, whiche they shewed not: and also to require Cortez by vertue of the same, to come and make repartitio of that countrey with Captaine Garay their generall, for their said Captaine presented that conquest (as first discoverer of the same,) certifying mozeouer that he was determined to inhabite twentie leagues distāt from that place West wards, neare vnto Nahuclan, whiche now is called America. Cortez answered, that they should return vnto their shippes, and to will their Captaine to come to Vera Cruz with his familie, and there they would commune togither aboute his comming, and if he stood in neede of any thing it should be prouided. And if it were (as they reported) that he was comen on the Kings affaires; he would gladly fauour his proceedings, considering that he and all his were there in seruice of his highnesse, how muche moze being 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 Cortez was. With this answer Cortez understod þ matter, and layde holde of them; and went and placed himself in ambushe behinde a little hill of sande; whiche stood right ouer against the shippes, being neere sunne set, and

The Conquest of

kept there that night till day approached, and the morning farre spent, hoping that Garay his Pilote or some of his company would come ashore, meaning likewise to apprehend them, for to be certified what course they had made, and what hurt they had done, and finding them guiltie, to send them prisoners into Spaine, likewise he desired to know whether they had spoken with any vassals of Mutezuma, and seeing they came not a land his suspicion was the greater.

A wise practice.

Cortez commaunded thre of his men to change apparel with the thre messengers that came from Garay, and this done, caused them to goe to the sea side, waiting with clokes, and calling for the shippe boate, now those of the shippes thought by their apparel that they were their owne men, and came with a dozen persons in the skiffe, with Crossebowes and Handgunnes. Then Cortez his men which were cloathed in other mens garments, hidde themselues among bushes, as who would say, they were gone into the shadowe, for to flee from the great heate of the Sun, being at that time high none, and because they should not be knowne.

The Mariners of the Skiffe set a lande two men with Hargabushes, and other two men with Crossebowes, and an Indian who went straightway to the bushes, thinking to find their fellows. Then kept forth Cortes and caught them before they could gette aboard the Skiffe, although they meant to haue defended themselues, so that one of them who was a Pilote, hauing his Hargabushie readie charged, & wold haue shot at captain Hircio, and assuredly if his match and powder had bene good he had slaine him. When the generall aboard the ships perceiued this deceit, wold abide no longer, & commaunded to make saile, not tarrying for his skiffe. By these seuen men taken at two times Cortes was satisfied, & also certified how captain Garay had sayled

sayled along the coast seeking Florida, and arrived in a river, the King of that province was called Panuco, where they founde little golde, bartering aboard their shippes, all their golde passed not thre thousande Castellins, but in exchaunge of things of small value, nothing contented Garay on that voyage, because the quantitie of golde was small and not fine.

With this newes Cortez returned to Zempoallan with his men which he brought in his company: and there concluded and fully agreed with those Indians, to pull downe their Idols & Sepulchres of their Cazike, which they did reverence 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 gave vnto him gages to bee alwaies faithfull of word and promise, and offered vnto him as many men fit for warre and seruice as he wold require. Cortez receined the gages which were of the principallest persons of the townes, as Mamexi Texuch, & Tamalli, he toke also a thousand Tamemes, that is to say, men that are carriers, who ordinarily taketh his burden vpon his backe which is halfe a hundreth waight, and those fellows followe the campe with their bag and baggage: These men serued for horses to draw the ordnance, and to carry other munition and victuals.

How Olintec exalted the mightie power
of Mutezuma.

Cortez departed from Zempoallan, leauing y^e towne named Suillia, toward Mexico, the sixtene day of August of the same yeare, with 400 Spaniards and 15 horses, & 6 peeces of ordnance, & 1300 Indians with the carriers & men of Cuba. And whē Cortez departed frō

The Conquest of

Zempoallan, he had not one bassall of Mutezuma in his campe, to lead them the way toward Mexico, for al were stricke, lacking the new league, or else by commaundement of their Lord, & the Indians of Zempoallan knew not well the way.

The first three daies iourney the army passed through countrey of their friendes, and were lovingly receiued and lodged, especially in Xalapan. The fourth day they came to Sicuchimatl, which is a strong place situated on a hill side very craggy, and the way to passe thereunto is made with force of mans hande as a steyre. And if the inhabitants thereof would haue resisted the entraunce, with great difficultie both 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 saide to Cortez, 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 alwaies prouided there of 5000. men of warre.

Cortez gaue great thankes to the Lord for his curtesie and good entertainement, muche esteeming the good will of his Lord Mutezuma, and so departed from thence, and wente to passe ouer amountaine very high, the passage wherof he named Nombre de dios, because it was the first that he had passed, being so asperous and highe, that there is none suche in all Spaine, for it contained directly vpright three leagues, and hath in many places grapes and trees with honte. And descending towne on the other side of that hill, they came to a towne called Theuhixuacan, which is a forte and friende to Mutezuma, where our army was receiued and entertained as in the other towne behinde.

And

And from thence he travelled three dayes in a countrey inhabitable, and passed some necessitie of hunger, & much more of thirst, because all the water that they founde was saltish, and many of his men for want of other, dranke thereof, whereof they fell into sicknesse: and suddenly fell a marvellous haile, with great colde, which increased their grief, yea, and the Indians of their company thought there to end their lives, & some of the Indians of Cuba died there through nakednesse, not being accustomed to so cold a countrey. After the fourth journey of euill way, they ascended by an other hill, and vpon the top thereof, (to their iudgement) they found a thousande Cart loades of wood roadie cut, neare to a little towler of idolles: they named that place the port of wood: and hauing passed two leagues from the port of wood, they found the Countrey barren, and poore, but sone after the armie came to a place which they named white Castell, because the Loydes house was of stone berie white and newe, and the best that they had sene in all that countrey, and so curiously wrought, that they maruelled thereat: that towne in their language is called Zaclocan, and the valley nere vnto it is named Zacatami, and the Loydes name is Olintec, who receiued Cortez honozably, and provided for him and his company abundantly, being so commanded by Mutezuma, as he reported afterward.

And in token that he had receiued that commission from his Lord, he commaunded fiftie men to be sacrificed for ioy, whose blood they saw new and fresh. The Townes men of that towne carried the Spaniards on their shoulders, on such beares as we carry dead men to Church. Cortez enioyned them (by his interpreters) of the cause of his coming into that countrey, as he had used in other places, and demanded whether the Lord of this towne were tributary to Mutezuma. This Cazike being amazed

A strange ioy.

The Conquest of

at his question, answered, saying: What is he that is not
 eyther slaue or bassall to the great Mutezuma. When Cor-
 tenez certified him, who and what the Emperour king of
 Spaine was, willing him to be his friend and seruicour,
 and further enquired if he had any gold to send him some.
 This Cazike answered that he would do nothing without
 the commaundement of his Lozde, nor yet sende his king
 any golde although he had inough. Cortez, dissimuled the
 matter, and helde his peace, yet by and by he desired to
 knowe the Paiekie and mightie power of Mutezuma,
 the Cazik, answered, that Mutezuma was Lozde 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 dwelling was in the most beauti-
 fullest and strongest citie of all that euer was enhabited,
 likewise (quoth he) his house and courte is most greate,
 noble, and replenished with Gentlemen, his riches incre-
 dible, and his charges excessiue. And truely therein he
 saide the very troth, excepte in the sacrifice wherein he
 something enlarged, although the slaughter of men for sa-
 crifice in euery temple was very great, yea and some hold
 opinion, that some yeres were sacrificed aboue. 50000.
 men. Being in this conuersatio, came two Gentilmen of
 that halley to see the Spaniards, and eche of them pre-
 sented vnto Cortez foure women slaues, & certaine collers
 of golde of small price. Olentec although he was bassall
 to Mutezuma, was a greate Lozde, and had. 20000. vas-
 sals, and thirtie wiues altogether in his house, beside a
 hundred other women that attended vpon them. And had
 for his gard a houshold. 2000. persons, his towne was
 great, & had 13. temples in it, & eche temple many idolls of
 stone of diuers fashions, befoze whom they sacrificed men,
 boues, quailles, & other things wth perfumes & great bene-
 ratiou.

ration. In this place and territozie, Mutezuma had 5000 souldiers in garrison, and ordinarie postes from thence to Mexico. Untill this time, Cortes had not so ample vnderstande the might 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, which perhaps would haue amazed some valiant persons, yet hee shewed not one iote of cowardise, hauing heard such a report of that mightie Prince, but rather his desire was so much the moze to see him.

Considering now that he should passe through Taxcallon, to go to Mexico, Taxcallon being a great & strong Citie, and warlike people, he dispatched foure Zempoallanezes to the Lords and Captaines of that Citie, on the behalfe of Zempoallan and his owne, offering vnto them his friendship and fauour, giuing them to vnderstande, that those selue Chyistians would come vnto their Citie to serue them, desiring the to accept the same, thinking assuredly that those of Tlaxcallon would haue done with him as the Zempoallanezes had don, which were both good and faithfull, who had alwaies vsed truth with him, euen so he thought that now he mought credit the, for they had enforced him, that the Tlaxcaltecas were their friends, and so would be his, considering that they were vtter enemies to Mutezuma, and willingly would goe with him to the siege of Mexico, with desire of libertie, and to reuenge olde iniuries and griefes, which they had suffered many yeares befoze of the people of Culhua. Cortez refreshed himselfe in Zaclotan fine daics, where is a fresh river, and quiet folke, pulling downe the Idols, and placed a remembrance of Chyist crucified, as hee had done in all the towne that he had passed.

He toke his leaue of Olinclie, leauing him wel pleased, & went to a towne 2 leagues fro thence along the river side, where

The Conquest of

whereof was lord Iztacmixclican, one of the Gentlemen who had given him the slaues and collers of gold.

This towne standeth in a plain ground of two leagues compasse, which is replenished with so many houses as doth seme to touch one another, in that way that our army passed; and the towne it selfe doth containe fise thousand housholdes, standing on an hill, and on the one side thereof is the Roides house with a strong fort, being the best yet seme in those parties, walled with good stone with burbucan and deepe ditch. There Cortez rested himselfe thre dayes, abiding the foure messengers which he sent from Zacloton, to knowe the answer that should be bzought.

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



A strange wall.

Cortez seeing the long taryng of the messengers, he departed fro Zacloton without any intelligence fro Tlaxcallan. Our camp had not marched much after their departure from that place, but they came to a great circuite of stone made without lime or moztel, being a fadom and a halfe high, & twentie fote brode, with lope holes, so shote at: that wall crossed ouer all the vally, from one mountaine to another, and but one onely entrance or gate, in the which the one wall doubled agaynst the other, and the way there was fourtie paces broad, in such fort, that it was an euill and perillous passage, if they had ben there to defend it. Cortez demanded the cause of their circuite, and who had built it, Iztacmixclican that went to beare him companie, tolde him that it was but a diuision from their countrey and Tlaxcallan, and that their antecessors had made the same
to

to disturbe the entraunce of the Claxcaltecas in time of warre, who came to robbe and murther them, because of the friendship betwixte them and Mutezuma, whose vassals they were:

That strange and costly wall, seemed a thing of great maiestie to our Spaniards, and moze superfluous then profitable, yet they suspected that the Traxcaltecas were valiant warriors, who had suche defence made against them. And as Cortez and his army stood beholding this worke, Iztacmixtlican thought he had bin afraide to proceede forward, and prayed him (soz so much as he was his Lozdes friende) not to passe that way, noz yet thzough the Countrey of Tlaxcallan, soz so much as he wente to visit his maister, soz (quoth he) if they knowe you to be my Lozdes friende, they will seeke youre displeasure, as they haue done to others, and I will prouide you of guides to leade you continually thzough the dominion of Mutezuma, where you shall be well receiued and prouided, until you come to Mexico.

But Mamexi and the others of Zempoallan willed him to refuse that offer and counsell in any wise, alleadging that it was an onely pretence to separate them from the friendship of that prouince, whose people were good, honorable, and valiant, and that Iztacmixtlicans perswasion was, to prohibite thez helpe and succoure against Mutezuma, willing him earnestly to giue no credite unto his sayings, soz he and his allyes are false Traytozrs, and meante to bzing him into some snare, where they mighte kill both him and his company, and feede vpon their flesh.

Cortez soz a space was amazed at the talke of by one and the other, but in conclusion he accepted the counsell of Mamexi, soz that he hadde conceiued a better opinion of the Zeampoallanezes his allyed friendes, than of the others.

The Conquest of

thers. And setting all feare aside, hee took the way to Tlaxcallon, bidding Iztacmixelican farwell, & with thre hundred souldiers on a ranke, he entered the way in the wall, and proceeded in god order all the way forwarde, carrying the Ordinance readie charged, and hee himselfe the leader of all his army, yea and sometimes he would be halfe a league befoze them, to discouer and make the way plaine.

And hauing gone the space of thre leagues from that circuite, he commaunded his souldiers to make haste, because it was somewhat late, and hee with his Hozsemen went to descrie the way forwarde, who ascending by a hill, two of the foremost hozsemen mette with fiftene Indians armed with Swords and Targets and tuffes of feathers, which they vse to weare in the warres. These fiftene were spies, and when they sawe the Hozsemen, they beganne to flie with feare, or else to giue aduice.

Then approached Cortes with other thre hozsemen, calling to them to stay, but by no meanes they would abide: then fire hozsemen ranne after them, and ouer-toke them, and ioyned all together, with determination rather to die then to yelde, shewing them signes to stand still, yet the hozsemen comming to laie handes on them, they prepared themselves to battayle, and fought, defending themselves for a while. In this fight the Indians slawe two of they hozles, and as the Spanyards doe witnesse, at two blowes they cutte off a hozle head, bzidle and all. Then came the rest of the hozsemen, and the Armie approached, for there were in sight neare fye thousande Indians in god order, to succoure their fiftene fighting menne, but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slaine with the anger that was taken for the killing of the two hozles.

horses, and woulde not render themselves in time: yet notwithstanding their fellows fought, untill they espyed oure Armie comming and the Ordinance, then they returned, leauyng the felde to oure menne, but our horsemenne followed them, and slewe about thre score and tenne persons of them, without receiuing any hurt.

His done, the Indians sente vnto Cortez two of the foure messengers which hadde bene sent thither befoze with other Indians, saying, that the Tlaxcaltecas knewe nothing of the things that were happened, certifying likewise that those with whome hee had foughte were of other communities, and not of their iurisdiction, being sorrowfull for that whiche hadde passed: and for so muche as it happened in theyr Countrey, they woulde willingly paie for the two Horses whiche were slaine, praying them to come in god time to theyr Towne, who woulde gladly receiue them, and enter into their league of friendshippe, because they seemed to bee valiant menne: but all was a sayned and a false message.

A subtil mes-
sage.

Yet Cortez belieued them, and gaue them thanks for their curteise and god will, and that according to their request hee woulde goe vnto theyr Towne, and accept their friendshippe. And touching the death of his horses, he required nothing, for within short space he expected many more: but yet God knoweth how sorrowfull he was for the want of them, and not only so much for them, as that the Indians should thinke that horses could die, or be slaine.

Cortez proceeded forwarde aboute two leagues where the horses were killed, although it was almost Sunneset, and his men wearied, having travelled farre that day.

The Conquest of

His will was, to haue pitched his Campe in a strong place of water: wherefoze he planted his army by a Riuer side, whereas they remained all that night with god watche both of footemen and hozsemen, fearing some assault: but there was no attempt giuen that night, where by they might haue taken better rest, then they were aware of.

How there ioined a hundred and fiftie thousand men against Cortes.



The next mozning at Sun rising, Cortes departed with his army in god order, and in the midst of them went the sardage and artillerie, and as sone as they were come to a litle vilage there nere at hand, they met with the other two messengers of Zempoallan, who departed frō them at Zaclotan: they came with pitiful chēer, exclaiming of the Captains of y powder of Tlaxcallan, who had bounde them, and deceyning them from returning: but with god fortune, that night they hadde broken loose, and escaped, soz other wise in the mozning following, they had bin sacrificed to the God of Aztotzy, and after the sacrifice, to be eaten, soz a god beginning of their warres, protestting the like to be done with the bearded men, and with as many as came with them.

They had no soner tolde their tale, when there appeared behinde a littel hill about a thousande Indians, very well appointed after their fashion, and came with suche a marvellous noyse and crie, as though theyz voyces shoulde haue pearced the Heauens, hurling at oure menne stones, dartes, and shotte with bowes and arrowes.

Cortes

Cortes made many tokens of peace vnto them, and by his interpreters desired them to leaue the battell. But so much the moze as he entreated for peace, the moze haffie and earnest were they, thinking either to haue overcome them, or else to holde them play, to the intent that the Spaniards should haue followed them to a certaine ambush that was prepared for them, of moze then 80000. 80000. men.

When our men began to cease from words, and to lay hande vpon their weapons, for that companie of a thousand, were as many, as on our side were fighting men, they were well practised in the warres, very valiant, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battell endured certaine houres, and at the ende the Indians being either wearied, or else meaning to take our men in the snare appointed, began to flie toward their maine battell, not as overcome, but to toyne with their owne folke. And our men being hote in the fight and slaughter which was not little, followed them with all their fardage, and vnwares fell into the ambush a. Second battel

among an infinite number of Indians armed, they stayed not because they would not put themselues out of order, and passed throught their campe with great haste & feare. The enemies began to set vpon the horsemen, thinking to haue taken their lances from them, their courage was so stout: many of the Spaniards had their perished, had it not bin for the Indian friends. Likewise the courage of Cortes did much animate them, for although he ledde his armie making way, yet diuerse times, he turned him backe to place his men in order, and to comfort them, and at length came out of that dangerous way into the plaine field, where the horses mought helpe, and the ordinance stonde in stæde, which two things did greatly annoy the enemy to their great wonder and maruell; and

The Conquest of

at the fight thereof began to lie.

In both encounters remained many Indiansaine, and wounded, and of the Spaniards some were hurt, but none killed, giuing most heartie thankes vnto God for their deliuerie from so great a multitude of Indians their enemies, with much ioy and pleasure of the victorie. Then they went to pitch their campe in a Village called Teocazinco, where was a little tower and a temple, and there fortified themselues, and buylt Cottages of bowes and straw. The Indians of Zempoallan, and those of Iztacmixtitan, did play the valiant men that day, wherefoze Cortes honoured them with hearty thanks.

The care of
good soldiers.

This day was the first of September. The night following, our men slept not quietly with feare of inuasion of their enemies, but they came not, for they neuer vse to fight in the night season. And as sone as it was day Cortes sent to the Captaines of Tlaxcallan, to require them of peace and friendship, willing them quietly to suffer the passage thzough theyr Countrey to Mexico, for that they meant them no hurt but rather good will. This done, he left two hundred Spaniards, and the Carreis in the Campe. And tooke with him other two hundred, with seuen hundred Indians, and went with them abzoade to skirmish in the face of their enemies, and at that time burned five or six villages, and returned with foure hundred prisoners, without receiuing any hurt, although they followed him to his campe. At his returne he found the answer of the Captaines his enemies, which was, that the next day they would come and talke with him, and declare their mindes.

Cortez was well pzvented that night, for the answer liked him not, but rather seemed hzaue, and a matter determined to bee done as they had saide: likewise those which were taken prisoners, certified that his enemies were

were ioined together to the nūber of 150000. men to giue ^{1,0000. men.}
him battell the next day following, & to swallow the alius
whom so mortally they did hate, thinking the to be friends
to Mtezuma, vnto whom they wished all euil & mischief.

It was most true that the Tlaxcaltecas had gathered
all their whole power to apprehend the bearded men, and
to make of them a moze solemne sacrifice vnto their gods,
then at any time heretofore they had done, with a gene-
rall banquet of their flesh, which they called Celestiall.
The Captaines of Tlaxcallan deuised their souldiers in-
to four battels, the one to Tepectipac, another to Ocutelul-
co, the third to Fizatlan, and the fourth to Quiahuiztlan,
that is to say, the men of the Mountaines, the men of the
Limepittes, the men of the Pine trees, and the water
men, eery of these had their Lardes and Captaines,
whom they should repaire vnto and obey, and all these
soure sortes of men doth make the bodie of the common
weale and Citie, and also commaunde both in time of
warre and peace. So that eery of these Captaines had
his iust portion or number of warriors, but the general of
all the whole army was called Xicotencatl; who was of the
Limepits; and he had the standart of the Citie, which is a
Crane of gold, with his wings spread, adozned with Em-
eralds & siluer woork, which standart is according to their
vse, either carried befoze the whole host, or else behinde the
all. The second Captaine or Lieutenant was Maxicca-
zin, & the number of the whole army was 150000. men.
Such a great number they had ready against 400. Spa-
niards, and yet at length ouercome, neuertheles after all
this boile, they were most great friends. These foure
captains came w their cōpany, that the fields where they
were, seemed a forest. They were trim fellows, and well
armed according to their vse, although they were painted
so, that their faces shewed like diuels, with great tufts of
leathers,

The Conquest of

feathers and triumphed gallantly. They had also slings, shaftes, speares, swoydes, bowes and arrowes, skulles, splents, gantlets all of Wood, gilt or else covered with feathers or leather, their Cozlets were made of Cotton wool, their targeets and bucklers gallant and strong, made of woodds covered with leather, and trimmed with lason and feathers, their swoydes were shaftes with an edge of flint stone cunningly ioyned into the staffe, which would cut very well, and make a soze wound.

The host (as is declared) was diuided into foure parts, their instruments of warre were hunters hoznes, and drummes called attabals, made like a caldron, and covered with bellam. So that the Spaniards in all the discovery of India did neuer see a better army together, noz better ordered.

The threatning of the Indian campe against
the Spaniards.

These Indians were great braggers, and saide among themselues, what madde people are these that thzeatneth vs, and yet knoweth vs not. But if they will bee so bolde to invade our Countrey without our licence, let vs not set vpon them so sone: it is méete they haue a little less, for we haue time enough to take and binde them, let vs also lend them meat, for they are comen with emptie stomacks: And againe they shall not say that we doe apprehend them with wearinesse and hunger. Whereupon they sent vnto the Christians thre hundred Ginnea cockes, and two hundred baskets of bread called Ceneli. The which present was a great succour for the néede that they stood in. And sone after (quoth they) nowe let vs goe and set vpon them, for
by

A present.

by this time they haue eaten their meate, and now we w^e will eat them, and so shall they pay vs the victuals that we sent: like wise 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 enterprise, they shall receiue they^r reward accordingly. These and such like bragges they vsed, seing so fewe Spaniardes before them, and not knowing their strength. Then the foure Captaines sente two thousand of their valiantest men of warre and olde Souldiers, to take the Spaniardes quietly, with commaundement that if they did resist, either to binde them or else to kill them, meaning not to sette their whole armie vpon them, saying that they shoulde gette but small honour for so great a multitude, to fight against so fewe. The two thousand Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the two Campes, and came boldly to the Towre where the Christians were. Then came forth the Hoylemen, and after them the footemen, and at the first encounter they made the Indians see how 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 talked: But at the thirde bynnte 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.

When the maine battell and whole army sette forth with a terrible and maruellous noise, and came so fierce vpon our menne, till they entred into our campe without any resistance, and there were at handye strokes and wassling with the Spaniardes, and in a good space coulde not gette them out, killing many of them which were so bolde to enter: and in this sort they fought foure howes, before they coulde make way among

R

their

A reckning
made before
the hoste.

Battaille.

The Conquest of

their enemies. And then the Indians began to faint, seeing so many dead on their side, and the greate woundes they had, and that they coulde kill none of the Christians: yet the battaile ceased not till it ozeve néere night and then they retired. Whereof Cortes and his Souldiers were exceeding gladde, for they were fully wored with killing of Indians, so that all that night our men triumphed with moze ioy, then feare, considering that the Indians fought not by night, they slepte and toke their rest at pleasure, which they had not done till that time, but alwaies kept both watche and warde.

The Indians finding many of their hosse missing, yet they would not yeelde themselves as oucrcome, as after did appeare. They coulde not well tell howe many were slaine, noz yet our men had leasure to count them.

Cortes was a
painfull man

The next daye in the mozning Cortes wente forth to runne the fieldes as he had done befoze, leauing halfe his menne to keepe the campe, and because he should e not be espied he departed befoze day, & burned aboute .x. towne, and sacked one towne, which was of thze thousande houses, in the whiche were founde but selue folke of sight, because the most 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 greate pray by none time. The enimies pursued thinking to take away their pray, and followed them into the camp, where they fought siue houres and could not kill one Spaniarde, although many of their side were slaine: for euen as they were many and stood on a throng together, the ordinaunce made a wonderfull spoyle among them, so that they left off fighting, and the victozy remained for our men. The Indians thought that the Spaniardes were inchaunted because their arrowes coulde not hurte them.

The next day following, the seure Captaines sente
thze

thæ feuerall things in present to Cortes, and the messengers that brought them in said: Sir behold here siue slaues, and if thou be that rigorous God that eatest mans fleshe and blood, eate these which we bring vnto thæ, and we will bring thee moe. And if thou be the gentle and meeke God, beholde here Franckinsence and feathers. And if thou be a mortal man, take here soule, bread, & Cherries.

A straunge
presente.

Cortez answered, that both he and his were mortal men euen as they were. And because that alwaies he had vsed to tell them trouth, wherefoze did they vse to tel him lies, and likewise to flatter him, for he desired to bee their friende, aduising them to be made and stubbozne in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they shoulde receive great hurte and dammage. Likewise (quoth he) it is apparant vnto you how many of your side are slaine 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 Cortez his campe to proue their Cozselettes, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broken pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole host of Indians came to combt with our men, and finally all they came to fight, yet the next day they did not in, but euery feuerall captaine by himselfe, for to diuide the better the trauail and paines equally amōg them: & because that one should not disturbe another through þe multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, & in a narrow place, & for this consideration, the ir battails were moze fresher & stronger, for eche captaine did contende who should do most valiantly, for to get honour, and especially in killing one Spaniard, for they thought that all their hurtes shouide be satisfied with the death of one Spaniards, or taking one prisoner.

How many
of our side

Likewise is to be considered, the strangenelle of their battaile, for not withstanding their controuersie

all those fiftene daies that they were there, whether they
 Indian policie. fought or no. The Indians sente vnto the Spaniards
 cakes of bzeade, Ginnea cockes and Cherries. But this
 policie was not to giue them that meate for good will,
 but onely to spie and see what hurt was done amongst
 them, and also to see what feare or Comacke they had
 to pzecebe: but the Spaniards fell not into that recko-
 ning, for the espies of Tlaxcallan saide, that none had
 fought with them but certaine outlawes and knaues
 called Otormies; who liued as vagaboundes without a
 Royde or other ruler: And that they were theues, who
 had they abiding behinde a hill, which they pointed vnto
 with their hande.

How Cortez cut off the handes of fiftie

Indian espies.



The next day after these presentes were set
 vnto them as Goddes, which was the fiftie
 of September; there came to the Campe
 fiftie Indians of Tlaxcallan, which seemed
 after their soyle honest men, and gaue vnto
 Cortez bzead, cherries, & Ginnea cockes, as
 they ordinarily vsed to do, enquiring how all his Span-
 iardes did and what they meant to doe, and whether they
 stood in necessitie of any thing. And after this communica-
 tion they went vp and downe the camp, gazing and behol-
 ding the hozles, armour and attillery, and seemed amazed
 to see such things. But the effect of their coming was the
 office of espies.

Teuche of Zempoallan marking these things, who being
 of a childe brought vp in wars, by reason whereof he was
 expert & wise, came vnto Cortez, saying, for it seemeth not
 well, if these Tlaxcaltecas wander by & do lorne your camp
 behal-

beholding the entrance and going out of the same, to be-
 holde likewise the softitude and weaknesse of your po-
 wer, I like it not: It may please you to make enquire
 whether they be espies or no. Cortez hauing heard his
 tale, gaue him heartie thanks for his god aduice, yea
 and maruelled, that neyther he himselfe, nor none of his
 Spanyardes 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.

The good
 aduice of a
 friend.

Now the originall cause was not because Teuch was
 moze wise then the Christians, but by reason that he had
 seene and heard those Indians commune with the subiects
 of Iztacmixtitan to feele their desire, and with craft and
 subtiltie to obtaine their desire: whereby Cortez vnder-
 stood that those fellows came not to any good purpose: he
 apprehended that Indian which stode next vnto him, and
 hauing him alone from his fellowes, by his Enterpre-
 ter's examined him effectually, who incontinent confes-
 sed that he was a spie, and that his coming thither was
 to vie w the way how to enter their Campe for to spoyle
 and burne their Tentes: and for so much as they had pro-
 ued fortune all the houres of the day, and all happened
 contrary to their desire, against their auncient fame and
 glozy which they had obtained by noble exployts in wars,
 they now meant to prone their successe by night, hoping
 of better fortune: and also because their souldiers should
 not feare the noises, with the darkenesse of the night,
 nor the blowes or stripes of the bright swordes, nor yet
 the fire and terrible noyse of the Ordnance: and that
 Captaine Xicotecual was already appointed for that en-
 terpryse, with prouise of many thousand souldiers which
 late in a bush in a vale behinde certain hilles, right ouer
 against their Campe.

Confession.

After this confession taken, Cortez full prudently con-

The Conquest of

maunded to take also the seueral confessions of other foure
or five, who likewise confessed that they were all espies,
bypon whose confessions they were all fittie taken priso-
ners, and iudgement giuen, that their one hand should be
cut off, which was sozthwith executed, and then were re-
turned to their Camp, signifying vnto them that the like
iustice should bee executed bypon as many espies as they
might take. And also they were charged to thewe vnto
their General who had sent them, that both day and night
he would be readie for them.

A good cor-
rection.

When the Tlaxcaltecas sawe their espies come in this
picke, they were in a maruellous feare, and it seemed a
newe world vnto them, they also beleued that our men
had some familiar spirites that did instruct them of their
thoughts, and with feare of cutting off hands, there went
no moe espies with victualls.

An Embassage that Mutezuma sent to
Hernando Cortez.

W^Hen these espies were gone, our men espied out
of our Camp a great multitude of men goe cross-
sing ouer a hill, and it seemed that they were those that
the Captaine Xicotencatl had in ambush, and although
it was neare night, Cortes determined to followe them,
and not to abide their coming, fearing at the first byunt
they might set fire among his cottages, as was pretended
among them, which pretence hauing taken effect, might
haue bene the destruction of all his men, either by the fire
or otherwise, wherefoze he put all his men in good order,
and commaunded the hoysen to decke the breast plates
of his hoyses with belles, and then proceeded toward their
enemies,

A carefull
Captaine.

enemies, who durst not abide their coming, hauing intelligence of the cutting of their espies hands, and likewise hearing the new noyse of belles, yet our men followed them till two houres within night, through many sowerne fieldes of Ceuili, and slew many of them, and then returned with victorie to the Campe.

At that season were come sixe noble men from Mexico, who brought two hundred seruing men to wait vpon them. They brought vnto Cortez a present, which was a hundred garmentes of cotten, and some of feathers, and a thousand peeces of gold.

Ambassage
from Mutezuma.

These embassadoz on the behalfe of Mutezuma, declared, that their Lozd would be friend with the Emperour, and also with him, and his company, requesting to know what tribute he would yearely demaund, in golde, plate, pearles, slaues, or garmentes, or of any other thing that was within his kingdome, and the same tribute hee would well and truely pay without delay, with such condition, that neither hee nor his company shoulde come vnto Mexico. And this request (quoth they) is not only because you shoulde be disturbed to come into his countrey, but chiefly because the way is euill, barren, and full of rockes, which let doth graue Mutezuma, that suche valiaunt men as yee be shoulde suffer in his Countrey, lying in his power not to remedie it.

Excuses.

Cortez did thankefully receiue the present and gentle offer for the Emperour King of Castile: but (quoth he) my earnest desire is, that you depart not till ye see the end of these warres which I haue now in hand, because ye shall carrie newes thereof to Mexico what I pretend to doe against these mortall enemies of Mutezuma.

Then Cortez fell into an ague, for which cause he went

not

The Conquest of

not out to skirmish as he was wont to do, but only prouided to make his Camp strong against certaine flockes of Indians, which came daily to skirmish, for that was as ordinary, as the meat that was wont to be brought to them: but yet these skirmishes no furie of the Indians were not like to their fierce beginning.

Cortez now meaneth to take a purgation for his ague: and toke certaine pilles which hee brought with him from Cuba, at such houre of the night as is vsed for purgations.

It happened that the next day following, befoze his purge had wrought, came three great companies of Indians to bessege his Campe. It should seme that those Indians had some intelligence of his sicknesse, or else thinking with feare that he durst not come abroad as he was wont to do.

A valiant captainc.

Cortez being aduertised of this newes, without any more respect to his purgation taken, toke his hozse, and with his menne came to the encounter, and foughte with his enemies all day till it was night, 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 bene newly taken. I doe not rehearse this for a miracle, but to declare what he passed: for Hernando Cortes was a greate sufferer of trauell and paynes, and one of the first that alway was at any assay or burnt of enemies, and hee was not onely a good man of his hands, but also graue in counsell. And hauing thus purged himselfe, and taken rest those dayes, hee 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 esteemed, but rather muche the more beloued among his men.

How

How Cortez wanne a great Citie called
Zimpanzinco.



Ln an euening Cortez went by to the
toppe of his Towre, and looking round
about him, he espied about four leagues
distant in the Mountaines amongst
rockes, and proceeding out of a wood
diuers smokes, whereby he imagined
people to be there: hee opened not his
minde to any man, but commaunded

two hundred of his men to follow him, and some
Indians his friends, and within thre or foure houres of the night
he toke his iourney toward the Mountaines, being very
darke. He had not fully gone a league, when sodainly ap-
peared the likenesse of a greate Bull whiche ouerthelwe
them that they could not stirre. The first horseman being
fallen, they aduised Cortez therof, who answered, that he
should returne with his horse to the Campe: and incont-
inent fell another, Cortes commaunded him the like: and
when thre or foure were fallen, his company retired, say-
ing: it was an euill token, desiring him to returne and a-
bide the morning, that they might see whither they went.

He answered, saying, ye ought to giue no credit to witch-
craftes or fantasies, for God, whose cause we take in hand,
is aboue all nature: wherefoze I will not leaue my pre-
sented iourney, for I do imagine that of this nights tra-
uell shall come great ease and pleasure, saying, that the
Diuell hath in this forme of a Bull appeared, to disturbe
vs. He had no soner ended his talke, when his horse fell
likewise: then counsell was taken what was best to bee
done.

It was determined that the horses which were fallen,

should

should

An euill spirit
appeared.

A couragious
Captaine.

should be returned to the Campe, and that of the residue, each Horseman should leade his horse by the bridle, and so proceede on their way, and shortly after their horses were well againe, but they neuer knew of what motion they had fallen: with the darkenesse of the night they lost their way to the Mountaines, and chanced into a cragged rock way, that they thought neuer to haue come out thereof.

And after a while that they hadde gone this euill way, with their haire flauing with very feare, they espied a little light, and tooke the way thither, where they founde a little house, wherein were two women, and those women, with other two women that afterwardes they mette, conducting them to the Wildernesse, where they had espied the smoke, and before day they sette by on certaine Villages, and slewe manie, yet they burned not those Villages, because they shoulde not be perceiued through the light thereof. They receiued their aduise, that nere at hand were great populations, and soone after he came to Zimpanzinco, a towne of twentie thousand houses, as after did appeare by the visitation of Cortes. These inhabitantes being vnauised of this suddaine hap, were taken in their beddes, and came out all naked through the streets, to know what the great mourning and lamentation meant: at the first entrance many were slaine, but because they made no resistance, Cortes commaunded to cease from killing, no yet to take any of their goodes, or women.

A famous
Cortes.

The feare of these pooze inhabitantes was so great, that they fled without respect of the father to the childe, or husbande to the wife, or yet either of house or goodes.

Cortes commaunded signes of peace to bee made unto them, and with that they staid, and before the Sunne risings

the west India.

131

rising, the Towne was pacified.

Cortez went vp into a Towre to descry the Countrey, and there espied a most great population : hee then demaunded what it was : answere was made that it was called Tlaxcallan, and the Towne thereto appertaining. Then he called his Spaniards, and saide vnto them : beholde, what would it haue preuailed vs to kill these poore soules, hauing yonder so manie enemies : and without doing anye moze hurte in that Towne, hee went to a faire Fountaine there at hande, and thither came the Rulers of that Towne, and other foure hundred menne without weapon, and brought with them muche victuall, most humbly they besought Cortez to doe them no moze hurte, giuing him likewise great thanks, that hee hadde so fauourably vled them, offering bath to serue and obey him, and from that day forwarde they woulde not onely keepe his friendship, but also frauell with the Lordes of Tlaxcallan and others, that they should doe the same. Cortes replied, that sure he was, howe they hadde fought against him before that time, although that now they brought him meate, yet notwithstanding hee pardoned them, and also receiued them into his seruice and friendship, to the vse of the Emperour.

With this communication hee departed from them, and returned to the Campe very ioyfull with so good successe, hauing suche a dangerous beginning, with the sodaine fall of their hozes, wherein the prouerbe is fulfilled, which saith, Speake not euill of the day, till it bee at an end.

They hadde also a great hope, that those newe friends woulde bee a meane, to cause the Tlaxcaltecas to leaue from warre, and to become their friends.

S. 2.

From

The Conquest of

From that day forward, he commaunded that none of his Campe should doe any hurt to any Indian, and certified his men that the same day his warres were at an end with that prouince.

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



When Cortez was returned so ioyfully to his camp, he found some of his men discouraged with the sadaine mishap of the hozses, fearing that like wise some misfortune had hapned to Cortes, but when they sawe him come well, and with victoꝝ, their ioy was great, although true it is,

that many of his men were not well pleased, but desired much to leaue the warres, and to returne to the coast, as they had often requested, but now chiefly seeing such a great country, and full of people, who would not permit there abiding there, and they being so few in number in the midst among them without hope of succour, certainly things to be feared.

Murmuration

With this murmuratiō they thought it good to talk with Cortes, and also to require him to proceede no further, but returne backe againe to Vera Cruz, from whence by little and little they might haue intelligence with the Indians, and thereupon proceede according to time, and that hee might prouide moze hozses and men, which was the chiefest prouision of the warre.

And although some secretly enformed Cortes of this matter, yet hee gaue no eare to their talke, but on a night as hee came out of his Tower to ouerlooke the watch, hee heard a loude talke out of one of the Cottages, and beganne to hearken what their communication was,

was, and the matter was, that certaine souldiers sayde these woordes: If our Captaine be madde, and goe where he may be slaine, let him go alone, what néede we to follow him. Cortez hearing this talke, called two of his friends for witnesse, willing them to hearken his souldiers talke, for he that durst speake such woordes would be readie to doe it. Also he heard others say, what shall our journey be as Pedro Carbonerotes was? who went into Barbaria to take Hozes, and he and all his were there slaine, wherefoze said they, let vs not follow him, but turne in time. It grieved Cortes much to heare this talke, who woulde faine haue corrected them, but it was not then time, wherefoze he determined to lead them with sufferance, and spake vnto them as followeth.

The Oration made by Cortez to his
Souldiours.



After and louing friends, I did chose you for my fellowes, and ye chose mee for your Captaine, and all was for the seruice of God, and the augmenting of his holy faith, and also the seruice of our soueraigne Lord the king, now Emperour: and next for our owne commoditie, I (as ye haue séene) haue not failed, nor yet displeaséd yé, nor ye likewise haue otherwise done to me vnto this day. But now I doe feele faintnesse in some, yea and an euill will to goe forward in the warres which we haue in hand: but (God be prayeséd) it is now finished, at the least the ende is vnderstande, what it may be, and also the wealth that may follow, as partly you haue séene, but much without comparison of that you haue not séene, which is a thing that doth exceede

The Conquest of

the greatnesse of our wordes or thoughts.

Fear not (my louing fellowes) to goe and abide with me, God forbidde that I should thinke, yea or that any should report, that feare bereth my companie, or else disobedience to their Captaine, which is a perpetuall infamie, if wee should leaue this lande, this warre, this way already made, and returne as some doe desire, shall we then liue at rest, loytering as idle and losse folke: God forbidde, that euer our Nation should haue such a name, hauing warres of honour. And whether (I pray) shall the Dre goe where hee shall not helpe to plough the ground? Doe ye thinke peradventure that ye shall finde lesse people, worse armed, and not farre from the sea? I doe assure you, that in so thinking ye seeke after sine sette for a Catte, yea, and you shall trauell no way, but that you shall meeete some euill passage (as the Proverbe sayth) yea and farre worse than this that we haue in hande. For why (God be thanked) since wee came into this Countrey, we neuer wanted meate, friends, neither money nor honour. For now we see that ye are esteemed more than menne, yea as persons immortall, and Gods, if it might be spoken, for these Indians being so many, and without number, and so armed, as ye your selues affirme, yet can they not kill one of vs: and as touching their weapons, you see that they are not poysoned, as the Indians of Carthagen, Verragna, and the Caribez doe vse, which haue killed many of our Nation therewith, dying as madde menne raging.

And if there were no other cause then this onely, you should not seeke others, with whome to warre: I doe confesse that the Sea is somewhat farre from vs, and neuer Spantiarde trauelled so farre into the maine lande of India, as we haue done: for why? now we leaue the
Sea

Sea a hundzeth and fiftie miles behinde vs, noz yet euer any hath come to neare Mexico where Mutezuma doth reside, from whome such messages and Treasure wee have received. It is nowe but thre scoze miles thither, and the woꝛst is past, as you doe see, if wee come thither, as I trust in Iesus wee shall, then shall we not onely gette and winne foꝛ the Emperoure our naturall Loꝛde, a riche lande, great Kingdomes, infinite Vassalles, but likewise foꝛ our selues much riches, as Golde, Siluer, Precious stoncs, Pearles, and other commoditie: and besides this, the greatest honour that euer any nation did obtaine. Foꝛ loke how great a king this is, howe large his Countrey is, and what great multitude of people hee hath, so much the moze is our glorie.

Besides all this, wee are bound as Chyistians, to exalt and enlarge our Catholike faith, as we haue begunne, abolishing Idolatrie and blasphemie against our Sauour Chyist, taking away the bloudie Sacrifice and eating of mans flesh, so horrible and agaynst nature, and many other grieuous sinnes so much here vsed, foꝛ the foulness wherof I name them not. And therefore (I say) feare you, noz yet doubt you the victorie, considering that the woꝛst is past. Of late we ouercame the Indians of Tabasco, and also an hundzed and fiftie thousand this other day of the Tlaxtaltecas, who haue the onely name of breakers of Lions iawes: so with Gods helpe you shall be conquerours of the rest, if ye faint not, and follow me.

All his companie was pleased and content with this comfortable exhortation, and those that were faint hearted recovered strength. And his valiant Souldiours recovered double strength, and those who hated him, began to honour him: and in conclusion he departed from thence
extending

The Conquest of

exceeding wel beloued of all his company. But al his former talke was very needfull as time then required: for why? some of his (as you haue heard) were desirous to returne: likewise vpon dissention, rebellion mought haue growne, and he forced to returne to the sea coast, where all his toyle and trauell taken had bene lost.

How Xicotencatl came for Embassadour to
Cortez his campe.

Cortez had not so soone made an ende of his talke, when Xicotencatl came entering into the campe, who was chiefe and generall captaine in Tlaxcallan, and of all the wars: he brought in his companie fiftie persons of authozitie to keepe him companie. They approched nere where Cortez was, and saluted ech other according to the vse of their country. Their salutations ended, and the parties setten downe, Xicotencatl began the talk, saying: Sir, I am come on mine owne behalf, and also of my fellow captaine, and lieutenant Maxixca, and in the name of many other noble personages, and finally in the name of the whole state & common weale of Tlaxcallan, to beseech and pray you to admit vs into your friendship, and to yeld our selues and country vnto your King, craving also at your hand pardon for our attempt in taking armes against you, wee not knowing what you were, nor what you sought for in our Country. And where we presumed to resist and defende your entrance, wee did it against the strangers whom wee knewe not, and such menne as wee had neuer heretofore seene: and fearing also that you had bene friends to Mutezuma, who is, and alwayes hath bene our moztall enemy. And these things we suspected, seeing Mutezuma his seruants in

in your company, or else wee imagined that you were comen to blurpe our libertie, the which oft times without memorie wee haue possessed, as our forefathers did with the shedding of their blood. And of our owne naturall provision wee want Cotten wool to cloath vs, wherefoze in time past wee went as naked as wee were bozne, but some of vs vsed other cloth to couer our nakednesse, made of the leaues of the tree called Melt: and Salt also we wanted, which two things so necessarie to humane life, Mutezuma had great store, and other our enemies, of whome wee are round about environed. And likewise where wee haue no golde stones of value, or any rich thing to barter with them, of verie pure necessitie many times wee are forced to sell our owne bodies to buy these wantes. And this extremitie (saide he) wee needed not, if that wee would bee subiectes and vassals to Mutezuma. But yet had wee rather all in generall to ende our liues, then wee woulde putte our selues in such subiection, for we thinke our selues as valiaunt menne in courage as our forefathers were, who alwayes had resisted agaynst him, and his grandfather, who was as mightie as now is he: we woulde also haue withstande you and your force, but wee 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 bee subiect vnto you then vnto any others. For we haue knowne and heard by the Zempoallanezes, that you doe no euill, nor came not to bere any, but were most valiaunt and happie, as they had seene in the warres, being in your companie. For which consideration, we trust that our libertie shall not be diminished, but rather our owne persons, wiues, and familie, better preferred, and our houses and husbandrie not destroyed.

The Conquest of

destroyed. And in some of all his talke, the teares trickling downe his cheekes, he besought Cortes to way that Tlaxcallan did neuer at any time reknowledge any superior King or Lozde, nor at any time, had commen any person among them to commaunde, but onely he, whome they did voluntarily elect and chose as their superioz and ruler.

It can not be tolde, how much Cortez reioyced with this Embassage, and to see such a mighty Captaine come vnto his campe to submitte himselfe: and also it was a matter of great waight to haue that Citie in subiection, for the enterprize which he had in hande, whereby he fully made an account that the warres were at an ende, to the great contentation of him and his company, and with great fame and reputation among the Indians.

Cortez with a mery and louing countenance answered, laying to their charge the hurte and damage whiche he had receiued in their countrey, because they refused at the first to hearken vnto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into their countrey, euen as he had required and desired by his messengers of Zempoallan sente vnto them from Zaclotan. Yet at this not withstanding he did both pardon the kylling of his two hozles, the assaulting of him in the highe way, and the greate lies, which they had moste craftily vsed with him, (for where as they themselves sought against him, yet they laide the faulte on others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambush prepared for him, (enticing him to come to their Citie,) without making first defiance, according to the law of armes.

These causes notwithstanding, he did louingly receiue their offer made in subiection to the Emperour, and in this soze departed, saying, that shortly he would be with him in Tlaxcallan, and presently he coulde not goe
with

the west India.

139

with him for the dispatch of the Ambassadors of Mutezuma.

The receiuing and entertainment of Cortez
in Tlaxcallan.



I grieved much the Embassadors of Mutezuma; to see Xicotencates in the Spanish Camp, and the offer made vnto Cortez in the behalfe of his King, of their persons, Citie and gods, aduising Cortez to giue credit vnto them, for all their saying (quoth they) is treason and lies, and to the entent to locke you vp

in their Citie.

Cortez answered, that although their aduice were true, yet he did determine to go thither, for that he feared them lesse in the Towne then in the fielde. They hearing this answer 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 answer to their Ambassage, promising within fixe dayes to haue newes from Mexico, and still then prayed him not to depart with his Campe.

Cortez graunted their request, and abode there the time appointed, expecting the answer. In this meane season came many of Tlaxcallan to the camp, some brought Guinea cockes, other brought bread and cherries, and gaue it for nothing in comparison, with merry countenance, desiring them to goe home with them vnto their houses.

The sixth day the Mexican came, according to promise, and brought vnto Cortez tenne Jewelles of Golde, both ^{A rich present,} rich and well wrought, and a fiftene thousand garments of Cotten exceeding gallant, and most earnestly besought

¶ 2 hum

The Conquest of

him on the behalfe of Mutezuma, that he should be danger himselfe in trusting to the wordes of the Tlaxcaltecas, who were so poore that with necessitie would robbe him of the things whiche his maister had sent him, yea and likewise murder him, knowing of the friendshippe betwene his maister and him: likewise all the chiefest Lozdes of Tlaxcallan came to intreate him to goe with them to Tlaxcallan where he should be cherished, lodged, and well prouided. For it was a greate dishonour and shame for them to permitte suche personages to abide in such vile cottages as they were in.

And if (quoth they) you truste vs not, that then we are ready to giue you for your securitie whatsoeuer gages you shall demaunt: notwithstanding they did bothe sweare and faithfully promise, that they might safely goe with them, saying also that the Othe and faith of the common weale should neuer be broken for all the goods in the worlde.

Wherevpon Cortez seeing the god will of so many Gentlemen his newe friends, and likewise the Indians of Zempoallan, of whome he had good credite, did so impoortune him and assure him of his going, he commaunded his sardage to be laden and also his ordinaunce, and departed towarde Tlaxcallan, whiche was fixe leagues from that place, with as good order as it had bene to a battaile: And at the Towre where he had pitched his campe, he left certaine Crosses for a memoirie, with a greate heape of stones, and entred into Tlaxcallan the eighteenth of September. There came out such a multitude of people to see him and to make him in the way, that it was a wonder to see.

Entrance into
Tlaxcallan.

He was lodged in the greatest temple, which had many greate and faire lodgings, sufficient for him and all his companie, except the Indians his friends which were lodged.

lodged in other Temples. He set certaine limittes, out of the which he commaunded straightely that none of his company should passe, vpon paine of deathe, and also commaunded that they should take nothing, but what should be giuen them. His commaundement was well obserued, for none presumed to goe a stoanes cast withy out his licence. The Indian Gentlemen thewed great pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and prouided them of all things necessarie, and manye of them gaue theyz daughters vnto them, in token of true friendshippe, and likewise to haue fruite of their bodies, to be bzought vp for the warres, being such valiant men.

This Countrey liked well our men, and the greate loue of the people. They abode there at their pleasure twentie daies, in which time they did procure to knowe particularye the estate of the 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 moze graine called Centli gathered, than is in all y^e prouince round about. In times past y^e Citie was called Texcallan, that is to say, a valley betwixt two hills. 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 hath foure goodly strectes, which are called Tepeticpac, Ocorelulco, Tizarlan, Quahuizelan. The first strecte standeth on high vpon a hill, farre from the riuer, which maye be aboute

The Conquest of

halfe a league, and because it standeth on a hill, it is called Tepeticpac, that is to say, a hill, and was the first population which was founded there on high, because of the warres.

An other streete was situate on the hill side towarde the Riuer, because at the building thereof, there were many Pine trees: they named it Ocotelulco, which is to say, a pine apple plot. This street was beautifull, and first inhabited of all the Citie, and there was the chiefest Market place, where all the buying and selling was used, and that place they called Tianquizeli: in that streete was the dwelling house of Maxixca. Along the Riuer side in the plaine, standeth another street called Tizatlan, because there is much lime and chalke. In this streete dwelled Xicotencatl, Captaine generall of the common weale. There is another streete named by reason of the blackish water, Quahuiztlan, but since the Spaniards 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 governed by noble and rich men: they vse not that one alone should rule, but rather ste from that order, as from tyrannie.

In their warres (as I haue sayde before) they haue foure Captaines, which gouerneth each one streete, of the which foure, they do elect a Captaine generall. Also there are other Gentlemen that are vndercaptaines, but a small number. In the warres they vse their standarde to be carried behinde the armie, but when the battaile is to be fought, they place the standarde where all the host may see it, and hee that commeth not incontinent to his auncient, payeth a penaltie. Their standarde hath two Crossebowe arrowes set thereon, which they esteeme as the

the west India.

143

the relikes of their aunce tozs. This standard two old soldiers, and valiant men, báing of the chiefest Captaines, haue the charge to carrie, in the which standard an abusing of southsaying, either of losse or victorie is noted. In this order they shote one of these arrows agaynst the first enemies that they méete, and if with that arrow they doe either kill or hurt, it is a token that they shall haue the victorie: and if it neither kill nor hart, then they assuredly beléue that they shall lose the field.

This Prouince or Lordship of Tlaxcallan, hath 28, villages and townes, wherein is contained 150000. householdes. They are men well made, and good warriours, the like are not among the Indians. They are very poze, and haue no other riches, but onely the graine or cozne called Centli, and with the graine and profite thereof, they doe both cloath themselves, and pay their tributes, and provide all other necessaries. They haue many Market places, but the greatest and most vsed dayly, standeth in the streete of Ocotelulca, which is so famous, that 30000. persons come thither in one day to buy and sell, which is to say, changing one thing for another, for they knowe not what money meaneth.

A strange contradiction.

They sell such things in that market, as here we vse, and all thing vnto them needful to eat, and cloth for themselves, and necessaries for building.

They haue all kinde of good policie in the Citty: there are Goldsmiths, Featherdrellers, Barberes, Hotchouses, and potters, who make as good earthen vessell, as is made in Spaine. The earth is fat and fruitfull for cozne, fruite, and pasture, for among the Pine trees groweth so much grasse, that our men séebe their cattell there, which in Spaine they cannot doe.

Within two leagnes of that Citty standeth a rounde hill of five miles of heighth, and five and forty miles in compasse,

compasse, and is now called Saint Bartholmeues hill, where the snow freseth. In times past they called that hill Matealcucie, who was their God for water. They had also a God for wine, who was named Ometochli, for the great ozonkennelle which they used. Their chiefest God was called Camaxtlo, and by another name Mixcoatl, whose Temple stood in the streete of Ocotelulco, in the which temple there was sacrificed some yeares above eight hundred persons. In Tlaxcallan they spake three languages, that is to saye, Nahuatl, which is the courtly speech, and chiefest in all the land of Mexico: another is called Otomir, which is most commonly used in the Villages: There is one onely streete that spake Pinome, which is the grossest speche. There was also in that Citie a common Tayle, where fellows lye in prisons, and all things which they held for sinne, was there corrected.

Correction.

It chanced at that time a Townesman to steale from a Spaniard a little golde, whereof Cortez complained to Maxixca, who incontinent made enquirie, that the offender was found in Chololla, which is another Citie five leagues from thence, they brought the prisoner with the golde, and deliuered him to Cortez, to doe with him his pleasure: Cortez would not except him, but gaue him thanks for his diligence, then was he carried with a Cryer before him, manifesting his offence, and in the Market place vpon a skaffolde they bzake his loynes with a cudgell: our men maruelled to see suche straunge Justice.

The

The answer of the Tlaxcaltecas touching the
leauing of their Idolles.

When Cortez sawe that these people executed Justice, and liued in Religion after their manner, although abhominable and diuellish: and alwayes when he desired them to leaue off from their Idolatrie and that cruell banitie, in killing and eating men sacrificed, considering that none among them how holy soeuer he were, would willingly be slaine and eaten, required them to beleeue in the mosse true God of the Christians, who was the maker of heauen and earth, the giuer of raine, and Creator of all things that the earth produceth only for the vse and profit of mortall man.

Some of them answered, that they would gladly do it, onely to pleasure him, but they feared that the Commons would arise and stone them. Others said, that it was an hard matter to vnbelleue that which their forefathers had so long beleued, and that it should be a cause to condemne their forefathers and themselues.

Others said, that it might be in time they would conuert, seeing the order of the Christian Religion, and vnderstanding the reasons and causes to turne Christians, and likewise perceiuing througely the maner and life of the Christians, with their lawes and customes: and as for warlike seates, they were satisfied, and had scene such trial, that they held them for men inuincible in that point, and that their God did helpe them.

Cortez promised them, that shortly hee would bring them suche men, as should instruct and teache them, and then they should see which way was best, with the great joy and fruite that they shoulde see. They accepting that counsell which hee like a friend had giuen them, and

The Conquest of

foz as much as presently it coude 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 foz him and his company, and if it pleased them, they might also come to see and heare their diuine seruice.

The Indians granted his request, and dayly came among them all the time of their abode there, and some came and dwelwe with the Spaniards, but the chiefest friende was Captaine Maxixca, who neuer went from Cortez.

The discord betwene the Mexicans and Tlaxcalteca.



Cortez being thoroughly satisfied of their hartie good willes, he demaunded of them the estate and riches of Mutezuma. They exalted him greatly, as men that had proued his foze. And as they affirmed, it was nere a hundred yeares that they maintained warre with him and his father Axaiaca, and others his Uncles 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 his people innumerable: foz (quoth they) he ioyneth sometime two hundred thousand men, yea and three hundred thousande foz one battaile. And if it pleased him, he woulde make as manye men double, and there of they were god witnesse, because they had many times fought with the.

Maxixca desired y Cortez shoulde not aduenture himselfe into the power of the men of Culhua, wher at some of the Spaniards feared and suspected euill of the matter.

Cortes.

Cortes tolde him, that notwithstanding al those things which they had tolde him, he was fully minded to goe to Mexico, to visit Mutezuma, wishing him to aduise him what he mought do, or bying to passe for them with Mutezuma, for he should willingly do it, for the curtesie shewed vnto him, and that he beloued Mutezuma would graunt him any lawfull request.

Then they besought him to procure for them a licence to haue cotten wolle and salte out of his Countrey, for (said they) in time of the warres we stode in great needs thereof, and that they had none but suche as they boughte by stealth of the Comercans very deere; in change of golde: for Mutezuma had made a strait lawe, whereby all suche as carried anye of those commodities to them shoulde be slaine. Then Cortez enquired the causes of their disorder and euill neyghbozhood. They answered, that their griefes were olde, and cause of libertie: but as the Ambassadors did affirme, and Mutezuma afterward declare, it was not so, but for other matter farre differente. So that eache partie alleadging their causes, their reasons were, that the yong menne of Mexico and Culhua did exercise and bying them vpp in warlike seates nere vnto them, and vnder theyz noses, to theyz greate annoyance, whereas they mought haue gone to Panuco and Teocantepec, his frontiers a farre off.

Likewise their pretence was, to haue warre with them being theyz neyghbours, 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 needed for that yeare: for it is most certaine if Mutezuma woulde, in one daye hee moughte haue broughte them in subiection, and slayne them all.

The Conquest of

all, toyning his whole power in effect : but his purpose was, to keepe them soz a pray to hunt withall, soz men to be sacrificed to his Goddes, and to eate, so that he would neuer sende but a small Armie against them : whereby it did chance that sometimes those of Tlaxcallan did ouercome.

Cortez receiued great pleasure to heare these discords betwixt his new friends & Mutezuma, which was a thing fit soz his purpose; soz by that meanes hee hoped to bring them all vnder subiection, and therefore he used the one and the other secretly, to build his pretence vpon a good foundation.

At all this communication there stood by certaine Indians of Verozinco, which had bene against our men in the late warres, the which Towne is a Citie as Tlaxcallan, and toynd with them in league of friendship against Mutezuma, who oppressed them in like effect of slaughter soz their Temples of Mexico, and they also yielded themselues to Cortez soz vassals to the Emperour.

The solemne receiuing of the Spaniards
into Chololla.

The Ambassadors of Cortez seeing the determination of Cortez to proceede on his iourney toward Mexico, they besought him to goe by Chololla; whiche stood six leagues from thence, certifying that Chololla was a citie in their friendship, and y there he might at his pleasure abide y resolution of their Lord Mutezuma, whether it were his pleasure y he should enter into Mexico or no. This request was only to haue him from thence, soz truly it grieued much Mutezuma of their new friendship and league, fearing

fearing that thereof would come great displeasure hap-
pen 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 go to Chololla,
it grieved them much, saying vnto Cortes, that Mutezuma
was a lier and fraudulent person, & that Chololla was
a Citie his friend but not constant, and it might happen
that they would displease him, hauing him within their
Citie, wishing him to looke wel to himselfe. And if needes
he would go thither, yet they would prouide 20000. men
to keepe him company. A gentle offer.

The women that were given to the Spaniards at
their first entraunce, had vnderstanding of a snare that
was layd to murder them at their comming to Chololla,
by meanes of one of the foure Captaines, who had a si-
ster which discovered the thing to Pedro de Aluarado
who kept her. Cortes incontinent called that captaine out
of his house, and caused him to be choked, and so was the
matter kept close, that his death was neuer knowne,
whereby the snare was vndone without any rumour. It
was a wonder that al Tlaxcallan had not made an vppoze
seeing one of their greatest Captaines dead. There was
inquirie made of that snare, and the truth being knowne,
it was approued, that Mutezuma had prepared, 30000.
Souldiers who were in campe for that purpose within
two leagues of the Citie, and that the streets of Chololla
were stopped by with timber and railles, and the toppes
of their houses prouided with stones, which houses are
made with plaine rofes, or lattices, and the high way
stopped by, and other false bywaies made, with deep holes
pitched full of stakes very sharpe, to spoile and lame both
horse and man: these engines were finely couered with
sande, and could not be espied, although the scoutes had

Correction of
treason.

The Conquest of

gone before on foote to discover. The matter also was be-
 rie suspicious, for these Citizens of Chololla had not at any
 time come to visite him, or sent any present vnto him as
 others had done.

Wherevpon Cortes consulted with the Tlaxcaltecas,
 to send certaine messengers to Cholollo, to request their
 captains and rulers to come vnto him, who did their mes-
 sage accordingly, and the Cholollans would not come, but
 yet they sent thre or foure persons to excuse them, saying
 that they were not well at ease, praying him to signifie
 vnto the what he would haue: the Tlaxcaltecas enioyned
 Cortes, that those messengers were men of small credite,
 and of low degree, wishing him not to depart till they
 Captaine came. In this sort Cortes returned their mes-
 sengers backe againe, with commaundement wrytten,
 declaring that if they came not within thre dayes, hee
 would proclaime them rebels, and his bitter enemies, and
 as such would he chasten them with all rigour.

When this commande ment came vnto them, the next
 day following came many Lords and Captaines to make
 their excuse, saying, that the Tlaxcaltecas were their ene-
 mies, and that thzough them they could not liue in safety:
 likewise they knewe of the euill repozt which they had
 made agaynst them: wherefoze they besought him to
 giue no credite vnto them, for why, they were both false
 and cruell men: beseeching him also to goe with them to
 their Citie, and then he should see that all was but a moc-
 kerie that had bene tolde them, and they his god and
 faithfull friends: and last of all they offered to serue him
 as tributary subiects.

Cortes commaunded that all this talke should be set
 downe in wryting befoze the Notarie, and his interpre-
 ters, and so toke his leaue of the Citizens of Tlaxcallan.
 Maxixca wept at his departure, but there went in his
 com-

company, a hundred thousand men of warre: there were among them many Merchants that went to bat for salt and mantels.

Cortez commanded that those hundred thousand men should go alwaies by themselves: that day he reached not to Cholollo, but abode by a bycke side, and thither came many of the citie, to desire him that the Tlaxaltecas should not doe any hurt in their Countrey: whereupon Cortez commanded them to returne back again, all saving 5000 of there about, much against their willes. But they still required him to take good heed of those euill folke, who be not (quoth they) men of warre, but pedlers, and men of double heart: and they of their parts would bee very loth to leaue him in any perill or danger, hauing giuen themselves to be his true and faithfull friends.

The next day in the morning the Spaniards came to Chololla, and there came out nere 10000. Indians to receiue him with their Captaines in good order: many of them presented vnto him bread, soule, & roses, and euery Captaine as he approached welcomed Cortez, and then stood aside, that the rest in order might come vnto him. And when he came entring into the Citie, all the other Citizens receiued him, marueling to see 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 behold,) and all were clothed in white like vnto surples, and hemmed with Cotten threde: some brought instruments of musicke like vnto Cornettes, other brought instruments made of bones, other an instrument like a kettel covered with skin, some brought chafing dishes of coales with perfumes, others brought idols covered, and finally they all came singing in their language, which was a terrible noise, and by this Cortez and his company sending them with sweet smiles in their senters.

With

The Conquest of

With this pompe and solemnitie (which trulle was great) they brought him into the Citie, and lodged him in a house where was rounge inough for him and his, and gaue vnto each of them a Ginnea cocke, and his Indians of Tlaxcallan, Zempoallan and Iztacmizelitan, were provided by themselves.

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



That night following Cortes was vigilant with al his company, for both in the way & in the towne they had found some of the things whereof they had been aduised befoze in Tlaxcallan, and although their first present was a Ginnea cock to each mans allowance, other thre dayes following they gaue them nothing almost to eate, and very seldome the captaines came to visite them, whereof Cortes had great suspition.

And in this meane while the Embassadours of Mutezuma entreated him to leaue off his iourney to Mexico, alledging that their great King would die in beholding their beards and testare: other times they sayd that there was no passage, other times they wolde say that they wanted wherewith to sustaine them. And seeing them sully, and in euery respect aunswered to all these points, they caused the Townes men to ensourme them, that where Mutezuma his abiding was, were monstrous Lions, Tigers, Lions, and many other fierce beasts, the which when Mutezuma commaunded to be lofed, were sufficient to plucke in peeces, and to destroy those selue strangers: and seeing that all these pollicies auailed not, they consulted with the Captaines and chiefe Citizens to
murther

murder the Christians. And because they shoulde so bring it to passe, the Embassadours promised the Citizens great rewardes on the behalfe of Mutezuma, and presented to their generall a drumme of Golde, and promised to bring the thirtie thousand Souldiers which lay aboute two leagues from thence: the Cholollans promised to deliuer them bounde hande and foote. But yet they would not consent that those Souldiers of Culhua shoulde come into their Citie, fearing that they (vnder colour of friendship) would remaine with the Towne, for why the Mexicans had bled the like sleight. And in this sorte they with one holte meante to kill two birdes at a shotte, for they thought to take the Spaniardes sleeping, and then to remaine with the Towne of Chololla. Also if 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 which were many dangerous places, because the way was all sandy, with many sluces, ditches, and holes, of threë fadom deepe, meaning there to mæte them, and to carry them bound to Mutezuma: this matter being fully agræd, they beganne to take away their householde stuffe, and to carry it with their wiues and childzen vpon into the mountaines.

Many perils

And our men being also ready to departe from thence for their small chære with euill countenance, it happened, an Indian woman (being wife to one of the principallest Citizens,) hauing some affection to the bearded men, saide vnto Marina, that she shoulde abide there with hir, for that she loued hir well, and that it would grieue her that she should be slaine with hir maister. Marina dismissing the matter, procured to knowe what they were that had conspired the thing, and hauing knowledge thereof, she ranne to seeke Aguillar hir fellow interpreter, and

Helpe from
God.

The Conquest of

both together enformed Cortes of the whole matter.

Cortes hearing this newes, slept not, but incontinent examined two of the Cittizens, who confessed the thing euen as it passed, and as the Gentlewoman had declared: Where vpon Cortes stayed his iourney two dayes, to mollifie the matter and to disappoynt them of that euill pretended purpose, and also to correct their offences, he commaunded their rulers to be called, saying that he would talke with them, and when they were comen, he required them neyther to vse lies nor deceits with him, but rather like men to desire him to the field and battaile, for (quoth he) honest men vse rather to fight then to lie. They all answered that they were his friends and seruitours, and no liars, and that it might please him to shewe them when he would depart, for they would goe armed to keepe him company. He answered that he would depart the next day following, and that he required but only some of their slaues to carry his sardage, because his owne Tamemez or Carriers were wearied: likewise hee required some provision of victuall.

At this last request they smiled, saying among themselves, to what purpose will these men haue victualls, for shortly themselves shall be boyled and eaten with the saule called Axi, yea, and if Mutezuma had not pretended their bodies for his owne dish, they had bene eaten here befoze this time.

the west India.

155

The punishment that Cortez executed
for conspiracie.

The next day in the morning the Cholollans thinking that they had their determinate purpose in good readinesse, they came & brought many to carry their sardage, and other sorn to carry the Spaniards vpon their backs, hoping to apprehend them in the same order. Ther came also many armed men of the most valiantest, to kill him that should disorder himselfe. Like wise that day their Priests sacrificed tenne childzen of thre yeres of age to their God Quezalcoatl, siue of these childzen were men, and the other siue women, whiche was their custome when they began their warres: the Captaines placed themselves at the foure doores of Cortez his house with some armed men. Cortez earely in the morning had secretly in a readines the Indians of Zempoallan and Tlaxcallan, and other friends: he commaunded his horsemen to take their horses, giuing them this watchword, that when they heard the noise of the shotte of a handgun, that then they should play the men, for it importes all their liues. And he seeing the towne men appoach nere his lodging, commaunded the captaines and chiefe of them to come vnto him, saying, that 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 them, that alwaies he had dealte truly with them, and they with him nothing but treason and lies. Likewise they had vnder colour requested that his frends the Tlaxcaltecas should not come vnto their towne, and that he fulfilled therein their desire, and also commaunded his owne men in no wise to be hurtfull vnto them, yea and although they had not prouided him of victuals

O worthe
Cortes.

The Conquest of

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 because 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 determined to leade them vnto, pretending also the help of thirtie thousand men, Souldiers of Mutezuma, which army stode not fully two leagnes from thence. And for this horrible and detestable wickednesse ye shall all die, and in memozie of traytozs I will destroy this cite, and turne the foundations vpwardes, so that there shall remaine no remembraunce of you.

Their offence being manifest, coulde not be denied, and looking one vpon an other, their colours wayed pale and wanne, saying, this man is like vnto our Goddes, who knoweth all things, therefore lette not vs denie the truth, and openly befoze the Embassadours of Mutezuma confesse their error and euill fate.

Then said Cortes to the Embassadours, you do see that we should haue bene slain by the Cholollons, and through the procuremet of Mutezuma, but yet I beleue it not, considering that he is my friende and a mightie Prince, saying also that Noble men vsed neither treason nor lyes, wherefoze feare not you, but these dissembling Traytozs shall be punished, for you are persons inuolable, and messengers of a Prince, whome he meante to serue and not offend, because he had an assured opinion in Mutezuma, to be a vertuous Prince, and one that would not committe villanie.

All these wordes he spake, because he woulde not fall out with Mutezuma, vntill he saue himselfe within the Citty of Mexico.

Incontinent he commaunded some of those Captaines to be slaine, and kept the residue bounde. Then he shot off his handgunne, which was the watch vnto his armie, who forthwith set vpon the Townesmen, and within two houres slew five thousand persons and moze.

Cortez commaunded that they should kill neither wo- man noz childe, they fought welneare five houres: they set fire on all the houses & Towers that made resistance, and dzaue all the inhabitants out of the Towne. The dead carkasses laie so thicke, that of force they must tread vpon them.

There were twentie Gentlemen, and many Priests, who ascended vpto the high tower of the temple, which hath a hundzeth and twentie steppes, from whence with arrows and stones they did much hurt, and would not yeelde, wherevpon our men set fire to the Tower, and burned them all. Then they exclaimed on their Goddes, who would neither helpe them noz their Citie and holie sanctuary.

The Citie being sacked, our men toke the spoyle of golde, plate, and feathers, and the Indians their friendes toke cloathes and salt, which was the treasure that they desired.

Cortez commaunded to cease the spoyle. The other Captaines that laie bounde, hearing of such a great de- struction and punishment, most pittifully besought Cor- tez to lose some of them, soz to see what was become of their Gods and common people. Likewise they humbly besought him to pardon them, who had not so much fault as Mutezuma, who perswaded and entised them to that pretended treason.

Upon their lamentable request, he losed two of them, and the next day following the Citie was as ful of people againe, that there seemed not one to be wanting.

The Conquest of

At the sute of the Tlaxcaltecas who were put for mediators, Cortez pardoned them all, and set his prisoners at libertie, assuring them that the like correction he would do vpon all them that should dissemble or shewe an euill countenance, or make lies, or finally vse anye kinde of treason toward him: where vpon they all abode in greatesse feare. He made the knot of friendship betwene them and the Tlaxcaltecas, which in time past had ben betwixt the, for Murezuma and his auncestors made them enemies, with faire promises, woords, and also feare.

The Citizens hauing their generall Raigne, chose another with licence of Cortez.

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



Chololla is a citie as Tlaxcallan, and hath but one persō who is gouernour and general Captaine, chosen by the consent of al the Citizens. It is a Citie of twentie thousande householbes within the walles, and in the suburbs as much moze. It sheweth outwardes very beautifull, and full of

towers, for there are as many temples as dayes in the yeare, and euery temple hath his tower. Our men counted foure hundred towers. The men and women are of god disposition, wel fauoured, and very wittie.

The women are Goldsmithes and also Carriers, the men are warriors, and light fellows, and god maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparelled then any other Indians yet seene. They weare for their vpper garment, clokes like vnto Pozicos, but after another sort. All the Countrey round about them is fruitfull and earable

able ground, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no wast ground, in respect whereof, there are some poore which begge from doore to doore. The Spaniards had not seene any beggers in that Countrey befoze they came thither.

Chololla is a citie of most deuotion and religion in all India, it is called the Sanctuarie or holy place among the Indians, and thither they trauelled from many places far distant in pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many temples.

Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest of all the new Spaine, with a hundred and twentie steps by vnto it.

The greatest Idoll of all their Gods was called Quezalcouately, God of the aire, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy life, and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongues, and left a precept, that they should sacrifice but onely Quails, Doves, and other foule.

He neuer ware but one garment of Cotten, which was white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a mantle be- set with certaine red crosses.

They haue certaine greene stones which were his, and those they keepe for relickes. One of them is like an Apes head. Here they abode twentie dayes, and in this meane while there came so many to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to see. And one of the things that was to be seene in those faires, was the earthen vessel, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The

The Conquest of

The hill called Popocatepec.



Here is a hill eight leagues frō Chololla, called Popocatepec, which is to say, a hill of smoke, for many times it casteth out smoke and fire. Cortes sent thither ten Spaniards, with many Indians, to carry their victuall, and to guide thē in the way. The ascending by was very troublesome, and full of craggie rocks. They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not go vnto it, for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantitie of ashes which disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see strange things, went vnto the top, because they would not returne with a ſcalueſſe answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their follovers behinde them, proceeding ſoꝝwards. The Indians ſaid, what mean theſe men? ſoꝝ as yet neuer moꝝ tall man toke ſuch a iourney in hand.

Theſe two valiant fellowes paſſed through the deſart of Aſhes, and at length came vnder a great ſmoke verie thicke, and ſtanding there a while, the darkneſſe vaniſhed partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concauetic, which was about halfe a league in compaſſe, out of the which the ayze came aboundiſg, with a great noiſe, verie ſhꝝill, and whiſſling, in ſuch ſoꝝt that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an ouen where glaſſe is made. The ſmoke and heate was ſo great, that they could not abide it, and of ſoꝝce were conſtrained to returne by the way that they had aſcended: but they were not gone farre, when the vulcan began to laſh out flames
of

of fire, 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 themselves, vndoubtedly they had there bene burned.

When with good tokens they were returned wher they left their fellows, the other Indians kissed their garments as an honoꝝ due vnto gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondꝝed much at their fact.

These simple Indians thought, that that place was an ^{Purgatory.} infernall place, where all such as gouerned not well, or vsed tyranie in their offices, were punished when they died, and also belieued, that after their purgation, they passed into glorie.

This Vulcan is like vnto the Vulcan of Cicilia, it is high and round, and neiuer wanteth Snowe about it, and is seene a farre off in the night, it lasheth out flames of fire.

There is néere about this hil many cities, and Huexozinco is one of the highest.

In tenne yeares space this strange hill of working did expell no vapoure or smoke : but in the yeare 1540. it beganne againe to burne, and with the horrible noyse thereof, the neighbours that dwelt foure leagues from thence were terrified, for the especiall strange smokes that then were seene, the like to their predecessoꝝ had not bene seene.

The ashes that proceeded from thence came to Huexozinco, Quelaxcopan, Tepiacac, Quauhquecholla, Chololla, and Tlaxcallan, which standeth tonne leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fittene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their gardens, their fields of cozne, trees, and cloathes that lay a dꝝying.

The Conquest of

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



Cortez pretended not to fall out with Mutezuma, before his coming to Mexico, and yet hee understood all Mutezuma his pretence, whereupon he complained to the Ambassadors, saying, that hee much marvelled that such a mighty Prince, who by so many Gentlemen had assured his friendship unto him, should now procure his totall destruction, in not keeping his promise and fidelitie. In consideration whereof, where he meant to visite him as a friend, that now hee would goe to his Court as anemie. The Ambassadors excused their maisters cause, beseeching him to withhold his furie, and to give licence to one of them to go to Mexico, who would bring answer from thence with all speede.

Cortez granted unto the request, the one of them went, and returned againe within six dayes, in company of another messenger that had gone thither before, who brought fenne platters of golde, and a thousande five hundred mantels of cotten, with much victuall, and Cacao, which is a kinde of fruit that serueth for currant money among them. Likewise they brought a certaine kind of wine or licoure made of Cacao and Centli. They informed Cortes, that Mutezuma was innocent of the consultation in Chololla, nor by any meanes partie to their dealings, affirming moreover, that the garrison of soldiers did appertaine to Acazinco, and Acazan, who were neighbors to Chololla, who by inducement of some naughty persons, had procured that thing, saying that he should best see and understand him to be his faithfull and loving friend,

friend, praying him to come sozward on his journey, soz he would abide his comming in Mexico.

This ambassage pleased well Cortes, but Mutezuma feared, when hee heard of the slaughter, and burning of Chololla, and said to his friends, these are the people that our Gods said should come and inherite this land.

Prophecie of
the Diuel.

Mutezuma went incontinent to his Dzatozie, and shut in himselfe alone, where he abode in fasting and prayer eight dayes, with sacrifice of many men, to aslake the fury of his Idols, who seemed to be offended.

The voyce of the Diuell spake vnto him, bidding him not to feare the Chyistians, saying they were but fewe, and when they were come, he should doe what he liked with them, willing him in no wise to ceasse from the bloodie sacrifice, least some mishance might happen vnto him. And assured him that he should haue the Goddes *Witzpüchli*, and *Tescatlipuca*, to preserve and keep him. And because *Quezalcoatl* was agræued soz wante of bloodie sacrifice, hee permitted the strangers to punish them of Chololla. And Mutezuma hearing this diuellish Dzacle, and like wise Cortes hauing warned him that he would visite him as an enemy, he was by this persuasion of *Sathan*, the better willing to receiue him into Mexico.

Like wise Cortes whē he came to Chololla, was strong, and had at commaundement a mightie power, and there made himselfe stronger, the same whereof, was blowne abroad, throughout all the dominions of Mutezuma. And whereas the poze Indians had but only marvelled at their persons and furniture, now they beganne to tremble and to feare at his doings, so that where soeuer he came, they opened him the gates with pure feare, moze then soz any loue.

Mutezuma at the beginning, pretended to feare Cortes with

An euil coun-
sellour.

with the fearfull passages and other perils and daunger, as the fortitude of Mexico, with his great multitude of subiects, and the great number of Princes that did both serue and obey him: and seeing that all these things profited not, hee thought to haue overcome him with giftes and treasure, knowing that he hadde required gold: yet he sawe that nothing woulde pzeuaile, soz that Cortez woulde needes come to see him, wherevpon, hee toke counsell of the Diuell what he should do in that case, vpon which counsell hee was satisfied by his Priests and Captaines, that he ought not to warre against so selue straungers, soz if he so did, the dishonour would be his, and chiefly, because Cortez certified that he was an Ambassadour, and vsing him other wise, it might so fall out, that his own subiects would rebel against him their Lord and Prince, saying likewise, that it was manifest that the Otomies and Tlaxcaltecas would fauour his side, and also many others, soz to destroy and spoyle Mexico, vpon which consultation it was openly proclaimed, that his wil was that the straungers should enter into Mexico freely, thinking that if at any time they should displease him, to make a breakefast of them the next day.

Things that happened to Cortez in his
journey to Mexico.

Cortez having so good an answer of the Ambassadors, he gaue licence to as many of the Indians his friends, as listted to depart home to their houses, and he likewise departed from Chololla, with some borderers that would needes follow him.

He left the way that the Mexicans had perswaded him to come, for it was both euill and dangerous, as the Spaniard which went to the vulcan had scene, he went another plainer way, and moze nearer. That day he trauelled but foure leagues, because he ment to lodge in the billages of Huexozinco, wher he was friendly receiued, and they presented vnto him slaues, garments, and golde, although but little, for they are poore, by reason that Mutezuma hath enuironed them about, because they were of the parciality of Tlaxcallan. The next day in the mozning he ascended by a hill couered with snow, which was five miles of height, where if the 30000. souldiers had waited for them, they might easily haue take them, by reason of the great cold: and from the top of that hill, they discovered the land of Mexico, and the great lake, with his billages round about, which is an exccéding godly sight. But when Cortes saw that beautiful thing, his toy was without comparison, and he toke not so much pleasure, but some of his men feared as much, and there was a murmuratiō 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 seeing that their Captaine at all assayes was the first himselfe, they feared the lesse the things that they imagined. And descending downe into the plaine, they found a great large house, sufficient for him and all his compante, with five thousand Indians of Tlaxcallan, Huexozinco, & Chololla. And 8 seruants of Mutezuma made cofages of straw for the Tamemez or carriers, who were lade with the fardage, and vittailles: there was a good supper prepared for them, and great fires to warme them, and all things necessary. Whither came many ppincial persons frō Mexico, to visite him, among whom was a kinsman of Mutezuma,

Oh wise
Cortez.

The Conquest of

tezuma, who presented vnto Cortes the value of thys̄ thousand ducats in gold, and besought him to returne backe againe, and to haue consideration of the pouertie, hunger, and cull way, yea and to passe in little boats in danger of drowning. And as for tribute to be giuen to the Emperoz, a greater summe should be appointed, then though he went personally to Mexico, yea and that it should be paid at what place he would appoint. Cortes welcomed them, as reason did require, and presented vnto them haberdasheries, which they esteemed in much, & chiefly he did lovingly entertaine Mutezuma his kinsman, vnto whom hee made this answer, saying, I would gladly serue and please such a mightie prince as your soueraine Mutezuma is if it lay in my handes without offence of the King my master: and concerning my going to Mexico, Mutezuma shall receiue both pleasure and honour, rather than otherwise, & after I haue talked with him, I wil sone returne, likewise hunger I feare not, neither yet doubt that I nor none of mine shall want, and so; my passage on the water, I say it is nothing in comparison of two thousand leagues, which I haue sailed onely to come and visit him.

But yet for all this talke, if they had found him careless, 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 they should finde in the night season any that were not of their company, they slue them out of hand, desiring him to aduise his men therof, 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 rest.

The next day in the morning he proceeded forward and came to Amaquemecan which is 2. leagues from thence, and standeth in the prouince of Chalco, a towne y^e containeth 20000. householders. The Royd of that towne presented

to Cortez fortye women slaues, and 3000. ducats in gold, with meat abundantly for two daies, & secretly made complaint vnto him of Mutezuma. And from thence he went to another towne foure leagnes frō thence, the half thereof was built vpon the lake, and the other half vpon the land at the foot of a ragged hill. There went in his companie many subjects of Mutezuma for purueyours, but yet both they and the townsmen would faine haue laid hands vpon the Spaniards, and euery night would send their spies to see what the Christians did, but the watch line about twentie of them, wherevpon the matter staied, and their pretence toke no effect: sure it is a thing to laugh at, for at euery fancie they would proue to kill the, and yet they were not for the purpose. The next day in the morning came twelue Lords from Mexico, among whom was Cacama, new to Mutezuma, who was Lord of Tezcoco, a yong man of xxb. yeares of age, whom the Indians did much honour: he was carried vpon their shoulders, and when they set him downe, one went before with a broome to sweepe the dust out of his way. These Gentlemen came to accompanie Cortes, excusing Mutezuma, saying that he was not well at ease, and therfore he came not personally to receiue him. And yet they intreated Cortes to returne back againe, and not to come vnto Mexico, giuing him to vnderstand by signs, that they would there displease him, and so defend the passage and entrance, a thing easie to be done, but they were either blinded, or else they durst not breake the lawsey. Cortes entertained the like noble men and gaue vnto them of his haberdash, and departed frō the towne wth many grane personages, who carried with them a great traine, which filled by the way well nigh as they should passe, wondring at their beards, harness, apparell, hozes and ordinañce, saying to themselues, these be Gods. Cortes gaue them warning not to come among the hozes

The Conquest of

noꝝ among his men, soꝝ feare they would kill them. This he made them beleue because he would not haue his way stopped, soꝝ that the number of the was so great. They the came to a towne built vpon the water, of two thousand houses, and befoze they came thither, they had gone moze then halfe a league vpon a faire Cawsey, which was twentie soote broad: the towne had faire houses and many towꝛs: the Lord of the towne did receiue them woꝛshipfully, and pꝛouided all things plentifully, desiring him to abide there that night, and secretly made complaintes against Mutezuma, of many woꝛongs and exactions done by him, and certified him, that from thence the way was very faire to Mexico, & all the like cawsey as he had passed. With this newes Cortes was very glad, soꝝ he meant to haue stayed there soꝝ to haue built Barkes and Foylts, and yet he feared least they would bꝛeake the cawsey, wherefoze he had alwayes a care ouer Cacama, who with the oꝛther Loydes desired him not to abide there, but to pꝛocæde soꝝward to Iztacpalapan, which was but two leagues off, and that the Lord thereof was another pꝛeuel to Mutezuma. To admit their request he wet with them to that towne, and from thence to Mexico was but two leagues, the which the next day he might go at pleasure, and come timely into the citie, & in this oꝛder came to Iztacpalapan.

Every two houres came messengers beswixte Cortes and Mutezuma: then came Cuclauac Lord of that towne, with the Loyde Culhuacan his kinsman to receiue him, who presented vnto him slaues, garments, and feathers, and to the valew of foure thousande Ducates in Golde. Cuclauac receiued al the Spaniards into his own house, which hath verie faire lodgings all of stone, and Carpenters woꝛke, exꝛeeding well woꝛought, with high & low rowmes, with all kind of seruice: The chambers were hangd with cloth of Couten very rich, after their maner.

There

the west India.

169

There were faire gardens replenished with many sweet flowers, and swete trees garnished with netwojke, made of Canes, and covered with roses and other fine hearbes, with sundrie poudes of swete water. There was another garden very beautifull of all soytes of fruites and hearbes, with a great ponde walled with lime and stone, and was foure hundzeth paces square, made with faire stemples to discende into the Lettome in many places, and was full of diuers kindes of fishes, and many kinde of water birdes, which sometimes couered the pond, as Gullies, Pelles, and such like. Iztapallapan is a towne of 10000. households, & is planted in a lene of salt water, the one halfe of the towne built on the water, and the other on the land.

The Solemne pompe wherewith Cortes
was receiued into Mexico.



From Iztacpalapan to Mexico is two leagues all vpon a faire Calsey, vpon the which eight hoysmen may passe on ranke, and so directly straight as though it had bene made by line. And who soeuer hath god eiesight might discerne the gates of Mexico from thence.

Coyoacan is a towne of sixe thousand dwellers, Vizilopucheli is of sixe thousand. These townes are planted in the lake, and are adozned with many temples, whiche haue many faire towers, that doe beautifull exceedingly the lake. There is great contractatio of Salte, which is made there, and from thence is carried abroad to faires and markets, which thing was a greate rente to Mutezuma. Vpon this Calsey are many drawnt byldges built vpon faire arches, that the water passeth through.

Cortes passed this calsey with 400. Spaniards, & 6000. Indians his friends: theyr passage was with much ado, by
reason

The Conquest of

reason of the great multitude of Indians which came to see him, & coming near the citie, there adioyned another calley with a broader passage, where standeth a strong bulwarke of stone of the height of 2. fadom, with two towers on each side, and two gates very strong. Here at this fozt came thre thousande Courtiers and Citizens to receive him, and every of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed fozwards in the order as they came. These salutatiois endured an houre & moze. From the bulwarke the calley lieth directly, and befoze the entraunce into the streete there is another broad bydige made of timber ten paces broad, vnder the which the water passeth to and fro. At this bydige came Mutezuma to receive Cortez vnder a Canapie of greene feathers & gold, with much argenterie hanging thereat, which Canapie foure noble men did carry. And the two princes Cuelauac and Cacama his newes, did leade him by each arme: all thre were rich apparellled & all of one fashion, except Mutezuma, which had a paire of shooes of gold beset with precious stones, and the soles were tied to the vpper parts with latches, as is painted of the Antikes. His gentlemen went by twos and twos, laying downe and taking by mantels and coverlets vpon the ground, because his feet should not touch the same: then followed him as in procession, 200. noble men barefooted, with garments of a richer livery then the first thre thousand. Mutezuma came in the middle of the streete, and the others came behind him as nigh the wal as they mought, their faces towards the grounde, foz it was a great offence to loke him in the face. Cortez 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, foz they held it foz sin to touch him, but yet saluted each one y other.

Cortez put about Mutezuma his necke a collar of *paragaites*,

garites, Diamonds, & other stones all of glasse. Mutezuma
 receiued it thankfully, and went befoze with one of the
 pynces his newewes, and commaunded the other to leade
 Cortes by the hand, next after him in the midd of þ street :
 and proceeding sozward in this order, then came the Gen-
 tlemen in the richest liuery to welcome him, one by one,
 touching the ground with their hands, and after returned
 to their standing. And if the Citizens had come as they
 requested, all that day would not haue serued soz salutati-
 ons. The collar of glasse pleased well Mutezuma, and be-
 cause he would not take without giuing a better thing, as
 a great pynce, he commaunded to be bzought two collers
 of redde pialones, which are there much esteemed, and at
 euery one of them hanged eight shimpes of gold, of excel-
 lent workmanship, and of a finger length euery one, he
 put these collers with his owne handes about Cortes his
 necke, the which was esteemed a most great fauour, yea
 and the Indians maruelled at it. At this time they were
 come to the street ende, which was almost a mile long,
 broad, straight, and very faire, and full of houses on each
 side, in whose dozes, windowes and tops, was such a mul-
 titude of Indians to behold the strangers, that I know
 not who wondered most, our men to see such a number of
 them, or else they to see our men, their ordnance & hozes,
 a thing so strange vnto them. They were bzought vnto a
 great court or house of idols, which was the lodging Axa-
 iaca, at the doze whereof, Mutezuma toke Cortes by the
 hand, and bzought him into a faire hall, and placed him
 vpon a rich carpet, saying vnto him, Sir now are you in
 your owne house, eate and take your rest and pleasure, soz
 I will shortly come and visite you againe. Such (as you
 heare) was the receiuing of Hernando Cortez by Mute-
 zuma a most mightie King, into his great and famous Ci-
 tie of Mexico, the eight day of Nouember, 1519.

The Conquest of

The Oration of Mutezuma to the Spaniardes.

The house where the Spaniardes were lodged was great and large, with many faire 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 from Cortez, he began to sette his house in order, and placed the ordinaunce at his doze, & hauing all his things in good sort, he went to a sumptuous dinner that was prepared for him. As soone as Mutezuma had made an end of his dinner, hearing that the straungers were risen from the table, and reposed a while, then came he to Cortez, saluting him, and satte downe by him. He gaue vnto him diuers iewels of gold plate, feathers, and many garmets of Cotten, both riche, wel wouen, and wrought of strange colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also confirme their imagination. This gifte was beliuered honozable, and then began his talke as foloweth: Lozde and Gentlemen, I doe much reioyce to haue in my house such valient men as ye are, for to vse you with curtesie, and intreate 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 see you, for your iecture and grimace heardes did terrifie them, yea, they reported that ye had such beasts as swallowed men, and that your coming was fro heauen, byinging with you lightning, thunder, & thüderbolts, wherewith you made the earth to tremble and to shake, and that ye slew therewith whom ye pleased. But now I do see & know that you are mortal men, and that ye are quiet & hurt no man: also I haue seene your houses,

which

which are but your seruants, and your Gunnes like vnto shooting Drunkes. I doe now holde all for fables and lyes which haue bin reported of you, and I doe also accept you for my mére kinsman. My father tolde mee that hee had heard his forefathers say, of whome I doe descende, that they helde opinion howe they were not naturals of this land, but come hither by chaunce, in companie of a mightie Lozde, who after a while that he hadde abode here, they returned to their naturall soile: After manie yeares epypped, they came againe for those whom they had left here behinde them, but they would not goe with them, because they had here inhabited, and hadde wines and childeyn, and great gouernment in the land. Nowe these mightie Lozdes seeing that they were so stubbozne, and would not returne with them, departed from them soze displeased, saying, that hee would send his childeyn that should both rule and gouerne them, in iustice, peace, and auncient Religion. And soze this consideration, wee haue alwayes suspected and beleued, that such a people should come to rule and gouerne vs, and considering from whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whome we looked for, and the notice which the great Emperour Charles had of vs, who hath now sent you hither. Wherefore Lozde and Captaine, be well assured, that wee will obey you, if their be no feyned or deceitfull matter in your dealing, and will also diuide with you and yours all that wee haue. And although this which I haue sayde were not onely for your vertus, fame, and deeds of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet do it for your worthinesse in the battels of Tausco, Teocazinco, and Chololla, being so few, to ouercome so many.

Now againe, if ye imagine that I am a God, and the walles and roofes of my houses, and all my vessel of seruise, to be of pure golde, as the men of Zempoallan, Tlaxcallan,

A straunge opinion.

The Conquest of

callan, and Huexozinco, hath enforzmed you, it is not so, and I iudge you to be so wise, that you giue no credite to such fables. You shall also note, that though your coming hither, many of my subjects haue rebelled, and are become my mortall enemies, but yet I purpose to breake their wings. Come seele you my bodie, I am of flesh and bone, a mortall man as others are, and no God, although as a king I doe esteeme my selfe of a greater dignitie and prehemnence then others. By houses you doe also see, which are of timber and earth, and the principallest of Gascons worke, therefore now you doe both knowe and see what odious liers those talebearers were. But troth it is, that gold plate, feathers, armour, iewels, and other riches, I haue in the treasure of my forefathers a long time preserued, as the vse of Kings is, all the which you and yours shall enioy at al times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are wearie of your iourney. Cortes with ioyfull countenance humbled himself, seeing some teares fall from Mutezuma his eyes, saying vnto him, vpon the trust I haue had in your clemencie, I insisted to come both to see, and talke with your highnesse, and nowe I knowe that all are lies which hath bene tolde me. The like your highnesse hath heard reported of vs, assure your selfe, that the Emperour King of Spaine is your naturall Lord, whom ye haue expected for, he is the onely heire from whence your linage both proceeded, and as touching the offer of your highnesse treasure, I do most heartily thanke you.

After all this communication, Mutezuma demaunded whether the bearded men which came with him, were either his vassals, or his slaues, because he would entertaine each one according to his estate. Cortez answered, that they were all his brethren, friends, and fellows, except some that were his seruants.

Then

A louing answer.

Then he departed, and went home to his Pallace, and there informed himselfe particularly who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and accordyng therunto, sent every one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sent his reward by his Controller, and to the Garrisoners and other seruitors, by a Page of his household.

The Maiesty and order, wherewith Mutezuma was serued.



Mutezuma was a man of a small stature, and lean, his colour tawny as all the Indians are. He had long haire on his head, six little hairens vpon him, as though they had bene put in with a bodkin. His thin beard was black. He was a man of a faire condition, and a doer of iustice, well spoken, graue and

wise, beloued and feared among his subjects. Mutezuma both signifie sadnesse.

To the proper names of Kings and Lords, they do adde this sillible C, which is for curtesie and dignity, as we vse Lord. The Turk vseth Zultan. The Pope or Barbarian calleth his Lord Mulley, and so the Indians say Mutezumazin. His people had him in such reuerence, that he permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shoes, nor loke him in the face, except verie fewe princes. He was glad of y conuersation of the Spaniards, and would not suffer them to stand on foote, for the great estimation he had of the, & if he liked any of the Spaniards garments, he would exchange his apparell for theirs,

He chaunged his owne apparel foure times every day, and hee neuer cloathed himselfe againe with the garments which hee had once woone, but all such were kept

The Conquest of

kept in his Guardrobe, for to giue in presents to his seruants and Ambassadors, and vnto valiant Souldiours which had taken any enemy prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priuiledge.

The costly mantels whereof had bene diuerse sent to Cortes, were of the same Guardrobe.

Mutezuma went alwaies very nete and fine in his attire. He bathed him in his hotehouse foure times euery day. He went seldome out of his Chamber, but when he went to his meate. He ate alwayes alone, but sollemnely, and with great abundance. His table was a pillow, or else a couple of coloured skinnes. His Chaire was a foure footed stole made of one piéce, and hollowe in the middelt, well wrought and painted. His table clothes, napkins, and towels, were made of Cotten wolle, verie white and nete; for he was neuer serued but once with that naperie. Foure hundred Pages brought in his meate, all sonnes of great Lordes, and placed it vpon a table in his great Hall. The meate being brought in, then came Mutezuma to behold the dishes, and appointed those dishes that liked him best, and chusing dishes were prepared to keepe that meate warme, and seldome would eate of any other dish, except the Lord Steward or Controller should highly commend any other dish.

Before he sate downe, came twentie of his wines of the sayest and best esteemed, or else those that serued weakely by turne, brought in the Basen and Cwer, with great humbleness. This done, he sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and drew a wooden nette before him, because none shoulde come nigh his Table. And this noble man alone placed the dishes, and also took them away, for the Pages who brought in the meate, came not neare the Table, nor yet spake any worde, nor no man else.

While the Lord Mutezuma was at his meate, except some Jester, they all serued him bare footed. Where assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, five auncient and noble men, vnto whome he vsed to giue of the dish that best liked him, who receiued the same at his hand with great reuerence, and eate it incontinent, without looking in his face, which was the greatest humilitie that they coulde be before him. He had musicke of Fiddle, Flute, and of a Snayle shell, and a Caudyon covered with a skinne, and such other strange instruments. They had very euill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crokebackes, and other deformed counterfeits, all for maiestie and to laugh at, who had their meate in the Hall among the Jestes and Fools, which were fed with part of the meate that came from Mutezuma his table, all the rest of the meat was giuen to thre thousand of the guard, who attended ordinarily in the yard or court, and therefore they say that there was brought for his table thre thousand dishes, and as many pottes of wine, such as they vse, and that continually the Buttre and Pantrey stood open, which was a wonder to see what was in them. The platters, dishes, and cuppes, were all of earth, whereof the king was serued but once, and so from meale to meale new. He had likewise his seruice of gold and plate very rich, but he vsed not to be serued with it, (they say) because he would not be serued twice therewith, the which he thought a base thing.

Some affirme, that yong childzen were slaine and dresed in diuers kinde of dishes for Mutezuma his table, but it was not so, onely of mans flesh sacrificed hee fedde now and then. The table being taken vp, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reuerence as they vsed at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other viues, so that then the Gentle-

men and pages waited as their course fell.

The footeplayers that plaied before
Mutezuma.



When his table was taken by, and his seruitors gone to meate, Mutezuma fate still: then came in the suiters that hadde any affaires to deale with him, barefooted, for all the persons did vse that reuerence, excepte some Princes his kinsmen, as the Lords of Tescuco, and Tlacopan, and a fewe others: and being cold weather, they vsed to weare old ragged clothes vppon their rich garments. All suiters vsed to make threë or four curtessies, not loking toward his face, and speaking vnto him their heads downe wardes, and in that order retired backe againe. Mutezuma answered his suiters very grauely, with lowe voice, and in fewe words, and not to all suiters, for others his secretaries or counsellors that stood by, answered for him, and hauing their answer, they returned backwardes, not turning their tailles to the pzince. After these businesse done, he vsed som recreatiõ, hearing Jesters or songs, wherein he delighted much, or else to loke vpon the plaiers, who play with their sorte, as we do with our handes. These haue a cudgel like vnto a pallers rowler, which they tolle high & low as it wer a bal in the aire, strange to behold. They vse other plaies to passe y time, in such an order, y it seemed maruellous to the lookers on. Cortez broughte into Spaine some of these players. Also they vse Marachines, in suche sorte they do play, that there stande eache vppon other shoulders, and he that standeth highest, sheweth many feates. Sometime Nutezuma did beholde the players, who played at a game called Pacolizli,

colizeli, which is muche like oure Tables, and they play with beanes, squared like dice, which they cal 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 sette downe the chance that is throwne: and at this game they play all that they haue, and many times they valew their owne bodies, and playe that into captiuitie, and to remaine a slaue, I meane such as are common gamesters of small estate.

The Tennis play in Mexico.



Sometimes Mutezuma went to the Tennis Courte. Their ball is called Villamalizeli, and is made of the gum which cometh frō a tree called Vli. This tree groweth in a hote Countrey. The gumme being kneded together, and so made round, 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 windballcs. They play not at chases, but at bande, or at check, that is, if the ball touch the wall it loseth. They may strike the ball with any part of their bodie, but there is alwaies a penaltie if they only strike not with the buttoke or side, which is the finest play: whereof they vse a skinne vpon each 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 bodies, as they vse at Patolli, which is there permitted & lawfull. The Tennis Court is called Tlachco, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wider upwards, then downewardes, and higher on the sides then at the ends, which is an industrie for their play. The house is alwaies white and smoth in the side walles: they haue certain stones like vnto milstones, wth a little hole in

The Conquest of

the middle that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball may pass through, but he that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, which seldome happeneth, winneth the game, and by an auncient lawe and custome among Tennis players, he ought to haue the cloakes of all those that stand and behold the play, on that side that the ball went in; and in some Tennis Courtes, the halfe of the garments of them that stand looking on. The winner is then bounde to make certaine sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play; and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play would say, that such a winner should bee a thiefe and an adulterer, or else that he should die quickly.

They used in the Temple of the Tennis play, two Images of the God of the ball, which stood vpon the two lower walles. The Sacrifice was celebrated at midnight, with many Ceremonies and Witchcrafts, and songs for that purpose. Then came a Priest from the Cathedrall Church, with other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certaine diuellish praicrs, and throwing the ball foure times in the Tennis Court. In this order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after this consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this diligence was first to be done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built.

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

Mutezuma brought the Spaniards to behold this pastime, and gaue them to vnderstand, that hee delighted much in this game, and also to see our men play at Cardes and Dice.

The number of viues that Mutezuma
had in his house.



Mutezuma had many houses as well in Mexico as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinarie dwelling. To write of all it should be tedious, but where his continuall abiding was, he named Tepac, that is to say, palace. And that pallace had twentie doores or gates whiche had their outcomming into the common strætes.

It hath threë courtes, and in the one standeth a fayre fountaine, many halles, and a hundred chambers of twentie threë, and thirtie foote long, an hundred bathes and hot houses: and although the building was without nailes yet very good workmanship.

The walles were made of masons worke, and wrought of Marble, Jasper, and other blacke stone, with baines of redde, like vnto rubies and other stones, which glittered very faire: the Roofes were wrought of Timber, and curiously carued: the Timber was Cedre, Cipers, & Pine-tree: the chambers were painted and hung with cloth of cotten, and cloth made of Conneis haire and feathers. The beddes were poore and of no bale we, for they were nothing but Mattels laide vpon mattes, or vpon Hay, or else mattes alone: fewe men lay within those houses.

There were a thousande women, and some affirme that there were threë thousand, accounting gentlewomen, seruaunts and slaues: the most were noble mens daughters, Mutezuma toke of them for his selfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gaue in marriage to Gentlemen his seruaunts.

The Conquest of

The saying was, that he had at one time a hundreth and fiftie women his wiues with child, who through the perswasion of the diuel, tooke medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the state: these his wiues, had many olde women for their Guard, soz no man was permitted to looke vpon them.

The shield of armes that is set in his Pallace, and likewise carried to the warres, is an Eagle sozing vpon a Tiger his talents, bent as taking pray. Some thinke it is a Gryphon and not an Eagle. The Gryphons in time past, say they, did cause the vale of Auacacan to be dispeopled, soz they were great deuourers of men, and that their abiding was in the Mountains of Teoacan: they approue that these Mountains were called Cuilachtepetl, of Cuilachch, which is a Gryphon, bigger then a Lion: but the Spaniards did neuer see any of them.

The Indians by their old Pictures do paint those Gryphons to haue a kinde of haire and no feathers, and also affirme, that with their talandes and teethe they breake mens bones. They haue the courage of a Lion, and the countenance of an Eagle: they painte him with foure feete, and teeth, with a kind of downe, more like woll then feathers, with his beake, talandes, and wings.

And in all those things the picture agreeth with our painting and writing, in such sort that a Gryphon is no approued naturall Foule, nor yet beast. Plinie iudgeth this tale of Gryphons to bee lies. There are also other Lords that giue the Gryphon in their armes, flying with a heart in his talandes,

A house of Foule, which were onely preserued
for their feathers.



Mtezuma has another house, with be-
ry good lodgings and faire galleries,
built vpon pillers of Zafre, which ex-
tendeth toward a goodly garden, in the
which there are tenne pondez of moe,
some of salt water for sea foule, & other
some of fresh water for riuer foule and
lake foule, which pondez are deuised

with sluices to emptie and to fill at their pleasure, for the
cleannesse of the feathers. There is such a number of foule
that scarcely the pondez may hold them, and of such diuers
kinds both in feathers and making, as sure it was an ad-
miracion for the Spaniards to behold, for the most of them
they knew not, noz yet had at any time sene the like. And
to euery kinde of foule they gaue such bayte as they were
wont to feede of in the fields or Riuers. There did belong
to that house thre hundzeth persons of seruice: some were
to cleanse the pondez: other some did fish for bayte: other
some serued them with meate: other did lose them and
trimme their feathers: others had care to loke to their
egges: others to set them abrod: others cured them when
they were sicke: and the principallest office was to plucke
the feathers: for of them was made rich Pantels, Tapis-
sary, Wargats, tuffes of Feathers, and many other things
wrought with Gold and Siluer: a most peruite woyle.

A house

The Conquest of

A house of foule for hawking and other
straunge things.



Ther is another house with large quarters and lodgings, which is called a house for foule, not because there are moze then in the other; but because they be bigger and to haue withall, and are foule of rapine, wherfoze they are esteemed as moze nobler then all the others.

There are in this house many high halles, in the which are kept menne, women and Childzen: in some of them are kept suche as are bozne white of colour whiche doth very seldome happen: in other some are dwarfes, crooked backs, burstenmen, counterfaites, and monstrous persons, in greate number: they say that they vled to befozme them when they were Childzen, to sette forth the kings greatnesse: every of these persons were in severall Halles by themselves.

In the lower Halles were greate Cages made of Timber: in some of them were Lions, in other Tigers, in other Wolves, in others Wolves: in conclusion, there was no foure footed beaste that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie Mutezuma might say that he had such things in his house.

They were fed with their ordinarie, as Ginea 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, Wipers, Crocodzilles, which they call Caymanes, or Lizarts of twenty foote long, with such Scales and head as a Dragon bathe: Also other little Lizartes, and other venemous beastes and
Serpents

Serpentes as well of the water as of the lande, a terrible sight for the lookers on.

There were also other Cages for foule of rapine of all sortes, as Hawkes, Eagles, Boyters, and at the least nine or ten kind of Haukes. This house of foule had of dayly allowance five hundred Gynea cockes, and three hundred men of seruice, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sortes of Fowles that our men knewe not, which seemed by theyr beake and talents good to Hauke withall.

As to the Snakes and other venemous beastes they gaue the bloude of men sacrificed, to feede them, and some say they gaue vnto them mannes fleshe, whiche the great Lisarts dos eat very well. The Spaniardes sawe the floure covered with blond like a lealy in a slaughter house, it stunke horribly.

It was straunge to see the officers in this house holue euery one was occupied. Our men toke greate pleasure in beholding suche straunge things, but they coulde not alwaye with the roaring of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolues, the sorrowfull yelling of the Dwarzes and Tigres, when they would haue meate.

Polke certaine, in the nighte season it seemed a Dungeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Deuill, and euen so it was in deede, for neare at hande was a Hall of a hundred and fiftie foote long, & thirtie foote broad, where was a Chappel with the Roofe of siluer and golde in leafe Mainescotted, and decked with greate store of pearle and stone, as Agattes, Coznetines, Emeralbes, Rabies, and diuers other sortes, and this was the Oratory where Mutezuma prayed in the nighte season,

Wh

The Conquest of

and in that chappell the diuell did appeare vnto him, and gaue him answere accordyng to his praiers.

He had other houses like vnto Barnes, onely for the feathers of foules, and for mantels which proceeded of his rentes and tributes, a thing much to bee seene: vpon the doores was set his armes, which was a Conntie.

Here dwelled the chiefe officers of his house, as Treasurer, Controller, Receiuers and other officers apperteyning to the Kings reueneues. Mutezuma had no house wherein was not an Oratory for the diuel, whome they worshipped for the Jewels there. And therfore those houses were great and large.

The Armory of Mutezuma,



Mutezuma had some houses of Armour, vpon the doores whereof stode a bowe and arrowes. In these houses was great store of all kinde of Punition whiche they vse in their warres: as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Lances, Darts, Clubbes, Swords and Bucklers; and gallant Targettes more trimme then strong; Skulles and Splintes; but not many, and all made of wood, gilt or covered with leather. The wood whercof they make their Armour and Targettes, is very hard and strong, for they vse to toast it at the fire, and at their arrowe endes they enclose a little peece of flint stone, or a peece of a fish bone called Libia; and that is venemous; for if any bee hurt therewith and the head remaine in the wounde, it is so secretly, that it is almost incurable.

Their

Theyr Swoydes are of woode; and the edge thereof is flint stone, enclosed or toynd into a staffe, with a certaine kinde of glewe which is made of a rose called Zacoic, and Teuxalli, which is a kinde of strong sande; whereof they make a mixture; and after kneade it with blood of Battes or Keare mice; and other foule; which doth glewe marvellous strong; and lightly neuer vnclaweth; of this stuffe, they make nayles, pearcers, and augers, wherewith they boze timber and stone: with their swoydes they cut speares, yea and a horse necke at a blow, and make dents into iron, which seemeth a thing impossible and incredible.

In the Citie no man may weare weapon, but onely in warres, hunting, and among the Kings Guard.

The Garden of Mutezuma.



Askees the foresaide houses, hee had many others for his onely recreattion and pastime, with excellent faire Gardens of medicinal hearbes, swete flowers, and trees of delectable sanour, whiche were many, and a thing to give praise to God the maker & Creator of all.

In that Garden were a thousand personages, made and wrought artificially of leaues and flowers. Mutezuma woulde not permitte that in this Gardeine should be any kinde of pottle hearbes, or things to be sold saying, that it did not appertaine to Kings to haile thinges of profite, among their delightes and pleasures;

The Conquest of

for suche thinges (saide hee) did appertaine to Merchants.

Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with many and sundry fruites, but they stode farre from the Cittie, and whither sildome times hee went: hee had likewise out of Mexico pleasaunt houses in wooddes and forrestes, of great compasse, enuironed with water, in the which he had fountaines, riuers, pondes with fishe, warrandes of Coonies, rockes and couert where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Hores, Wolues, and such like, with wilderneffe for euery sort.

To these places the Lords of Mexico vsed to goe and sport themselues; such and so many were the houses of Mutezuma, wherein seue Kings were equall with him.

The Court and Guard of Mutezuma.



He had daily attending vpon him in his priuie Guard, sixe hundreth noble men and Gentlemen, and each of them thre or foure seruants, and some had twentie seruants or moe, according to his estate: and in this maner he had thre thousande men attendant in his Court, and some affirme moze, all the which were fedde in his house of the meate that came from his table.

The seruing men alwayes abode belowe in the Court all the day, and went not from thence till after Supper.

It is to bee thought that his Guard was the greater, because the Strangers were there, although in effect of truth it is most certaine, that all the Lozdes 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 thre thousand Lozdes of Townes, who haue many vassals.

These noble men did abide in Mexico certaine times of the yeare, in the Court of Mutezuma, and could not depart from thence without especiall licence of the Emperour, leaving each of them a son or brother behind them for securitie of 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 noble men pay their tribute in personal seruice. The husbandmen called Maceualtin, with body and goods. In this sort they are either tenants, or else heires to their possessions. Those which are heires,

doe pay one thiro part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bying vp, as dogs, hennes, soule, cornes, golde, siluer, stones, salt, waxe, honie, mantels, feathers, cotten, and a certaine fruit called Cacao, that serueth for monoy, and also to eat. Also all kinde of graine, and garden hearbes, and fruites, whereof they doe maintaine themselves.

The Tenants doe pay monethly, or yearely, as they

The Conquest of

can agree, and because their tribute is great, they are called slaves, for when they may haue licence to eate egges, they thinke it a great fauour. It was reported that they were taxed what they should eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went verie poorly clothed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthen pottle, wherein they boyled their hearbes, a couple of Millstones to grinde their Cozne, and a matte to lie vppon. They did not onely pay this rent, and tribute; but also serued with their bodies at all times when the great King should commaund. They were in such great subiection to their prince, that they durst not speake one word although their daughters should bee taken from them to be vsed at their pleasure. It was reported that of euerie thre sons, they deliuered one to be sacrificed, but that report was false, for if it had bene true, the towncs had not bin so replenished with people as they were: and also the noble men did not eate mans flesh, but onely of those which were sacrificed, and they were slaves or prisoners taken in the warres. Assuredly they were cruell butchers, and slue yearely for that bloody sacrifice many men, and some chiltzen, but not so many as was reported. All the aforesaide rentes they brought to Mexico vpon their backs, and in boats, I meane so much as was necessarie for the prouision of the house and Court of Mutezuma, all the residue was spent among Soldiers, and bartred for golde, plate, precious stones, and other rich Jewels, esteemed of Princes, all the which was brought to the treasure. In Mexico was large and great barnes and houses to receiue and keepe the cozne for prouision of the Citie, with officers, and vnderofficers, who did receiue the same, and kept account thereof in booke of painted figures.

Also in euerie Towne was a receiuer, who bare in
his

his hand a rodde or a bush of feathers, and those gaue by their accounts in Mexico. If any such had bene taken with deceite and falshode, death was his reward, yea and his kindred punished with penalties, as of a lignage of a traitor to his Prince. The Husbandmen, if they paid not well their tribute, were apprehended for the same, and if they were found to bee poore through sicknesse and infirmitie, then they were bozne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and slothfull, they should be vled accordingly: but in conclusion, if they paid it not at a day appointed, then they should bee solde for slaues to pay their debt, or else be sacrificed.

There were many other prouinces, which paid a certaine portion, and reknowledged seruice, but this tribute was more of honour then profite. In this sort Mutezuma had more then sufficient to prouide his house and warres, and to heape by great store in his treasure. Moreover, he spent nothing in the buildings of his houses, for of long time he had certaine towines that payd no other tribute, but onely to worke and reparaire continually his houses at their owne proper cost, and paid all kinde of workemen carrying vpon their backs, or drawing in sleddes, stone, lime, timber, water, and all other necessaries for the worke. Likewise they were bound to prouide al the firewood that should be spent in the court, which was a great thing, and did amount to 230. hundred weight a day, which was five hundred mens burthens, and some dayes in the winter much more. And for the Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of Oke trees, which was best esteemed for the light thereof, for they were great forceers. Mutezuma had 100. cities with their prouinces, of whom he receiued reates, tributes, and bassalage, where he maintained garrison of souldiers, and had treasurers in each of them.

His

The Conquest of

His dominion did extend from the North sea to the South sea, and 600. miles in longitude within the main land, although in very deed there were some townes, as Tlaxcallon, Mechuacan, Panuco, and Teocâtepec, which were his enemies, and payde him neither tribute nor service: but yet the raunsome was much, when any of them was taken.

Also there were other kings and noble men, as of Texcuro & Tlacopan, which were not in subiection vnto him, but onely in homage and obedience, for they were of his own linage, vnto whō Mutezuma married his daughters.

The situation of Mexico.

Mexico at the time when Cortes entred, was a city of 60. thousand houses. The Kings house, & other noble mens houses were great, large, and beautiful, the others were small and roynish, without epyther doores or windowes: and although they were small, yet there dwelled in some of them, two, thre, yea, and ten persons, by reason whereof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built vpon the water, even in the same order as Venice is. All the bodie of the Citie standeth in a great large lake of water. There is thre sortes of strêtes verie broade and faire, the one sort are onelie of water, with many byldges: an other sort of onely earth: and the third of earth and water: that is to say, the one halfe earth to walke vpon, and the other halfe for Boates to bying pportion of all sortes. These strêtes are kept alwayes cleane, and the most part of the houses haue two doores, the one towarde the calusey, and the other toward the water, at the which they take Boate to goe where

where they list. And although this Citie is founded by
pon water, yet the same water is not good to drinke,
whereof there is brought by conduit water from a place
called Capultepec, thre miles distant fro 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 brought from thence in two pipes or
Canalls in great quantitie, and when the one is soule,
then all the water is conueied into the other, till the first
be made cleane. From this fountaine all the whole Citie
is prouided, so that they goe selling the same water from
strate to strate in little boates, and doe paye a certaine
tribute for the same.

This Citie is deuided into two strates, the one was
called Tlatelulco, that is to say, a litle Iland, and the other
Mexico, where Mutezuma his dwelling and courte was,
and is to be interpreted a spring. This strate is the fairest
and most principall, and because of the Kings Pallace
there, the Citie was named Mexico, although the old and
first name of the Citie was Tenuchtlan, which doth sig-
nifie fruite out of stone, for the name is compounded of
Tecl, which is, stone, and Nuchli, which is fruite, called
Cuba, Tunas. The tree that beareth this fruite, is named
Nopal, and is nothing almost but leaues of a footeboade
and round, and thre ynches thicke, some moze, and some
lesse, accoording to the growth, full of thoznes which are
venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thozne or picke
russet. After that is planted, it encreaseeth, growing
leafe vnto leafe, and the foote thereof commeth to be as
the bodie of a tree, and one leafe dothe onely produce
another at the pointe, but at the sides of the same leaues
proceedeth other leaues: And because here in Spaine is

The Conquest of

of the same trees and fruite, it needeth no further description.

In some pzoouinces where water is scante, they vse to drinke the iuice of these leaues. The fruite thereof called Nucheli, is like vnto figges, and euen so hathe his little kernels or graines within, but they are some what larger, and crownded like vnto a Hedler. There are of them of sundrye coloures, some are gréne without, and Carnationlike within, which haue a good taske. Others are yelowwe, and others white, and some speckled: the best sozt 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 a fresh fruite, and best esteemed in the heate of Sommer. The Spaniardes doe moze esteeme them then the Indians. The moze 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 esteemed, although his tast is not euill, but because it dothe coloure and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea and maketh his vyne loke like pure blood. Many Spaniardes at their first coming into India, and eating this fruite, were in a maze, and at their wittes ende, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out in vyne: yea and manye Whisitons at their first comming were of the same beliefe: for it hath hapened, when they haue bin sent for vnto such as haue eaten this fruite, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the vyne, by and by they ministred medicine to staunch blood: surely a thing to laugh at, to see the Whisitons so deceined. Of this fruite Nucheli and Tecl, which is a stone, is compounded Tenuchelitan. When this Citie was begunne to be founded, it was placed nere vnto a greate stone that stode in the middelt of the lake, at the
fote.

foote whereof grewe one of these Nopal trees, and therefoze Mexico giueth foze armes and deuise the foote of a Nopal tree springing from a stone, according to the Citties name.

Others doe affirme, that this Cittie hath the name of his first founder, called Tenuch, being the seconde sonne of Iztacmixcoatl, whose sonnes and descendentes did first inhabite this lande of Ananac, called nowe newe Spaine.

Whosoener the opinions are, certaine it is that the scituation is called Tenuchelitan, and the dwellers there Tenuchca Mexico.

Mexico is as much to say, as a spring or fountaine, according to the proprietie of the bowell and speech.

Others doe affirme, that Mexico hath his name of a moze auncient time, whose first founders were called Mexiti, foze vnto this day by Indian dwellers in one stréete of this city are called of Mexica. The Mexiti toke name of their principallest Idoll called Mexitli, who was in as greate veneration as Vitzilopucheli, God of the warre.

Mexico is enuironed with swafe water, and hath the thre wates 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 South, and conteineth thre miles in length. Eastwarde the Cittie hath no entree. But Southwarde the Calsey is fixe miles long, which was the way that Cortez entred into the Cittie.

The lake that Mexico is planted in, although it seemeth one, yet it is two, foze the one is of water saltishe, bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fishe liueth in it.

And the other water is wholesome, good and swét, and bringeth forth small fishe.

The salte water ebbeth and floweth, according

to the winde that bloweth. The swæte water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the euill, and reuerteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt lake containeth fiftene miles in breadth, and fiftene in length, and moze then fise and fortie in circuite, and the lake of swæte water containeth euen as much, in such sort, that the whole lake containeth moze then thirtie leagues, and hath about fiftie towneſe ſituated round about it, many of which Townes doe containe fise thousand houſholdes, and ſome tenne thouſande, yea and one Towne called Tezcuco, is as bigge as Mexico. All this lake of water ſpringeth out of a mountaine that ſtandeth within ſight of Mexico. The cauſe that the one part of the lake is bzackiſh or ſaltiſh, is, that the bottome of ground is all ſalt, and of that water great quantite of ſalt is daily made.

In this great lake are about two hundreth thouſande little boates, which the Indians call A calles, and the Spaniards call them Canoas, according to the ſpeech of Cuba and Santo Domingo, wrought like a kereding trough: ſome are bigger then other ſome, according to the greatneſſe of the bodie of the tree whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thouſand of theſe boates, I ſpeake of the leaſt, for Mexico alone hath about fiftie thouſande ordinarily to carry and bring vnto the Citie victuall, provision, and paſſengers, ſo that on the market day all the ſtreetes of water are full of them.

The Market place of Mexico.

The Market is called in the Indian tongue Tlanquitz: every pariſh hath his Market place to buy and ſell in: but Mexico, and Tlatelulco onely, which are the chiefteſt Citties, haue great ſaires and

and places fit for the same, and especially Mexico hath one place where most dayes in the yeare is buying and selling, but euery fourth day is the great Market ordinarily: and the like custome is vsed throughout the dominions of Mutezuma.

This place is wide and large, compassed round about with doores, and is so great, that a hundred thousand persons come thither to choppe and change, as a Citie most principall in all that region. Wherefore the resort is from farre parties vnto that place. Euery occupation and kind of marchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any means occupy or disturbe. Likewise peckerous wares haue their place accordingly, (that is to say) Stone, timber, lime, bricke, and all kinde of stufte wrought, being necessarie to build withall. Also mattes both fine and course of sundrie workmanship, also coles, woodde, and all sortes of earthen vessell, glazed and painted very curiously: Deare skinnes both raw and tanned in haire and without haire, of manie colours, for thomakers, Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of wooden Cozselets: also skinnes of other beastes and foule in feathers readie dressed of all sortes, the colours and straungenesse thereof was a thing to beholde. The richest marchandise was Salt, and mantels of Cotten woll of diuerse colours, both great and small, some for beddes, others for garments and clothing, other for Tapissarie to hang houses, other Cotten cloth for lining breeches, Shirtes, table clothes, towels, napkins, and such like things.

There were also mantels made of the leaues of the tree called Meel, and of Palme tree, and Cony haire, which are wel esteemed, being very warme, but y couerlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threde made of Conie haire, peeces of linnen cloath made of Cotten woll, also

The Conquest of

skaines of thꝛeade of all colours : also it is straunge to see the great stoꝛe of poultrie that is bꝛought to that market. And although they eate the fleshy of the foule, yet the feathers serue foꝛ cloathing, mixing one soꝛt with another. There are of these foule so many soꝛtes and seuerall colours that I cannot number them : some wilde, some tame, some water foule, and other some of rapine. All the bzauerie of the market, is the place where golde and feathers ioynly wꝛought is solde, foꝛ any thing that is in request is there liuely wꝛought in gold and feathers, and gallant colours. The Indians are so expert and perfect in this science, that they will woꝛke oꝛ make a Butter flie, any wilde beast, trees, roses, flowers, hearbes, rootes, oꝛ any other thing, so liuely, that it is a thing maruellous to behold. It hapneth many times that one of these woꝛke men in a whole day will eate nothing, onely to place one feather in his deuy perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sunne, into the shade oꝛ darke place, to see where is his most naturall perfection, and till his woꝛke be finished he will neither eate noꝛ drinke. There are few nations of so much shame oꝛ sufferance. The Art oꝛ science of Goldsmiths, among them is the most curious, and verie good woꝛkemanthip engrauen with tooles made of flint, oꝛ in moulde. They will cast a platter in moulde with eight coꝛners, and euery coꝛner of seuerall mettall, that is to say, the one of golde, and the other of siluer, without any kinde of solder : they will also found oꝛ cast a little caldꝛon with lose handles hanging thereat, as we vse to cast a Bell : they will also cast in mould a fish of mettall with one scale of siluer on his back, and another of gold : they will make a Parret oꝛ Popinjay of mettall, that his tongue shall shake, and his heade moue, & his wings flutter: they wil cast an Ape in mould, that both hands and feet shall stir, and hold a spindle in his hand

hand ſeeming to ſpinne, yea and an apple in his hand, as though he would eat it. Our Spaniards were not a little amazed at the ſight of theſe things. For our Goldſmiths are not to be compared vnto them. They haue ſkill alſo of Amell worke, and to ſet any pꝛecious ſtone. But nowe as touching the markette, there is to ſell, Golde, Siluer, Copper, Leade, Latton, and Tinne, although there is but little of the thꝛe laſt mettels mentioned. There are Pearles, Pꝛecious ſtones, diuerſe and ſundry ſoztes of Shelles, and Bones, Spunges and other pedlers ware, which certainly are many and ſtraunge ſoztes, yea, and a thing to laugh at their Haberdash toys & trifles. There are alſo many kind of hearbes, rootes, and ſeeds, as well to be eaten, as for medicine, for both men, women, and children, haue great knowledge in hearbes, for through po- uertie and neceſſitie, they ſeake them for their ſuſtenance and helpe of their infirmitie and diſeaſes. They ſpend little among Phiſitions, although there are ſome of that Arte, and manie Poticaries, who doe bring into the market, oymtments, ſirops, waters, and other drugges, fit for ſicke perſons: they cure all diſeaſes almoſt, with hearbs, yea, as much as for to kill lice, they haue a proper hearbe for the purpoſe.

The ſeueral kinde of meates to be ſelde, is without number, as Snakes without head and taile, little Dogs gelt, Houles, Rattes; long wormes, Lice, yea, and a kinde of earth, for at one ſeaſon in the yeare they haue ſettes of maile, with the which they rake vp a certaine duſt that is byedde vpon the water of the lake of Mexico, and that is kneaded together like vnto oas of the ſea: they gather much of this vittaille, & keep it in heaps, and make therof cakes like vnto byckbats: they ſell not onely this ware in y market, but alſo ſend it abroad to other faireſ & markets a far of: they eat this meat w as good ſtomack

ag

The Conquest of

as wee eate chéle, yea and they holde opinion that this skum or fatnesse of the water, is the cause that such great number of foule commeth to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite.

They sel in this market venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Conies, and Dogges, and many other beastes, which they byzing by for the purpose, and take in hunting. There are a great number of Shoppes that sell all kinde of offall and tripes. It is a wonder to see how so much meate readie dyesed could be spent. There is also flesh and fish roasted, boyled, and baked, Pies and Cakes made of diuerse soztes of egges: the great quantitie of bread is without number. Also cozne of all soztes thzeshed, and vnthzeshed. The great stoze of sundrie kindes of fruites is maruellous, which are there solde, both gréene and ripe: there is one sozt as bigge as Almondes called Cacao, which is both meate and currant money. There are diuerse kinde of colours to bee solde, which they make of roses, floures, fruits, barks of trees, and other things verie excellent: they sell the ir Honie of sundrie kinds, oile of Chian, made of a séede like vnto muscarde séede, and oynting any painted cloath therewith, the water can not hurt it, they also dye there with their meate, although they haue both butter and larde. Their sundry soztes of wines shalbe declared in another place: it would bee a prolizious thing to rehearse all the thinges that are to bee solde in that markct. There are in this faire many artificers, as Packers, Barbers, Cutlers, and many 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 sold in euery market of Mexico, all the sellers pay a certaine summe for their Shoppes or standings to the king, as a custome, and they to be preferued and defended from theues: and for that cause

there

there goe certaine Sergeants or officers by & to vone the market to espie out malefactours. In the middelt of the market standeth a house whiche may be sene throughout the sayze, & there sitteth twelue annient men for iudges to dispatch laue matters: their buying and selling is to change 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 their order to choppe and change: they haue measure and strike for all kinde of cozne, and other earthen measures for Hony and Wine, and if any measure be falsified, they punish the offenders, and bpeake their measures.

The great Temple of Mexico.



The Temple is called Teucalli, that is to say, Gods house, Teuel, signifieth God, and Calli is a house, a bowel very fitte, if that house had bene of the true God. The Spaniards that vnderstand not the language, do pronounce and call those Temples Cues, and the God Vitzilopuchtli, Vchilobos. Ther

are in Mexico many parish churches, with towres, wherin are Chappels and Altars where the images and idols do stand, and those chappels do serue for buriall places of their founders, that the Parishiners are buried in the churchyard. All their temples are of one fashion, therfore it shall be now sufficient to speake of the cathedra church. And euen as those temples are all in generall of one making in that citie. I doe beleue that the like was neuer sene nor heard off. This temple is square, and doth containe every way as much ground as a crosse bow can reach leuell: it is made of stone, with foure dozes that abutteth vpon the three calles, and vpon another parte of the citie, it hath no cal-

The Conquest of

sey but a faire Street. In the midst of this Quadern standeth a mount of earth and stone, square likewise, and fiftie fadome long every way, built vpward like vnto a pyramide of Egypt, sauing the top is not sharpe, but plain and flat, and ten fadome square: vpon the west side, were steps vp to the toppe, in number an hundred and fourtene, which being so many, high, and made of good stone, did seeme a beautifull thing. It was a straunge sight to behold the Priestes, some going vp, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Vpon the toppe of this Temple are two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or bymme of the wall, that scarcely a man mought go behinde them at pleasure. The one Altar standeth on the right hand, & the other on the left, they were but of siue fote high, each of them had the backe part made of stone, painted with monstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was faire and well wrought of Masons work and timber, every chappel had thre lofts, one aboue another, sustained vpon pillers, and with the height the roof it shewed like vnto a faire tower, and beautified the Citie a farre off: from thence a man mought see all the Citie and townes rounde aboute the lake, which was vndoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because Cortes & his company should see the beautie thereof, Mutezuma brought him thither, and shewed him all the order of the Temple, euen from the soote to the toppe. There was a certaine plot or space for the idoll priestes to celebratz their seruice without disturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the rising of the sun. Vpon each altar standeth a great idoll. Beside this tower that standeth vpon the pyramide, there are fourtie towers great & small belenging to other little temples which stand in the same circuite, the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not west ward, but
 other

other wayes, because there should be a difference betwixt the great temple and them. Some of these temples were bigger then others, and euey one of a seuerall God, among the which there was one round Temple dedicated to the God of the ayre, called Quecalcouatl, for euen as the aire goeth round about the heavens, euen so that consideration they made his temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a doore, made like vnto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foule and Diuelish gestures, with great teeth and gums wrought, which was a thing to feare those that should enter in therat, and especially the Chyistians vnto whom it represented very Hel with that ougly face and monstherous teeth.

A strange
doore.

There were other Teucalles in the citie, that had the ascending by by steps in thzee places: all these temples had houses by theselues with all seruice, and priests and particular Gods. At euey doore of the great temple standeth a large Hall & goodly lodgings, both high and lowe round about, which houses were common armories for the citie, for the force and strength of euey towne is the temple, and therefore they haue there placed their storehouse of munition. They had other darke houses ful of idols, great and small, wrought of sundyy mettals, they are all bathed and washed with blood, and do they w very blacke throug their dayly sprinkling & anointing them with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea, and the wals are an inch thicke with blood, and the ground is a foote thicke of blood, so that there is a diuelish stinch. The priests or ministers go dayly into those Oratories, and suffer none other but great personages to enter in. Yea, and when any such goeth in, they are bound to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hangmen and ministers of the diuel may wash their handes in blood of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

The Conquest of

For their seruice in the kitchen they haue a ponde of water that is filled once a yere, which is brought by conduct from the p̄ncipal fountaine. All the residue of the soze saide circuite serueth for places to breed foule, with gardens of hearbes and swete trees, with Roses and floures for the Altars. Such, so great and strange was this temple of Mexico, for the seruice of the Diuel who had deceiued those simple Indians. There doth reside in the same temple continually fīue thousand persons, and all they are lodged & haue their lining there, for that temple is maruellous riche, & hath diuers towne onely for their maintenance and reparation, and are bounde to sustaine the same alwaies on foote. They doe solue cozne, and maintaine all those fīue thousande persons with bread, fruite, flesh, fish, and fire woodde, as much as they neede, for they spende moze fire woodde then is spent in the kings court; these persons doe liue at their hearts ease, as seruants and bassals vnto the Goddes. Mutezuma brought Cortez to this temple, because his men should see the same, and to enforme them of his religion and holinesse, wherof I will speake in an other place, being the most strange and cruelllest that ever was heard off.

The Idols of Mexico.



The gods of Mexico, were two thousand in number, as the Indians reported, the chiefest were Vitelopucheli & Tzeatlipuca, whose images stode highest in the Temple vppon the Altars: they were made of stone in full p̄portion as bigge as a Giant. They were covered with a latone called Nacar. These images were beset with pearles, p̄cious stones, & p̄ces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes,
and

and floures, adorned with Emeralds, Turquies, Calcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne Naker was taken away, the Images seemed very beautiful to beholde.

The Image had for a girdle great snakes of gold, and for collores or chaines about their neckes, ten hearts of men, made of golde, and each of those Idolles had a counterfaiete visage with eyes of glasse, and in their necks death painted: each of these things hadde their considerations and meanings. These two Goddes were brethren, for Tezcatlipuca was the God of Providence, and Virclopucheli God of the warres, who was worshipped and feared more then all the rest.

There was another God, who hadde a greate Image placed bypon the toppe of the Chappell of Idolls, and hee was esteemed for a speciall and singular God about all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seeds that groweth in that Countrey, and being ground, they made a certaine past, tempered with childzens blood, and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with their razures in the breasts, and their heartes taken out, to offer as first fruites unto the Idoll. The Priests and Pinisters doe consecrate this Idoll with greate pomp and many Ceremonies. All the Comarcans and Citizens are present at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible deuotion. After the consecration, many deuoute persons came and stiched in the dowry Image precious stones, wedges of golde, and other Jewels. After all this pomp ended, no secular man mought touche that holys Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarcely religious persons, except they were Tlamacazeli, who are Priests of order. They doe reue this Image many times with new dough, taking away the olde, but then blessed is he that can get one peece of the olde ragges for reliques, and

A wicked
attire.

A madde
offering.

The Conquest of

chiefly for souldiers, who thought themselves sure there
with in the warres. Also at the consecration of this Idoll,
a certaine vessel of water was blessed with many wordes
and ceremonies, and that water was preserved very reli-
giously at the fote of the altar, for to consecrate the King
when he should bee crowned, and also to blesse any Cap-
taine generall, when he should be elected for the warres,
with only giuing him a draught of that water.

The Charnell house, or place of dead mens
skulles, for remembrance of death.

Without the Temple, and ouer against the
principall doore therof, a stoncs cast vistant,
standeth the Charnell house onely of dead
mens heads, prisoners in warres, and sa-
crificed with the knife.

This Monument was made lyke vnto a Theater,
more larger then broade, wrought of lyme and stone,
with ascending steppes, in the wallcs whereof was grafs-
sed betwixt stone and stone a skull, with the teeth out-
wards.

At the fote and head of this Theater, were two To-
wers, made onely of lyme and sculles, the teethe outward,
and this wall hauing no other stufte, seemed a straunge
sight. At and vppon the toppes of the Theater, were 70.
poles, standing the one from the other foure or five fote
distant, and eache of them was full of stauces from the
fote to the toppes. Eache of these stauces had others made
fast vnto them, so that euery of them had sixe sculles pro-
ched through the temples. Andrewe de Tapia did certifi-
fie me, that he and Gonfalo de Umbria did reckon them
in one day, and found a hundred thirtie and sixe thousand
sculles on the poles, stauces, and steppes. The other To-
wers

wers 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 appointed, that when one skul falleth, to set up another in his place, so that the number may nener want.

How Cortez tooke Mutezuma
Prisoner.

Hernando Cortez and his company, were sixe daies in beholding and perusing the scituation of the Citie and secrets of the same, with y notable things befoze rehearsed: they were often visited by Mutezuma, and the Gentlemen of his Court, and abundantly prouided of things necessary for his vse, and the Indians of his company.

Like wise his Horses were cherished and serued with greene barley and grasse, whereof there is plentie all the yeare: like wise of coine, meale, roses, and of all things that their owners would request, in so much that beddes of floures were made for them in place of litter. A sweete bedde. But yet notwithstanding, although they were in this sorte cherished, and also lodged in so riche a Countrey, where they mighte fill their purses, they were not yet all contente and inerric, but rather with great feare and care, especially Cortez, who hadde the onely care as head and chiefe Captaine for the defence of his fellowes, hee (I say) was pensive, noting the scituation of the Citie, the infinite number of people, the state and maiestie of Mexico, yea and some disquietnesse of his owne company, who would come and laye vnto his charge the snare and nette that they were in, in thinking it a thing vnpossible that anye of them coulde escape.

if Mutezuma, were ther vnto determined, or else with the least muteny in the woꝛlde, that mought be raised in the Citie, although that euery inhabitant shoulde thꝛow but one stone at them, or else to bꝛeake vp the braybridges, or withꝛawing their victuals, things very easie to be done. With this greate care that he had of the pꝛeseruation of his fellowes, and to remedie the perill and daunger that he stode in, he determined to appꝛehēd Mutezuma, and to bulde foure foylles to haue the lake in subiection, which he hadde tosoꝛe imagined, and without the appꝛehension of the King, he coulde not come by the Kingdome: he would very glably haue built the foylles out of hand, but he left off that pꝛetence, only becauſe he would not delay the impꝛisonment of Mutezuma, where in consisted the effect of all his businesse, so that foꝛthwith he minded to put in execution his intent, without giuing any of his company to vnderstand therof.

Determinati-
on of Cortez.

The quarrell wherewith he had armed himselfe foꝛ that purpose, was, that the Loꝛd Qualpopoca hadde slaine nine Spaniards: like wise encouraged him the great pꝛesumption of his letters wꝛitten to the Emperour Charles his king, wherein he wꝛote that he would take Mutezuma pꝛisoner, and dispossesse him of his Emprye. These causes considered, he toke the letters of Pedro Hircio, wherein was wꝛitten, hoꝛe Qualpopoca was the cause of the death of nine Spaniards, & put those letters into his pocket, and walking vp and doꝛne his lodging, tossing to and fro these imaginations in his brayne, full of care of the greate enterpꝛise that he had in hande, yea he himselfe iudging the matter doubtfull, and his head beeing in this soꝛt occupied, he chanced to espie one wall moꝛe soꝛhiter then the rest, and beholding the same, he sawe that it was a doꝛe lately dauned by, and calling vnto him two of his seruaunts (foꝛ all the residue were a slepe) be-
cause

cause it was late in the nighte, he opened that doze, and went in, and there found sundry halles, some with Jewels, some with gallant feathers, Jewels, 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 this doze againe as well as he moughte, without touching any part of that treasure, because he woulde not make any vproze thereabout, noz yet to delaye the impysonment of Mutezuma, soz that treasure was alwaies there to be had.

Treasury of
Mutezuma.

The next daye in the morning came certpaine Spaniards vnto him, and manye Indians of Tlaxcallon, saying that the Citizens did goe about to conspire their deathe, and to bryake downe the brydges of the calleyes, to bring their purpose the better to passe. So that with this newes, bearing true or falsse, Cortes left the one halfe of his men to defende and keepe his logging, and at euery crosse strate he planted men, and the residue he sent to the Court by two and two, and thre and thre, and he himselfe came to the pallaice, saying that hee must talke with Mutezuma of matters that did empoze their liues. Cortez was secretly armed. Mutezuma hearing howe Cortez attended for him, came forth and receiued him, taking him by the hande, and placed him in his seate thirtie Spaniards waited vpon Cortes, and the residue abode without at the doze.

Cortes saluted Mutezuma according to his accustomed manner, and began to iest and talke merily as hee was wont to doe. Mutezuma being carelesse of the thing that Fortune hadde prepared againste him, was also very merrie, and pleased with that conuersation. he gaue vnto Cortez Jewels of golde, and one of his daughters, and other noble mens daughters to others of his company. Cortez receiued the gift, for other wise it had bene

The Conquest of

a frent vnto Mutezuma. But yet he enforzmed him, that he was a married man, and that he coulde not marrie with his daughter, for the Christian law did not per mitte the same, noz yet that any Christian mought haue moze then one wife, vppon paine of infamy, and to be marked in the fozehead.

After all this talke ended, Cortes toke the letters of Pedro Hircio, and caused them to be interpreted vnto Mutezuma, making his grieuous complainte againste Qualpopoca, who hadde slaine so many Spaniards through his commaundement, yea and that his subiects had published, that they would kill the Spaniards, and bzeake downe the bzidges.

Mutezuma excused himselfe earnestly, as well of the one as of the other, saying, the report giuen out againste his subiectes was false and vntrue, and as for Qualpopoca who had slaine the Spaniards, he was innocent thereof: and because that he shoulde see the troth, he called incontinent certaine of his seruauents, commaunding them to goe for Qualpopoca, and gaue vnto them his seale, which was a stone that he ware at his wyest, engraued with the figure of the God Virzilopuehli, and the messengers departed there with incontinent.

Cortez replied and said, My Lord, your highnesse must goe with me to my lodging, and there abide, vntill your messengers retorne with Qualpopoca, and the certaintie of the death of my men: In my lodging youre highnesse shall rule and commaund as you doe here in Court, your person shall be well vsed, wherefore take you no care, for I will haue respecte vnto youre honoz, as to mine owne proper, or the honoz of my King, beseeching you to pardon me in this my request, for if I should do otherwise, and dissemble with you, mine owne company would be offended with mee, saying that I doe not defende them

accoz

according to dutie. Wherefoze commaund your householde seruantes to repose themselues without alteration, soz be you assured that if any hurt come vnto mee, or vnto anye of mine, youre person shall pay the same with life, considering that it lieth in youre hande to goe quietly with me.

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

They abode arguing the matter nere foure houres, and at length Mutezuma was content to goe, hauing promised that he shoulde rule and gouerne as he was wont to do. Cortez commaunded a place in his lodging to be trimmed for him, and he went sozthwith thither with Cortes. There came many noble men barefooted, weeping and lamenting the case, carrying their best garments vnder their armes, and brought a rich seate, whereon Mutezuma was placed, & they carried him vpon their shoulders.

When it was blowen abzoade in the Citie that Mutezuma was carried prisoner to the Spaniards lodging, all the Citie was on an vpyoze: but yet Mutezuma did sozth the Gentlemen that carried and followed him weeping, praying them to cease their lamentation, saying that he was not prisoner, noz yet went with the Christians against his will, but for his onely pleasure. Cortes appointed a Spanish garde for him, with a Captaine, the which he dayly chaged, and had Spaniards alwaies in his company to make him pastime. Also poze Mutezuma was contented with their conuersation, & gaue the still rewards, A sorrowfull pastime. He was serued with his owne seruants Indians, as at home in his pallace. Cortes, alwaies intreated him to put of sadness, & to be merrie, permitting him to dispatch suters, & to deale in all affaires of his estate, and to commune and talke openly or secretly with his noble men as he was wont to

The Conquest of

do, and that was but onely a baite to bying them to the hooke. There was neuer Greeke nor Romaine, nor any other nation since the name of Kings was ordeined, did giue ſo like interpriſe, as Herrando Cortez did, in taking Mutezuma priſoner in his owne houſe, being a moſt mightie King, & in a moſt ſtrong ſort among infinite people, he hauing but only 450. companions.

The creation of Hunting, which
Mutezuma vſed



Vtezuma had not only all the libertie that he deſired in the Citie, being priſoner among the Spaniards, but alſo Cortez permitted him to hunt and hauke, or to go to the temple, ſo he was very deuoute, and a great hunter.

When he went a hunting, he was carried vpon mens ſhoulders with eight or ten Spaniardes in his guard, and three thouſand Mexicans, who were Gentlemen, his ſervants, and hunters, of whom he hadde a great number, ſome to ſeke the game, others to beate the couertes, and others to marke. Some of theſe Hunters were only for hares and conies, other ſo for all ſorts of Deere, Wolves, foxes, and ſuch like. They were very perſite with the bowes, and good markemen, ſo he that miſſed his marke at foureſcore paſes diſtant was puniſhed. It was ſtrange to ſe the number of people that wente with him on hunting, and to ſe the ſlaughter of beaſts killed, with handes, ſnaues, nettes, and bowes, ſome of theſe beaſts were tame, and other bzauie and ſearfull, as Lyons, Tigers, and Dunces. 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 Powerbe ſaith, ſlight and cunning is better then ſtrength.

It is a moze strange thing to take any soule that flieth in the aire, as their Falconers do, for after they haue once marked and set ele vpon any soule, the Falconers of Mutezuma will vnder take to catch him, although the soule be neuer so swift of wing, being at the least so commanded by the King. It happened one day that Mutezuma stode in his Gallerie with his garde of Spaniards, who had espied a faire Hauke soaring in the ayre, oh quoth they what a faire Hauke flieth yonder, Mutezuma hearing their talke, called vnto him certaine of his Falconers, commanding them to followe that Hauke, and to bring him vnto him. The Falconers went to fulfil his request, and followed that soule with such diligence, that in short space they brought the hauke vnto him, who presented the same vnto the Spaniards, a thing truly almost incredible, but yet certified by worde and writings of the present witnesses. Their chiefeft and most pleasant pastime of hauking was, of Hightes, Hauens, Crows, Pies, and rothebirds of hartie stomacke, & slow in flight, great and small of all sortes, for the which he had Eagles, Buzzers, and other soule of rapine, marvellous swift of wing, and such as would mount verie high in the ayre, with the which they murdered Hares, Wolves, and (as some say) Hartes.

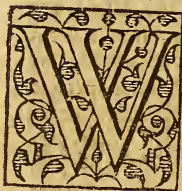
He had other foulers, that vsed Nettles, Snares, and sundry engens, Mutezuma vsed much to shot in a trunk, and with his bow killed many wilde beasts. His houses of pleasure, as I haue befoze declared, stode sixe myles from the Citie in pleasant wordes: and alwayes when he went a hunting after the time that hee was prisoner, the same day he would retorne againe to Cortez his lodging, although he baketted & feasted with the Spaniards at his places of sporting and pastime, and would alwayes at his retorne to his lodging giue some present vnto the,

The Conquest of

that had accompanied him that day.

Cortez seeing the liberalitie of Mutezuma, saide vnto him : sir, my companie are vnruely fellowes, and as I vnderstand, they haue found out some of your treasure, and haue made spoile thereof : wherfoze I would know your pleasure what shall be done with the. And in effect it was the treasure that Cortez himselfe had founde out. Mutezuma answered, saying, sir that treasure which they haue founde, did appertaine vnto the Gods : But yet notwithstanding, let them leaue the feathers, and all such things as are neither golde noz siluer, and all the residue take for you and them, and if you will haue moze, I will prouide it for you.

How Cortez began to plucke downe the
Idols of Mexico.



When Mutezuma went into the temple, he went leaning vpon a noble mans arme, or else was led betwene two, and a noble personage went alwayes before him with three smal wands in his hand, signifying thereby, that the king in person was there at hand, and in token also of iustice and cozection.

If he had bene carried vpon mens shoulders then at his alighting downe, he toke one of those rods into his owne hand. He was a Prince full of ceremonies in all his doings, but the substance of his estate is already declared, from the time that Cortez entred into Mexico, vntill this present. Those first dayes that the Spaniards came to the Citie, and as oft as Mutezuma went to the Temple, Indian men were slaine in sacrifice. And to prohibit such abominable crueltie and sin, committed in the presence of the

the Christians who went in cōpany of Mutezuma, Cortes required Mutezuma, to commaunde that no mans flesh should be any moze spoyled, or blood shed in sacrifice, and in not fulfilling his request, he would destroy both the temple and Citie. Also he signified vnto him, that he himselfe would throw downe the idols, befoze his presence, and all the Citizens.

Mutezuma replied to his demaūd, saying: It may please you to leaue off your determination, leass that in so doing all the Citie fall into an vpproze and rebellion to defende their good Gods, and auncient religion, the which Gods had alwayes pzeiued them of water, bread, health, light, and all other things needfull. This notwithstanding, the first time that Mutezuma went to the Temple after his imprisonment, Cortes and his companie went with him, and euery of them laid hands vpon the idols, and thze we them downe headlong from their seates, and Altars, and other Chappels. Mutezuma with this sight was in great agonie, yea and his subiects readie to take weapōn to slay them there pzeient, but yet Mutezuma commaunded his subiects to stay from their pzeience: beseeching Cortes to stay from his proceedings, at whose request Cortes ceased, for he thought, as yet time serued not for the purpose and pzeience: but he declared vnto them by his interpreters, as followeth.

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

All creatures in the world (mightie prince, and ye gentlemen and religious persons, whether it be ye here or we in Spaine, or whatsoeuer other Nation that it may be) haue I say, all one beginning and ending,

The Conquest of

ending of moztall life, which 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 ppozition of
 bodie and soule, yea and kinsfolke in blood, although that
 by the ppozidence of the same our God, some are bozne
 faire and beautifull, and other some soule and disfigurd:
 some of one colour, and some of another: some pzudent and
 wise, and other some sonde and fowlish, without either
 iudgement oz vertue: in the which his maruelous woorks
 God she weth himselfe iust, holy and almightie, giuing
 those seuerall gistes, to the intent that the wise and lear-
 ned mought teach the rude and ignozant, and to guide
 the blinde into the right way of saluation, by the steppes
 of true and vnsaigned religion.

Therefore I and my fellowes as your guests and kins-
 men, accozding to equitie doe pzocure and wish the same
 vnto you. A man and his life consisteth in thze things,
 as ye shall vnderstande, that is, bodie, soule and goddes: as
 for your goddes and riches, which is the least that wee
 desire, for ye know well that we haue taken nothing for-
 cible from you, but onely those things which yee haue
 freely and liberally giuen vs. Likewise we haue not hurt,
 misused oz molested your persons, wiues oz childzen, noz
 yet do meane any such thing, your soules health onely is
 the thing we seeke, for your saluation, and that wee nowe
 pzetende to the we, and to giue vnto you perfitte notice of
 the true and euerlasting God. There is none of naturall
 iudgement can denie, but that there is one God, but yet
 thzough ignozance and deceite of the Diuell, will also
 thinke that there are many Goddes, and not acerte vnto
 the true God. But I doe say and most assuredly certifie
 you, that there is no other true God, but onely he whom
 we Christians doe serue, aboze and wooship, the which
 is one eternall, without beginning, and without ende,
 the

the only creatoꝝ and governour of things created: he alone made the Heavens, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres, the which his creatures you doe worship: he (I say) founded and made the Sea, and the sundry and marvellous fishes therein: he planted and made the lande, with all the monstrous beastes therein, soules likewise in the ayre, Plantes, Hearbes, Stones and such like. All the which creatures, ye as blinde and ignozant do hold foꝝ Goddes.

Our almightie God after he had finished and made all the foꝝmer woꝝkes with his owne blessed hands, made one man and one woman, and being so foꝝmed and wrought, he put a soule and bꝛeath into each body, and the deliuered the woꝝlde vnto them, shewing them Paradise and glory. So that of that manne and woman, we all moꝝtall menne proceeded in generation, and in this soꝝte are the handy woꝝke of God, kinsmen and bꝛethꝛen. Nowe if we will come vnto God our father, it is needefull and necessary that we be good, vertuous, pitifull, innocent and vnder obedience, the which ye can not be if you woꝝshippe statues, images, idols, and vse bloody sacrifice of mans flethe. Is there any of you that woulde willingly be slaine? no truely: why then doe you see other so cruelly? and where you can put no soules, why doe you take them from thence? there is none of you, noꝝ your false Gods, that can make soules, noꝝ can foꝝge mens bodie of fleshe and bone, soꝝ if ye coulde, there is none of you woulde be without children, according to your owne appetite and desire, in fashon, beautie and woꝝkemanship. But where our God of heauen doth make all creatures, he sleth therein his owne descretion, and giveth children to whome he pleaseth: and therefore is he GOD alone, and soꝝ these causes shoulde ye haue, esteeme, and woꝝshippe him soꝝ such a mightie God, desiring of him by prayer to giue raine and temperature, that the earth

The Conquest of

may bring forth Cozne, Fruite, Hearbes, Flesh, Foule, and all other necessaries for the sustentation of life. All these things the harde stones giue not vnto you, no no; yet your vny wooden images and cold mettall, neither yet the small seedes wherewith your seruants and slaues, with their filthie handes doe make these images and soule statues, the whiche ye doe worshippe. What sonde people and madde religious persons, who worshipp their owne workmanship, doe ye thinke that they are Gods that rotte and moldye away, and haue no life, and can neither helpe no; kill? Therefore I say vnto you, that nowe and hereafter there is no cause that ye shoulde haue anye moe idolles, no; yet any moe slaughter for sacrifice, no no; yet to make any moe prayers or supplications vnto them, being bothe Blinde, Deafe, and Dumme.

It was maruel
that Cortez
was not taken
for an here-
tike.

Will ye knowe who is God, and where he is: liſte by youre eyes vnto Heauen, and then shall you vnderſtande that aboue is a Godhead or Deitie that maneth the heauens, and gnermeth the course of the Sunne, ruleth the Land, and replenisheth the Sea, who prouideth for Man and Beast bothe Cozne and Water. This God whome ye nowe imagine in your hartes, him (I say) serue and worshippe, not with death of manne or blood, by sacrifice abhominable, 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 comming hither.

With this exhortation, Cortez aplaked the eye of the Bishops and Citizens: their idolls being thowen downe, Mutezumá toke order that no moe shoulde be sette by, commaunding to swaep and make cleane the Chappels of the stinking blood that was in them, so bidding sacrifice of mans flesh, Mutezumá and his officers made a solemn

both

bow and promise to permit no moze slaughter of men, and to set by a Crosse for remembrance of the death and passion of Iesu Christ bozne of the virgin Marie. The which their promise was well fulfilled, for after that day the Spaniards could neuer heare nor finde of any moze sacrifice: But yet there abode in their hearts a mortal rancoze, the which could not long be dissimuled.

Truly in this worthe fact Cortez got moze honor, though he had ouercome them in battaile.

The burning of the Lord Qualpopoca, and other Gentlemen.

After twentie dayes that Mutezuma had bene prisoner, returned the messengers who had gone with the seale for Qualpopoca, and brought him, his sonne, and other fiftene principall persons, with them, the which by enquirie made, were culpable and partakers in the counsell and death of the nine Spaniards. Qualpopoca entred into Mexio, accompanied like a great Word as he was, being bozne vpon his seruants shoulders in rich furniture. Althow as he had saluted Mutezuma, he and his sonne were deliuered vnto Cortez, with the other fiftē Gentlemen. Cortez placed them asunder, and commaunded them to be put in irons, and their examinations taken, they confessed that they had slaine those Spaniards in battaile.

Cortez demaunded of Qualpopoca if he were subiect to Mutezuma, why (quoth he) is there any other Prince to whom I might be in subiection: giuing almost to vnderstand that he was a Lord absolute. Cortez answered, that a farre greater Prince was the King of Spaine, whose subiects vnder colour of friendship and safe conduct, he

The Conquest of

had slaine. But (quoth he) now shalt thou make payment thereof. And being again moze straighter examined, they confessed that they had slaine two Spaniards by the aduice and inducement of the great Prince Mutezuma, and the residue were slaine in the warres, and had assaulted their houses, and entred their countrey, wherefoze they helde it lawfull to kill them.

Through the confession pronounced by their owne mouthes, sentence was ginen against them, and they condemned to be burned, which sentence was openly executed in the market place in sight of all the people, without any mutinie or slander, and with great silence, terroz and feare of the new manner of iustice which they sawe there executed vpon so noble a man, in the chiefe seate and kingdom of Mutezuma, being guests and straungers.

The cause of the burning of
Qualpopoca.

AT the time that Cortez departed from Vera Cruz, he left in commission to Pedro Hircio, to procure to inhabite in that place which is called Almeria, and not to permit Francisco de Garray to soiourne there, for so much as once he was bzuien from that coast. Now Hircio to fulfill his commission, sent to require those Indians with peace and friendship, and to yeeld themselves for vassals of the Emperors. Qualpopoca Lord of Nahuclan, which is now called as aforesaid Almeria, sent to aduertise Pedro Hircio, that he could not come to yeeld his obedience, for the enemies that were in the way: but if it would please him to send some of his men, for the seruicite of the way, he would willingly come vnto him. Hircio hearing this answer, sent foure of his men, giuing credit.

credite to his message, and for the desire he had to inhabit there.

When the foure Spaniards came into the prouince of Nahuclan, there met with them many armed men, who slue two of them, and made there of a great triumph: the other two escaped soze wounded, and returned with that newes to the towne of Vera Crux. Pedro Hircio beleuuing that Qualpopoca had done that iniury, armed out against him fittie Spaniards, and ten thousand Indians of Zempoallan, with two hozes, and two peeces of Ordnance.

Qualpopoca hearing this newes, came with a mightie power to driue them out of his Countrey, and in that encounter seuen Spaniards were slaine, and many Zempoallanezes, but at the end he was ouercome, his Countrey spoiled, and Towne sacked, and many of his armie slaine and taken captiues. The prisoners declared, that by the commaundement of the great Lord Mutezuma, all this hpyoze was attempted by Qualpopoca: it might well be, for at the houre of death they confessed the same, But some affirme they said so, but to excuse themselues, and to lay the fault to the Mexicans. Hircio wrote these newes to Cortez being in Chololla, and throug these letters Cortez apprehended Mutezuma (as is afoze declared.)

How Cortez put a paire of Giues on Mutezuma his legs.



Before the execution of Qualpopoca, and his fellows, Cortes declared vnto Mutezuma; that Qualpopoca and his company had confessed, that by his aduice and commaundement, the nine Spaniards were slaine; wherein he had done very euill, they being his friends and guests: but (quoth he) if

The Conquest of

it were not in respect of the loue I beare vnto you; this matter should not in this sort be shut vp, and then knoched a paire of Gues on his legges, saying, he that killeth ought to be killed, accozding to the lawes of God. These things did Cortez, because he should occupie himselfe in his owne grieffe and sozrow, and to let other things passe.

Mutezuma wayed pale with countenance of death, though the great feare that he was in, seeing himselfe in irons, a new and strange thing for such a great king, excusing himself that he was innocent of the fact. And as soone as the execution of burning was done, Cortes commaunded to put away the irons that Mutezuma ware, offering him libertie, and willing him to go vnto his owne pallace, who reioyced much to see himselfe out of the irons, and gaue Cortes most heartie thanks, and refused to go home to his owne pallace, surmising the offer was but words, or else fearing least his subiects would kill him, seeing him out of the Spaniards power, soz permitting himselfe to be taken prisoner, and so to be kept. He said also, that if he went from them, his subiects would rebell, and compel him to kill the Spaniards.

Truly the poore simple soule was of small heart, and courage, to suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner, and after his imprisonment would neuer procure libertie, Cortes offering it vnto him, and many of his noble men desiring him. And remaining in that order, there was none in Mexico durst offend any Spaniarde for feare of displeasing him, for Qualpopoca came 70. leagues with onely warning him that the great Lord had sent for him, shewing him the figure of his seale: yea and all the peres of his realme that dwelt farthest off, were ready to obey his commaundements.

How Cortes sent to seeke for Mines of golde
into diuerse places.

Cortes had a great desire to know how far the Empire of Mutezuma did extend, and what friendship was betwixt him and other Kings and Princes Comarcans, and also to gather together a good sum of gold to send to Spaine to the Emperoz, for his custome or fift part, with full relation of the Countrey people, and things happened untill that day. Wherefore he prayed Mutezuma to shewe him where the mines were, from whence he and his subjects had the gold and plate. Mutezuma granted to his request, and incontinent appointed eight Indians, of the which foure were Goldsmiths, who had knowledge and vnderstanding of Mines, and the other foure were guides for the iourney. He commaunded them that by two and two they should goe into foure Provinces, that is say, Zucolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, and Tutepac, with other eight Spaniards, which Cortes appointed, to haue knowledge of the riuers and mines of gold, and to bring a mofse of the same. The eight Spaniards departed on their iourney, with the other 8. Indians, with tokens from Mutezuma. Zucolla is 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Lord thereof is subiect to Mutezuma, who shewed vnto the Spaniards three riuers of gold, & gaue of each riuer a mofse thereof, although it were but little, for with want of knowledge they knew not well the manner how to get it out of the riuer. These messengers in their iourney to and fro, passed through three prouinces full of people and habitation, with good buildings & fruitfull ground, and the people of the one of them called Tlaxmacolapan, are of good reason and iudgement, and better appaelled then the *Mexicans*.

Malinal-

The Conquest of

Malinaltepec is 70. leagues frō Mexico, from whence also they brought moſters of gold, the which is had out of a great riuer, by the naturals of that Countrey.

Tenich ſtandeth by toward the head of the ſame riuer of Malinaltepec, who are people of another language, and would not permit our men to haue relation of the thing that they ſought. The Lord of that place is called Coate-licamatl, who is not ſubiect to Mutezuma, noꝝ yet is his friend, thinking that his men had bene eſpies: but when he was enformed who they were, he gaue the Spaniards licence to be reſolued of their affaires, but ſtraitly com- manded, that the Indians of Mexico ſhould not preſume to come into his dominion. When the Mexicans heard theſe newes, they required the Spaniards not to credite that Cazike, ſaying, that he was an euil and a cruell man, and would ſurely kill them. Our men were ſomewhat amazed, fearing to talke Coate-licamatl, although they had his licence, ſeing the people of the Countrey armed with Lances of ſixe and twentie ſote long: but yet at length leauing cowardice aſide, they proceeded ſoꝝwards. Coate-licamatl receiued them courteouſly, and ſhewed them ſixe oꝝ ſeuē riuers with golde, out of the which graines of golde were taken in his preſence, who gaue the ſame moſter vnto them, and ſent alſo his Embaſſadoꝝ to Cortez, offering his land and perſon vnto him, with certaine mantels and Jewels of golde.

Cortez moꝝe reioyced of the Embaſſage, then of the gold and preſents, knowing thereby that Mutezuma his enemies deſired his friendſhip: but Mutezuma and his counsell liked not the matter, ſoꝝ although Coalitecamatl is no great Lord, yet his people are good ſouldiers, and his Countrey full of wilderneſſe, of Rocks and Spoun- taines. The other that went to Tutepec, which ſtandeth nere the ſea coaſt, and twelue leagues frō Malinaltepec, returned

returned likewise with molter of golde of two Riuer, and brought newes that the Countrey was fit to build vpon, with hope to reape much golde, finding once an arte to get it out of the riuer.

Cortez hearing this newes, prayed Mutezuma to build a house there in the name of the Emperoure Charles, who incontinente sente thither woorkemen and labourers, whiche within two monethes hadde built a greate house, and other three little houses round aboute it, with a ponde of water full of fishe, and five hundred Duckes, and a thousand five hundred Turkie cockes and hennes, and muche houholde stuffe, so that the gifte was worth twentie thousand Castlins of golde. He gaue vnto him also twentie bushels of the graine called Centli, readye sowed, and two thousand stokes of trees called Cacauatl, whiche bringeth forth the fruite Cacao, that serueth for money and meate. Cortez began this husbandrye, but yet made not any ende thereof, with the coming of Pamfilo de Naruaiz, and the vprize in Mexico, which shortly followed. He also besoughte Mutezuma to certifie him if there were any sure port or harbour on the Sea coast, where the Spanishe nauie might ride in safetie: he answered that he knew of none, but that he would 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, crèkes and capes that were within his dominion. In all the same portraiture did not appeare any port, skale, or sure roade, sauing a gulfe that falleth out of the Mountaines, which place is now called the harbor of Saint Martine, and Saint Anthonie in y^e prouince of Coazacoalco. The Spaniards 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 beleued the thing that they desired.

The Conquest of

Cortes for this purpose sent tenne Spaniards, all good mariners and Pilots, in company of the Indians that Mutezuma sent one that voyage at his owne cost.

They departed, and came to Chalohicoeca, where first 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 fitte for a roade for Shippes.

They apoynted at Cozacacoalco, the Roade whereof was enemie to Mutezuma, his name was Tuchiulec, who friendly receiued the Spaniards, for he hadde intelligence of them, at their lying at Potonchan. He gaue vnto them boates, to sounde and seeke the Riuer, where they founde sixe fadome in deapth, and wente vpper that Riuer twelue leagues, where they descryed many great towne, and it seemed a fruitefull soyle. This Cazicke Tuchiulec, sente vnto Cortes with the Spaniards certain gold, precious stones, and cloth of cotten, with apparrell made of skinnes, and tygers, requesting his friendship, and to admitte him tributarie to the Emperour, paying yearly a certaine propozition of his riches, with such condition, that the Indians of Culhua should not enter into his iurisdiction.

Cortes muche reioyced with these messages, and was glad of the finding of the faire riuer, for the Mariners hadde enformed him, that from the riuer of Gijalua vnto Panuco, was no riuer to be found, but I beleue they were deceiued. Cortes returned backe againe some of those messengers, with a present of Spanish ware for Tuchiulec, and to be better informed of all his meaning, with a speciall charge to know the commoditie of that port and Countrey, who went, and in shoite time returned well satisfied of their demaund: where vpon, Cortez sent thither Iohn Velasques de Leon, for Captain of a hundred and fifty Spaniards.

Spaniards, with commission to build a fort.

The imprisonment of Cacama,
King of Tezcuco.



The weake courage and stomacke of Mutezuma, caused his subjects not onely to murmore, but also to seeke meanes of rebellion, especially his nephew Cacamazin, Lord of Tezcuco, who was a stout yong man and an honozable, and one that receiued great grieffe of his Uncles imprisonment: and seeing that the matter seemed long, he besought his Uncle to procure his libertie, and to shewe himselve a Lord, and not a slave: but seeing at length that hee could not accept and follow his counsell, he began to stirre in the matter, threathning the death and destruction of the Spaniardes. Som said, that Cacama did begin that matter, to reuenge the inturie and dishonour done vnto his vncl. Others saide, that his meaning was to make himselve King of Mexico. Others held opinion, that his pretence was only to make an end of the Spaniards. But let it be for what soeuer purpose. Once he gathered a great army, which he could not want, although Mutezuma was prisoner, especially against the Spaniards. He published that he would redeme his vncl 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 Cortez dismaide not, rather he determined forthwith to prepare himselve for the warres, and to besiege him in his owne house and towne, saying that Mutezuma disturbed him, saying that Tezcuco was a place very strong, and situated in water, and that Cacama was a man of bolde and stout courage,

The Conquest of

and had at commaundement the Indians of Culhua, and was also Lord of Culhaacan and Otumpa, which were fortes of great strength, thinking to bring the matter to a better passe another way: so that Cortes ruled himselfe by the counsell of Mutezuma, and sent vnto Cacama, praying him to haue in remembraunce the friendshippe that had bene betwixt them two, from the time that he came and brought him into Mexico, and that alwayes peace was better then warre, and especially for a noble man of vassals, for the beginning of warres was pleasaunt to him that knewe not what warres meante: and in so doing, he should doe both pleasure and sernice to the King of Spaine.

Cacama was
wise.

Cacama answered, that he had no friendship with him that would take away his honour and kingdome, and that the warres which hee pretended, was profitable for his vassals, and in defence of their Country and Religion, yea and befoze he determined peace, he meant to reuenge his Uncles wrongs and his goddes.

Also (quoth hee) what haue I to doe with the King of Spaine, who is a man that I know not, nor yet wold gladly heare of him.

Cortez turned againe to admonishe and require him diuers times to leaue off his determination, and willed Mutezuma to commaunde him to accepte his offer.

Whereupon Mutezuma sent vnto him, desiring him to come vnto Mexico, to take some order in those controuersies and discoydes betwixt him and the Spaniards.

Cacama answered very sharply vnto his Uncles request, saying, If you had blood in your eye, or the heart of a Prince, you would not permitte your selfe to be prisoner, and Captiue of soure poze Strangers, who with

with their faire speach, and flattering talke haue bewitched you, and vsurped your kingdome, no no; yet suffer the Goddess of Culhua to be thzowne downe and spoyled, yea and the Mexican religion and holy places violated, and troden with théeues fecte and deceiuers: like wise the honour, glozie, and fame of your pzedecessours blotted and abased, thzough your faint stomacke and cowardise. But notwithstanding, according to your request, and to repair our religion, to restoze the Goddess to their Temples, to pzeserne the kingdome, and to procure libertie for you and the Citie, I will obey your commaundement: But how: not with my hands in my bosome, but like a warrior, to kill those Spaniards who haue so affronted the nation of Culhua. Our men stode in great perill, as well of the losing of Mexico as of their own liues, if this warre and matenie had not sone bene qualified: for why? Cacama was valiant, skoute, and a good souldier, yea, and well furnished of men of warre: also the Citizens of Mexico, were desirous of the same, for to redẽm Mutezuma their Prince, and to kill the Spaniards, or else to expulse them out of the Citie.

But pze Mutezuma remedied the matter, knowing or foreséeing, that warres would not pzeualle, yea and be leued, that in the end all should fall vpon his backe. He dealt with certaine captaines and gentlemen that dwelt in Tezucos with Cacama, to appzehend him, and bzing him prisoner, cõsidering that he was their king and yet aliue. But whether it were, that those Captaines had serued Muzuma in the warres, or whether it were for gifts and rewards, they appzehended Cacama, being in counsell among them, treating of his warres pretended, and embarked him in a boate armed for the purpose, and so brought him to Mexico, without any further slaunder or strife, and when he was comen to Mexico, they put him

The Conquest of

Cacama prisoner.

on a riche seate, as the Kings of Tezcuco were wont to sitte vpon, being the greatest Prince in all that lande next vnto Mutezuma: and in this sort brought him befoze his vnckle, who would not looke vpon him, but commaunded him to bee deliuered vnto Cortez, who incontinent clapped a paire of giues on his legges, and a paire of manacles on his hands, and put him into sure Guarde and custodie.

After that Cacama was in this order prisoner, with the consent of Mutezuma was elected Lozde and Prince of Tezcuco and Culhnacan, Cucuzca, Cacama his yonger brother, who was abiding in Mexico with his vnckle, and fledde from his brother: Mutezuma did entitle him with 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 then Cacama, who was somewhat of a crooked nature. In this sort was remedied all the former perill, but if there had bene many Cacamas, it would haue fallen out other wise.

Here Cortes made kings, & commaunded with as great authoritie as though he had obtained 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 Lozd over the whole state of Mutezuma.

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

After the imprisonment of Cacama, Mutezuma proclaimed a Parliament, vnto the which came all the Sentours Comarcans, and being all together, hee made the Oration following vnto them.

My kinsmen, friends and seruants, ye doe well knowe that eightēne yeres I haue borne your king, as my fathers and Grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and ye vnto me god and obedient subiectes, and so I hope you will remaine all the dayes of my life. Ye ought to haue in remembrance, that either ye haue heard of your fathers, or else our aduines haue instructed you, that wee are not naturalles of this Countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, because our foresathers came from a farre Countrey, and their king and captaine who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying that hee would sende such as should rule and gouerne vs, if by chaunce hee himselfe returned not. Belēue ye assuredly, that the king which wee haue looked for so manie yeares, is hee that hath nowe sent these Spaniardes, which ye here see. Who doth certifie, that we are their kinsmen, and that they haue had notice of vs a long time: let vs therefore giue thanks vnto the Goddes, that nowe they are comen in our dayes, being a thing that wee so much desired.

A fonde beliefe.

Ye shall nowe doe me seruice and pleasure, that ye yelde your selues vnto this Captaine for vassals of the Emperoure King of Spaine, our soueraigne, I my selfe haue already yelded me for his seruitoz and friend, praying you that from hence forwarde ye obey him as ye haue obeyed me. And that ye yelde and pay vnto him the tributes, customes and seruice that ye were wont to pay vnto me, and in so doing, ye can doe me no greater pleasure. His heart then would not suffer him to speake anie moze; with the sobbes, sighes, and teares, that fell from his eyes. All his subiects there present fell into a crie, weeping and mourning, that for a good space they had no power to speake: they gaue sighes, and

Poore Metu.
zuma.

The Conquest of

fighings, uttering with their mouthes many dolefull, and sozrowfull speeches, yea that it pittied our owne men at the hearts. But in conclusion, they answered that they would obey his commaundement. Then Mutezuma and the Burgeses of Parliament in order yelded themelues for vassalls of the king of Castile, promising loyaltie. This act was set downe by the Notarie, and with witnesses authozised. Then the Indians departed home to their houses with sozrowful hearts, God knoweth, as you may imagine. It was a straunge thing to see Mutezuma weep, with so many Noble men and Gentlemen, yea and with what grief they became subiects to an vnknowne Prince, but they could not other wise do, seeing that Mutezuma did commaund the same.

A true prophetic.

Also they had a certaine Prognostication and sozwar-ning by their Priests of the coming from the East parties a straunge people, white of colour and bearded men, who should winne and rule that countrey. Like wise there was a secret talke among them, that in Mutezuma should ende and finishe, not alone the linage of Culhua, but also the Empire and Kingdome: therefore some were of opinion, not to name him Mutezuma, which signifieth, agreed with misfortune. They say also that Mutezuma himselfe had many times answer of the Oracle of the Gods, that in him should finishe the Mexican Emperours, and that no childe of his should succede in his kingdome, and that hee should lose his seate in the eight yeare of his reign: and for these causes he would neuer procure war to withstand the Spaniards, believing that they should be his successors. Yet on the other side, he thought his opinion would take no place, for that he had reigned seuentene yeares: But this should seeme to come from the providence of God, which giueth kingdoms and taketh them away.

Cortes

the west India.

233

Cortes gaue vnto Mutezuma mosse hartie thanks on the behalfe of the Emperour, and for himself, and comforted him, who was very sad, promising also that alwaies he should be king and Lord, and commaunde as heretofore he had done, and better, yea and also he should be chiefe ruler of all the other landes and countreys, that he should gette and bying to the seruice of the Emperour.

The Golde and Jewels that Mutezuma
gaue vnto Cortez for tribute.



After certaine dayes that Mutezuma and his counsell had yeldded their obedience, Cortes saide vnto him, how that the Emperour was at great costes and charges in his warres, wherefoze it should be necessary that his newe vassalls should begin to serue in some thing, and to pay their tribute, willing him to sende throughout his dominion to see 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 to so doe, willing that some of his men should goe vnto the house of soule for the same. There went many, and there saue golde in planches like hysicke battes, Jewels, and peeces wrough in a hall and two chambers, which were opened vnto the. The Spaniards wondering 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 lodging: besides this treasure Mutezuma gaue vnto him rich clothes of cotten and feathers, maruclously woven in figures & colours, it seemed without comparison, for the Spaniards had neuer seene the like: he gaue vnto him more, twelue shooting tronkes wherewith he himselfe
H h was

The Conquest of

was wont to pastime: some of them were painted with birdes, beasts, flowers & trees very perfite, a woꝝke surely much to be commended: and some of them were engrauen very curiously, with their mouldes and pellets of golde.

He sente also his seruants by two and two, and five and five, ech company with one Spaniarde, to the Lords of other pꝛouinces, fourescore, and a hundred leagues frō Mexico, to gather in golde for the accustomed tributes, and newe seruice to the Emperour. Euery Lorde and Seignioꝝ payde the quantitie appointed and taxed by Mutzuma, in golde, plate, iewels, stones and pearles.

The messengers returned, although they had taried somewhat long on their iourney, of whom Cortes receiued 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 pēce, and rather moze, and also five hundred markes of plate, after sixe Ducates the marke.

This treasure was deuided among the Souldiers, but not all: euery man was payde according to his office. The horsemen had twice as much as the foteimen. And Cortes was payde out of the stocke the money pꝛomised him in Vera Cruz.

There came to the kings parte, 32000 Castlins and a hundred markes of plate, the which was wrought there in platters, saucers, cuppes, ewers and other pēces, according to the Indian fashioꝝ, to be set to the Emperour. Besides this, the pꝛesent that Cortes laide aside, and take out of the stocke to send to the Emperour, was worth. 100000. Ducates, in pearles, pꝛecious 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 aforesaide. This pꝛesent appointed, was not sent, for that and all the rest was
after

the west India.

235

afterwarde lost at the troubles in *Mexico*, as hereafter shall moze plainly appeare.

How *Mutezuma* required Cortes to depart from *Mexico*.

Cortes seeing himselfe rich and mightie, he occupied himselfe in thre things, the one was to sende vnto *Santo Domingo* and other *Ilands*, newes of his proceedings and prosperitie, and also money to prouide menne, horses and armour, for his owne company were too few for so greate a countrey. The other was, to take fully and wholly the estate of *Mutezuma*, hauing him prisoner, and also at his commaundement *Tlaxcallan*, *Coatelicamath*, and *Tuchintlec*, knowing also that the *Indians* of *Panuco*, *Tecoantepec*, and *Mechuacan*, were moztall enemies to the *Mexicans*, who would aide and assist him hauing neede of their helpe, his thirde pretence was, to procure all the *Indians* to be *Christned*, the which purpose he toke first in hand, as a thing most needfull. On the other side, *Mutezuma* repented himselfe, hauing newes that *Pamphilo de Naruais* 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 rehearsed in their order. But now *Mutezuma* came, and desired Cortes to depart out of his countrey, aduising him that otherwise bothe he and his menne were in perill of killing, saying also, that thre especiall causes moued him to this requeste: the one was, the dayly fate of his subiectes, who enuyntuned him to come out of Captiuitie, and to murder the *Spaniards*, saying, that it was a great shame for them to suffer theyr Prince to be in prison in the power of so fewe strangers, whom they might vse as a footebal: hauing dishonored the

¶ h 2

and

The Conquest of

and robbed them of their gods, gathering and heaping up their golde for themselves, and for their king, who as seemed by their doings, was but a poore fellowe, and if he would not accept their offer and sute, that then of their owne authoritie they would take the thing in hande, for so much as hee refusing to be their king they would also refuse to be his bassals, giving warning and aduice that hee should looke for no better rewarde at the Spaniards hands, then Quapopoca and Cacama his nephew had receiued, although they should flatter him neuer so much.

An other cause was, that the Diuell had appeared vnto him, and willed him to kill those Christians, or drive them out of the lande, threating him that if he did not so, that then hee would goe from him and neuer talke any more with him, for (quoth he) with their gospels, baptisme and deuotion, they doe much displease mee. Mutezuma answered him, that there was no reason to kill them being his friends and honest men, but he would entreate them to depart, (vnto this) the Diuell answered that he should do so, and therein he would receiue great pleasure, for either he would goe his way and leaue him, or else that Christian fellows should depart, for they solve here (quoth he) a Christian faith the which is much against our Religion, and cannot dwell both together. Another cause was, that Mutezuma was not well pleased with the imprisonment of Cacama, whom once he loued exceeding well: so in fine, secretly hee repented him of all that was past in the Spaniards saueur, and chiefly by the perswasion of the Diuell, who saie that he coulde not doe vnto him a more acceptable seruice, and of greater pleasure to the Goddess, then to expell the Spaniards and abolishe the name of Christians, and in so doing, the seate of Kings should not finish in the lineage of Culhua, but rather be enlarged, and his childre should raign after him, wishing him
not.

not to beléue in prophesies, sithence the eight yeare was past, and was nowe in the eighteenth yere of his raigne. For these causes, or possible for other which we knowe not of, Mutezuma prepared an armie of a hundred thousand men so secretly, that Cortez knew not thereof, to the effect, that if the Spaniards would not depart, béing once moze required, that then he meant not to leaue one of them aliué. With this determination, hee came forth one day into the yard or Court, and had long conference and consultation with his Gentlemen about this matter. This done, he sent for Cortez, who liked not this newes, saying to himselfe, I pray God this message be of good purpose, and taking twelue of his men which were readiest at hand, went to knowe wherefoze hee had sent for him. Mutezuma arose from the place where hee sat, and tooke Cortez by the hande, commaunding a scole to be brought for him, and so late them downe both togither, and beganne his talke as followeth. Sir, I beseech you to depart from this Citie and Countrey, for my Gods are soze offended with me, because I doe, and haue permitted you here so long: demaunde of mee what you please, and it shall be giuen you, because I loue you well: and thinke you not, that I giue you this warning in iest, but rather in god earnest, therefore it is conuenient, that you depart. It seemed strange vnto Cortez this talke. Also he saw by the countenance of Mutezuma, that some thing was a woiking, and befoze the interpzeter of Mutezuma had made an end of his talke, Cortez willed one of his men to goe forthwith, and to aduise all his fellows, saying, that the waight of their liues was in question. Then our men called to remembrance what was told the in Tlaxcallon, considering that it was needfull of coueage & helpe from God to bring them out of that danger. When Mutezuma had ended his tale, I haue (quod Cortez) understood

your meaning and doe thanke you for the same: also I would know when it is your pleasure that we should depart, and it shall be done. Euen when it please you (quoth Mutezuma) take the time that you thinke mete, and against that time will I prepare an hundred waight of gold for you, and fifty pound waight to each of your men.

Cortez sayde, you knowe, that when I came into this country, I commaunded all my ships to be sunke, so that now I haue neede of time conuenient to build vessels to carry vs into our country: wherefoze my request is, that you require some of your Carpenters to be called, to cut downe timber for the purpose, for I haue men that can make the vessels. And this done, we wil depart, so that ye giue vs the golde which you haue promised, and certifie you the same to your Gods and vassals.

Mutezuma receiued great pleasure at this answer, and said, your request shall be fulfilled: and incontinent he sent for many Carpenters. Likewise Cortes prepared certaine of his marriners for Shiplwrights. All the which workmen went vnto great woods of Pinetrees, and there cut downe the timber necessarie for the purpose. Mutezuma beeing a simple man, gaue credite to all Cortes his talke: Cortes likewise aduertised his men of his proceedings, and said vnto them, Mutezuma would haue vs depart out of his Countrey, because his vassals and the Diuill hath entised him there vnto: wherefoze it is needfull that we build shipping, and therefore I pray you go with these Indians, and procure to cut downe the best timber fit for our purpose, and in the meane season God will provide for vs, whose affaires we haue now in hand, of remedie and succour in such sort that wee lose not this fruitfull country. It is also necessarie, that when you come vnto the wood, that you make all the delay possible, giuing a shew that you are busie occupied, and with great desire to make

make an ende, that those Indians may suspect nothing of our pretence. Depart in Gods name, and aduice mee alwaies what both passe in your affaires.

The feare that our men stood in to be sacrificed.



Eight dayes after their departure toward the woods, arriued fiftēne saile of Shippes at the coast of Chalchicoeca. The Indians of that coast aduised Mutezuma thereof, who was not a little afraid with the newes, & called Cortes vnto him, who feared as much som bypzoze there, and when they shewed

Cortes that Mutezuma was come forth into the yard, he suspected that if Mutezuma pleased, they should be all destroyed. Wherefoze he said vnto his men, masters & frinds, Mutezuma hath sent me, considering what passed this other day, I hold it soz no good token, I now goe to knowe his will: where soze whatsoever happen, be you alwaies vigilant and ready, commending your selues to God. Remember also whom ye are, and who are these infidels, abhorred of God, and friends vnto the diuell, without weapon, & experience in war: if we chance to fight, the hands of each of vs shall shew by déed with sward, the valor and courage of our hearts: yea, and although we all die, yet shall we remaure with victorie, soz that we haue fulfilled the thing we toke in hand, and the seruice which we owe vnto God, as faithfull Christians, with our dutie as true subjects to our pynce. They all answered, saying, we will do all our possibilitie while life lasteth, without feare of perill or danger, soz we lesse esteeme death then honour. With this aunswere Cortes went to Mutezuma, who saide vnto him, Senior Captaine, you shall vnderstande that

The Conquest of

that now you haue ships wherein you may depart, therefoze now at your pleasure make you ready.

Cortes answered, not knowing of the shipping, saying, Rightie sir, when my ships are finished I will depart, nay (quoth Mutezuma) I meane not those ships, for there are ariued eleuen other shippes at the coast neare vnto Zempoallan, and shortly I shall be certified, whether the people that are come in them, are come a shoze, and then shall we knowe what people, and how many are in number. Blessed is Iesu Christ (quoth Cortes) vnto whome I giue most heartie thanks for his great mercies shewed vnto me; and to the Gentlemen of my companie. One of Cortes his men went to shewe the glad tidings to their folloves, who then receyued double strength, praying God, and embzasing one another with great pleasure and ioy. And Cortes with Mutezuma beeing in communication together, came another post, who bzought newes of foure scoze hoylemen that were landed, with eight hundreded fotemen, and twelue peecces of Ordnance, & shewed painted in a cloth the whole relation, both of men, hoyses, ships, and Ordnance.

At the time
of neede pro-
uideth God.

Mutezuma hearing the newes that this post had bzought, arose from his seate; and toke Cortes in his armes, saying, now do I moze loue you, then I haue done heretofore, and will this day dine with you. Cortes gaue him thanks for the one and the other, and in this sort went hande in hand to Cortes his Chamber, who willed his Spaniards not to make any extraordinarie ioy, or alteration, but that they should keepe all together with vigilant watch, and to giue heartie thanks vnto God for the comfoztable newes. Mutezuma and Cortes dined together with great content and pleasure, the one thinking to abide and to enioy the kings state and Countrey, the other thinking that then they would auoide the land.

But

But notwithstanding all these imaginations, a certaine Indian Captaine impoztuned Mutezuma secretly 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 should know of the death of their countrey men, they would not presume to abide in the lande.

With this counsell Mutezuma called many his friends and chiefe estates to counsell, propounding the case and iudgement of the Captaine, which being among them througely heard, there were many of sundrye opinions, but the conclusion was, to permitte the other Spaniards to come, saying, the more enemies, the more gaine, and if we kill but those which are here, then the others will 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 five hundred noblemen and Gentlemen dayly, and according to determination, they commaunded to cherish and serue Cortes and his company more then ordinary, saying their ioy was at an ende.

How Iames Velasques sent Pamfilo de Naruais against Cortes.



LAMES Velasques being sore agræued, with desire of reuenge against Cortes, not onely for his expences at the time of preparation of Cortes his flæte, which was but small, but of mere hatred of the present honour and prosperitie of Cortes. Whereupon he inuēted great causes & quarrels against him, saying, and alleaging, that Cortes, hadde not giuen
 A i accompt

The Conquest of

account of his proceedings vnto him, being Governour of Cuba, and Cortes his deputie, but rather without his consent and knowledge, had sent to Spaine to the King, aduice of his discouery, as who would say, that was treason, or an euill fact: but chiefly his fury was, knowing howe Cortez had sent an honorable present, with the kings part or portion of treasure vnto Spaine, yea and whole relation of the discouery, with Francisco de Monteio, and Alounfo Fernandez Portocarrero, the whiche proceedings James Velasques meant to disturbe, for that he had laide in ambush a couple of caruels, to haue taken Cortes his present, and messengers, the which his pretence and purpose toke no place, so that with the prosperous newes of Cortes, his furie and madnesse the moze encreased, imagining still his destruction.

And being occupied in these fonde imaginations, it happened that his Chaplin, one Benito Martine, brought letters from the Emperoure vnto him, with title and letters pattentes, of Generall and chiefe Governour 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 honour, as also to driue Cortes from Mexico. Whereupon, he incontinent prepared his flöte or flanie of eleuen Shippes, and seuen Bergantines, with nine hundred men, and foure score Hoyses, and appointed one Pamfilo de Naruaiz for Captaine Generall, and his Deputie, in the regiment of the Countrey: and for his moze quicker dispatch, he himselfe wente with him throughout that Flände, till they came to Guaniguanico, which is the Westermost harbor of the Flände, and being there, Naruaes readie to depart for Mexico, and Velasques to returne to Cuba, came the Alenciat Lucas Vasques de Aillon, a chief Iudge of Santo Domingo, in name of the whole Chancery, to require Velasques.

lasques vpon great penalties, that he should not permit or suffer Pamfilo de Naruaes to proceede on that voyage against Cortes, which would be cause of murder, ciuill warres, and other mischiefes among the Spaniards, yea and that Mexico should be in daunger of losing, with all the rest that was conquered, and in quiet to the Kings vse, saying vnto him mozeouer, that if there were any discord betwene them for gods, or parts of honour, that then it did appertaine to the Emperour to iudge, and to determine the cause, and not that hee himselfe should be iudge in his owne cause, vsing force against the other partie, praying them for the seruice of God & the King, that if they would goe to conquire, that then they should seeke other Countreyes, hauing so good an army and flæte, and Countreyes inough to seeke. This diligence, request and authoritie of the Licenciate Aillon, to Velasques and Naruaez preuailed not: he seeing their obstinacie and litle regard to him being a chiefe Iudge, determined to go with Naruaez in his shippe, to let and disturbe the great hurt that might followe, thinking there in the new Spaine to perswade Naruaes, better then in the presence of Velasques, yea and also if need should be, to be a meane of quietnesse betwixt them.

Pamfilo de Naruaes, tooke shipping in Guaniguanico, and sailed till he came neer vnto Vera Crux, with all his flæte, and hauing intelligence that there were a hundred and fiftie Spaniards of Cortes his band, he sent vnto them a Priest, with one Iohn Ruiz de Gueuara, & Alonso de Vergara, to require them to receiue him for their Captaine and Governour. But the new Citizens would giue no eare to their talk, but rather apprehended them, and sent them prisoners to Mexico to Cortes, to aduertise him of their embassage, wherupon Naruaes vnshipped his men, horses, armor, artillery, & went with them directly to Zempoalla.

The Conquest of

The Indian Comarcans being as well friends to Cortes, as vassals to Mutezuma, gaue vnto him golde, mantels, and victualles, thinking that they had bene Cortes his men.

The substance of a Letter that Cortez wrote vnto Mutezuma.

Before Cortes knew the effect of the comming of this new state, 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 eyed not so great an army. Likewise he imagined, that if they came to succour him, hee helde the Countrey for conquered: also if that they were come against him, hee iudged the Countrey to bee lost. He iudged also, that if they were come from Spaine, that then they had brought to him the thing looked for, but if they were come from Cuba, he feared ciuill warres. He also thought, that from Spaine could not come so many folke in so short space. Finally, he deemed, that his olde enemy Iames Velasques was come personally, but when he knew the whole truth, then was hee much more pen-
sive, thinking that the thread of his prosperitie was cut asunder, yea, and that they would bee a meane to stoppe the gappes of the whole discouery, both of the secrets of the land, mines, and treasure, as also, in the knowledge of the friends or enemies of Mutezuma. It should be also a let to inhabite the places which he had begunne, yea and also to Chyssen the Indians, which was the principall thing that he pretended, yea & a let or stop of many other things begun in the seruice of God and the prince, fearing also by flying from one inconuenience, to fall into many, and also if he should permit Pamphilo de Naruaes to come vnto Mexico, it should bee a meane of his 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 trauaile: and to auoyde all these daungers and inconueniences, he determined remedie. First, he dispatched two men, the one vnto Iohn Velasques de Leon, who was gone to inhabite at Coazacoalco, willing 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 stood in, of him and his company. The other messenger he sent to Vera Crux, to bring full relation of the arriual of Naruaez, and what was his pretence.

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

From the Vera Crux came twentie of the towne men with certifficat 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 commission from the king. Cortes on the other side, sent vnto Naruaez signio; Bartholome de Olmedo, with other two Spaniards, to offer vnto him his friendship, & other wise to require & commaund him on the behal of the king and of his owne, as chiefe iustice of the land, and in the name of his rulers and Aldermen of the towne of Vera Crux, who were then in Mexico, and y he should enter peaceably, without making any alteration vntil his authoritie and commission were seene and allowed, and to make no slaunter or vproze to his hindzance of the king his maisters proceedings.

But all this diligence & letters of Cortes and the other

The Conquest of

rulers prevailed not, he seeing this, set at liberty the priest that was brought prisoner, and sent him unto Naruaez, with certaine rich collers of golde, and other iewels with a letter, wherein he wrote, that he was moze gladder of his comming in that flate then any other, for the friendship and olde acquaintaunce that had bene betwixt them, desiring him that they mought talke and confer together, alone, for to take order to prohibite wars, sedition, bloudshed and disquietnesse among them, being of one nation and brethren, requesting him to shew his commissiō 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 commissiō, yet he would make some honest agrément with him. Pamfilo de Naruaes seeing himselfe strong and mightie, did little regard Cortes his letters, offers, nor requests, and chiefly because James Velasques was soze displeas'd with Cortes.

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

PAmphilo de Naruaez, declared to the Indians that they were deceiued with their opinion in Cortes, for that he alone was Captain Generall and chief Lord, 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 comming was to cut off Cortes his head, and to chassen the others, lykewise he meant to driae them all out of the countrey, and then to depart himselfe, and to leaue them in full libertie.

A foule brag.

The Indians gaue credite to his talke, seeing so many bearded men and hozses, and there upon began to attende and serue him, leauing their olde friends in Vera Crux.

Alto

Also Naruaes began to flatter Mutezuma, and sent him wordes that Cortes abode in that country against the will of his prince, and that he was a couetous rebell, who robbed his countrey, and that he pretended to kill Mutezuma and to make himselfe 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 because that others should take example of their factes, he would command them all to be slaine, willing him to take no care, for in short space they would see each other. And that when he had set him at libertie with restitution of his goods, he would incontinent depart his countrey. These treaties were so foule and abominable, with the inturious wordes which Pamfilo de Naruaes spake openly against Cortes and his men, yea they seemed odious vnto all his owne host and army, & some of his owne men checked him for the same, especially Bernardine de Santa Clara, who seeing the countrey so peaceable, and so wel pleased with Cortes, he could not let but reprehend Naruaes in his wordes. Also the licenciat Aillon required him diuerse times to cease from his slanderous talke, vpon paine of death, & losse of his goods, and also not to proceed toward Mexico, for the great hurt that might ensue, with slander among the Indians, disquietnesse among the Spaniards, and offence to the Emperors his Maiestie. Pamfilo de Naruaes being moued with his talke laide hand vpon Aillon, being a chiefe iudge for the king, and apprehended also his secretary, and an other officer, and forthwith shipped them, & sent them to James Velasques gouernour of Cuba. But when Aillon saw himselfe at sea, and free from Naruaes, he began to threaten the Mariners, commanding them not to presume to carrie him to Cuba to Velasques his power, but only to Santo Domingo, wher he was one of the kings counsell in chace: the mariners fearing the kings iustice, obeyed his commandment,
and.

The Conquest of

A cruell pro-
clamation.

A mad recko-
ning.

A good Cap-
taine and wife.

and when he was apozted at Santo Domingo, he wholy enforced the Councell there, of Naruaes and his wicked dealing, whose testimonie and information did much blemish the credit of Velasques, & exalt the travels of Cortes. After that Naruaes had shipped away Aillon, he proclaimed warre, with fire and sword against Cortes, and promised certaine markes of Golde to him that should apprehend or kill him, or Pedro de Alvarado, and Gonfalo de Sandoval, with other principall persons of his companie. Also he made diuision of his goods among his men because they came to possesse it. Surely these three points were of a man without wisdom or discretion.

Many of Naruaes his companie did amouue themselves, through the commaundement of the Licenciate Aillon, and through the same and liberalitie of Cortes. Whereupon incontinent one Pedro de Villalobos a Portuguese, and five or seuen more fled vnto Cortes, yea and others wrote vnto him, offering themselves to his seruice, if by chaunce they should encounter.

Cortes receiued the letters, but kept in silence from his companie the firmes of those which had written to him. Some do thinke that Cortes had suborned them with letters, faire promises, yea, and a horse load of chaines and planches of golde, which he sent secretly to Naruaes his campe with a seruant of his, publishing likewise, that he had an army of two hundred Spaniards in Zempoallan, where he had none at all: these policies might well be, for he was prudent, carefull and quicke in his businesse, and Pamfalo de Naruaes was slouthfull and careless.

Naruaes made answer to Cortes his letter by seignior Bartholome de Olmedo, the substance of his message was, that forthwith hee should repaire to the place where he was abiding, and there he should see the Emperors commission and order, wherein was authoritie given to him to take

take and keepe that countrey for James Velasques, yea and that already he had made a towne of men onely, with all officers there vnto appertaining.

After this letter and message sente, he dispatched likewise one Barnaldino de Quesada and Alonso de Mara, to require Cortes to depart and leaue the countrey vpon pain of death, and to notifie vnto him these actes: by order of law. Cortes laide hande vpon Alonso de Mara, because he named himselfe the kings potary, and shewed no title or authoritie for the same.

The talke that Cortez had with his owne souldiers.



Cortes perceiuing the small fruite that his letters (presentes) and messengers, obtained at the handes of Naruaes, and that in no case, he woulde shewe his commission whiche came from the king, he determined to goe vnto him, and according to the olde proverbe, face to face doth get respect, and like wise if it were possible, to agree vpon some good order and quietnesse: wher vpon he sent Rodrigo Aluares his surueio, with Iohn Velasques, and Iohn del Rio, to treat with Naruaes of many matters, wherof these things were the principall. The first was, that they two might meeete alone, or els so many, for so many, and that Naruaes shuld permit Cortes to abide in Mexico, and he withall his company shoulde conquere Panuco or other kingdoms, also y Cortes would pay the charges, and haue consideration to gratifie his souldiers, or else that Naruaes shuld abide in Mexico, and deliuer vnto Cortez. 400. of his men, to the intent y with them, and his owne men he might proceede to seeke other countreies to conquere. Laste of all, he required to see the

kk

kinge

The Conquest of

kings commission, for that he would obey the same. Naruaes liked none of these offers, only he accepted that they should meet together with each of them ten Gentlemen for securitie, bound with solemn othe, and firm'd this agreement with their names. But it toke no effect, for Rodrigo Aluares advised Cortes that Naruaes had made a snare to apprehend him, or to kill him at their meeting. Cortes vnderstande 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 befoze his departing, he declared vnto his company, saying, I trust ye haue in remembrance what & how much I haue done for you, since the beginning of this enterprize, yea & also how louingly and friendly ye haue dealt for me? Ye shall now vnderstand that James Velasques, in stead of thanks giuing vs, hath sent to murder vs, Pamsilo de Naruaes, who is a stubborn and an unreasonable man, one ready to execute our good desertes done in the seruice of God and our Prince, with an euil reward. And the cause is only, for doing our dutie in the sending of the kings parte and portio to his Royall person & not vnto him. Also this Naruaes hath already confiscated our goods, and giuen them to other men, and our bodies condemned to the Gallies, yea and our fame and honour plaide at tables, with great iniurions and slanderous wordes proclaimed against 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 enjoy our trauals and paines, who are now comen white fingered to spoile the blood of their neighbours, yea and like made men to striue against their owne nation, sowing slander among those Indians which serued vs as our friends, yea & procuring more cruel warres, then the ciuill war betwene *Nario & Silla*, or of
Cesar

Cesar and Pompeio, who turned topsidowne the Romaine Empire. Wherefoze I do determine to meet him by ſea way, and not to suffer him to come vnto Mexico, ſoz it is better to ſay, God ſaue you, then they to come & ſay who is there: yea & though they are many, a good heart doth bzeake euil fortune, as it hath appered by vs, who haue paſſed through the pikes ſince our comming hither: mozeouer, I doubt not but that many of Naruaez his company will come vnto vs. Wherefoze my deare friends do I giue you aduiſe of my preſence, to the entent that thoſe which will goe with me, may prepare themſelues, and thoſe that will not, let them remaine to kepe Mexico and Mutezuma, which is as much in effect. At the end of his talke he promiſed great rewards if that with victoꝝ hee returned. His men answered all with one voyce, that they were all at his commandement, and readie to fulfill his will, yet ſome feared the pride and blindneſſe of Pamſilo de Naruaes: on the other ſide the Indians began to be luſtic, to ſee diſſention among the Spaniards, and that the Indians of the coaſte were ioyned in league with the new come men.

The requests of Cortez to Mutezuma.

After all this talke and anſwere of his ſouldiers, hee went to viſit and to commune with Mutezuma ſoz to depart on his journey, with ſome what the leſſer care, and alſo to proue the mind and will of Mutezuma, vnto whom he uttered his mind as followeth. Sir, you know the loue that I haue, and deſire to ſerue you, and chiefly the truſt againe, that you will haue to my companions when I am gone from this Citie. Wherefoze I pray you, that it may pleaſe pleaſe you to remaine here in this lodging, and to haue regarde vnto theſe ſtraungers, which I leane with you: alſo I commend vnto you, the golde and Jewelles whiche is in their cuſtodie, and giuen vnto vs of your owne liberalitie. For I do now goe to ſignifie vnto thoſe

Oh wife
Cortes.

The Conquest of

which of late are comen in the new skete, 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 remaine on your coast, vntill we bee readie to departe with them, according to your will and pleasure. And if in the meane season, any of your subiects be so vnauidised, as to molest my men, which now remaine in your potver and Garde, that then it may please you to be their shield, succour, and onely defence. Mutezuma promised to fulfill his request, wishing him moreover, that if any in his iourney shoulde offende him, then immediatly to aduise him, and that he would send his men of war to chasten them, yea and also (if it pleased him,) he woulde giue vnto him guides to safe conduct him through his owne dominion to the Sea coast, who shoulde prouide him of all necessities by the way. Cortes kissed his handes for his curtesie, with moste hartie thanks for the same, and gaue vnto him certaine Spannishe apparell, and other glasse Jewels, 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 Pansilo de Naruaes his proceedings was not come to his eare, or else, it may be that Mutezuma dissimuled the matter with inwarde pleasure, that one Chzistian should kill the other, thinking thereby to haue most sure his libertie, and the Goddes pleased.

The imprisonment of Pansilo de

Naruaez.

Cortez was so well beloued among his companie, that they offered willingly to goe with him, by reason whereof he chose, 250. men fitte for his iourney, and other, 200. in guard of Mutezma and the Citie, with

with Pedro de Aluarado, for their Captaine. He left also with them the artillarie, and foure ffoyl's ready made, to haue the lake in subiection, beseeching them onely to haue speciall regarde, that Mutezuma fled not from them to Naruaes, and not to permit him to goe out of their fort or strong house.

With those few Spaniards Cortes toke his journey with no more but eight or nine Horsemen, and certaine Indians for his seruice, and cartage.

Passing through Chololla and Tlaxcallon, he was honourably receiued and lodged, and about fiftene leagues from Zempoallan, where Naruaes was abiding, he mette with two Priests, and his olde especiall friend Andries de Duero, who had lent him money for the setting forth of that voyage. These three persons came to require him to obey the Generall lately come as Lieutenant to the Governour Velasques, and to deliuer vnto him the countrey, with all the fortes or Castles therein, advising him, that if he would not accomplish the same, that then he would proceede against him, euen as an enemie and Rebelle, to the execution of death. Likewise, if he would fulfill the request made vnto him, that then he should haue libertie, and conuenient shipping to depart, both for him, and as many as would goe with him. Cortes answered, that hee would rather suffer death, then to leaue the Countrey, which hee had conquered and pacified with his handes and indastrie, without anye commaundement from the Emperour; and (quoth he) if agaynst all equitie and fauour, he will contend with me in warre, I will defend me as well as I may, and if I haue the victorie (as I trust in God, and the right that I haue on my side,) I will stand in neede of shipping, and if I be slaine, &c. Therefore I doe require him to shewe by his commission and authoritie had from the Emperour, for vntill

A Route man.

The Conquest of

I doe both see and read the same, I will accept no agreement: 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 apprehend him, and sende him prisoner in yrons to the Emperour: and with this answer dispatched the thre messengers, sending also a Notarie of his owne, to commaund him to take his shipping, and to depart without making any alteration in the country, or the ensuing of further murders and strife and if not, that upon Whittsunday, which was within three dayes following, he meant to bee with him at supper. Pamfilo de Naruaes made a mockerie and least of his commaundment, and toke Prisoner the Notarie which came from Cortes, with that order, holding Cortes for madde, who made so many bragges with so small a companie. And befoze John Velasques de Leon, and John de Rio, Cortes his friends, he mustred his men, who were in number fourescore bargabulchers, a hundred and twentie Crossebowes, five hundred men with other weapon, and fourescore Horsemen, saying, how will Cortes defend himselfe against vs, nay at length he will know his dutie: he promised money to him that should either kill, or take Cortes prisoner. And the same offer made Cortes against Pamfilo, who made a rounde of his sote men, and skirmished with his Horsemen, showing off his artillarie, to put in feare the poore Indians.

Anvncertaine
reckoning.

Naruaes signified againe unto Mutezuma with the messengers, who caried all the triumph and muster painted, all his former dealings, but hearing that Cortes was nere at hand, he sent out his light Horsemen to discery his Campe.

All Naruaes his Horses were readie saddled and bydded, and his men armed. Cortes entred so close and secret that

that no man almost heard him, and the first woode he spake, hauing all his men within with him, was, shut the gates, and strike, downe with him. There were at that time many shining wozmes, which with their glittering samed matches of Hargabush, so that if one pece at that time had bene discharged, they would haue bene in a great feare.

Naruaes being about to put on his yuiue coate, came one vnto him, saying: Sir, Cortes is nere your lodging, let him come in (quoth he) for he cometh to talke with me. Naruaes had his men in foure Towers of his lodging, and he himselfe was in the one, with a hundred Spaniards, and at his doore thirtene peeces of Ordnance ready charged. Cortez commanded his chiefe Sherriffe, Gonfallo de Sandoual, with fortie or fiftie of his seloues, to go vp into Naruaes his chamber, and he himselfe with other twentie men abode at the doore to defende and keepe 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 succour one another.

Naruaes hearing the noyse, would needes fight, although he was required to stay his handes, and coming out at his Chamber doore, they strake out one of his eyes with a pike, and then they laide hande vpon him, dragging and drawing him downe the staires by the heeles, and when he saue himselfe brought before Cortes, he sayde, oh Senor Cortes, thanke your great fortune in hauing my person prisoner: who answered him as he said, oh Naruaes, the hauing of thy body prisoner, is the least thing that I haue done, since I came into this land, Cortes commaunded forthwith to lay him in yrons, and to carrie him to the rich towne of Vera Cruz, where he abode prisoner certaine yeares.

This combat endured but a while, for within one hour

Pamfila

A darke night
for Naruaes.

The Conquest of

Panfilo de Naruaes, and the chiefeft of his companie were taken prifoners, and their weapons & armor taken from all the reft. There were flaine of Naruaes his men fixtē, and of Cortez his fixe were killed only two perfons with a peece of Ordinance. They had no leifure to giue fire to their Ordnance, with the great diligence and haile of Cortez, fauing vnto one peece that killed the two men. The fough holes were ftopped with waxe, through the great raine that had fallen. By this meane thofe that were overcome, did take occafion to imagine that Cortez had fuborned the mafter gunner, and others.

Cortez vfed great fobietie and difcretion, fo; he would not permitte any of the prifoners to bee reuiled or mifufed with any iaturious wordes, no no; yet Naruaes, who had fpoken fo much euill of him, although many of his men defired reuengement. Pedro de Maiuenda feruant to James Velafques, who was chiefe Steward to Naruaes, fledde to the Shippes with all the ftuffe that he coulde get, without any let of Cortez. Here may you fee what difference and aduantage is betwirt man and man, what did each of thefe Captiues fay, thinke, and doe, fe loome time doth happen, that fo iewe of one nation doth overcome fo many of the fame nation, efppecially the greater number being frefh, luftie, and in a ftrong holde.

The Rebellion of Mexico againft
Cortez.



After that Cortez had obtained victorie againft Naruaes, he knew very wel the moft part of his company, vnto whom he fpake curteoufly, praying them to forget the things paff, and fo would he alfo. And alfo likewife, that it might please

please them to goe with him to Mexico, which was the richest Citie of all that India. He also restozed to euery man his armour and weapons, which were taken from them in their ouerthrow. He also left very fewe of them prisoners with Naruaes. The Hoysemen toke the fieldes with stomacke to fight, but after they had heard of his offer, they submitted themselues. In conclusion, all those that were come, hoping of spoyle, were glad to accept his offer, and to goe with him with faithfull promise truly to serue him.

He receiued his power in Vera Crux, and bzought thither the nauie of Naruaes. He also dispatched two hundred Spaniards 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 Spaniard by poste to Mexico, with newes of the victorie, and he himselfe followed towarde Mexico, with the great care that he had of those whome hee had left there in garde of Mutezuma and the Citie.

The Polke that went on this iourney, in skéepe of thanks, was soze wounded by the Indian Rebelles, but although he was so hurte, yet he returned to Cortes, with newes that Mexico was reuolted, and that they had burned the foure Forties, also assieged the Spanishe house, and thzowne downe a wall, and myned another, yea and set fire vppon the munition, taken away their viftailes, and had bzoughte them to suche extremitie, to be either slaine, or remaine prisoners, sauing that Mutezuma commaunded to ceasse the combatte, yea and soz all that they woulde not leaue their armoure, nor depart from the siege, only they somewhat amagned their furie soz their pynces sake.

These newes were sozrowfull to Cortes, soz thereby his pleasure was turned into care, the rather to make

The Conquest of

hast to succoure his friendes and fellowes, soz if he hadde delayed his comming but a small while, he had founde them eyther slaine, oz else their bodies ready to sacrifice: but his greatest comfozte was, that Mutezuma remained still prisoner. He mustered his men in Tlaxcallan, and founde of his Spanishe nation a thousand footemen, and néere a hundred Horsemen. He proceeded soz inardes towarde Tezcuco, where he founde none of the Gentlemen of his acquaintance, noz yet he there was receiued, as in time past he had bin, but rather he found a greate alteration, in the Countrey, and also may towne without people, oz else rebelled. Tezcuco met with him a Spaniarde, whome Aluarada had sente to desire him to come vnto them, and to certifie him of all the premises, saying mozeouer, that with his comming their surge would be pacified.

With this messenger came another from Mutezuma, who declared vnto Cortes, that his Loyde was innocent of all that was done, praying him, that if he had conceiued any euill opinion againste him, to putte away the same againe, and that it might please him to goe directly to his own house; where he abode his comming, with the Spanishe garde that he hadde left with him, who were aliuie and in good health as he hadde left them.

With this message, Cortes and his companie repose all that nighte, and the nexte day, beinge Midsummer dave, he entred into Mexico at dinner time, with his hundred Horsemen, and the thousande footemen, with a greate companie of theyr friendes of Tlaxcallan, Huexacincos, and Chololla, but he saw but few folke in the streets, and smal entertainment, with many byldges broken, and other euill tokens.

He came to his lodging, and all those of his companie

nie whiche coulde not well be lodged there, he sent them to the great Temple. Mutezuma came forth into the yard to receiue him, full heauie and sorrowfull, as it seemed, of that offence which his subiectes had done, excusing himselfe: and then euerye one entred into his lodging and Chamber: but the ioy and pleasure of Pero de Aluado 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 replied as much of sorrow and trouble.

The causes of the Rebellion.



Ortes procured to knowe the principal cause of the insurrection of the Mexican Indians, and hauing a generall day of hearing, the charge being laide against them, some said, that it was through the letters & persuasion of Naruaes: Others answered, their desire and meaning was, to expell the strangers, according to agréments 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 their Combates they woulde saye, lette goe oure God and King, if you list not to be slaine. Others saide, that they were Thexues, and hadde robbed theyr golde and plate from them, which was in valewe moze then seauen hundred thousande ruckettes: Others cryed, here shall you leaue the golde that you haue taken from vs. Others saide, that they coulde not abyde the sighte of the Tlaxcaltecas, and other theyr mortall enemies. Manye belieued that the mutinye was for thzowing downe theyr Goddes and Idollcs:

The Conquest of

each of these causes were sufficient to rebell, howe much moze altogether.

But the chiefest and most principall cause was, that after the departure of Cortes towarde Naruaes, happened a solemne holiday, which the Mexicans were wont to celebrate, and desiring to obserue the same, as they were wont to do, they came and besought Captaine Aluado to graunt them licence, and not to imagine that they were ioyned together to kill the Spaniardes. Aluado gaue them licence, with such conditions, that in their sacrifice shoulde no mans blond bee spilde, no; yet to weare any weapon.

At this feast, fye hundzeth Gentlemen and principall persons ioyned together in the great Temple: some to say, that they were moze then a thousande persons of greate estate, but that nighte they made a maruellous great noyse, with coznets, shels, clouen bones, where with they made a straunge musicke: they celebrated the feast, their naked bodies couered with teile, made and wrought with pzeious stones, collers, girdles, bracelettes, and many other Jewels of golde, siluer, and aliofar, with gallant tuffes of feathers on their heades. They daunced a daunce called Maz-eualiztli, which is to say, deserte with paine, and so they call Mazauali a husbandman. This daunce is like Nacoriliztli, which is another daunce. The manner is, that they laie mattes in the Temple yarde, and with the sounde of their Drummes, called Arabals, they daunce a round, hande in hande, some singing, and others answer, which songes were in the honoz and praise of the God or Sainte, whose feast it is, hoping for this seruice to haue raine, cozne, health, victorie, peace, children, or anye other thing that they may wish for, or desire.

These

These Indian Gentlemen being occupied in their dauncing and ceremonies, it fortun'd that Pedro de Alvarado went to the Temple of Vitzilopucheli to behold their doings, and whether his going was of his owne accorde, or by the consent of his cōpante I am not certaine, although some saye that he was aduised how the mutinie was ther conspired, as after did follow: others holde opinion, that their onely going to the Temple was to beholde the maruallous and straunge daunce. And then seeing them so richly attired, they coueted their Gold and Jewels which they ware, and besieged the Temple with tenne Spaniards at each doore, and the Captaine entred in with fiftie men, and without any Christian respect slew and murdered them all, and toke from them all their treasure. Although this fact seemed odious vnto Cortes, yet he dissimuled the matter, for feare least he should hurt his owne proceedings, as time did the require, not knowing what neede he might haue of them, but especially to auoide contention among his company.

The thretnings of the Mexicans
against the Spaniards.



The cause of this rebellion, being well knowen, Cortes demaunded how their enimies fought, many (quoth they) after they had taken weapon against vs for the space of ten dayes arew, they neuer ceased with great fury to assault and combat our house, and we with feare least Mutezuma should escape and flee vnto Naruais, durst not goe out of doores to fight in the stræte, but onely to defende the house with especiall care of Mutezuma, according to your charge giue vnto vs, Also we being but few, and the Indians many,

¶ 3. who

The Conquest of

who still refreshed their men, they did not only weary vs, but also put vs in great feare and cleane out of courage, yea, and if at the greatst bzunt Mutezuma personally had not ascended to the toppe of the wall, commaunding them if euer they meant to see him aliue, to stay and cease from their enterprize.

At the sight of Mutezuma they were all amazed, and incontinent ceased the combat and assault. They said also that with the newes of the victorie had agaynst Pamfilo de Naruaes, Mutezuma required his men to leaue off from their pretence: notwithstanding the Indians calling to remembrance, that Cortes was comming with a greater company, at whose returne they should haue the moze to doe, began a fresh to assault the house, whereupon some doe thinke, that it was agaynst the will of Mutezuma. But it followed, that one day the Spaniards standing in great perill, charged their greatest peece of ordinance, & giuing fire, the peece discharged not: the Indians seeing the same, beganne a fresh with a maruellous terrible noise, vsing skaues, bolues, launces, and stons, that came as thicke as haile, saying, nowe will we redeme our king, sette our houses at libertie, and reuenge our iniuries. But in the middelt of their furie the peece went off, without any moze piming or touch, with a great and fearefull thundering, the peece being great and full of hayle shotte, with the maine pelotte, made a straunge spoye among them, and with feare they retired. But yet they began to say, well, well, shortly shall your fleshy be boyled, although we meane not to eat it, for truly it is very carraine, and good for nothing. But yet we will bestow the same vpon the Eagles, Lions, Tigers, and Snakes, who shal be the graues for your filthie carcases.

But forthwith if ye let not Mutezuma depart, and re-
 toze him to his libertie, ye shall quickly haue your re-
 ward

ward for your presumption and pride, who durst be so bold as to lay hand on Mutezuma being our God and Lozde, that giueth vs our dayly foode. And yet yee with your filthy thêues handes presumed to touch him, oh why doth not the earth open & swallow you, which taketh other mens goods? But marke the ende, for our Gods whole religion you did p̄ophane, will rewarde you according to your desert: and if they do not shortly execute their wrath, then let vs alone, for we will out of hand make an ende of you. And as for those thêues and villaines of Tlaxcallan your slaues, shall not depart p̄aying their gaires, who nowe presume to take their maisters wiues, yea & to demand tribute of them, vnto whom they themselues are tributors. These and such like wer the woords of the Mexicans. But our men, although they were in a maruellous feare, yet they reprehended their folly as touching Mutezuma, saying that Mutezuma was no God, but a mortal man as they were, and no better, and that their Gods were vaine idols, and their religion most false and abhominable, and that onely our God was holy, iust, true, and infinite.

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



A hearing the former talk in defence of the house, and p̄ouiding of things necessarie, the night passed away. And in the morning to p̄coue the Mexicans intent, Cortes commanded the marked to be vsed as in time past. Aluarado wished Cortes to shew himself toward him as agreed & not well pleased, making as though he would app̄chēd & correct him for the things passed, thinking that Mutezuma & his men would

would haue entreated for him. Cortes passed not for that talke, saying that they were infidels, diuellish and wicked people, with whome suche complements should not be vsed.

But he commaunded a certaine pzinicipal Gentleman of Mexico, who stode there pzent, that out of hand he should commaund the market to be furnished as in times past, This Indian vnderstanding y Cortes had spoken euil of them, made as though he went to fulfil his commaundement: but hee went to proclaime libertie, publishing the heinous & iniurious words which he had heard, so that in shozt space the matter began to ware hotte, for some went and bzake downe the bzidges, others went to call all the Citizens, who toynded themselues together, and besieged the Spaniards house, with such strange noyse that one could not heare another: the stones flew like haile, dartes and arrowes filled the Spaniards yarde, which troubled them much. Cortes seeing this bzoyle, he with certaine of his men went out at one doze, and an other Captain at another, with eache of them two hundzeth men. They fought with the Indians, who flew foure Spaniards, and wounded many moe, and of them were slaine very fewe, with their succoure and defence at hande. If our men fought with them in the streetes, then would they stoppe their passage at the bzidges: if they assaulted their houles, then they were beaten with stones from the toppe of their houles which were flat ruffed, and at their retire they persecuted them terribly.

They set fire vppon the Spaniards house in sundrie places, but chiefly in one place they coulde not aplake the fire a great while, vntill they thzewe downe certaine 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

This combat endured all that day untill night, yea and in the night also they had their hands full: our men had little leisure to sleepe, but rather spent the night in mending the walles & doores, and curing the wounded men who were moze then foure scoze, and likewise to set their men in order and readinesse for the fight of the next day following.

It was no sower day, but the Indians began their assault a fresh, with moze courage and furie then the day before, so that our men were faine to trust to their artillery, the which the Indians feared not a whit: for if a shot carried ten, fiftene or twentie Indians at a clappe, they would close againe as though one man had not bene missing. Cortes came out with other two hundzeth men, and gate some bzidges, burned some houses, and slew many that defended them. But the Indians were so many in number, that no hurt appeared, yea and our men were so fewe in comparison of them, that although they fought all the day, yet had they much adoe to defend themselves, how much moze to offend. That day neuer a Spaniard was slaine outright, but thzee scoze of them were wounded and hurt, whereby they had inough to do to cure them for that night, and to procure remedie and defence against the hurts which they receiued from the house toppes. They inuented Engines A strange inuention. of timber made vpon wheeles, and foure square, covered on the toppe, and with an Art to passe through the streets: there were placed on eache of them, twentie men with Pikes, Hargabuth, Crossbowes, and one double Base. Behinde the Engines went men with Shouels and Patstocks, to throw downe houles, bullwarkes, and to rule and gouerne the Engines.

The Conquest of

The death of Mutezuma.

All the while that the Engins were a making, our men came not out to fight, being occupied in the worke, but onely to defend their lodging. The enemies thinking that they were all fore hurte and wounded, began their warres againe, reuiling them with many iniurious wordes, threating them, that if they would not deliuer Mutezuma, that they would giue them the most cruellest death that euer man suffered, and came with great force to haue entred the house.

Cortes desired Mutezuma to goc by into the Zotte, which is the toppe of the flatte rouse of the house, and to commaund his subiects to cease from their heate and fury. At Cortes his request hee went by, and leaned ouer the wall to talke with them, who beginning to speake vnto them, they threiw so many stones out of the Arrete, houses and windowes, that one happened to hit Mutezuma on the temples of his head, with which blow he fell downe to the ground: this was his ende, euen at the hands of his owne subiects and ballals against their willes: for the truth is, that a Spaniard helde a Target ouer his head, whereby they knew him not, nor yet would beleue that hee was there, for all the signes and tokens which were made vnto them. Cortes forthwith published the hurt and danger of life of Mutezuma: some gaue credite to his tale, and other some would not, but rather fought very stoutly. Three dayes Mutezuma remained in extreame paine, and at the ende departed his life.

And because it should appeare that his death was of the stripe that they had giuen, and not by any hurt receiued at their hands, he caused two Gentlemen of Mexico, who were ypsoners, to carry him out vpon their backs, who

who certified the Citizens of the certaintie of his death, that at that presente time were giuing batterry to the house. But yet for all this they woulde not leaue off the combat, nor yet the warrres, as some of our men thought they woulde, but rather proceeded on their purpose, with greater courage and desire of reuenge. And when they respiced, they made a pitifull lamentation, with preparation to bury their king in Chapultepec. On this sort died Mutezuma, who was holden for a God among the Indians. Some say that he desired to be Baptised at the Shroetide befoze his death, and they prolonged the matter, thinking at Caster following to haue Chzistened 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 Naruaes the thing was also delayed, and after he he was wounded it was likewise forgotten, with the troubles that they were in. It was credible enformed, that Mutezuma was neuer consenting to the deaith of any Spaniarde, nor yet in conspiracie against Cortes, but rather loued him entierly: yet some are of another opinion, and both giue good reasons to approue their arguments, but the truth could not well be knowen, for at that time our men vnderstode not the language, and againe, Mutezuma after his death, leste none to open that secreete.

The Indians affirme that he was of the greatest blood of all his linage, and the greatest king in estate, that euer was in Mexico. It is also to be noted, that when the kingdoms do most flourish, then are they niest to a change, or else to change their Lord, as both appeare in this history of Mutezuma. Our men lost more by the death of Mutezuma then the natural Indians, if we consider the murder and destruction that incontinent did follow. Mutezuma was a man very moderate in his diet, and not so vicious

The Conquest of

as other Indians, although he had many wives. He was also liberall and free harted : hee was esteemed for a verie wise man, in my iudgement he was either wise in letting things passe after that sort, or else a very foole, that did not understand their doings : he was as deuout as warlike, for he had bene present in many battailes : and also other nine times victorie man for man in the field, he reigned seuentie yeares and certaine moneths.

The combat betwene the Spaniards
and the Indians.



After the death of Mutezuma, Cortez sent vnto his Reuelues, and to the other Noble men who maintained the warres, desiring them to come & speak with him, and they came, vnto whome Cortez spake from his wall where Mutezuma was slaine, saying, that if it were mete that they should cease from war, and to chuse another king, and also to bury the dead, and that he would come to his buriall as his friend : likewise he signified vnto them, that for the loue he bare vnto Mutezuma who had intreated for them, hee had staied from the finall spoyle of the Cittie, and correction of them for their rebellion and obstinacie. But now that he had not vnto whome to haue respect, hee would both burne their houses, and chasten them, if that they submitted not themselues to his friendship.

They answered, that they would neyther leaue the wars, nor yet esteeme his friendship, vntil they saw themselues in their libertie, and their wrongs wholly reuenged, yea and that without his counsell they could elect the king vnto whom of right the kingdome did appertain.

And

And sithens the Gods hath taken our welbeloued Murezuma, we will giue his body a Sepulchre, as vnto such a King both appertaine: yea and if he would goe and beare his friend Murezuma 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 war then peace, yea and that they were not menne that did yeelde with wordes. Also seeing their King was dead, for whose respecte they ceased to burne their houses, roste their bodies, and eat their fleshe, but nowe (quoth they) if ye depart not, we will not dally long time with you.

Cortes finding them stout and stubbozne, liked not the bargaine. Againe he knewe well that their meaning was, that if they hadde departed from the Citie, to haue spoyled and murdered them by the way. And seeing that their liues, rule and government consisted in strength of hand and god courage, he came forth in a morning with the thre engines, foure peeces of Ordnance, and five hundred Spaniards, and thre thousand Tlaxcaltecas to fight with the enemies, and to burne and spoyle their houses. They broughte the engines nere vnto certaine greate houses whiche stood nere vnto a bydge, casting they scaling ladders on the walles, and so got by to the toppe where manye people were, and there combatted a while, but shortly turned to their fozte againe, without doing any greate hurte, with one Spaniarde slaine, and manye wounded, and also the engines broken and spoyled, yea the multitude of Indians were so thicke, and slewe vpon the Ordnance in suche fozte, that they had no leysure to discharge them. The stones came also so thicke from the house toppes, that the enemies were sone at an end. And the Citizens hauing housed them againe in the fozte and lodging, began to amende the hurt done in their houses, and to recouer the streetes that were lost: also the greate

The Conquest of

Temple, in the Tower whereof, five hundred principall men hadde fortified themselues with vittalles, stones, and long Launces, piked with iron and flint stone verie sharpe, but truly they did much hurt with stones. This Tower was high and strong, as I haue before declared, and stode nere vnto the Spaniardes fort, which from that Tower receyued much hurt. Although Cortes was somewhat sadde and heauie, yet he ceased not like a good Captaine to comfort and encourage his menne, and alwayes was the first man at anie hurt or assay, and his heart coulde not permit him to remaine penned by in that fort, wherefore he tooke three hundred Spaniardes, and went to assiege the high tower. Thre or foure dayes he ceased not that enterprize, but coulde not come to the toppe, being so high a thing, and manie persons in defence of the same, well prouided, with fit munition for the purpose, so that our men came dayly tumbling downe the stappes, flying to their house with broken pates, so that our Spaniardes dismaied more and more, and many murmured at the matter: you may well iudge howe Cortes his heart was affrighted, for the Indians encreased still in courage, hauing the better hand, and dayly victorie from the high Tower. But nowe Cortes determined to leaue his house, and not to returne therevnto againe, vntill he had wonne the Tower. He bound his Target to his arme which had bene hurt before, and beserged the Tower againe with many of his men, Tlaxcaltecas and other friends, and many times although they were beaten downe, rose againe succouring one another, till at length they got to the toppe, and there fought with the Indians, till some of them lept out of the Tower, and stode hanging vpon the liks of the wall, which were thre in number, the one higher then the other, and a fote broade. Some fell downe to the ground, who besides their fall, were

A valiant
man.

were receiued vpon the swordes point, and in this sort they left none aliue. Thre houres they fought on the top of the Tower, because of multitude of Indians wer great. In conclusion, the whole five hundred men ther dyed very valiantly, and if their weapon and knowledge had ben equal, the victoꝝ had ben doubtfull. Cortez set fire on all the Chappels, and other thre Chappels, where infinite Idols were, yet those silly Indians lost no pointe of courage with the losse of their Temple and Gods, which touch'd them at the hearte, but rather began with more furie to assault the Spanish house.

How the Mexicans refused the offer of
peace made by Cortez.

Cortez considering the great multitude of Indians his enemies, and also the greates courage, with desire of reuengement: and waying also how his men were weak and wearied with fight, yet (I may say) with great desire to goe from 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 slaine, and yet they coulde kill none of them. They being more hard harted then befoze, answered that they bitterly refused his offer, saying that they would neuer haue peace with those who had slaine their men and burned their Goddes: yea (quoth they) and although some of vs are killed, yet we also doe both kill and hurt, for yee are mortal men, and not immoztal, as we are: behold yee also the number of vs, by windows and streets: assure your selues there are thre times as many within the houses, so we shall sooner make an end of you killing one and one, then you shall doe of vs by killing

The Conquest of

killing a thousand by thousande, or ten thousand by ten thousand: so ending all these whome y^e see, there will come so many moze, and after them so manie moze: but if ye were once killed, there would come no moze Spaniards, yea, and when our weapons cannot thzoughly destroy you, that then wee will serue you to death with hunger and famine, yea, and though now you would depart, it is too late, because the bzidges is thzowne downe, and the caluseys bzoken, and succour by water you haue none. In these communications the day was spent, and night at hande, their heads occupied and hearts full heaule, soz hunger alone had bene inough to finish their dayes, without any further warre. That night, the one halfe of the number of Spaniardes armed themselves, and late in the euening came sozth into the Citie. The Indians now being not accustomed to fight at such hours, the Spaniardes burned aboute thze hundred houses in one stréete, and in some of them found many Citizens, of whome they left not one a line. They burned and spoiled thze Zoticies néere vnto their owne lodging, which hadde greatly annoyed them befoze. The residue of the Spaniardes which abode at home, amended the engins, and repaired their houses. As this iourney happened well vnto them, early in the mozning they proceeded out againe, and went to the bzidge where there engins had bene bzoken, and although they found there great ressaunce, yet the matter imposed their liues. They fought with noble courage, and got many Towers, houses and Zoticies. They wan also soure of the eight bzidges which were in the Citie, leauing gard in those places which were twonne, returning to their campe with many wounds, bæing both wearie, and full of care and sozrow.

The next day they came sozth againe, and wanne the other soure bzidges, and dammed them by with earth, in such

such sort, that the Horsemen that way followed the enemies to the firme lande. Cortes being occupied in damming by the ditches, and making plaine way of the bzidges, there came certaine messengers vnto him, saying, that neare at hand, abode many noble men and Captaines to treat of peace, requiring him to come vnto them, praying him to bzing Tlamacazque his prisoner, who was one of the principallest of the Diuels Cleargie there, to heare the treatie of the matter.

Cortes went, and carried the Priest with him, whome he appointed to require them to ceasse from contention, and to remoue their siege, but hee came not backe with answere. All this was a sayned fetch, to see the state of the Chyistian Campe, or else to recouer their religious Tlamacazque. Cortez seeing their deceit, went his way to dinner, and was no soner set at his meate, but certaine Tlaxcaltecas came running in with an open crie, saying, that their enemies hadde recouered againe the bzidges, and wente armed by and downe the strates, and hadde also slaine the moste of the Spanyardes that were lesse in garde of the bzidges. Incontinent Cortez went out with the Horsemen, who were readiest at that time, and made way through the troupe of enemies, following them euen vnto the firme lande, but at their return, the footemen that were hurt and wearied in keeping of the strate, could not susteine the force and furie of the infinite number of Indians, which came vpon them, yea with much adoe they could escape home to their sort.

The multitude was not so great of Indians in the strate, but also by water in Canoas, so that stones flew on both sides, and galled our men cruelly. Cortes was hurt in one of his knees very sore, whereupon it was blowne abroade through the Citie, that Cortes was slaine, which newes did greatly discourage our men, and much animate the

The Conquest of

Indians. But yet Cortes for all his paine and hurt, ceased not to embolden and encourage his souldiers, who set a fresh upon the enemies. At the farthest byidge fell two Horses, which troubled much our men that followed. Cortes made such way among the Indians, that the Hozsemen had reasonable passage, and being the hindmost man himselfe, he was in great perill of taking. It was a maruell to see what a spring he gaue with his Hozse, and thereby escaped, but in conclusion, with stones they were forced to returne to their hold, being very late.

Asone as he had ended his supper, he sent some of his men to guard the streete and byidges, and to defende the same against the enemye. They were somewhat ioyfull of their proceedings and good successe which they hadde the same day.

Howe Cortez fledde from
Mexico..



At Cortes waying the substance of the matter, sawe in effect that his side went to wracke, wherefoze he requested his men to depart from thence, who were not a litle ioyfull to heare their Captain pronounce that saying, for selue or none of them escaped vno hurt & wounded. They feared death, but yet wanted not stomacke and heart to die. The Indians were so many, that if the Christians should but only haue cut their throats without resistance, yet they had bin too selue for that purpose.

They were also in such necessitie of bread, that pinched them sore. Their powder and shotte was spent, and almoste all other provision. Their house was welnigh beaten.

beaten downe about their cares. All these causes were sufficient to leaue Mexico, and to seeke to saue their liues: yet on the other side, they iudged it an euil case, to turne their backs to their enemies, for (quoth they) the very stones riseth by against him that flieth. They feared to gaine the passage of the arches where the bridges had bene, so that now they were full beset with sorrow, care, and miserie: but in fine, they all agreed to depart that night, for many dayes before, one of their companie called Botello, who presumed to haue gods skill in the Art of Pygromancie, did declare vnto them, that if they would depart from Mexico at a certaine houre appoynted, that then they should escape, or else not: but whether they gaue credite to his sayings or no, they fully determined to depart that night, and like vnto politicke and good Souldiers, they prepared a bridge of tyber to carrie with them, to passe over the arches where bridges had bene. This is most certaine, they were all priuie and agreed to the departure, and not as some report, that Cortez fled away, leauing aboue two hundzeth Spanyardes in the house, who knewe nothing of his departure, and were after wardes all slaine, sacrificed, and eaten in Mexico, for out of the Cittie hee could not haue departed so secretly, but it shoulde haue come to their eares: holue muche moze out of one house, where they were all together.

Cortez called Iohn de Guzman his Chamberlain, 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 hee gaue a Hoyle of his owne, and men to carrie it: and for the remainder, he willed euery man to take what he list, for he gaue it franchly vnto them. The souldiers which had come with Naruaez, & now serued Cortez, were

Reward of a
covetous
minde.

some what hungry of treasure, so that they toke as much golde and other riches, as they might possibly carry, but it cost them deare, for at their going out of the Citie, with the waight of their heauie burthens, they could neither fight, nor yet make haste on their way, vpon which occasion, the Indians caught many of them, and dye to them by the heeles to the slaughter-houle of Sacrifice, where they were slaine and eaten: yet those that escaped, had eache of them some profite, for that pzaie was well worth seuen hundzeth thousand Duckets: but being things wrought in great peeces, they were trouble some to carrie, so that he which carried least, escaped best. Yet some doe thinke, that there remained in that houise a great part 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 certaine of his men, to gard with much respect, a somme and two daughters of Mutezuma, Cacama, and his bzother, and many other great Gentlemen his prlsoners.

He also appointed other forty men to carry the bzidge of timber, and other Indians to carry the Ordnance, and a litle graine of Centli that remained.

The vanguard hee committed to Gonsalo de Sandoval, and Antonio de Quiniones: and the rereuarde hee committed to Pedro de Aluarado, and he himselfe remained with a hundzeth men, to vse his discretion. In this order, and with good deliberation, at mignight he departed from Mexico in a darke myst, and so quietly, that none of the Indians knew thereof, commending themselves vnto G D D, beseeching him in their prayers, to deliuer them from that present danger, and then hee toke the way of Tlacopan, being the same way that he came into the Citie.

The

The first arche wherof the bzidge was thzowne down, they passed with the timber bzidge which they caried with them at ease.

In this meane time the watche and espies which warred in the hieft 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, noz other impedimēt, toynded an infinit company of them togither, and followed with great celeritie, yea and with suche a heaue and terrible noyse, that all the lake pronounced the Eccho, saying, let the cursed and wicked be slaine, who hath done vnto vs such great hurte.

But when Cortes came to plante his bzidge vpon the second arche of the Citie, there mette him a greate company of Indians to defende the same, yet with much adoe he planted his bzidge and passed ther vpon with siue horsemen and a hundred Spaniards, and with them proceeded through the Calsee to the maine lande, passing many perillous places, wherein swamme both man and horse, for the bzidge of timber was broken: this done, he lefte his foote menne on the firme lande, vnder the gouernment of Iohn Xemarillo, and returned back with the siue hozsien for to succour and helpe the residue of his company which were behinde. But when he came vnto them, he found some fighting with great courage, but many slain. He lost also his golde and sardage, his ordnance and prisoners, yea in siue he found, a maruellous change and alteration of the estate he lefte them in, where vpon like a god Captaine he shewed his wisdom and valour, helping and re-couering as many of his men, as he might, and bzought them into safetie. He lefte also Captaine Aluorado to succour the rest.

But Aluorado with all his power and strength could

not resist the furie of the enemies, wherefoze with the Lance in his hande hee beganne to flie, seeing the great slaughter of his companie, so that hee was forced to passe over the dead carcases, yea, and vpon some that were not thoroughly dead, who made a lamentable, pitifull, and dolefull moine. And comming to the next arche, whose bridge was broken downe, of necessitie he toke his lance, and therewith leaped such a space, that the Indians were amazed to see, for none of his fellows could doe the like, although they approued the enterprise, and were rewarded for their labour.

When Cortes sawe this sorrowfull sight, he cast him downe, not to take any rest for his wearinesse, but only to bewaile the dead men, yea, and also them that were alive and in great daunger, and also to ponder the vnstedfastnesse of the cruell fortune in the perdition of so manie his friends, such great treasure and lordshippe, so great a Citie and Kingdome, but also to bewaile the sorrowfull estate that hee himselfe stode in, seeing the most of his men wounded and hurt, and knowing not whither to go, for that he was not certaine of the helpe and frient shippe of Tlaxcallan. Yea and what hard heart, would not haue relented to behold the dead bodies, who a little before had entred that same way, with such magnificall triumph, pompe and pleasure. But yet hauing care of those whom he had left on the firme lande, he made hast to Tlacopan.

This sorrowfull night, which was the tenth of July, in An. 1520. were slaine about 450. Spaniards, 4000. Indian friends, and 46. horse, yea and (as I indge) all the prisoners which were in his companie. If this mishap had forted in the day time, possible so many and so great a number had not perished. But where it forted by night, the noise of the wounded was sorrowfull, & of the victors horrible and feareful. The Indians cried victory, calling vpon their

their diuelish and filthy Gods with ioy and pleasure: our men being ouercomz, cursed their vnfortunat lot, yea the howler, and he that brought them thither, others cried vnto God for succour, others said helpe, helpe, for I stande in daunger of drowning. I know not certainly whether mo perished in the water or the lande, hoping to saue themselves by swimming and leaping ouer the flues and broken places, for they say that a Spaniarde was no sooner in the water, but an Indian was vpon his backe. They haue great dexteritie and skill in swimming, so that catching any Spaniard in the water, they would take him by the one arm, and carry him whither they pleased, yea and wold binpach him in the water. If these Indians had not occupied themselves 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 Spaniards that were killed, were those that went most laden with gold plate and other iewels, and those which escaped were they that caried least burdens, and the first that with noble courage made way to passe through the troupe of Indians.

Howe wise may safely say, that the conetous desire of gold, wherof they had plenty, was cause of their death, and they may aunswere that they died rich. After that those which had escaped, were past the calley, the Indians staid and followed them no further, either for that they contented themselves with that which they had done, or else they durst not fight in open field: But principally it is thought, that they abode to mourne and lament for the death of Mutezuma his childzen, not knowing till then their sorrowfull ende. But now seeing the thing present befoze their eyes, they wrang their hands, and made a pitiful dole and crie, and the rather because they themselves had slaine the m against their wils.

The

The Conquest of

The battell of Otumpan, a notable victorie.



The inhabitants of Tlacopan, knew not how our men came spoiled, hurt, and ouerthrowen, and againe our men stood in a maze, & knew not what to doe, nor whither to go. Cortes came vnto them and comforted them, and placed them in order befoze him, requiring them to make hast, vntill they might come

into the broad field, befoze such time as the men of Tlacopan should hear of the newes passed, & so to arm theselues and ioine with fortie thousand Mexicans, who after the mourning for their friends, came marching after them. He placed in the vanguard the Indians his friends, & passed through certaine tilled ground, and continually fought as they went, vntill they came to a high hill, where was a tower, and a temple, which is called our Ladie church at this day. The Indians slue some of the Spaniards which came in the regard, and many of their Indian friends, befoze they could get vp to the top of the hill. They lost much of the gold that had remained, and with great hazard escaped through the multitude of Indians with life: their hoxses which remained alieue, were foure and twentie, who were tired both with trauell and hunger, and the Spaniards their maisters, with the residue could scarcely stirre hand or foote with wearinesse of fighting, and penurie of hunger, for all that day and night they ceased not from fight, eating nothing at all.

In this Temple were reasonable lodgings, where they fortified themselues as well as they might, and thanke one to another, but their supper was very slender. After their simple feast was ended, they went and beheld

an

A wearie
iourney.

an infinite number of Indians, which had beset them almost round about, making a marvellous shout and crie, knowing that they were without victuals, whiche onely is a warre woꝛser then to fight with the enemy. They made many fires with the woodde of sacrifice, rounde about the tower and temple, and with this policie, at midnight departed secretly. 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. Cortez placed his wounded men and sardage in the midst of his company, the soldiers that were whole and in health, he deuised into the vanguard & regard: he could not passe so secretly, but that they were espied by the Indian scout, whiche was here at hand, who gaue aduise therof incontinent. Five horsemen which went before to discover, fell among certaine companies of Indians, which attended their coming to robbe them, and seeing the horsemen, they suspected y^e the whole army was at hand, whereupon they fled, but yet seeing them few in number, stood & ioynd with the other Mexicans, that solowed & pursued our men three leagues, until they came to a hill where was another temple with a good tower and lodging, where they lodged that night without supper. They departed in the morning from thence, and wente through a cragged & naughtie way, to a great towne the inhabitants whereof were fledde for feare, so that they abode there two daies to rest themselves, to cure their men, and horses: also they somewhat eased their hungry stomaks and carried from thence provision, although not much, for they had none to carrie it. And being departed from thence, many enemies pursued them & persecuted them very sore. Likewise y^e guide erred out of his way, & at length came to a little village of few houses, where they reposed y^e night. In the morning they proceeded vpon their way, and the

A painful
man.

The Conquest of

enemies still pursuing and troubled them soze all the day.

Cortez wounded with a
sing.

Cortez was wounded with the stripe of a sling, and thereby was in greafe danger of life, for his head so ranckled, that of necessitie they were forced to take out certaine peeces of his skull, wherbyon he was dzien to seeke a solitarie place in the wildernesse to cure him, and in going thitherwardes, the enimies wounded five Spaniardes and foure hozles, 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 which were not vered with hunger. I speake not of their woundes and wearinesse, thinges sufficient to haue made an ende of life. But certainly the Spanishe nation can abide moze hunger then any other, and especially these with Cortez did the we the profe. The nexte day in the mozning departing from a little Village, and fearing the multitude of enimies, Cortez commaunded ech hozleman to take a sicke manne behinde him, and those that were somewhat stronger, to holde by the hozle taitles and stirropes: he like wise made churchees for other some to ease them, and would 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 sel out, yea also there were some of them that caried vpon their backe their fellows, and thereby were saued. They had not tourned a full league into a plaine fielde, when there mette them an infinite number of Indians who compassed the round about, and assaulted our men in such sozte, that they verily beleued that day to ende generally their liues, for there were many Indians that durst wyassell with our men, man to man, yea and layd some of them in the duste, and dzelue them by the heeles, whe ther it were with the great courage which they had, or whether it were with the frauail, hunger and hurtles of our men I know not, but greafe pitie

Oh noble
Cortez.

tie it was to see, how they were drawne by the Indian enemies, and what grieuous mone they made.

Cortes that wente with diligent care comfortyng his men, as muche as was possible to doe, and well perusing the great daunger that they were in, commending himselfe to God, sette spurres to his horse and made way thorough the greatestt troupe of Indians, and came vnto the captaine generall who bare the Royall standart of Mexico, and passed him thzough with his Lance, wherof he incontinent died. But when the Indians sawe the standart fallen, they thze w their aunciente on the grounde and fled, scattering them here and there like men amazed, knowing not whitther to fly, for such is their custome in warre, that when they see the generall slaine, they forthwith leaue the field. When our weary soules began to recouer hart and strength, and the horsemen followed the to their great annoyance and slaughter. It was credibly reported, that there were that day in field, ^{200000.} 200000. Indians. And the ^{Indians.} 200000. fielde where this battaile was fought is called Otumpan: there was neuer a moze notable facte done in India, noz greater victozy 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 moze greater feats in armes, and that he only was the meane in his owne person to saue and deliuer them all.

The entertainment which the Spaniardes had in Tlaxcallan.



After this victozy obtained, Cortes with his company went to lodge in a house planted alone, in a plaine grounde, from whence appeared the Mountaines of Tlaxcallan, wherof our menne muche reioyced: yet

The Conquest of

on the other side they stood in doubt whether they should finde them their friends in such a dangerous season, for because the vnfortunate man that sicketh, findeth nothing in his fauour, for all thing that he pretendeth, happeneth cleane contrary. That night Cortes himselve was scoute, not because he was moze whole then his fellowes, but like a good Captaine, he deuided the trauaile and paines equally, euen as their hurte and damage was come.

Being day, they iournied in platne and straight way, directly to the Mountaines and Prouince of Tlaxcallan, they passed by a sweet fountain of water, where they well refreshed themselues, and after they came to Huazilpan, a towne of Tlaxcallan, of 4000. households, wher they were lovingly receiued, & abundantly provided for thre dayes, which they abode there refreshing and curing their wearie bodies. Some of the townes men would giue thē nothing without payment, but the mozte parte did vse them very gently: Unto this Towne came *Maxixca*, Xicotencath, Axotecaleh, and many other principal persons of Tlaxcallan, and Huexozinco with 50000. men of war, who were going to Mexico to succour the Spaniards, knowing of their troubles, but not of their hurt and spoile, yet some holde opinion that they hauing certaine knowledge of all their mishappes and flight from Mexico, came only to comforte them, and in the name of all their communalte and State, to offer them their Towne, in conclusion, they seemed sorrowfull for their misfortunes, and againe ioyfull to see them there: Pea some of them with anguillie of harte wepte, and sayde, we did aduise and warne yē, that the Mexicans were Traytours and wicked persons, and yet ye woulde not beleue vs: we doe pittie and bewaile your troubles, but if it please you, lette vs goe thither to reuenge your iniuries, and the death of your Chyistians, and our Citizens: and if now ye will

Faithfull
friends.

will not, that then it may please you to goe with vs home to our houses, for to recreate your persons, and to cure your wounds.

Cortes did cordially reioyce, to heare and finde such succour and friendship, in such good men of warre, whereof he stood in doubt as he came thitherward. He gaue them most heartie thankses for their louing offer, curtesie, and good will. He gaue vnto them of such Jewels as remained, and said vnto them, the time will come, that I shall desire your helpe against the Mexicans, but now presently it is needfull 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 thereabout. Cortes graunted their request, and sent with them some of his men, which were lustie, and in good health, who proceeded forth all together, and in that iourney slue many Indian enemies, so that after this time, the enemies appeared no more. Then with triumph, pleasure, and victorie, they departed toward the Citie, and our men followed. It is credibly reported, that twentie thousande men and women met them by the way with sundry kinds of meates: I doe belueue that the most of them came to see them, for the great loue which they bare vnto them, and likewise to enquire of their friendes which had gone with them to Mexico, of whō few returned. In Tlaxcallon they were honourably receiued, and well vsed. Maxixca gaue his house to Cortes, and the residue of his companie were hosted at Gentlemens houses, who cherished them exceedingly, whereby they forgot the paynes, sorowes, and travels past, for in fiftene dayes befoze, they lay on the bare ground.

Certainly the Spaniards were much indebted to the Tlaxcaltecas, for their loialtie and faithfull friendship, especially

The Conquest of

especially vnto that god and vertuous Gentleman Max-
 ixca, who threwe Xicotental downe the stayes and
 steps of the chiefe Temple, soz giuing his counsell to kill
 the Spantardes, meaning to reconcile himselfe to the
 Mexicans.

He also made two Orations, the one to the men, and
 the other to the women, in the great fauour and praise
 of the Spantiards, putting them in remembrance, howe
 that they had not eaten salt, nor woyme cloth of cotten wol
 in many yeares befoze, vntil now that their friends were
 come: and to this day these Indians doe much presume of
 their fidelitie, and likewise of the resistance and battell
 they made with Cortes in Teoacazincos, so that now when
 they celebrate any great feast, or receiue any Christian
 viſiting, there commeth of them out into the field fiftie
 or seuentie thousand men, to skirmish and fight in the
 same order as they did with Cortez.

The protestation and request of the Soul-
 diers to Cortez.

When Cortes departed first from Tlax-
 callon toward Mexico to visit Mute-
 zuma, he left there twentie thousand
 Castles of gold and moe, besides the
 kings portion which was sent with
 Montecio and Portocarrere. He left
 there also many other things if neede
 should haue hapned in Mexico of mo-
 ney, or other things to prouide his men in Vera Cruz, and
 this he left there also, to proue the fidelity of his friends in
 Tlaxcallon. And after he had obtayned the victorie against
 Naruaes, he wrote vnto the Captaine that he should send
 for the same, for reason required that in all things they
 should haue their parts.

The

The Captaine of Vera Crux sent fiftie Spaniards and six hundred men for the same, who at their return, were slain and taken prisoners with all that treasure, by the men of Culhua, who had rebelled through the comming of Pamfilo de Narvaez, robbing & spoiling sundry dayes. But when Cortes understood this newes, his joy was turned to sorrow, not onely for the gold and treasure so much, as for the losse of his men, fearing also some other warre or byrre to haue bene in the rich towne of Vera Crux, whereupon he sent a messenger thither, who returned in short time certifying that all the inhabitauntes 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, which desired to go thither, but he would not permit them, wherefore they beganne to murmure and to exclaime, saying: what thinketh Cortes, what meaneth he to do with vs? why will he keep vs here to die an euill death? what haue wee offended him, that he will not let vs goe? we are already full of wearinesse, our bodies are yet full of fresh woundes, we haue spent our blood, and are now without strength and apparell: we see our selues in a strange Countrey, and full of misery, environed with enemies, yea and without hope to come to that high place from whence we fell, yea then mighte we be accounted for worse then madde men, to come into the perilles from whence wee escaped: we meane not now to ende our liues so desperately, as he woulde haue vs, for with the insatiable thirste of honoure and glorie, hee esteemeth not his life, neyther ours. Hee doth not likewise consider, that he wanteth men, hozes, artillerie, and armour, things so necessarie for the warres, yea, hee also wanteth victuall, which is a thing mooste principall of all: what shall wee say, but that he erreth, and is deceiued, in giuing credite to these

The Conquest of

these *Tlaxcaltecas*, who are like vnto the other nations of *India*, which are light, changeable, and louers of new things, yea and rather, in effect of troth, they better loue the *Culhuacans*, then the *Spanish* Nation, yea & although they now dissemble, yet when they shall see a great army of *Mexicans* come vpon them, they will then deliuer vs a liue, to be eaten, and sacrificed, soz it is an olde rule, that friendship doth not long endure betwixt them that are of sundry religion, apparell, and speech.

After all these complaints and murmurations among themselves, they made a protestation and request, in fozm as it were in the name of the King and all the companie, praying him incontinent to depart from thence, and to go with them to the *Towne* of *Vera Cruz*, befoze the enemies might disturbe their way and passage, and then they to remaine both bought and solde, and shut vp as it were in a prison: also they declared, that in *Vera Cruz* they shoulde haue better oppoytunitie to make themselves strong, if that he meant to returne againe vpon *Mexico*, or else to take shipping, if so it should seeme conuenient.

Cortes hearing this request, and determination of his *Souldiers*, was at his wittes ende, imagining that their pretence was, onely to procure him to goe from thence, and afterwardes to rule him at their pleasures, and being a thing cleane contrary to his pretended purpose, he answered them as followeth.

The Oration made by Cortez, in answer
to his Souldiers demaund.



Masters, I would do and fulfil your request, if it were a thing meete and conuenient for you, for there is not one alone of you, howe much moze all in generall, for whome I should not willingly aduenture my goods and life, if he should need the same: for why? your deeds haue bin such, that I stand bound neuer to forget them, or else to shew my selfe an ingratefull man. And thinke you not god friends, although I do not fulfill the thing whiche you so earnestly desire, that therfore I esteem not your authoritie: but in not granting to the same, I do exalt and esteem you in greater reputation: for why? in our departing now from hence, our honoz is blotted and stained for euermoze, and in abiding here, we shall like valiant men preferue the same. What nation is there, that had rule, dominion, and Empire in this woorld, that hath not bin ouercome at some time? What famous Captain returned home to his house, for the losse of one battaile? none truly, for he that doth not perseuer, shal neuer triumph with Lady victozy: he that retireth, sheweth that he flieth, and remaineth a mocking stocke for all men: but he that sheweth nobly his face, doth vtter the courage of his heart, yea & is both feared, and also beloued.

If we now should depart from hence, these our friends would accept and iudge vs for cowardes, and refuse perpetually our friendship. Likewise our enemies would iudge the same, and neuer hereafter stand in feare of vs, which should bee a great shame vnto our estimation. Is there any among vs, that would not hold himselfe affren-

ted,

The Conquest of

fed, if it should be saide, that he turned his backe and fled, how much moze would it be a dishonoz for vs all to haue the same respozt?

I doe muche maruell at the greatenesse of your innurable 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 our nature. What is hee that will pzeate of harness, and neuer weare none? It was neuer yet seene in all this India and new worlde, 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 oz daunger? I beseech God not to permitte anysuche thing. The warres doe muche consist in fame: why then? what better thing would you desire, than to be here in Tlaxcallan in despite of all youre enemies, yea proclaiming open warres against them, and they not dare to annoy vs? Wherefoze you may well consider, that here you are moze sure then if you were from hence, so that here in Tlaxcallan you are honozed with securitie and strength, and besides this, you haue al things necessarie for physick and medicine, to cure youre woundes and obtaine youre health: yea, and I am bolde to saye, that if you were in youre owne naturall Country, you should not haue the like, noz 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 arme: yea and although they come not, we are sufficient, for we were fewer in number when first we entred into this Countrey, hauing no friendes: and likewise you knowe well, it is not the number that doth fighte, but the couragious hearte and minde. I haue seene one of you discomfite a whole army, as Ionathas did, yea and many among

among you haue had victoꝝ against a thousand, yea ten thousand Indians, as King Dauid had againste the Philistines. I take dayly for Horses from the Ilandes, and other armour and artillerie we shall haue from Vera Cruz. And as for vittailles, take you no care, for I will prouide you abundantly, for they are things that alwaies followe the Conquerours: 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 vpon their solemne othes, yea, and if they had meante otherwise, what better oppoztunitie of time could they haue wished, then 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 loyng friendes haue not only holpen you, but also serued you with diligence of seruantes, for they woulde rather chose to be your slaues, then subiectes to the Mexicans: theye hatred is suche to them, and their loue so greate to you. And because you shall see the troth, I wil now proue them and you, againste these of Tepeacac, who steeue of late dayes twelue Spaniardes. And if this iourney happen euill, then will I follow your request, and if it please God that it happen well, then will I entreate and pray you to follow my counsell.

The Souldiers hearing this comfoꝝtable speche, beganne to lay aside their desire to goe from thence to Vera Cruz. They answered generally, that they woulde obey his commaundement, if shoulde seeme with the promise made, touching the successe of the victoꝝ in Tepeacac, and lightly seldome it happeneth, that a Spaniard saith no, when he is required to goe on warfare, for it is holden for a dishonoz and shame.

The Conquest of

The warres of Tepeacac.

Cortes founde himselfe at hearts ease with this answer, for it was a thing that had much troubled him: and vndoubtedly if he had followed his fellowes demand, he should neuer haue recouered Mexico again, and they like wise had bene slain in the way towards Vera Crux, for they had many perillous places to passe. Each one of them wayed whole of his wounds, sauing some which died for want of looking to in time, leauing their woundes filthy & vnbound, as Surgions do affirme, with also their great trauel and weaknesse. And like wise other some remained lame & halt, which was no small grief and losse: but the most part recouered health, as I haue declared. After twentie dayes fully past, which they had abode in Tlaxcallan, Cortes determined to make war with the Indians of Tepeacac, which is a great Towne, and not far from thence, for they had slaine twelue Spaniards, which came from Vera Crux, towards Mexico. Like wise they were of the league of Culhua, and therfore were holpen by the Mexicans, and did many times great hurt to the inhabitants of Tlaxcallan, as Xicotencatl did testifie. Cortes desired his louing friend Maxixca, and diuers other Gentlemen, to goe with him, who forthwith entred into counsell with the states & communalitie of the Citie, and there determined with generall consent to giue vnto him fortie thousand fighting men, besides many Tamemoz, who are soote carriers, to beare the baggage, victuall, and other things. With this number of Tlaxcaltecas, his own men and horses, he went to Tepeacac, requiring them in satisfaction of the death of the twelue Chyistians, that they should now yeld themselues to obedience of the Emperour, and that hereafter neuer moze to receiue any Mexica into

into their towne or houses, neither yet any of the Princes of Culhua.

The Tepeacacs answered, that they had slaine the Spaniards for god and iust cause, which was, that being time of warrs they presumed to passe through their countrey by force, without their will and licence. And also that the Mexicans and Culhuacans were their frends and Lords, whome alwayes they would friendly entertaine within their towne and houses, refusing vtterly their offer and request, protesting to giue no obedience to whom they knew not, wishing them therefore, to returne incontinent to Tlaxcallan, except they had desire to ende their wearie dayes.

Cortes invited them diuerse times with peace, and seeing it preuailed not, he began his wars in earnest. Their enemies like wise with the fauour of the Culhuacans were braue and lusty, and began to stoppe and defend their pretended entrance. And they being many in number, with diuerse valiant men among them, began to skirmish sundry times, but at the end they were ouerthrowne, and many slaine, without killing any Spaniard, although manie Tlaxcaltecas were killed that day.

The Lords and principall persons of Tepeacac seeing they ouerthrow, and that their strength could not preuaile, yielded themselues vnto Cortes for vassals of the Emperour, with condition to banish for euer their allyed friends of Culhua. And that he should punish and correct at his will and pleasure, all those which were occasion of the death of the twelue Spaniards. For which causes and obstinacie, at the first Cortes iudged by his sentence, that all the Townes which had bene partie to the murder, should for euer remaine captiues and slaues: others as firme, that he ouercame them without any condition, and corrected them for their disobedience, being Sodomites,

The Conquest of

isolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for example of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaves, and within twentie dayes that these wars lasted, he pacified all y^e p^rovince, which is verie great: he d^rave from thence the Culhuacans: he th^rew down the idols, and the chiefest persons obeyed him. And for moze assurance he built there a towne, naming it Segura de la Frontera: he appointed all officers for the purpose, being a towne situated in the high way frō Vera Crux to Mexico, wher by the Christians and straungers might passe without daunger. In these warres served like faithfull friends the Indians of Tlaxcallan, Huexozinco and Chololla, promising the like service & succour against Mexico, yea, and rather better then w^rose. With this victorie the Spaniards recovered great fame, for they were thought to haue bene slaine.

The great authoritie that Cortes had among
the Indians.



After that these things were finished, Cortes com^danded and gave licence to all the Indian friends, to returne home vnto their houses, except his assured friends of Tlaxcallan, whom he kept in his company for the wars of Mexico: he now dispatched a post to Vera Crux, commanding that foure of the ships which Naruaes had brought, should be sent with al speed to the Iland of Santo Domingo, for men, horses, armes, powder and other munition, also for wollen cloth, linnen, shoes, and many other things: and wrote his letters for the same to the licenciat Rodrigo de Figueroa, & to the whole magistrates of Chancery, certifying them of all their proceedings in that country, beseeching them of helpe and succour,
and

and that forthwith to be sent by the messengers.

This done, he sent twentie horsemen, two hundred Spaniards, and many Indians vnto Zacatami, & Xalaxinco, which were towne subiect to the Mexicans, and placed in the high way to Vera Crux, who had slaine certaine Spaniards passing that way. This companie went thither, with their accustomed protestations, which prevailed not, whereupon followed fire and spoyle, many Gentlemen and other principall persons came to yeelde themselves to Cortes, moze for feare than for good will, crauing pardon for their offence, promising also not to offend againe, nor yet at any time to take armour against the Spaniards. Cortes pardoned them, and then his armie returned, with determination to keepe his Christmasse in Tlaxcallan, which was within twelue dayes following. He left a Captaine with three scoze Spaniards in the new towne of Segura, to keepe that passage, and also to put in feare the Comercans that dwelled thereabout: he sent befoze his whole armie, and hee himselfe went with twentie horsemen from thence to Coliman, to lodge there that night, being a Citie of his allied friends, and there to ordaine and make by his authoritie, both Noble men and Captaines, in lue of them which died with the disease of small pockes. He aboade there three dayes, in the which the newe Lordes were ordained, who afterwards remained his especiall friends. The next day hee came to Tlaxcallan, being five leagues distant from thence, where he was triumphantly receiued. And truly at that time he made a iourney most woorthy of renowne and glorie.

At this season his deare friend Maxixca was departed this transitorie life, for whome he mourned cloathed in blacke, after the Spanish fashion: he left behind him certaine sonnes, of whom the eldest was xj. yeares of age,
whome

The Conquest of

whome Cortes named and appointed for Lord of his fathers estate, and the commons did certifie it to appertaine vnto him. This was no small glozie for Cortes to giue estates, and also to take them away at his pleasure, yea and that those Indians should haue him in such feare and respect, that none durst doe any thing in accepting the inheritance of their fathers without his good will and licence.

Now Cortes procured that euery man should make his harness, weapons and provision ready and in good order: he made also great haste in building Vergantines, for his timber was already cutte and seasoned: he sent vnto Vera Cruz for sayles, tackle, nayles, roapes and other necessarie things, whereof there was stoe remaining of the furniture of the ships that were sunke. And hauing want of pitch, for in that countrey the Indians knew not what it ment, he commaunded certaine of his mariners to make the same in the high mountains where was stoe of Pine trees, and not farre from the Citie.

The Vergantines that Cortes commaunded to be built, and the Spaniards which he had ioined together to besiege Mexico.



The fame of prosperitie which Cortes enjoyed, was wonderfully blowne abroade with the newes of the imprisonment of Mutezuma, and the victorie against Pamfilo de Naruac, where vpon there came many Spaiardes by twentie and twentie in a companie from Cuba, Santo Domingo, and other Ilands. Although that iourney cost some their liues, for in the way they were murdered by those of Tepeacac and Xalacingo, as is before declared, yet notwithstanding there came

came many to Tlaxcallan, whereby his hoste was much encreased, beseeching 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 garbe and great enquirie for that purpose, by reason whereof he could not certaineley knowe what passed in those parties, according as he desired, for to haue prouided himself of things needefull: yet a Captaine whiche was taken prisoner in Huacacholla, certified of Cuetlauac Lord of Iztacpalapan, newe to Mutezuma, was elected Emperour after his Uncles death, who was a wise and valiant man, and hee it was that had driue Cortes out of Mexico, who now had fortified Mexico with many bulwarkes and caues, and with many and sundry sortes of weapons, but chiefly very long Lances, yea and planted them in the grounde to resiste and molest the hoysmen. He proclaimed pardon and free libertie, without paying any tribute for the space of one whole yere, yea and further as long as the warres should last, he promised also great rewarde to all them that should kill any Christian, or expulse them from that Countrey. This was a policie whereby he gatte muche credit among his vassals, yea and gaue them greate courage to play the valiant men. All this newes was found to be true, saying onely Cuetlauac was dead. And that Quahutimocein, newe also, as some do say, of Mutezuma, raygned at that time, who was a valiant man and a good warrior, as hereafter shall be declared, who sente his messengers through out his Empire, proclaiming as greate rewarde as Cuetlauac had done before, declaring vnto them, that it was moze reason to serue him then straungers, and also to defende theyr olde auncient Religion, and not to credite suche Christians as would make

The Conquest of

hemselues Lords of other mens gods, yea, & make them
 slaues and captiues as they had done in other places. Qua-
 hutimoc encouraged much his subiects, and kindled with
 his talke their wꝛath against the Spaniardes : yet there
 were some pꝛouinces that gaue no eare to his infoꝛmati-
 on, but rather leaned to our side, oz else medled with nei-
 ther side. Cortes seeing the effect of the matter, determi-
 ned forthwith to begin the warres : he mustered his men
 on Saint Steuens day, and found foꝛtie hoꝛsmen, and fīue
 hundꝛeth and foꝛtie foꝛemen, where of foure scoꝛe were
 Pargabulhiers, and Crossebow men, nine pēces of Ar-
 dinance, and little pouder : his hoꝛsmen bee diuided into
 foure squares, and his foꝛemen into nine : he named and
 appoynted Captaines, and other officers foꝛ the hoste, vnto
 to whom in generall he spake as folloꝛwe th.

The exhortation of Cortez to
 his Souldiers.

Mꝑ louing bꝛethꝛen, I giue most hartie thanks vnto
 Iesu Christ, to see you now whole of your woundes
 and frēe from diseases : likewise I much reioyce to
 see you in god order trimly armed, yea and with such de-
 sire to set againe vpon Mexico, to reuenge the death of
 our fellowes, and to winne that great Citty, the which
 I trust in God shall bee brought to passe in hozꝛt time,
 hauing the friendship of Tlaxcallan and other pꝛouin-
 ces, who haue as great desire to see the ouerthrowe of
 the Mexicans, as we our selues, foꝛ therein they get both
 honoꝛ, libertie and safegard of life. Also it is to be conside-
 red, that if the victoꝛy should not be ours, they woꝛe soules
 should be destroyed and remaine in perpetuall captiuitie.
 Also the Culhuacans doe abhoꝛre them woꝛse then vs, foꝛ
 recci

receiuing vs into their houses and countrey: therefore sure I am that they will sticke vnto vs vnfaignedly. I muste needs confesse their vnfaigned friendship, for present woorkes doe testifie the same. They will not onely be a meane to bzing others their neighbours to our service, but also haue now in readinesse, 100000. men of war, to send with vs, besides a great number of Tamemes or carriers to carrie al our prouision. Vee also, are now the same which alwaies heretofore ye haue bene, for I as witnesse being your captaine, haue had the victozy of many battails fighting with a, 100. yea and 200000. enemies: we got also by strength of arm many strong cities, yea and brought in subiection many prouinces, not being 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. Again in Mexico they feare our comming: it should also be a blot vnto our honour that Quahatimoc should inherit the kingdome that cost our frie Mutezuma his life. Like wise I esteeme al that we haue done is nothing, if we win not Mexico, our victozies shoulde also be sozowfull if we reuenge not the death of our deere fellows. The chiefe and pincipal cause of our comming into this countrey, was to set forth the faith of Iesu Christ, & therewithal doth follow honour and profit which seldome times do dwel together. In those fewe daies that we were in Mexico, we put downe the idols, we caused sacrifice and eating of mans flesh to bee layde asid, and also in those dayes we beganne to conuert some to the faith. It is not therefore now reason to leaue of so laudable an enterpise, so well begunne. Let vs now goe whither holy faith doth call vs, and where the sinnes of our enemies deserueth so great a punishment, and if ye well remember, the Citizens of that citie were not content to murder such an infinite number of men, women & children befoze the idols,

The Conquest of

in their filthy sacrifice, for honour of their Diuinitie
 Goddess, but also to eate their flesh, a thing inhumaine,
 and much abhorred of God, and all good men doth procure,
 and especially Christians, to defende and punish the such
 odious customes.

Besides all this, they committe that horrible sinne for
 the which the five cities with Sodom were burned by fire
 from heauen: Why then what greater occasion shoulde
 any man wishe for in earth, then to abouish such wicked-
 nesse, and to plant among these bloudie tyrants the faith
 of Iesu Christ, publishing his holy gospel: Wherefore now,
 with ioyfull hearts lette vs procede to serue God, honour
 our nation, to enlarge our Princes dominions, and to en-
 riche our selues with the godly pray of Mexico, to mor-
 row God willing we will beginne the same.

All his men answered with cherefull countenance,
 that they were readie to depart when it pleased him, pro-
 mising their faithful seruice vnto him. It should seme the
 rather with the desire of that pleasure and great treasure
 which they had eight moneths enioyed befoze.

Cortes commaunded to proclaime thzoughout his ar-
 my, certaine ordinaunces of warre for the good gouerne-
 ment of his host, which he had wzitten among others: and
 were these that followeth:

That none should blaspheme the holy name of Iesu.

That no Souldier should fight with his fellowe.

That none shoulde play at any game, his horse nor at-
 mour.

That none shoulde foze any woman.

That none shoulde robbe or take any Indian captiue with-
 out his speciall licence and counsellors.

That none shoulde wzog or iniurie any Indian their frēds:
 he also taxed vpon wozke and apparell, for cause of the
 excessive pices that they were there solde for.

The

The exhortation made by Cortes to the Indians of Tlaxcallan.



The next day following, Cortes called befoze him all the Lordes, Captaines, and principall persons of Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, Chololla, Chalco, and of other towns, who were there present at that time, saying as followeth. My lords and friends, you know the iourney which I haue in hand, to morrow God willing I will depart to the war and siege of Mexico, and enter into the land of your enemies and mine: And the thing that now I doe require, and also pray, is, that you remaine faithful and constant in your promise made, as here into you haue done, and so I trust you will continue. And because I cannot bring to some my purpose to passe according to your desire and mine, without the Uergantines which are now a making, and to bee placed in the lake of Mexico, therefore I pray you to fauour these workmen which I leaue here, with such loue and friendship, as here tofoze ye haue done, and to giue them all things necessarie for their provision, and I doe faithfully promise to take away the yoke of bondage, which the inhabitants of Culhua haue laid vpon you, and also will obtaine of the Emperour great libertie and priuiledges for you.

All the Indians thewed countenance of obedience, and the chiefeest Gentlemen answered in few words, saying, we will not onely fulfill your 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.

The Conquest of

How Cortes tooke Tezeuco.



Cortes departed from Tlaxcallan with his souldiers in good order, which was a godly sight to beholde, for at that time he had eightie thousand men in his host, and the most of them armed after their manner, which made a galland show: but Cortes for diuerse causes would not haue them all with him, vntill the Bergantines were finished, and Mexico besseged, fearing want of vittails for so great an army: yet notwithstanding he tooke twenty thousand of them, besides the carriers, & that night came to Tezimolua, which standeth five leagues from Tlaxcallan, and is a village appertaining to Huexocinco, where he was by the principall of the town well receiued. The next day he iourneyed foure leagues, into the territozie of Mexico, and there was lodged on the side of an hill, where many had perished colde, had it not bene for the store of wodde which they found there. In the morning he ascended vpon this hill, and sent his scout of foure footemen, and foure horsemen to discover, who found the way stopped with great trees newly cut downe, and placed crossewise in the way: but they thinking that yet forwarde it was not so, proceeded forth as well as they might, till at length the let with great huge trees was such, y they could passe no further, and with this newes were forced to returne, certifying Cortes that the horsemen could not passe that way in any wise. Cortes demanded of them, whether they had seene any people, they answered no, where vpon he proceeded forward with all the horsemen, and a thousand footemen, commaunding all the residue of his armie to follow him with

with as much speede as might bee, so that with that companie which hee carried with him, hee made way, taking away the trees that were cutte downe to disturbe his passage: and in this order, in thot time passed his holste, without any hurt or daunger, but with great paine and trauell, for certainly if the enemies had bene there to defend that passage, our men had not passed, for it was a verie euill way, and the enemies also thought the same to bee sure with the trees which were crossed the way, wherebpon they were carelesse of that place, and attended there comming in plaine ground: for from Tlaxcallan to Mexico are thæ wayes, of the which Cortes chose the worst, imagining the thing that after wards fell out, or else some hadde aduised him how that way was cleare from the enemies. And being past this crooked passage, they espied the lake of Mexico, and gaue vnto God most heartie thanks for the same, and there made a soleme vow and promise, not to returne, vntill they had wonne Mexico, or lost their liues. They abode there and rested themselves, till all the whole armie were come together, to discende downe into the plaine, for nowe they might descrie the fires and beacons of their enemies in sundrie places, and all those which hadde attended their comming by the other two wayes, were now gathered together, thinking to sette vpon them betwixt certaine Bridges, where a great companie aboade, expecting their comming: but Cortes sent twentie Horsemen, who made way among them, and then followed the whole armie, who slue manie of them, without receauing any hurt. And in this order they came to Quahuipac, which is of the iurisdiction of Tezcuco, where they aboade that night, and in that place founde neyther manne nor Woman: but not farre off was pitched the Campe of the Indians of Culhua, which

The Conquest of

which might be nere a hundred thousand men of warre, who were sent by the seniors of Mexico, and Tezcucó, to encounter our armie, in consideration whereof, Cortes kept good watch with tenne Hoysemen, and all his Soldiers were warned to be in a readinesse at a call, if neede should happen.

The next day in the morning he departed from thence toward Tezcucó, which standeth thre leagres distant, and proceeding on their journey, foure principall persons, inhabitants of Tezcucó, 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 spoile in his countrey, and likewise, to offer his friendship, praying also, that it might please him with his whole armie to take his lodging in the Towne of Tezcucó, where he should be well received. Cortes reioyced with this message, although hee suspected that it was a fained matter, but one of them hee knewe to be well, whome he saluted, saying: My comming is not to offend any, but rather to do you good. I will also receiue and hold your Lord for a friend, with condition, that hee doe make vnto mee restitution of the treasure which hee tooke from five and forty Spaniards, and thre hundredeth Tlaxcaltecas, all which were by his commaundement also slaine of late dayes. They answered that Mutezuma caused them to be murdered, who had likewise taken the spoile, and that the Citizens of Tezcucó were not culpable in that fact, and with this answer they returned.

Cortes went forward on his way, and came to Quahuichan, and Huaxuta, which are subiects of Tezcucó, where he and all his host were plenteously provided of all things necessarie, and thre w downe the Idols. This done, hee entred into the cite, where his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the Spaniards, with

with many other the Indian friends. And because that at his first entry, he sawe neither women nor children, hee suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaimed, vpon paine of death, that none of his men should go out. The Spaniards began to triumph in their lodgings & chambers, 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 Cittizens that fledde from thence with their stuffe, some towards the mountaines, and others to the water side to take boate, a thing straunge, so see the great haste and stirre to provide for themselues, at the least there were twentie thousand like boates (called Conoas) occupied, in carrying household stuffe and passengers. Cortez would faine haue remedied it, but that night was so nigh at hand, that hee could 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 Cittizens, to be called befoze him, and hauing in his company a yong gentleman of a noble house in that countrey, who was also last christned, and had to name Hernando Cortez, being his godfather, who loued him well, said vnto the citizens, that this new Christian lord, Don Hernando, was son vnto Zezualpincintli their louing Lord, wherefoze he required them to make him their king, considering that Coacnacoyocin, was fled vnto the enemies, laying also befoze them his wicked fact in killing of Cacuz his owne brother, only to put him from his inheritance and kingdom, through the enticement of Quahucimocin, a mortall enemy to the Spaniards. In this sort was Don Hernando elected king, and the same therof being blowne abroad, many Cittizens repaired home againe to visite their new Prince, so that in thort space the Citie was as well replenished with people, as it was befoze, and being

The Conquest of

also well bled at the Spaniards hands, they serued them diligently in all things that they were commaunded. And Don Hernando abode euer after a faithful friend vnto the Spaniards, and in thozt time learned the Spanisly tong: and soon after came the inhabitants of Quahurichan, Huaxuta and Auentenco, to submit themselues, crauing pardon, if in any thing they had offended. Cortez pardoned them, and gaue them licence to depart home vnto their houses.

Quahutimoc, Coacnacoiijo, and other magistrates of Culhua sent to rayle vpon those towne, for yelding themselues to the Chyistians, but they laide holde vppon the messengers, and brought them vnto Cortez, of whome he enforced himselfe of the state of Mexico, and sent them backe againe, requiring their Lozds of peace and friendship: but it preailed not, for they were fully armed for the warre.

At this instant certaine friendes of James Velasques went by and downe the Campe, procuring secretly a mutenie among the souldiers, to haue them to returne to Cuba, and utterly to destroy Cortez his proceedings. This thing was not so secretly wrought, but that Cortez had knowledge, whereupon he apprehended the doers therof, and by their confessions the matter did plainely appeare, whereupon he condemned to death one Antonio de Villafania, who was naturall of Samora, and forthwith executed the sentence, wherewith the punishment and mutinie was ended, and ceased.

The Spaniards which were sacrificed
in Tezcoco.



Daily increased Cortes in strength and reputation, and many townes as well of the parts of Culhua as others, came vnto his friendship & obedience. Within two dayes that Don Hernando was made King, came certain Gentlemen of Huaxuta and Quahutichan, to certifie vnto him, how all the power of the Mexicans was comming towards them, and to know if it were his pleasure, that they should carrie their wiues, childzen, and other goods into the Mountaines, or else to bring them where hee was, there feare was so great. Cortes made vnto them this answer, saying: be ye of god courage, and feare ye not. Also I pray you to commaunde your wiues and families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the enemies, I am glad of their comming, for ye shall see how I will deale with them. But the enemies wente not to Huaxuta, as it was thought: nevertheless Cortes hauing intelligence where they were, wente out to encounter them, with two pieces of Ordnance, twelue horsemen and two hundred Spaniards, with many Indians of Tlaxcallan. He fought with the enemy, and slew but few, for they fledde to the water. He burnt certaine townes where the Mexicans were wonte to succour themselves. The next day came the chiefest men of thre townes to craue pardon, and to beseech him not to destroy them, promising neuer to harbour nor succour any of Culhua.

The Conquest of

The Mexicans hearing what these towne men pretended, with greate ire made a foule correction among them, as did appeare by many of them, which came vnto Cortes with broken heads, desiring reuengement.

The inhabitants of Chalco, sent also vnto him for succour, declaring that the Mexicans made great spoyle among them. But Cortes being ready to send for his Bergantines, could not relieue them all, and especially with Spaniards: wherefoze he remitted them to the helpe of the Tlaxcaltecas, and vnto them of Huexocinco, Chololla, Huacacholla and other friends, promising that shortly he would come himselfe. But this answer pleased him not, yet for the present neede, they required his letters to be written vnto those townes. And being in this communication, there came messengers from Tlaxcallan, with newes, that the Bergantines were ready, and to know if he stood in neede of any succour, for of late, (quoth they) we haue seene many beacons, and fiers, which are greater tokens of warre, then heretofore hath bene seene.

There came at that time, a Spaniard also from Vera Cruz, with certaine newes, that there had arriued a ship, which had brought thirtie Souldiers besides the Harriers of the shippe, with eight horses, great store of powder, shotte, Crossebols, and Harquebushes. The pleasant newes reioyced much our men, whereuppon Cortes sent forthwith to Tlaxcallan for the Bergantines, Gonzalo de Sandoval, with two hundreth Spaniardes, and fiftene horsemen, and commaunded that in their way they should burne and destroy the towne where the fortie five Spaniards, and thre hundreth Tlaxcaltecas were slaine, with five horse more, when Mexico was last besieged: and that vilage is in the iurisdiction of Tezcuco, and bordereth vpon the territory of Tlaxcallan, yea, and for that purpose he would gladly haue corrected and punished the dwellers

of Tezcuco, but time then permitted not the same, although they had deserued moze punishmēt then y others. For why? in their towne they were sacrificed and eaten, yea, and the wals painted with their blood, the wing moze ouer perfitt tokens, how it was Spaniards blood. They pluckt off also the hozles skinnes, and fanned them in the haire, and afterwards hung them vp, with the hozleshoes in their great temple, and next vnto them the Spaniards garments, for a perpetuall memozie.

Sandoual went vnto that place with determinate intent to follow his commission, and also befoze he came to the piace, he found wzyttē in a house with a cole, these words: Here in this house was a prisoner the vnfortunat Iohn Iust who was a Gentleman, and one of the sūe horsemen that were taken. But the people of that towne, being many, fled when they saw the Spaniards appoach nēre vnto them. But Sandoual followed them, and slue manie of them: he tooke also prisoners many women and childzen, who yelded themselues vnto his mercy, and their bodies for slaues. He sēing so little resistāce, and beholding the pitifull mone of the wiues for their husbandes, and the childzen for their fathers, had compassion on them, and would not destroy their towne, but rather caused the dwellers to come again, and pardoned them, with oath, that hereafter they shoulde serue them truely, and bee vnto them loyall friends. In this sort was the death of the Chzistians reuenged, yet Sandoual asked them howe they slue so manie Chzistians without resistāce, marie (quoth they) we made an ambush in an euill and narrow way, ascending vp a hill, and there as they went byppe by one and one, we spoyled them, for there, neither hozles, nor other weapon could defend or helpe them, so that wee toke them prisoners, & sent them to Tezcuco, where, as is befoze declared, they were sacrificed in the reuengement

The Conquest of of the imprisonment of Calama.

How the Vergantines were brought from
Tlaxcall to Tezcuco.



Nowe when the enemies which murthered the Spaniards, were reduced and chastened, Sandoual proceeded forward towards Taxcallan, and at the border of that province, he met with the vergantines which were brought in pieces, as tables, planches, & nailes, with other furniture, the which eight thousand men carried upon their backs.

There came also for their safeconduct twentie thousand men of warre, and a thousand Tamemez, who were the carriers of bittails, and seruants. When the Spanish Carpenters sayde vnto Sandoual, that for as much as they were nowe come into the Countrey of enemies, it might please him to haue regard therevnto, for dangers that might happen: he allowed well their iudgement.

Now Chichimecatel, being a principall man, and a valiant also, was captaine of a thousand men, and desired to haue the vauntguard with the Tymber, and hauing had the same charge hitherto, it should bee an affront for him, to bee put from it, and gaue manie reasons in his behalfe. But notwithstanding his request, he was entreated to take the rereguard. And that Tutupil and Teurecatl captaines, verie principall gentlemen, should haue the vauntgart, with ten thousand men. In the middle were placed the Tamemez, and those that carried the voyll, with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Besore those two captaines, went a hundred Spaniardes, and eight

eight horsemen, and behind and last, came Sandouall with all the residue, and seuen horsemen. But now although Chichimecateatl was offended, touching his first charge, nowe much moze because the Spaniards were not in his companie, saying (quoth he) ye take mee not for valiant, or else not faithfull. That matter being pacified, and euery thing in god order, they toke their way towards Tezcuco, with a marnellous noyse, crying, Christians, Christians, Tlaxcallan, Tlaxcallan, and Spaine.

On the fourth day they entred into Tezcuco, in verie god order, with the sounde of drummes, shalle-shelles, and other like instrumentes of Musicke, and agaynst their entry into the Citie, they put on all their bzauerie of cloathes, and bushes of feathers, which truely was a gallant sight: they were sixe houres in entering into the towne, keeping their array.

Cortes came soth to receiue them, and gaue great thanks vnto the Gentlemen, and all the companie, and prouided them of god lodgings and entertaynement.

Of the Docks or trench which was made to lanch, the Verganties.



Any Provinces of India, came to submitte and offer theyz service vnto Cortes, some for feare of destruction, and others for the hatred which they bare to the Mexicans: So that nowe Cortez was strong both with Spaniards and Indians. Also the Spanishe Captaine of Segura, sent a Letter to Cortes, the which letter he had receyued of another

The Conquest of

another Spaniard, the effect therof was as followeth. Noble gentlemen, diuerse times I haue written vnto you, but as yet I neuer receiued answer, no; yet now doe I thinke other wise, notwithstanding y^e shall vnderstand, that the Culhuacans haue done much hurte in this countrey, but we remaine with victoꝝ. This prouince desireth to see and know Captain Cortes, so; to render themselues vnto him, and nowe they stand in neede of our nation, wherefoꝝe it may please you to send vnto vs thirty Spaniardes.

Cortes, answered the letter in such sort, that he then presently coulde not sende the thing desired, so; that he was readie to the siege of Mexico: notwithstanding hee gaue them great thanks, with hope thoztie to see them. He that writte the foꝝmer letter, was one of the Spaniardes that Cortes hadde sente to the prouince of Chinanta, a yere passe, to enquire of the secretes of that place, and to seeke so; gold and other commodities. And if it so happened, that the Loꝝde of that place made that Spaniard a Captaine, againste the Culhuacans theꝝ enemies, so; Mutezuma made them warre being farre from Mexico, because they had entertained the Spaniardes. But thꝝough the industrie of that Chꝝistian, the Loꝝde aboade alwaies with victoꝝe, and hauing vnderstanding that some of his 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 much to heare that the Spaniardes were aliue, and also the Loꝝde of Chinanta to be their friende: likewise they marueiled much howe they had escaped, so; at the time that they fledde from Mexico, all other Spaniardes that were abiding in the Mines and other Loꝝdshippes, were slaine by the Indians.

Cortes

Cortes made his preparation for the siege of Mexico with all haste, and furnished him with scalling ladders, and other necessaries, fitte for such a purpose. His Vergantines being rayled, and thoroughly ended, he made a sluice or trench of halfe a league of length, twelue fots broad and moze, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fittie dayes a doing, although there were foure hundred thousand men daily working, truly a famous worke and worthy of memozy.

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 whiche were slaine in the warres. The Indians who were cruell and bloody butchers, vsing sacrifice, would in this sort open the dead body, and take out the grease. The Vergantines being lanchted, Cortez mustered his men, and founde nine hundred Spaniards, of the which were 86. Hoysmen, and a hundred and eightene with Crossebowes and Hargabushes, and all the residue had sundry weapons, as swords, daggars, Targets, Lances, and Halbertes. Also they had for armour, corselets, coates of maille, and Jackes. They had mozeouer thre great peces of cast yron, fiftene small peces of brasse, and tenne hundred waighte of powder, with fozze of shotte. All that ye haue heard, was the provision that Cortes had for the seege of Mexico, the strongest and greatest Citie in all India and newe world. In each Vergantine he placed a pece of brasse. He proclaimed againe—all the institutions and ordinances of the warre, praying and commaunding that they might be well and faithfully obserued, and said, Brethren and myfellowes, now do you see our vessels readie, yea and also you see remember howe troublesome a thing it hath beene to bring them hether with the cost and sweate

A strange
tallowe.

The Conquest of

of our friendes, and one of the chiefest hopes that I haue shoytly 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 will annoy our enimie as much that way, as your army shall do by land. I haue also a hundred thousand men of warre my friends to besêge this Citie, who are (as you know) the valiantest men in al these partes. You haue also your vittailles provided abundantly, and that which now impozeth, is, that you play the menne, as hêretofore 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 Cortez for to beseege Mexico.

The next day following, Cortez sent vnto the prouinces of Tlaxcallan, Huexocinco, Chololla, Chal, and other Townes, warning them within tenne dayes to come vnto Tezcuco, with their armour, weapon, and other necessaries, for the sêge of Mexico. He certified them also, how the Tergantines were readie with all other furnituro accordingly, and the Spaniardes were very desirous to lose no time, wherefoze they meante not to delay their pretence, farther then the day appointed.

The Indian hearing this newes, and because they would not come too late to the beginning of the assaulte, came incontinent, and entred into Tezcuco in good order of warre, aboue sixtie thousand men, gallantly trimmed after their vse and custome. Cortez friendly welcommed them, and provided them lodgings accordingly.

On Wiltsonday, all the Spaniardes came into the fieldes, whereas Cortez made thre chiefe Captaines, among

the west India.

315

among whom he divided his whole army. Vnto Pedro de Aluarado the first Captaine, he appointed thirtie horsemen, and a hundred and seuentie footemen of the Spaniards, two peeces of ordinance, and thirtie thousande Indians, commaunding him to campe in Tlacopan. Vnto Cristoual de Olid the seconde Captaine, he gaue thre and thirtie horsemen, and a hundred and eightene footemen of the mpanish nation, two peeces of ordinance, and thirtie thousand Indians, and appointed him to pitch his camp in Culhuacan. To Gonsalo de Sádoual who was the thirde Captaine, he gaue thre and twentie horsemen, and 160. footemen, two peeces of ordinance, and 40000. Indians, with commission to chawse a place to pitch his Campe.

In euery Bergantine he planted a pece of ordinañe, five bargabushes, or crossebowes, and 13. Spaniards, men most fittest for that purpose. He appointed also Captaines 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 ben in greater danger, wherefoze they required him to goe with the maine battell, and not by water. Cortes little esteemed their words, for although it is moze danger in the water then in the land, yet it did moze impozte to haue greater care in the warres by water, then on the land, because his men had bene 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 betwene them greate discorde touching their lodgings, yea and if Cortes had not sente to take by the matter, much mischief had ensued. The next day they lodged in Xolotepec, which was not inhabited. The thirde daye they came vnto Tlacopan, which was also as all the Townes of the lake, without people, there they were lodged in the Lordes house of the Towne.

The Conquest of

The Tlaxcaltecas began to view Mexico by the calsey, and fought with their enemies, until the nighte made the to ceasse.

On the thirtéenth of May, Cristoual de Olid came to Chapultepec, and brake the conduites of swete water, wherby Mexico was destitute of the same, being the conduit y did prouide all the Citie. Pedro de Aluarado with his company procured to amende all the broken places of the calsey, that the horsemen might haue free passage, and hauing muche to do in these affaires, he spenté thre dayes, and fighting with many enemies, some of his men were hurt, and many Indian friendes slaine. Aluarado abode in Tlacopan with his army, and Cristoual de Olid retired to Culhuacan with his men, according to the instruction receiued from Cortez, and fortified themselves in the Lordes houses of the Towne, and every daye skirmished with the enemies, and some went to the Townes nere at hande, and brought Centli, fruite, and other provision. In this businesse they occupied theselues a whole weeke.

The Battaile and victory of the Vergatines against the Canoas.



MEXICO the newe King Quahucimoc hauing intelligence how Cortez had launched his Vergatines and so mighty a power to besiege Mexico, entred into counsell with the chiefest peres of his Realme. Some were of opinion, and did prouoke him to the wars, considering their great multitude of people, and fortitude of the Citie.

Others were of opinion, who tendered muche the common weale, that no Spaniarde that shoulde happen to

be taken prisoner should be sacrificed, but rather to be preserved for conclusion of peace if neede should so require. And finally some said, that they should demaund of their God, what was best to doe.

The King that inclined himselfe moze to peace than to warre, saide that he would remitte the matter to the iudgement of the idolles, and that he would aduise them what answer should be made vnto him: but in heart he desired to come to some honest order and agreement with Cortes, fearing the thing that after did ensue. But seeing his Counsell and subiects so determined to war, he commaunded foure Spaniards which he had prisoners in a Cage, to be sacrificed vnto the Goddes of warre, with a great number moze of Indians.

He spake to the Diuell in the image of Vitzilopuchli, A Diuelish
who answered him, that he should not feare the Spaniards being but fewe; nor yet those which were comen
to helpe them, for that they should not long abide in the
siege, commaunding him to goe forth and to encounter
them without feare, for he would helpe them, and kil his
enimies. With this answer of the diuil, Quahutimoc com-
maunded forthwith to bzeake downe the bridges, watch
the Citie, make bulwarkes, and to arme five thousande
boates, and saide vnto the Spaniards, that the Goddes
would be pleased with the sacrifice of their bodies, the
Snakes filled with their blod, and the Tigres relieved
with their flesh, they saide also to the Indians of Tlaxcal-
lan, ah ye Cuckold knaues, slaues & traitors to your gods,
and king, will you not repent the wickednesse which ye
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 will we eat your
flesh, and make thereof a soleumne banquet, as the like
hath here tofoze neuer been scene, and in token thereof, hold
take

The Conquest of

take these armes and legges which we thzowe vnto you of your owne men, which we haue now sacrificed for the obtaining of victorie. And after these warres, we will go vnto your Contrey, and spoile your towne, and leave no memorie of your bloud or generation. The Tlaxcaltecas laughed at their madde talkē, and sayd, that it should be better for them to yelde, and submitte themselues to Cortes his mercy, and if not, yet it were moze honozable to fight then to bzagge, willing them to come out into the field. And had them assuredly beloue, that the ende of all their kinauerie was at hand: it was a woꝛld to heare and see the bzaggēs and crakes on both sides. Cortes hearing of all these matters, sent Sandoual to take Iztacpalapan, and he embarked himselfe to mēte him at that place.

Sandoual combatted the towne on the one side, and the townes men and people with feare fledde vnto Mexico, on the other side by water: he burned the towne. Cortes came at that time to a strong rocke like a tower, situated in the water, where many men of Culhua were, who seeing them appoch with their Wergantines, set their beacons on fire, and thzew downe vpon them stones and shot off their arrowes. Cortes went a shoꝛe with a hundꝛeth and fiftie men, and combatted the Foꝛt, till at length hee swanne the battlement, which was the Idians best defence, and with much adoe hee came to the top, and there fought vntill he had not left one aliue, sauing women and childꝛen. It was a sayze victorie, although fīue and twentie Spaniards were hurt and wounded, yet the foꝛt was strong, and the ouerthrow a great discouraging of the enemy.

At this instant were so many beacons and other fires made rounde about the lake, and vpon the hilles, that all seemed a light fire. And also the Mexicans hearing that the Wergantines were comming, they came out in their boates,

boates, with five hundred Gentlemen which came to see such newe kinde of Vesselles, and to proue what they were, being a thing of so great a fame. Cortes embarked himselfe with the spoile of the fozt, and commaunded his men to abide all together for the better resistance, and because the enemies should thinke that they feared, where upon they might without any good order give the onset upon the Christians, and so to fall suddenly into the snare. But it followed, that when they came within shot of the Spaniards Ordnance, they stayed abiding more company, but in short space there came so many Canoas, that it seemed a wonder to behold: They made such a terrible noise with their voices, drummes, Snail shells, and other like instruments of warre, that they could not heare one another, with such great crakes and braggies, as they had done in time past.

And being both parties in a readinesse to fight, there happened such a pouerwinde to the Vergantines which came from the shoze, that it seemed marvellous. Cortes the praying God, commaunded all his captaines to give the onset altogether, & not to ceasse vntil the enemies should be driuen to retire into Mexico, for that it was the pleasure of God to sende vnto them that prosperous winde in token of victorie. This talke ended, they beganne to set upon the enemy, who seeing the Vergantines come with such luckie wind, yea & such a sight as she like vnto them had not bene scene, they beganne to flie with such great haste, that they spoiled, brake, and sunke many of them, and such as stood to defende themselves wereaine, so that this battaile was sone ended. They pursued them two leagues, vntill they hadde locked them by in the water Arctes of Mexico, and take many Lordes and Gentlemen prisoners. And the key of all these wars consisted in this victorie, for our men remained for lordes of
the

The Conquest of

the whole lake, and the enemy with great feare and losse: they had not borne so sone spoiled, but that there were so many of them, who disturbed one another. But when Aluaredo, and Cristoual de Olid, saw the fortunat successe of Cortes by water, they entered the calusey with their armie, and toke certaine bridges and bulwarks, and draue the Indians from them, with all their force and strength. But with the helpe of the Bergantines which came to them, the Indians were diuened to runne a whole league vpon the calusey, and where they found the calusey broke, they procured to leape ouer, and so fell into the midd.

Cortes proceeded forwards, and finding no Canoes, hee landed vps the calusey that cometh from Iztacpalapan, with thirtie men, and combatted two towres of idoles which were walled with wall of lime and stone: it was the same place wher Mutezuma receiued Cortes. He wan those towres in short time, although they were defended with all possibilitie: he vnshipped three peeces of ordnance to scoure the calusey, which was full of enemies: at the first shot, he did great hurt among them, & being the night at hande, they ceased on both sides for that day. And although Cortes had determined otherwise with his Captaines, yet he abode there that night, and sent to the campe of Gonfalo de Sandaual, for powder and fittie men, with halfe the companie of Indians of Culhuacan.

How Cortes besieged Mexico.



The night of Cortes his abiding there, was perillous, for he had not aboute a hundredth men in his companie, and about midnight set vpon him many Mexicans, both by water and lande, although they accustomed not to fight in the night, but the Bergantines

times made them some to retire. In the morning came vnto Cortez from Cristoual de Olid, eight horsemen, and foure score footemen. The Mexicans combatted the Tlovers, where Cortes was lodged, who incontinent came forth, and draue them along the calsey, vntill he had wonne another bidge & a bulwarke, and made a great spoile among them, with the ordinaunce and horseme, pursuing them to the vtmost houses of the Citie: and because many of the Canoas which were on the other side of the Calsey galled Cortes and his menne, he brake downe so muche of the calsey, that he might well passe some of his Wergantines to the other side, the which with few encounters shutte vp the Canoas on that side, within the succour of Mexico: and in this wise he remained Lord ouer bothe the lakes.

The next day Sandaual departed from Iztacpalapon toward Culhuacan, and in this way he toke and spoiled a little Citie that standeth in the lake, because they came out to resist him. Cortes sente vnto him two Wergantines to passe his men where the calsey was broken. Sandaual left his company with Cristoual de Olid, & wet to Cortes with tenne horsemen, and when he came he found him in fight with the enemies, and he alighting from his horse, an Indian perced him through the foote with a dart. Many Spaniards were hurte that day, but their griefe was well reuenged, soz from that day forwarde the Indians courage was muche abated. With the paines, labour, and vidozy, alreadie obtained, Cortes might now at ease pitch his campe at his owne pleasure where he would, and also provide his army of victuals: sixe dayes he ceased not skirmishing, and the Wergantines likewise found out channels that they might goe rounde aboute the Citie, yea and wente spoiling and burning many houses within the Suburbes.

The Conquest of

Mexico was besieged in foure places, although at the first they determined but thre. Cortes was placed betwixt the two Towers of the calise: Pedro de Aluarado in Tlacopan: Cristoual de Olid in Culhuacan: Gonfalo de Sandoval in Xaltoca: soz they had aduise that the same way they would sic out of the Citie, seeing themselues in any daunger. It would not haue grieued Cortes to haue left a passage soz the enimie, but onely because they should not profit themselues vpon the land, and prouide y Citie that way of armour and victual, yea, he also thought to preuall against his enimies better vpon the lande then vpon the water. And againe accozding to the olde prouerbe, When thine enimie lieth make him a brydge of siluer.

The first skirmish within the citie of

Mexico.

Cortes pretended to enter the Citie, and to gette what he could, and also to see what stomache the enimie had: he sent to aduise his captaines, that eche of them shoulde doe the like, requiring them to send vnto him some of their hozsemen and sotenien: He gaue speciall commaundemēt to Cristoual de Olid to haue regard to the keeping of his calsey, and to forsee that the inhabitants of Xochmilco, Culhuacan, Iztacpalapan, Vitzilpucheli, Mexicalcinco, Cuētlauac, and other cities thereabouts come not that way behind them and vntwards. He commaunded that the Wergantines should goe along the calsey on both the sides, if any neede should happen. Cortes early in the mozning came out of his campe with 200. Spaniards, and 80000. Indian friends: they had gone but a small space, when they met with the enimies well armed, keeping the gappe where the calsey was brokē, which broken place mought be a speares length, and as much in depth.

depth. They fought with them, who for a great space defended themselves 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 shooting of arrowes and hurling of stones, so that our men could not come nere, vntill the Tergantines came, and by meanes of them they wanne that fort with lesse paines then they imagined: for without the Tergantines it had not bene possible to haue entred the Citie.

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 Spaniards of the vanguard, toke another bulwarke, whiche was planted in the largest and sayrest strate of the Citie, and pursued the enemy to another draw bridge, which remained, but with one poste or beame, vpon the which many of the Indians passed ouer, and then toke the beame away and abode to defende the place: but when our men approached & sawe how the matter went, Cortes commaunded two peeces of Ordnance to be brought, with the which, and with their Harquebushes, they did great hurt among the Mexicans, who began to fainte, and lose their courage, the which being vnderstande, certaine Spaniards swam ouer where the draw bridge was, with their weapons in their mouthes. But when the enemy sawe them passe ouer, they began, as well from that place as from the house tops, forties and bulwarkes, which they had defended for the space of two houres; to flie. Cortes and his whole army being passed ouer; he commaunded to damme vp that broken place of the drawe bridge,

The Conquest of

with earth, rubbish, and stones, and proceeding forward, they came to an other bridge which had no bulwarke, but was neare one of the chiefest places of the Cittie, and there placed a p[ar]ce of Ordinaunce wherewith they did great hurt, and seeing them now pass all the bridges, they determined to enter into the heart of the Cittie. When the Mexicans perceiued their determination, they began to prouide euery one for himselfe, for some fled one way, and some another, but the most went to the great temple of Idols. The Spaniards and their friends pursued after them, and among the throng got into the Temple, where they slew many, and at length they went vp into the high Tower, and there they throw downe the Idols, among whom they made a great spoyle.

Quahutimoc beganne to reuehnd his men for their cowardie and flight, who gathered themselues together, and considering their ouersight, and that there were no hozles, began a freshe to sette vpon the Spanyards, and with foze and strength dzaue them out of all the circuite of the Temple, and made them trust to their fate. But when Cortes sawe his men come flying, hee caused them to returne and to shewe face vnto the enemye, declaring vnto them how shamefull a thing it was to flie: But seeing 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 p[ar]ce of their Ordinaunce. But being now in this extremitie, there came three hozsemen who played the valiant men, and made way through the troupe of enemies, who at the sight of the hozles began to flie, and our men to follow with such heart and courage, that in short time they swanne the great Temple againe: then came other five hozsemen who iogned with the other three, and lay in ambush, where they slew 30. Mexicans. The day being now
farre

farre spent, and the night at hand, Cortez commanded his army to retire, and they obeying his commandement, had not so sone turned their backs, but an infinite number of enemies were at their heales, who if it had not bene for the horsemen, had slaine many Spanyards, for they came vpon them like rauening dogs without any feare, yet with the succour of the horsemen, the enemy was put againe to flight, and our men burned many houses, to auoyd at their next coming the danger of stones which were throtowne from their toppes. The other Captaines, who were Sandoval and Alvarado, fought valiantly on the other side of the Citie.

The great hurt and damage in the houses
of Mexico with fire.



In this meane while, Don Hernando of Tezcuco, wente throughout his Lordship, to allure his bassall to the seruice and friendship of Cortes, according to his former promise: and whether it were seeing the Spanyards prosperitie in the Siege of Mexico, or otherwise, he brought almost the whole

prouince of Culhuacan, which is vnder the government of Tezcuco, with six or seuen of his owne brethren, for more he could not, although he had more the a hundred brethren, as hereafter shalbe declared. One of them named Ixlilxochilh, being a valiant yong man, of the age of four & twentie yeares, he appointed general Captain ouer fiftie thousand men of war, well armed & trimmed according to their fashion. Cortes did friendly receiue & welcom them, giuing them great thanks for their aide and good wills. Of these new come men, he tooke into his own host thirty thousand,

The Conquest of

and diuided the residue equally among the other Captaines.

This was a sojrowfull newes to the *Mexicans*, to heare of the succour which Don Hernando hadde sent to serue Cortes, and with-holden the same from them, yea and also among them were come kindmen, bʒethzen, and fathers, to many of them which were in *Mexico*, in the seruice of Quahutimoc.

Two dayes after that these men were come, there came also men of Xochmilco, and certaine husbandmen of the *Pountains*, who spake the *Othomich* sp  ch, bes  ching Cortes to pardon their long tarrying, offering also both men and vittailles for the siege. Cortes was pleased with their comming and gentle offer, for they being his friends, he was assured of them of *Culhuacan*, and said vnto them, within these thʒe daies (God willing) I will combate the citie, therefore against that time I pray you prepare your selues accordingly, and therein shall I know whether you be my friends or no: and with this answer they departed, promising to fulfil his request, as they did indeed. This done, he sent thʒe *Tergantines* to *Sandoual*, and other thʒe to *Alvarado*, for to disturbe any succour that might come from the land to the Citie, and like wise to defende and aide the *Spaniards* at all times, when they would land vpon the causeway, to combate the Citie, for he wel vnder stood how profitable those vessels would be nere vnto the bridges.

The captaines of the *Tergantines* ceased not night and day to runne the coast and *Tolunes* of the lake, where they toke many boates from the enemies, laden with men and vittaille, and permitted none to come into the Citie, nor yet any to come out.

The day appointed to the enemies for the combate, Cortes made his prayers vnto God, & then enjoyned each
Captaine

the vvest India.

327

Captaine what he should do, and came forth with twentie horsemen, three hundred Spaniards, and a great number of Indians, with their peeces of Ordnance, and where in three 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 build better Bulwarkes then those which were throwne downe, attending with that horrible noise accustomed. But when they saw they Vergantines on each side, their ioy was turned into sorrow, and began to faint, the which our men vnderstode well, and therewith alanded themselves vpon the caluay, and wan the bulwarke and the brydge. Our army proceeding sozward, set vpon the enemies, vntill they came to another brydge, the which was likewise wonne in thozt time, and this pursued from brydge to brydge, alwayes fighting, vntill they had driuen them from the caluay and streets.

Cortez soz his part lost no time, soz he with ten thousand Indians laboured to damme by againe the sluces and broken places of the brydges, making the way plains both soz horsemen and foote men: it was so much to doe, that all those ten thousand Indians were occupied therin from the morning vntill euening.

The other Spaniards and Indian friends skirmished continually, and slue many of their enemies. Likewise the horsemen sozoured the streets, that the enemies were forced to lock them by in their houses and temples. It was a notable thing to see how our Indians played the men that day agaynst the Citizens: sometimes they would challenge them the field: other times they would conuite them to supper, and shew vnto them legs, armes, and other peeces of mans flesh, saying, beholde your owne flesh which shall serue soz our supper and breakfast, and to morrow we will come soz more, therefore lie not,
you

The Conquest of

you are valiant fellows, yet it were better for you to die fighting then with hunger. And after all this speech, euery one of them called vpon the name of his owne Towne with a loude voyce, setting fire vpon their houses. The Mexicans were replenished with sorrow, to see themselues so afflicted with Spaniards, but yet their sorrow was so muche the greater, to heare their owne bassalles so raile against them, saying and crying at their owne doores, Victory, victory, Tlaxcallan, Chalcho, Xochmilco, and other Townes: the eating of their fleshe græued them not, for they did the like.

Cortes seeing the Mexicans so stout and hard harted, with full determination either to defende themselues or else to dye, thereupon he be thought himselfe vpon two things, the one was, that he should not obtaine the treasure which he had seen in the time of Mutezuma: the other was, that they gaue him occasion totally to destroy the Citie. Both these things græued him much, but especially the destruction of the Citie. He imagined with himselfe what hee might doe, to bring them to acknowledge their error, and the hurt that might fall vpon them, and for these considerations hee pluckt downe their Towers, and brake their Idolles. He burned also the great house wherein hee was lodged before, and the house of foule which was nere at hand. There was not one Spaniard who had seen that magnificall building before, but lamented for the sight; but to agræue the Citizens, it was commaunded to be burned. There was neuer Mexican, that thought any humaine force, how much lesse so fewe Spaniards, should haue entred into Mexico in despite of them all, and to set fire vpon their pzinipallest edifices within the citie. While this house was a burning, Cortes gathered his men, and retired to his Campe. The Mexicans would faine haue remedied the fire, but it was

In the vvest India.

0329

to late, and seeing our men retire, they folowed with their noyse accustomed, and slew some of our men, who were laden with the spoyle, and came behinde the rest. The horsemen relieued our men, and caused the enemy to retire, in such wise, that befoze night all our men were in safetie and the enemies in their houses, the one sort full of sorrow, and the others wearied with fight & travell. The slaughter was great that day, but the burning and spoyle of houses was greater, for besides those which we haue spoken of, the Tergantines did the like where they went, and the other Captaines also were not idle where they were appointed.

Things that happened to Pedro de Aluarado, through his bolde attempt.



Pedro de Aluarado, would passe his army to the Market place of Tlalulco, for he toke much paine, and stode in perill, in sustaining the bydges which he had gotten, hauing his sort almost a league from thence. And againe, he being a man of a haughtie stomacke, thinking as well to get honour as his

Generall, and like wise being procured by his company, who said, that it were a shame for them if Cortes should winne that Market place, being moze nearer vnto them, then vnto him: where upon he determined to winne those bydges which as yet were vnwonne, and to place himself in the Market place. He proceeded with all his army vntill they came to another broken bydge, which was fiftie paces of length, and two fadome deepe, the which with the helpe of the Tergantines, he wanne in short space, and gaue order to certaine of his men to damme it by substan-

cl

cially

The Conquest of

cially, and hee himsele pursued his enemies, with fittle Spaniards. But when the Citizens sawe so fewe in number, and all footmen, (for the hoxes could not passe the fluce so soone,) they came vpon them so sodainly and fiercely, that they made our men to turne their backes, and trust to their legges; yea and our men fell into the water; they kne to not which way. They slew many of our Indians, and foure Spaniards, who forthwith they sacrificed, and ate their flesh in the open sight of all the army.

Aluado sawe his owne folly, in not belieuing Cortez, who had alwaies forewarned him, not to proceed forward, but till he had made the way sure behinde him: but Aluado his Counsellers paid their counsel with life. Cortez sorrowed for the same, for the like had happened vnto him, if he had giuen credite to their counsell. But as a prudent Captaine, he considered the matter better, for euery house was then an Island, the calsey broken in many places, and the yoties or house toppes beset with stones, for these and such like places bled Quahuimoc. Cortez wente to see where Aluado had pitched his Camp, and also to rebuke him for that which was past, and to aduise him what he should do: But when he came and found him so far within the libertie of the Cittie, and the dangerous places which had passed, he did highly commend his valiant and god seruice: he also communed with him of many things concerning the sieg, and then returned to his owne camp.

the vvest India.

331

The triumph and sacrifice which the Mexi-
cans made for their victorie.



Cortes delaied the time, to pitche his Campe in the Market place of Mexico, although daily his men entred and skirmished within the Cittie, for the causes befoze alleaged, and likewise to see if Quahutimoc would yeld himself. And also the entrie could not bee but very dangerous, for the great multi-

tude of enemies that filled by the streets.

All his company Spaniards ioyntly, with the Kings Treasurer, seeing the determination of Cortes, and the hurt alreadie receiued, besought and also required him to passe his Campe vnto the Market place: who answered them, that they had spoken like valiaunt men, but as yet (quoth he) it is not time conuenient, and we ought to consider better of the matter: for why? the enemies are fully determined to ende their liues in defence of that place. But his menne replied so muche, that hee was compelled againe to graunt their request, and proclaimed the entrance for the next day following. He wrote also in his Letters to Gonfalo de Sandoual, and to Pedro de Alvarado, the instructions of the things that they should doe, whiche was in effect, to Sandoual, that hee should remoue his Campe with all his sardage, as though hee would retire and flie, and that vpon the calley hee should haue tenne hoymen in ambuishe, behind certain houses, to the intent that when the Citizens should espie them flie, and would pursue after, then to passe betwixt them and home with the saide hoymen, and

¶ 2

after

The Conquest of

after the hurt done among them, in this sort, that then he with all his army should come to where Pedro de Alvarado abode, with other tenne horsemen, a hundred and fowertie footemen, and the Hauke of Vergantines, and leauing with him his men, should then take thre of the Vergantines, and to procure to winne that broken bydge, where Alvarado of late receiued the foyle: and if he fortun'd to winne that place, that then he should damme it by, and make it sure, befoze hee passed any further: and the like order hee gaue vnto him for all other broken places that hee should passe.

Vnto Alvarado hee gaue commission, that hee should passe as farre into the Citie as hee might possible, requiring him also to sende vnto him eightie Spaniards. He also appointed the other seauen Vergantines, to passe into both the lakes, with thre thousande Canoas. He diuided likewise all his army into thre companies, because they had thre waies to enter into the Citie. By the one of these waies or strates, entered the Treasurer and Auditor, with seuentie Spaniards, twentie thousande Indians, eight horsemen, twelue labourers with plowes and hoes, and many other tole fellows; to carry earth and stones, and to fill up the broken places, and to make the way plaine.

The seconde strate he commended to George de Alvarado and Andres de Tapia, with eightie Spaniards, tenne thousand Indians, two peeces of Ordnance, and eight horsemen. Cortes himselfe took the third way, with a great number of friends, and a hundred and fowertie Spaniards footemen, of the which were twentie haire with Crossbowes and Harguebulbes, and commanded his horsemen which were eight in number, to abide there behinde, and not to follow after, until he should send for them. In this order, and all at one instant, they entered the Citie, by the
ing

ing the hearts of valiant men, greatly annoyng the enemies, and ſwan many bridges, but when they came nere vnto the towne houſe called Tlanquizeli, there gathered together ſuch a number of the Indian friends, who beſore their eyes, ſcaled, entred, and robbed their houſes; that they thought aſſuredly, that the ſame day the citie had bin ſwonne. Cortez commaunded that they ſhould proceede no further, ſaying, that they had done ſufficiently ſo; that day, ſo; alſo he feared afterclappes. He like wiſe demaunded toether all the broken bridges were made ſure, in the which (quoth he) conſiſteth the perill and victorie. But thoſe that went with the Treafurer, following victorie and ſpoile, had loſt a bridge not well dammed by, but beerie hollowe and falſe, the which was of ſwelue paces broad, and two ſadom in depth. When Cortez was aduertified hereof, he went thither to remedie the ſame, but hee was no ſoner come, when he ſawe his men ſying, and leaping in to the water, with feare of the cruell enemies, which followed, who leapt after them into the water, to kill them. There came alſo along the cauſey manie Indian boats of enemies, who took many of y Indian friends and Spaniards aliue. Then Cortez and other ſixteen perſons, which were with him, ferred ſo; no other purpoſe but to helpe out of the water thoſe that were fallen, ſome came wounded, and others halfe d;owned, and without armour: yea and the multitudes of enemies ſo beſet Cortez and his ſixteen companions, who were helping there men, and ſo occupied in the ſame, that they had no regarde to their owne perill. After vpon certain Mexicans laid hand vpon Cortez, who truly they had carted away if it had not bin for one Francisco de Olea his ſeruant, who cut off at one blowe the armes of them that had holde of him, and he by the enemies was immediately ſlaine, ſo that hee died to ſave his maſters life. Then came Antonio de Quinõnez

The Conquest of

captaine of the guard, who caught Cortez by the arme, and by force pluckt him out of the throng of enimies, with whom valiantly he fought. But then with the same that Cortez was prisoner, came many Spaniards, among whom was one horseman, who made some roome, but in short space they thrust him through the throate with a lance, and made him to retire. The fight ceased a little, and Cortez had a horse brought vnto him, on the which he lightlye mounted, and gathering his men together, came to the streete of Tlacopan, which was large and faire. There died Guzman his Chamberlaine, giuing a horse vnto his maister, whose death was much lamented among them all, for he was a man valiant, honeste, and 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 three Spaniards heads vnto them, saying, the like they would doe with their heads, if they went not from thence the sooner. They seeing this sight, and likewise considered the great hurte and spoile made among them, began to retire by little and little.

The Mexican Priests went by into the Towers of Tlatelulco, and made their fires in chafing dishes, and put therevnto the swete gum of Copalli in token of victorie, and forthwith stripped fiftie Spaniards captiues as naked as they were borne, and with their fine razors opened them in the breaſtes, and pluckt out their hartes for an offering to the Idols, and sprinkled their blood in the ayre. Our men seeing before their eyes the dolefull sight, would fain haue gone to reuenge the cruel custome. But as time then required, they had inough to doe to put themselues in safetie, through the greate troupe of Indians which came vpon them, who now feared neither horse

horse nor sword. This day as ye haue heard, were fortie Spaniards sacrificed, and Cortes wounded in one of his legges, and thirtie more of his men: they lost a peece of Ordnance, and foure horses. Also that day was slaine a houe two thousand Indian friends, and many Canoes lost, and the Tergatines in great daunger, and the captaine and maister of one of them were wounded. Whereof the captaine died within eight dayes, the same day were also slaine foure of Aluorado his men, that day was an vnfortunate or dismall day, and the night heauy, sorrowfull, and replenished with lamentable griefe among the Spaniards and their friends. On the other side, the Mexicans triumphed with ioy, and made great bonafires, blew their hoznes, strooke vp their drummes, daunced, banqueted, and dranke themselues drunke: they also opened their streets, and bridges, as they were befoze, and placed their scout and watch about the Citie. And as soone as it was day, the king Quehucimoc, sent two Christians heads, and two horse heads into all the comercanes there about, to signifie their victorie, and to require them to forsake the Christians friendship, promising in short space to make the like ende of all those that remained, and deliuer the countrey from war. These things encouraged some prouinces to take arinour agaynst Cortes, being his allied friends, as Mahualco, and Cuixco. This newes was soone blowne abroade into many Prouinces, where vppon our men feared rebellion among their newe friends, yea and mutinie in their owne campe, but it pleased God that it fell out other wise. The next day Cortes came out againe to fight, to the wee face to the enemies, but he turned againe from the first bridge, without doing any great act.

The Conquest of

The determination of Cortez to destroy the
Citie of Mexico.



Chichimecatl, a noble man of Tlaxcallan; (who had brought the Tumber of the Uergantines from whence it was brought, and was placed in the companie of Aluárado, at the beginning of the siege of Mexico;) seeing that the Spaniards fought not as they were wont to doe, hee alone

with the men of his owne Countrey, went forth to combat the Citie, bearing a thing which tofore hee had not attempted, gave assault against those which defended a certaine bridge, and with great noise cried, and named his Citie and Image, and in short space wanne the bridge, where hee left foure hundred Archers, and followed after the enemye, who of industrie fledde, thinking to take him at his returns, and at length the enemye returned upon him, where they made a faire skirmish, for the fight was casuall. There were many hurt and slaine on both sides, so that with the dead carcases they slipped at will. But they thought to overthrow him at the bridge, not knowing of the foure hundred Archers which were there to attend Chichimecatls coming, by means of whom, hee passed at pleasure, to the greater griefe of the Mexicans, yea, and remained not a little amazed to see the valour and bold attempt of the Tlaxcaltecas.

The Spaniards likewise highly commended the fact, to where our me combated not as they were wont to doe,
the

the Mexicans imagined that the cause was colwardize, infirmitie, or want of vittails: wherevpon one daye at the sunne rising, they set vpon Aluado his Campe, which being espied by the watch, they began to crie, arme, arme, who came forth as well footemen as hoylemen, and put the to flight, at which retire many of the Mexicans were drowned, and others soze hurt and wounded. Then saide the Mexicans, that they desired to talke with Cortes, who came vnto a draue bidge to knowe what they woulde haue, vnto whom sometime they said, that peace was their request, and other times they demaunded truce, but finally required that the Spaniards shoulde depart from that Countrey. All this policie was but to seele what strength and courage our menne had, and to haue truce for a certain time, for to prouide them of such necessaries as they wanted, for their determinate purpose was, to die in the defence of their countrey and religion. Cortes answered, that truce was not conuenient for either partie, but peace was laucable at al times, the which for his part, although he hadde beseged the Citie, shoulde not be denied: therefoze he willed them to wey his plentiful estate of vittails, and their owne néede and necessitie of the same. They being in this communication with their interpreters, appeared an auncient olde man on the top of the bulwarke, who in the sighte of them all, pluckt bread out of his satchell pece by pece, and began to eate, giuing them to vnderstand, that they stode in no néede of vittails, and so made an ende of their talke.

The sege of this Citie séemed a long time to Cortes, for in néere fiftie dayes that he had begun the same, yet could not he bying his desire to passe, yea and much marvelled, that the enemies could endure so lōg a season with dayly skirmishing, and also how they refused peace and conoord, knowing how many thousands of them had ben

The Conquest of

flaine, and ended their miserable lives with hunger.

Yet once again he sent this last message vnto them, that if they would not yelde themselves, then he hauing them enuironed by land and water, would slea them all, and not permit any kinde of victuall to come vnto them, so that their extremitie should be so great, that they should eat one another: their answer was, that first the Spaniards should taste of the same cup, so that threathning encreased their courages, and occupied themselves in carrying stones to the Market place, and many other streets, to stoppe the way against the Horses and their maisters.

Cortes, although it grieved him to destroy totally so beautifull a Citie, yet he determined to bring all the houses of the streets that he should winne, to be equall with the ground, and to stop with them the Channels of water. He communed the matter with his Captaiues, who liked well of his intent, although it was a troublesome thing. He also aduertised the Gentlemen Indians his friends of his determination, who highly commended his deuice.

Cortes seeing the towardnesse of all his army, he called and prepared all his labourers, with their pikeaxes and shouels, so that in these affaires, and in setting his men in good order, he spent foure dayes, and then he began to combat the streets, which goeth directly to the Market place, then faintly the Citizens desired peace. Cortes staied, and asked for their King: they answered, that they had sent for him, whereupon Cortes tarried an houre, and then they began to reuile him, and to throw stones, and shot at him. The Spaniards seeing this, gaue the onset, and went a foot, and came into the chiefe place of the Citie. They cleaned the streets of the stones which they had laide to disturbe their passage, and stopped so by the water street in that place, in such wise, that neuer after it was opened againe, and threw downe all the houses, making the

the entrance into the Citie an open plaine high way, and then retired to their Campe. Also five dayes arow they did the like, without receiuing any hurt, sauing the last day two hozes were hurt.

The next day Cortes laid an ambush with fiftie Hozemen, and sent befoze him the Tergantines, but he himself with thirtie hozemen, abode in certaine great houses in the Market place. They fought that day in many places of the citie, and at the retire, one shot off a handgun, which was the token that those which lay in ambush shuld come forth. The enemies followed our men, that seemed to flee with marvellous courage. But they were not so soon passed the snare, when Cortes came forth with his thirtie hozemen, saying, Upon them, upon them: By this onely meane were slaine aboue five hundred Mexicans, besides the pisoners.

Our Indian friends had a good supper that night with mans flesh, which as yet they would not be perswaded to leaue. Certaine Spaniards went by into a Tower of Idols, and there opened a sepulchze, where they found five hundred Castellines in golde: With this ouerthrowe the Mexicans remained in such feare, that all their threatings and triumphs were turned into mourning: and after when they sawe our men retire, they would not follow them, fearing the like danger, so that this was a meane, the sooner to win Mexico.

The Conquest of

The hunger and infirmitie which the Mexicans suffered with great courage.



Two poye soules who were bered with hunger, came in the night season out of the citie vnto Cortes his Camp, who certified, how the Citizens were in greate necessitie, and so many dead with hunger and sicknesse, that there were heapes of dead bodies in the houses, only to keepe close their excreame miserle: and said also, that in the night season manie came out to fishe betwaine the houses with feare of the Wergantines, and others came out to seeke for wodde, hearbes, and rotes to eate.

Cortes hearing these newes, determined to knowe the troth thereof, so that the nexte night he commaunded the Wergantines to goe round about the Citie, and he himselfe with fiftene Hoysmen, a hundred footemen, and manye Indian friends, placed themselues betwixt certaine houses, with order of his espies, to aduertise him what they shoulde see. It was no sooner day, but manye poye folke came out to seeke for fode, and when Cortez had intelligence thereof, he made a greate slaughter among them, whereas at that time of vnarmed men, women, and children, were slaine to the number of eight hundred: and the Wergantines on their side made another spoile. The pittifull noise being heard into the Citie, the Citizenes were astoined, and knew not what to doe, fearing the like ambushe that they had scene and fealt the day befoze, and also wondered, that at such an houre not accustomed, the Spaniards were so nigh. The next day following, being S. James his euen, Cortez entred againe into the Citie, according as he had done befoze, and wanne the strette of Tlacopan, where he burned the riche and faire houses

A cruell fact
of Cortez.

the vvest India.

341

of king Quahutimoc, which were motted rounde about; so that now of foure parts of the citie, thzæ parts were won, and the Spaniards might safely passe from Cortes his Campe, to the Campe of Aluarado, by reason that all the houses were burned, and beaten downe plaine with the ground.

But yet the poze Mexicans would say to the Indians of Tlaxcallan, goe to, goe to, make hast, burne and destroy these houses, for time will come that ye shall build them againe at your owne cost. For if we haue victoꝝy, then shall ye build them for vs, and if we be overcome, then shall ye build them for these straungers.

A true prophetic.

Within foure dayes after, Cortes entred the Citie againe, and also Aluarado on his side, who to shew his haughty stomack, laboured all that was possible to get two Towers of the Temple of Tlatelulco, the which at the length he wan, although he lost thzæ horses in the combat.

The next day following, the hoꝝlemen walked by and downe in the greate Market place at pleasure, the poze Mexicans beholding that soꝝrowful sight frõ their houses. And as the Spaniards went walking in the Citie, they founde heapes of dead bodies in the houses, strætes, and in the water: they found also the barke of trees and rotes gnawen by the hungrie creatures, and the men so leane and yellow, that it was a pitifull sight to beholde. Cortes yet againe required them to yeelde, and they although they were so leane of bodie, were strong in heart, and answered that he should not speake of any friendshippe, noꝝ yet hope of their spoyle, for when no foꝝtune would fauoure them, then they woulde either burne their treasure, or thꝝowe it into the lake, where they should neuer profite thereby, and that they would fight while one alone should remaine alive. At Cortes his next entry into the Citie, he founde the strætes full of women, children, olde

An extreme penurie.

The Conquest of

folke, and many miserable sicke persons which were perishing for want of foode.

Cortes commanded that none of his army should doe any hurt vnto such miserable creatures. The principall folke who were whole and sound, they stood in their Zooties or house tops, without weapon, and clothed in mantels. It was thought that they kept a certaine holy day, peace was againe offered, but they answered with dissimulation. The next day following Cortes required Alvarado on his side to combat a streete of 1000. houses that was not yet won, and that he would do the like on the other side: for a litle space the Citizens defended these lues; but their defence endured not, but were giuen to sie, being not able to resist the force of their contraries. So that the Spanish armie wanne also that streete, and slue 12000. Citizens, the murther was so great because the Indian friends would shew no mercy or compassion vpon them, although they were required to the contrary. So that now the Mexicans hauing lost this streete also, the houses that were not beaten down could scarcely hold the people that were alieue, the streetes also being so full of dead car-kasses and sicke bodiees, that our men could not passe, but must neeces tread vpon them. Cortes desirous to see what remained of the Citie to win, went vp into a high tower, and hauing well beuewed the Citie, he iudged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And y next day following he assaulted the same, with speciall commandement giuen to his army, not to kill any but onely such as should resist.

The sorrowfull Citizens bewailing their vnfortunate fate and destiny, besought the Spaniards to make an end, and to kill them all out of hande. Then certaine of the hoymen called Cortes in great hast, who went vnto them incontinent, hoping of some agreement of peace: and standing at the brimme of the water nere vnto a drawe bridge,

byldge, the Mexicans said, Oh Captaine Cortes, considering that thou art the child of the Sun, why doest thou not entreat the Sunne thy father, to make an ende of vs: oh thou Sunne that canst go round about the world in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of vs, and take vs out of this miserable life, for we desire death to go and rest with our God Quetcaualh who tarieth for vs. After these speeches they made a lamentable crie, calling vpon their Goddes with loude voyces. Cortes answered what he thought good, but yet could not perswade them to yelde, truly it was a pitifull sight to behold.

A sorrowfull
talc.

The imprisonment of Quahutemoc.

Cortes seeing the great extremitie that those poore wretched people were in, thinking nows that they woulde yelde vnto him, there vpon he spake to an Uncle of Don Hernando de Tezcuco, who was taken prisoner thre dayes before, whom he desired to goe to the king, and treat of peace: this Gentleman refused the message, knowing the determinate will of Quahutemoc, but through much entreatie he granted to his request. So the next day following Cortes entered into the Citie, and sent that Gentleman, and certaine Spaniards before him. The Indian garde of that Citie receiued him with the honoz which vnto such a noble man did appertaine. He proceeded forward toward the king, & being come where he was, he declared vnto him his embassage. When Quahutemoc had heard his tale, he was so moued with ire and choler, that forthwith he commanded him to be sacrificed, and gaue the Spaniards for their answer blowes with stones, staues and arrowes, saying also that they desired death, and no peate, and fought so stoutly that day, that they slue many of our men, and one horse. Likewise on their side many were slaine.

An euill re-
ward.

The

The Conquest of

The next day Cortes entred the Citie againe, but hee sought not, hoping then that they would submitte themselves, but yet the Citizens had no such thought. He came nere vnto a certaine bulwarke on horsebacke, and spake vnto certaine Gentlemen with whome he was acquainted, saying, that now within a short space he could make an ende of their finall destruction, but yet of mere compassion he wished it not, for the loue which he bare vnto them, so that they woulde in time render themselves: wherefoze (quoth he) outreat ye the king to doe the same, and in so doing ye shall be well vsed, and haue vittalles sufficient. The Gentlemen hearing these words, fell on weeping, and answered, that now they knew well their error, and felt their losse and destruction, notwithstanding they were bound to obey their king and Gods. But yet (quoth they) abide a while, and we wil certifie Quahucimoc what you haue said, & in short spare they went and returned againe; saying that the next day without fayle their Lord would come and talke with him in the market place. With this answer Cortes returned to his campe, and thought at their meeting to conclude an honourable peace. So against the next day he caused a Canapie and chaire of estate to be set in the market place, according to the Mexican vse, and also a dinner to be prepared. The day following came Cortes at the houre appointed, with many of his men armed, but the king came not: neuertheless he sent five noble men to treat of the matter, excusing the kind, saying he was not well at ease. Cortes welcomed those Gentlemen, and was glad of their comming, hoping thereby to conclude and make some good ende. And when they had dined and well refreshed their hungry bodies, Cortes gaue them vittuals, and desired them to returne againe to to the King, and to declare vnto him that without his presence the conclusion could not bee certaine.

certaine. They went and returned againe within two houres, and brought vnto Cortes certaine matels made of cotten woll, very good & well wrought, with answer, that the king would not come in any wise, both so; shame and feare. And the next day these messengers came again, saying that the king would come to the place appointed. But yet he came not; although Cortes attended his comming moze then foure houres, who seeing the mischery, he forth with sente Sanddual with his Mergantines one way, and he himselte went another, combatting the houles & forties that yet remained, where he founde small resistance, so that he might doe what he pleased. There was that day slaine and taken prisoners aboue 40000 persons, and theyre retired to his campe. The lamentable crie and mourning of the women and childzen woulde haue made a stony hart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderfull noisome. That night Cortes purposed to make an end the next day of the wars, and Quahutimoc pretended to sleepe, and so; that purpose had imbarqued himselte in a Canoa of twelue ozes. When the day appeared, Cortes with his men, and foure peeces of ordnance, came to the corner where those that yet remained were shut vp, as cattell in a pounde. He gaue order to Sandoual and Aluarado what they should do, which was, to be ready with their Mergantines, and to watche the coming out of the Canoas which were hidden betwixt certaine houses, and especially to haue regard vnto the kings person, and not to hurte him, but to take him aloue. He commaunded the residue of his men to force the Mexican boates to goe out, and he himselte went vp into a Tower, enquiring for the king, and there founde Xihuacoa, gouernour and Captaine generall of the Citie, who woulde in no wise yeelde himselfe. Then came out of the Citie a greate multitude of olde folkes, men, women and childze, to take boate. The throng

The Conquest of

was so great with ball to enter the Canoa, that many by that means were drowned in the lake. Cortes required his men not to kill those miserable creatures: But yet he could not stay the Indians his friends, who sue & sacrificed aboute fiftene thousand. After this, there was a great rumoz among the common people, that the king would lie, making a piteous mone, and saying that they sorrowfull creatures knew not whither to go: But yet procuring to go into the Canoa, which were so full that there was no roome for them, by reason there of many were drowned.

The men of warre stood in the house toppes and jotties beholding their perdition. All the nobilitie of Mexico were embarked with the King. When Cortes gaue signe with the shot of a handgun, that his Captaines should be in a readinesse, so that in short space they wanne fully and wholly the great citie of Mexico. The Bergantines likewise brake in among the flete of boates, without any resistance, and every one sought where he might best succour himselfe, the Royall Standart was beaten downe. Garcia Holguin, who was Captaine of a Bergantine, had espied a great Canoa of twentie ozes deepe, laden with men. And one of his prisoners saide vnto him, that the king went in that great Canoa. Holguin being glad of the newes, gaue chase to that Canoa and overtoke him. In his foreship he had three Crossebowe men. And when Quahutimoc who stood on the puppe of the Canoa ready to fight, sawe those bowes ready bent, and many drawen swordes, he yeldded himselfe, declaring that he was the king. Garcia Holguin being a glad man of his prisoner, toke and carried him vnto Cortes, who receiued him reuerently. When Quahutimoc came neare vnto him, he laide his hand vpon Cortes his dagger, saying, I haue done all my possibilitie to defende me and mine, according to my dutie, hoping not to haue come to this estate & place where now I stand: And considering

considering that you may do with me what you please, I beseech you to kill me, and that is my only request. Cortes comforted him with faire words, giuing him hope of life and senioꝝ, and toke him by into a zotie, requiring him to commaund his subiects to yeld and render themselves: he obeyed his request. At that time there was about thꝛe scoꝛe and ten thousand persons, who in seeing their Prince, thꝛew downe their weapons, and submitted themselves.

The taking of Mexico.

In the order befoꝛe declared, wanne Hernando Cortez the famous Citie of Mexico, on Tuesday being the thirteene of August, An. 1521. in remembrance whereof, and of the great victoꝝ, euery yeare on that day they make a sumptuous feast and solemne pꝛocession, wherein is carried the Standart royall, with the which the Cittie was wonne. The siege endured thꝛe moneths, and had there in 200000. Indians, 900. Spaniards, 80. hozes, 17. pꝛeces of Ordnance, 13. Bergantines, and 6000. Canaos. In this siege were slaine fiftie Spaniards and fire hozes, and no great number of the Indians their friends. There was slaine on the contrary side a hundꝛeth thousand, and some affirme many moe: but I speak not of them that died with hunger and pestilence.

At the defence of the citie were all the nobilitie, by reason whereof many were slaine. The multitude of people was great, who eate litle, dranke salt water, and slept among the dead bodies, where was a horrible stench: foꝛ these causes the disease of pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Wherevpon is to be considered, their fiesdalle determination, foꝛ although they were afflicted with such hunger, that they were driuen to eate boughes, ryndes of trees, and to drinke salt

The Conquest of

water, yet would they not yelde themselves. But at the laste they woulde haue submitted them, and then their king Quahucimoc woulde not, because at the beginning they refused his will and counsell, and also with their generall deaths, should appeare no cowardise, for they kept the dead bodies in their houses to keepe that secreete from theyr enemies. Here also is to be noted, that although the Mexicans eate mans flesh, yet they eate none of their owne Citie or friendes, as some doe thinke: for if they had, there woulde not so many haue died with hunger. The Mexican woman were highly commended, not only because they aboade with their husbands and Fathers, but also for the greate paines they toke with the sicke and wounded persons, yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fitte for the same, and throwing stones from the zotties, for therein they did as much harte as their men. The Citie was yelde to the spoile, and the Spaniards toke the Golde, Plate and Feathers, the Indian friends had all the rest of cloth and other stufte.

Cortes commaunded great bonfires to be made in token of victoery, and also to mortifie the horrible stinche of the dead bodies, whome he likewise commaunded to be buried, and some of the prisoners menne and women he caused to be marked in the face, for the Kings slaves, and pardoned all the rest. He commaunded the Tlaxgaltines to be brought a shoey, and appointed one Villa Fuerte, with 30. men to guard the, fearing least the Mexicans should by fire or otherwise destroy them. In this business he occupied himself foure daies, & then remoued his camp to Culhuacan, where he rendred hartie thanks to all the Gentlemen his friendes, promising to gratifie their good and faithfull seruice, & stirring them to departe home to their houses, considering the warre was at an ende, where upon

wherupon they departed almost all in generall, both rich and poore with the spoile of Mexico, and also to remaine in the fauour and grace of Cortez.

Maruellous signes and tokens of the destruction
of Mexico.



Of long befoze Hernado Cortes came vnto the new Spaine, did many nights after the midnight appeare in the air, and in the same port and place where Cortes entered into that land, great lightning of fire, which amounted by ward, and suddenly bade away. The Mexicans at that time sawe flames of fire toward the Orient, where now Vera Crux standeth, with a great and thicke smoke, that seemed to touch the heauen and earth: this sight was fearefull vnto them.

They also sawe the figures of armed men fight in the air one with another, a new and strange sight for them, and a thing that filled their heads with imaginations: for when there was a propheticke spoken of among them, holwe that white men with beards should come and rule their kingdom in the time of Mutezuma, the Lords of Tzeuco and Tlacopan were much amazed, saying, that y sword which Mutezuma had, was the armes of those folke, whose figures they had scene in the aire, with their apparell and attyre. Mutezuma had much ado to pacifie them, saying that the weapon and apparell was of his forefathers, and because they should see the troth thereof, he gaue them the sword, and willed them to bzeake it if they could, and they prouing to bzeake the same, and could not, they maruelled thereat, and also were resolved of their opinions.

It shoulde seme that a little befoze these things hap-

The Conquest of

pened, some of *Mutezuma* his subiects found a Chest of apparell, and a sword in it on the Sea coast, which came floating out of some shippe that had wacked there about, and brought 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*, seeing it a thing so like the attire of the figures which they had sene in the ayre; but howsoeuer it was, they beleued with these new tokens, that their kingdome should haue an end, when they sawe those strangers come into their country.

The same yeare that Cortes came into Mexico, appeared a vision vnto a certaine *Malli*, which is to say, a slave taken in the warres to be sacrificed, who at the time of his death and sacrifice, bewailed his sorrowfull end, calling vpon the God of heauen, who at that instant saw in spirit a vision, and heard a voyce, bidding him not to feare that death, for the God whom hee called vpon would haue mercie vpon him, willing him also to say vnto the priests and ministers of the Idoles, that their wicked sacrifice and bloodshedding was nere 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 middell of the market place of *Tlatchulco*, where at this day is the place of execution.

They remembred, & noted well the words of the *Malli*, and the vision which they called a breath from heauen.

The earth also brake open, out of the which issued a marvellous great streame of water, with manie great fishes, which they bled and helde for a strange prognostication.

The Mexicans did report, that when on a time *Mutezuma* came triumphantly with victorie of *Xochnuxco*,
said

the vvest India.

351

said vnto the Lord of Culhuacan: *Polo* (quoth he) *Mexico* is strong & inuincible, for I haue in subiection *Xochnuxco*, and other prouinces, so that now I am without feare of any enemy. The Lord of Culhuacan answered, saying, trust not god king too much, for one force foceeth another, with the which answer, *Mutezumas* was not a little offended. But when *Cortes* had taken them both prisoners, then he called to remembrance the former talk, and held that saying for a prophesie.

The building vp againe of Mexico.



Cortes pretended to reedifie againe the Citie of *Mexico*, not onely for the situation and maiestie, but also for the name and great fame thereof, and also to build vp that which hee had beaten downe, by reason whereof he traueled to make this Citie greater, better, and to bee the moze replenished

with people. He named and appointed Judges, Aldermen, Attourneys, Towne clarke, Notaries, Sea-uengers, and Sergeants, with all other officers, necessarie for the common weale of a Citie. Hee diuided the Citie among the Conquerors, having first taken out places for Churches, market places, Towne house, and other necessarie plottes to build houses, profitable for the common weale. He also separated the dwellings of the Spaniards from the Indians, so that the water passeth and maketh diuision betwixt them. He procured many Indians to come to the building of the Citie, for auoyding charges, although therein he had some what to do, by reason that many kinemen of *Quahatimoc* were not as yet come vnder obedience.

He

The Conquest of

He made Lord of Tezcuco, Don Carolus Izclixuehiti, by the consent of the citie, in place of Don Hernando his brother, who was deceased, and commaunded manie of his vassals to labour in the woyses, because 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, freedome, and other liberties, and the like vnto all those that would come and inhabite there, which was a meane to allure manie thither. He set also at libertie Xihuaco the generall Captaine, and made him chiefe ouer the Indians in the Citie, vnto whome he gaue a whole stréte. He gaue likewise another stréte to Don Pedro Mutezuma, who was son to Mutezuma the king. All this was done to winne the fauour of the people. He made other Gentlemen Señors of little Ilands, and strétes to build vpon, and to inhabite, and in this order the whole situation was repaired, and the woyske began with great ioy and diligence: But when the same was blowne abzoad, that Mexico should be built againe, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither, hearing of libertie and freedome, the number was so great, that in a whole league compass was nothing but people both men and women. They laboured soze, and ate little, by reason whereof, many sickned, and pestilence followed, whereof dyed an infinite number. Their paines was great, soz they bare on their backs, and dze w after them, stones, earth, timber, lime, bycke, and all other things necessaric in this sozt, and by little and little, Mexico was built againe with a hundzed thousand houses, moze stronger and better then the olde building was. The Spaniards also built their houses after the Spanish fashion. Cortes built his house vpon the plotte where Mutezuma his house stode, which renteth now yearely foure thousand duckets a yeare. Pamfilo de Naruac

Naruaez accused him for the same, saying, that he hadde spoyle the wooddes and mountaines, and spente seauen thousand beames of Ceder trées in the worke of his own house. The number seemeth moze héere then there, for where all the Mountaines are replenished with Ceder trées, it is a small matter. There are Cardines in Tezcucuo, that haue a thousand Ceder trées for walles and circuite, yea and there are Ceder trées of a hundred & twenty foote long, and twelue foote in compasse from ende to ende. They built faire dockes couered ouer with arches for the Bergantines, whereas (so) a perpetuall memozie) all the thirténe Bergantines do remaine vntill this day. They dammed by the strótes of water, where now faire houses stand, so that Mexico is not as it was wont to be, yea and since the yéere of 1524. the lake decreaseth, and sometime casteth out a vapour of stench, but other wise it is a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountaines that standeth round about it, and well prouided through the fertillitie of the Countrey, and comoditie of y^e 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 contracttation, and all sortes of occupations. Also a money house, where money is daily coyned: a sayze schoule, which the Citizeroy Don Antonio de Mendosa caused to be made. There is a greate difference betwixte an inhabitant of Mexico, and a Conquero, for a Conquero is a name of honoz, and hath landes and rentes, and the inhabitaunt or onely dweller, payeth rente for his house. When this Citie was a building, and not throughly furnished, Cortes came from Culhuacan to dwell there. The fame of Cortes, and maiestie of Mexico, was blowen

The Conquest of

abroad into farre pꝛouinces, by meanes whereof, it is now so replenished, as I haue before declared, yea and hath so many Spaniards, who haue cōquered aboute 400. leagues of land, being all gouerned by the princely seat of Mexico.

How the Emperour sent to take account of Cortes of his government in the new Spaine.



In these daies Cortes was the man of the greatest name of all the Spanish nation, although many had defamed him, & especially Pamfilo de Naruaez, who was in the Court of Spaine accusing him. And where of long time the Councell of India had receiued no letters from him, they suspected, yea and beloued, what soeuer euill was spoken of him. Whereby on they pꝛouided the Admirall Don Diego Colon, soꝛ gouernour of Mexico, who at that time went to lawe with the king, pꝛetending the said office and many others, with condition to carrie at his owne cost a thousand men to apprehend Cortes. They pꝛouided also soꝛ Gouernour of Panuco, one Nonio de Gufman, and Simon de Alcazaua soꝛ singall, soꝛ gouernour of Honduras. To kinde moꝛe this mischiefe, and to set this busines soꝛward, one Iohn de Ribera, the Attourney of Cortes, was a fitte and an earnest instrument against his maister, and the cause was, soꝛ falling out with Martin Cortes, father vnto Henando Cortes, about foure thousand Duckets 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 slanders against his maister, yea and credit was giuen to his tales, but on a night he had a morsell of bacon giuen him vpon a skaffolde, where with hee was choked in the

The reward
of a knaue.

the chiefe time of his businesse. These newe officers, and their provisions, were not so secretly obteyned, but the matter was so secretly talked in the Court, which at that time was abiding in the Citie of Toledo, and the proceedings seme not iust vnto the friends of Cortes. The Comendator Pedro de Pina, opened the matter to the Licenciat Nouez, and vnto father Melgareto, wher vpon they reclaimed of the Councels determination, beseeching them to stay for a season, to see what newes should come from Mexico. Also the Duke of Beiar tended the cause of Hernando Cortes, for that Cortes by promise of faith and troth was assured in marriage to his brothers daughter, named the Ladie Iane de Zuniga, who appeased the Emperour his anger, and the said Duke became suretie to answer in all causes for him.

The matter standing in this estate, there arriued in Spaine, Diego de Zoto, with a whole Coluerin made of siluer, & 70000. castlins in gold, the newes whereof was blowne ouer all Spaine. And to say the troth, this present was the cause that Cortes was not put out of his office, but a Judge of residence was sent thither to take an account of him. Now a wise and a learned man was sought for that purpose, yea such a one as could rule the matter, for some souldiers are oftentimes vnmanerly: wher vpon they thought the Licenciat, Lewes Ponce de Leon, a fitt man, who had bin Lieutenant to Don Martin de Cordoua, Earle of Alcaudete, and chiefe gouernor of the Citie of Toledo. This Licenciat with power sufficient, was sent vnto the new Spaine, who carried in his company as assistant, the batchler Marcus de Aguilar, who had ruled in time past, in a worshipfull office of Justice in the Ilande of Santo Domingo.

With prosperous weather they departed from Spaine, and in short time arriued at Vera Cruz,

The Conquest of

Cortez having newes of their arrivall by foote postes within two dayes. And vpon Midsommer day came letters to Cortes from the Licenciate Ponce, with another letter from the Emperour, where by he vnderstood the cause of their coming. He returned backe incontinent an answer, and desired to know which way he would come to Mexico, either by the way inhabited, or else the other way which is nearer. The Licenciate replied, that he would for a while abide in Vera Cruz, to refresh himselfe, beinge seasicke, and a man yet had not here tofore at any time passed the seas, thinking that Cortes meant to haue done iustice on certain offenders, yea & also to haue taken him by the way: wherefore he suspected, that Cortes had sent, because he would knowe which way he meant to come, wherevpon he secretlye toke post horse, with certaine Gentlemen, and other religious persons that came in his company, & passed through the Townes, although it was the farther way, and made suche halt, that in five dayes he came to Iztacpallapan, refusing the entertainment and prouision of meate and lodging that Cortez had prepared by his Gentlemen, that wet both the waies to meete him.

In Iztacpallapā they receiued him with great feast and merriment, but after dinner, the Licenciate fell a vomiting, and the most of his companie, and after the vomite, they fell into a fluxe. They thoughte that certaine hearbes was the cause thereof, which were in a dishe of curdes. The Licenciate was somewhat grieued of the curdes, and toke the dishe, and offered it to father Thomas Ortiz, no (quoth the steward) his reverence shall haue another dishe, no (quoth father Ortiz) I will none of these; no; yet of any other, of whiche wordes there were afterwarde verses made, suspecting something of the curdes: but truly there was no hurt, or any euill thing putte in them, (as hereafter shall

(shall be declared) for the Comendador, Procano, who was then chiefe Sheriffe, did eate of all those dishes, yea in the same dish that the Licenciat eate of, who neither vomited nor yet receiued any hurt or alteration. But I think, that they comming hote, weary and hungry, did eate too much, and drank also colde water, whereby their stomackes renolled, and thereof followed the fire with vomit. On the behalfe of Cortes; there was presented to the Licenciat a rich present, but he refused it.

Cortes with all the flower of Gentlemen in Mexico, came to receiue him, and giuing him the right hand, they went together untill they came to Saint Frances Abbey, where after their prayers made, Cortes demaunded to see the Kings provisions, who answered, that the next day he would shew them vnto him: then they accompanie him to his house, where he was well lodged.

The next day following, all the magistrates of the Citie met the Licenciat in the Cathedrall Church, and by acte, befoze the Potary, he presented his authoritie from the Emperour. He toke the Scares of Justice from the Judges and Sargeants, and incontinent restored them againe, and saide with gentle speech, this rodde of the Senioz Gouvernour, I will haue for my selfe. Cortes with all the other Magistrates, kissed the Emperours letters, and put them vpon the crown of their heads, in token of great obedience, saying, that they would obserue and obey all that was therein contained, as the commaundement of their King and Lord, requiring the same to be set downe by act and testimony.

After these things done, they proclaimed the residence and account of iustice, of Hernando Cortez, to the intent that all persons who could accuse him of any vnrighfull dealing, should come & make their complaint, and to haue remedy for the same. Where should you then see the firre

The Conquest of

and take among them, every officer fearing his owne
cause, with desire to see the ende of their businesse.

The death of the Licenciat Luys
Ponce.



The Licenciat comming one day from Saint
Francis abbay from service, fell into an ex-
traême burning feuer, and lay him downe
in his bedde, where he remained the space
of thre dayes, as a man out of his wittes,
and the feuer stil encreasing, so that on the
seuenth day he yielded vp the ghost. In the time of his
sicknesse he receiued the communion, and made his last
will & testament. He left for substitute in his office, the ba-
cheler Marcus de Aguilar. Cortes made as great sorrow
for his death, as if he had bene his owne father, his fune-
ralls were celebrated with great pompe.

The enimies of Cortes published, that he died of poison.
But the Licenciat Pero Lopez, and Doctor Hoieda, who
were his Physicians, swore that he died of a burning fe-
uer, and shewed a further consequence, that the euening
before he decessed, he desired them, to play the measures
vpon a lute, and as he lay in his bedde, shewed with stir-
ring his feete the compasses and pointes of the daunce.
It was a thing which diuers persons saw, and forthwith
he lost his speache, and that night toward the dawning of
the day he yielded vp his spirite. I thinke that se uen men
do die daüing, as this Lawier did. The number of a hun-
dred persons came out of Spaine with the Licenciat,
whereof the mosse parte died by sea and on the lante. It
was suspected to be a pestilence, for one of them infected
another. There were in his company many Gentlemen,
and ech of the had an office. There was a Frier who was

A made
daunce.

a very slaundersous fellow, & reported that Cortes had poisoned the Licenciat, and also that the Licenciat had an expresse order from the Emperour to cut of Cortes his head, as soon as he had take the Care of Justice from him. The subtle Frier, had thought to haue gotten mony of the one, and thanks of the other, and at the ende had nothing.

How Cortez came into Spaine.



Here one Alonso de Estrada gouerned the State of Mexico, as substitute of Marcus de Aguillar, according to the Emperours commaundement, Cortes considered with himselfe that it was not possible for him to haue againe his office, except he wente personally to the Emperours court, where he had many aduersaries and few friends, so that he was afflicted on euery side: yet he in fine, determined to goe into Spaine, as well for businesse of importaunce of his owne, as also matters touching the Emperour and his new kingdomes, whereof I will rehearse particularly some.

As touching his owne causes, first he being a man of good yeeres, went to marry, hoping to haue children, vnto whom he might leaue the profite of his labour and paine: also to appeare befoze the King his maister face to face, and to enforme his Maiestie what Landes and Kingdomes he had wonne and brought vnto his royall crowne: To signifie likewise vnto him, of the dissention among the Spaniards his subiectes in Mexico, and to answer for himselfe, to any false reportes which had bene made against him: And finally, to receiue a contigine reward for his worthe and faithfull seruice. Cortez being in these imaginations, there was brought

The Conquest of

brought a letter vnto him, from the reuerend father Garcia de Loaisa, ghostly father vnto the Emperoz, and afterwards was ordeyned Cardinall, in the which letter hee conuited him earnestly to come vnto Spaine, to the content that the Emperours Maestie might both see & know him, assuring him of his friendship. After the receipt of this letter, he made all the haste possible to depart vpon his journey, ceasing from his voyage which he had in hand, for to inhabite the Riuer De las Palmas. Befoze his departure, he dispatched two hundzeth Spaniards, and thre score and tenne Hoylemen, with many Mexicans, for the countrey of Chichimeca, to inhabite there, finding the land riche of siluer Mines, as it was reported, giuing vnto those men expresse order, that if the people of that Countie did not entertaine them with friendship, that then they shuld accept them as enemies, and forthwith to make warre, and to take them for slaues, for that they are a barbarous people: He wrote his letter to Vera Cruz, to prepare with all speede two good shippes, and for that purpose he sent Pero Ruiz de Esquivel, who was a Gentleman of Skill: But hee went not on the journey, for a moneth after, they founde him buried in a little Ilande of the lake, with one hande out of the graue, which was eaten with dogges and soule: hee was buried in his doublet and his hose: he had one onely wound in his forehead: And a Negro, his slaue, who went in his company, was neuer heard of, nor yet the Canoa and Indians that went with him, so that the truth of his death was neuer knowne.

Cortes made an Inuentary of his moueable goodes, which was valued at two hundzeth thousande Castellins of golde: he left for gouernour of his owne estate, the Licenciat Alcamirano his kinsman, with other two friends: hee furnished two shippes, and proclaymed free passage and victuals vnto all those that would go in his company: he

he shipped for his owne account a thousand five hundred markes of siluer, twentie thousand Castlins of good gold, and ten thousand Castlins of base golde. He toke in his company Gonsalo de Sadoval, Andres de Tapia, and other of the chiefest of the conquerours. He brought with him a Sonne of Mutezuma, & another Sonne of Maxixca, who was become a Chyristiā, & 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 and women of that Countrey who were white of colour, and other dwarfes and deformed persons. He brought also wild beasts, as Tigres and other strange beasts called Aiotocheli, and one Flaquaci. Moreover he brought a great number of mantels made of feathers and Conny heare, Large feathers, bushes or tuffes of galant feather, and looking glasses of stone. In fine, he came like a great Lord, and arriued in Spaine, in the end of the yere 1528. the Courte being then in Tolledo. The newes of his arriual was blowne thzough out al Spaine, and enery one desirous to see him.

The honour which the Emperour shewed vnto
Hernando Cortes, with rewarde.



He Emperour receiued Cortes magnificially, and to giue him the greater honour, he went and visited him at his owne lodging.

The Emperour being in a readines to passe into Italie, to be ther crowned with the Emperiall crowne, Cortes went in his maiesties company vnto the Citie of Saragoza, whereas his Maiestie calling to remembrance his worthie seruice, and valour of his person, made him Marques del Valle de Huaracac, according

The Conquest of

tozdng to his desire, on the .vi. of July, An. 1528. and Captaine generall of the newe Spaine, with all the provinces and coast of the south sea, chiefe discoverer and inhabiter of the same coaste and Ilandes, with the twelfth parte of all that after that time shoulde be discovered, for a sure inhabitaunce to him and his descendentes: he offered vnto him also the habite of the order of Knighthode of Saint Iames, the which offer Cortes refused, because there was no rent given with the habite, but he besought his Maestie to graunt vnto him the gouernment of Mexico, the which request the Emperour denied, because that no Conquerour should thinke that the office of gouernment and iustice is due vnto him, for the like demand was desired of the king Don Fernando, by Cristoual Colon, who first discouered the Indian, and also the great Captaine Gonsalo Hernandoz de Cordoua, who conquered Naples. Cortes deserued much, and also the Emperour gaue him much, to honour him as a most bountifull and gratefull King, who neuer taketh away that which once he giueth. He likewise gaue vnto Cortez all the kingdome of Michuacan, but he had rather haue had diuers other townes which he demanded, many other great fauours and rewards he receiued at the Emperours hands, but the principall are those befoze declared.

The Mariage of Cortez.



When it was known in Spaine, that the lady Katherin Xuares, wife vnto Cortes, was deceased in India, by intercessours he was assured vnto the Duke of Bejar, his brothers daughter, who was named the lady Iane of Zuniga: her fathers name was Dō Carolus de Arrellano, earl of Aguilar. This lady was

a beſtfull Dame, and her brethren noble perſonages, who were highly in favour with the Emperour. And Cortes to match with ſo honorable an houſe and linage he iudged himſelfe fortunate and well married.

Among many Jewels which Cortes brought with him, were five moſte riche and fine Emeraldes, which were valued at a hundred and twenty thouſand Ducquets: the one was wrought like unto a Roſe, another like a Cornet, an other like a ſiſhe with the eyes of Golde, which was a marvellous peece of worke, being wrought among Indians: an other peece was wrought like unto a bell, with a great and riche pearle for the clapper, garniſhed with golde, ingrauen about with letters, which ſaide, Bleſſed is he that created thee. The fifth was made like a cuppe with the ſote of gold, and had foure little chaines of gold, that were ioyned all at the top together, in a great pearle, and the bezill of this cuppe was of gold, with this verſe ingrauen round about, *Inter natos mulierum non surrexis maior.* For this onely peece the Marchantes of Geneva did offer fourtie thouſand Ducquates, for to ſell the ſame againe to the great Turke. But at that time Cortes would not giue it for any money, although afterwarde he loſt them all in the warres of Argel, being there with the Emperour. It was told Cortes that the Empreſſe deſired to haue thoſe peeces, meaning to demaunde them of him, and that the Emperour ſhould pay for the ſame, for which cauſe he ſent them to the Lady his newe wife, with many other Jewelles befoze he came at the Courte, and there, when he was enquired for them, he answered, and excuſed himſelfe, for then certainly he gaue ſuch Jewels unto his Wiſpouſe, that the like neuer Lady had in Spaine. And after he was married to the Lady Iane of Zuniga, he departed with her to the newe Spaine, with title of Marques.

The riche
Emeraldes.

The Conquest of

How the Chancerie was first placed in Mexico,
and certaine diuelish pretences wrought
against Cortes.



Before Cortes his coming into Spaine, Pamfilo de Naruaez his old enemy, went by and downe in the Court, procuring the conquest of the riuer De Palmas and Florida, where at the last he died, and alwaies when he saw time couenient, he made complaints against Cortez, yea and to the Emperours owne hands he deliuered a scrole of many articles, among the which was one, where in he affirmed that Cortez had as many barres of golde 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 should be punished, saying that he had plucked out one of his eyes, and killed with poise the Licenciat Luys ponce de Leon, and Francisco Garay. Through his many and importunat petitions, it was determined to send to Mexico, Don Pedro de la Cueva, who was both sicke and seuer, and Loyd steward of the Emperour his house, and afterwarde made generall of the ordinance, and chiefe Comendadoz of the order and knightshood of Alcantara, who finding the accusation true, should cut off Cortez his hevd.

But as God would, in the meane season came the testimoniall from the Doctoꝝ Hoieda, & the Licenciat Pero Lopez phisitians, who had cured the persons that were reported to haue bene poisoned, wher vpon that commission ceased. And when Cortez came into Spaine, Don Pedro de la Cueva would many times laugh and jest with him, saying, From farre places long lies.

The Emperour and his counsell of India, provided a
Court

Court of Chancerie in Mexico, as chiefe place, where as all controuersies and matters of right throughout the new Spaine, might there bee determined, and also to correct the mutinies, and partes taken among the Spaniards: likewise to take residence and account of Cortes, and to bee satisfied both of his seruice and offences. Moreover that they should visite the officers, and royall Treasozie there. Nunio de Gulman was appointed president and gouernour, with other foure Licenciates for Judges to accompanie him. He departed toward Mexico, Anno. 1529. and at his comming, he began to vnderstand in his regiment and office, with the Licenciate Iohn Ortiz, for the other thre Judges died by the way. Cortez being no lve absent, and vppon his iourney towarde Spaine, this newe Judge made a terrible residence and condemnation against him, and commaunded all his goodes to be solde by out-thzappe, for a great deale lesse then his goodes were worth, and in his absence they called him by Proclamation: but if he had bene there present, his life had bene in danger, although face to face some respect is had, and it is an ordinarie rule that the Judge sheweth rigor against him that is absent. This hatred was not only against Cortes, but also against his friends, for hee apprehended Pedro de Aluerado, who was newly come from Spaine, because he spake in the fauour of Cortes, laying to his charge the rebellion of Mexico, when Naruaes was there. He also apprehended Alonso de Estrada, and many others, doing manifest wrongs vnto them.

Before the
Iudges came,
Cortez was
gone to Spain.

In short space the Emperour had more complaintes against Nunio de Gulman, and the other Judge, then had bene heretofore against any other, where vpon hee was put out of office in the yeare 1530. His wrongfull dealing in iustice was not onely pꝛoued in Mexico, but also in the Court of Spaine, with many persons that were come

The Conquest of

from thence, so that the next President and Judges that went thither, did pronounce Nunio de Gusman and his fellow for partiall Judges, and enemies vnto Cortes, and condemned him to pay all his goodes which were euill sold. But when Nunio de Gusman vnderstood that he was put out of office, he then was afraid, and toke his tourney against the Teuchichimecas, seeking after the Towne of Culhuacan, from whence the Mexicans descended. He carried in his companie five hundred Spaniards, whereof the most were horsemen, and many of them went as prisoners, and against their willes.

In Mechuacan he toke prisoner the king Caconcin, who was a great friend vnto Cortes, a seruitoꝝ vnto the Spaniards, and vallall to the Emperour, and as the same goeth, he toke from him ten thousand markes of plate, and much golde, and after ward burned him, and many other Gentle men, and principall persons of that kingdome, because they should not complaine, saying, that a dead dogge bitech not. He toke from thence five thousand Indians for the seruice of his armie, and with them conquered Xalixco, which is now called the netwe Gallizia. He abode there, vntill the Chizeroy Don Antonio de Mondoza, and Chancerie of Mexico, caused him to be apprehended, who sent him prisoner into Spain, to giue account of his office. If Nunio de Gusman had bene so good a gouernour and Judge, 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 Spaniards.

The same yeare that he came from Mexico, went thither for president Sebastian Ramirez, who was a Bishop, and had in time past bene president in Santo Domingo, and the Licentiates Iohn de Salmeron, Gasco Quiroga, Francisco Ceynes, and Alonso Maldonado, for Judges to accompanie him.

These

These Judges governed well the land, and caused the Citie of Angels to be inhabited, which the Indians called Cuertlaxcoapan, that is to say, a Snake in water. The reason was, because they haue two fountaines, the one of euil water, and the other of god. This Citie standeth twentie leagues from Mexico, in the high way to Vera Crux. The Bishop set the Indians at libertie, and therefore many Spaniards departed from thence, who had inhabited there before, and went to seeke their liuing at Calixco, Hnduras, Quahutemallan, and other places where warrs was.

The returne of Cortes to Mexico.

At this season arriued Cortes at the rich Towne of Vera Crux, and when his comming was published, how he came with tise of Barques, and had brought his wife with him, an infinite number of Indians came to visite him, and almost all the Spaniards of Mexico, so that in fewe dayes there came a thousande persons of his owne nation, who made their complaintes vnto him, how they were vndone, and that the Judges which had bene there, had destroyed both him & them, and asked his iudgement whether that nowe they might kill both them and theirs. Cortes hearing their odious request, reprobended them, and also gaue them hope shortly to relæue their necessitie with newe discoveries, and in this order fearing some mutinie, he held them in pleasure and pastime.

When the President heard how Cortes was visited of the Spaniards, they commaunded forthwith euery one of them should immediately returne to Mexico, or else where their dwelling places were vpon pain of death, yea, and they were about to apprehende Cortes for a stirrer
of

The Conquest of

of 1520, and to sende him backe againe prisoner into Spaine. But when he sawe how soone these Judges were moued, he commaunded to proclaime himselfe openly in Vera Crux, Capitaine Generall of all the dominions of the new Spaine, and there caused the Emperours letters patents to bee read, which thing being knowne to the Mexican Judges, it caused the to wyng their noses. After this diligence ended, he departed toward Mexico with a great company of Spaniards and Indians, among whom were a good company of horse men: but when he came to Tezcucoc, the President sent to commaund him not to enter into Mexico, vpon paine of losse of his goods, and his bodie to be at the kings pleasure.

Hee obeyed the commaundement with great wisdom, being a thing conuenient to the seruice of the Emperour, and profite of the land, which he had wonne with great toile and labour: but yet he abode in Tezcucoc with a greater maiestie and Court, then 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 Spaniards hee might assure himselfe.

The Indians vnderstanding the distoord betwixt the president and Cortes, such as many Spaniards as they coulde get at a vantage, so that in fewe dayes there wanted about two hundred of the Spanish nation, being slaine as well in Townes, as in the high wayes, yea and also they had communed among themselues to rebell in deede. But when the Bishop and the Judges heard this newes, they began to feare the matter, and considering that they had no better remedie, nor other sure defence, but only the name, valor, person and authoritie of Cortes, they sent to desire him to come vnto Mexico, where vpon hee obserued their commaundement and request, and went toward the Citie, well

well accompanied with men of warre, so that he the west himselfe in estate a generall Captaine. All the Citizens came out to receiue him and the lady Barques his wife: his entrie into the Citie was a day of great pleasure among them. Then the President and Judges entred into counsell for to remedie the great hurt which had bin done by the Indians. Cortes toke the matter in hand, and apprehended many Indians, of whome some hee burned, others were torne with dogs, he did such correction, that in short time all the Country was quiet, and the high waies without daunger, a thing wortie of great thanks.

The Letters that the Indians vsed
in Mexico.

There hath not bene founde Letters at any time in the West India, onely in the new Spaine were vsed certaine figures which serued for Letters, with the which they kepte in memozie, and perserued their antiquities. The figures that the Mexicans vsed for Letters are great, by reason whereof they occupie great volumes: they engraue them in stone or timber, and painte them vpon walles, and also vpon a paper made of cotten wool, and leaues of the tree Mecl. Their booke are great and folden by like vnto our boade clothes, and witten vpon both sides. There are some booke rolled vp like a peece of flannell. They pronounce not b, g, e, f. Therefore they vse much p, e, l, r. This is the Spanish speech, and Nahual, which is the best, plainest, and the most eloquent, in all new Spaine. There are some in Mexico that do vnderstand each other by whistling, which is ordinarily vsed among louers, and theues, a speech truly to wonder at, and none of our men could come to the knowledge thereof.

The Conquest of

The order how to reckon.

Cc	One
Ome	Two
Ei	Thre
Nau	Four
Macuil	Five
Chicoace	Six
Chicome	Seuen
Chicuei	Eight
Chiconau	Nine
Matlac	Tenne
Matlacthioce	Eleuen
Matlacthiome	Twelue
Matlacthiocei	Thirtene
Matlacthinau	Fourtene
Matlacthinacui	Fiftene
Matlactlichicoace	Sixtene
Matlactlichicome	Seuentene
Matlactlichicuei	Eightene
Matlactlichiconau	Ninetene
Cempoalli	Twentie

Every number is simple vntill you come to sixe, and then they count, sixe and one, sixe and two, sixe and thre. Ten is a number by himselfe, then you must count tenne and one, tenne and two, tenne and thre, tenne and foure, tenne and five.

Then you count, tenne, five, and one, tenne, five, and two, tenne, five, and thre. Twentie goeth by himselfe, and all the greater numbers.

The Mexican yeare.

The Mexicans yeare is three hundzeth sixtie dayes, for they haue in their yeare eightene moneths, and euery moneth containeth twentie dayes. They haue other five odde dayes, which goeth by themselves, in the which they vsed to celebrare great feastes of cruell and bloody sacrifice, with much deuotion. And reckoning after this sort, they could not chose but erre, for they could not make equall the punctuall course of the Sunne. For the Christian yeare is not perfit, although we haue learned Astronomers. But yet these simple Indians went neer the marke.

The names of the moneths.

- Tlacaxipeualiztli.
- Tozcutzli.
- Huei Tozcutzli.
- Toxcaltli.
- Ecalcoaliztli.
- Tocuilhuicintli.
- Hueitecuilhuicil
- Miccailhuicintli.
- Veymicailhuicil.
- Vchpaniztli.
- Pachtli.
- Huei Pachtli.
- Quecholli.
- Panquecaliztli.
- Hacemuztli.
- Titicli.
- Izcalli.
- Coa vitleuac

The Conquest of

The names of Dayes.

Cipactli	A Spade
Hecatli	Aire or Winde
Calli	A House
Cuez Pali	A Lizard
Coualt	A Snake
Mizquintli	Death
Macatl	A wilde Hart
Tochtli	A Conny
Atl	Water
Izcuyntli	A Dogge
Ocumatli	An Ape
Malinalli	A Wome
Acatli	A Cane
Ocelotl	A Tigre
Coautli	An Eagle
Cozcaquahuitl	A Bufard
Olin	A Temple
Tepatli	A Knife
Quiauitl	A Raine
Xuchitl	A Rose.

Although these twentie names serue for the whole yeare, and are but the daies of euery moneth, yet therfore euery moneth beginneth not with Cipactli, which is the first name, but as they followe in order, and the five odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also because their weeke is of thirtene dayes, which changeth the names, as by example, Cecipactli can go no further then vnto *Matlactlomeiacatl*, which is thirtene, and then beginneth another weeke: and we do not say *Matlactlinaui Ocelotl*, which is the fourteenth day, but we say *Ceocelotl*, which is one, and then reckon the other six names, vnto twentie.

And

And when all the twentieth dayes are ended, begin againe to reckon from the first name of the twentieth, but not from one, but from eight. And because ye may better vnderstand the matter, here is the example.

Cecipactli.

Omehécatl.

Ei Calli.

Nauí Cuezpali.

Macuilcouatl.

Chicoacem Mizquinth.

Chicome Macatl.

Chicuei Tochtlí.

Chiconauíatl.

Matlaciz Cuintli.

Mailactliocé Ocumatli.

Matlactliomé Malinalli.

Matlactliomé Acatl.

The next weeke following doth begin his dayes from one. And that one is the fourtéenth name of the moneth and of the dayes, and saith :

Ceotelotl.

Omecoautli.

Eicozcaquahuatlí.

Nauí Olui.

Macuil Tecpatl.

Chicoacem Quiauitl.

Chicome Xuchíel.

Chicuei Cipactli.

In this second weeke, Cipactli came to fall on the eight day, being in the first weeke the first day.

Cemácatl.

Ometochtlí.

Eíatl.

Nauí Mizquinth.

Macuil Ocumatli.

The Conquest of

And so procéde on to the thirde weeke, in the which this name Cipacli entred not, but Macatl, which was the seventh day in the first weeke, and had no place in the second, and is the first in the third. This reckoning is no darker then ours, which we haue in a. b. c. d. e. f. g. For they also change with time, and run in such sort, that a. which was the first letter of this moneth, cometh to be the fift day of the next moneth, and the thirde moneth he counteth to be the third day, and so orderly both the other fixe letters.

The accounting of yeares.

These Mexicans had another order to reckon their yeares, which exceeded not aboue foure in number, as one, two, thre, foure, wherewith they account a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they list. Those foure figures or names are, Tochli, Acatl, Tecpatl, Calli, and do signifie a Conny, a Cause, a knife, and a House, saying.

Ce Tochli	One yeare
Ome Acatl	Two yeares
Ei Tecpatl	Thre yeares
Nauí Calli	Foure yeares
Macuil Tochli	Five yeares
Chioacén Acatl	Sixe yeares
Cicome Tecpatl	Seuen yeares
Chicuei Calli	Eight yeares
Chiconauí Tochli	Nine yeares
Matlacli Acatl	Ten yeares
Matlacliocé Tecpatl	Eleuen yeares
Matlacliome Calli	Twelue yeares
Matlacliomei Tochli	Thirtene yeares

the vvest India.

375

So that the reckoning passeth not aboue thirtene,
which is one weeke of the yeare, and endeth where he
began.

Another weeke.

Ce Acatlh	One yeare
Ome Tlepatlh	Two yeares
Ei Calli	Thre yeares
Nauí Tochtli	Foure yeares
Macuil Acatlh	Five yeares
Chioacen Tecpatlh	Sixe yeares
Chicome Calli	Seuen yeares
Chicuei Tochtli	Eight yeares
Chiconauí Acatlh	Nine yeares
Matlaçtli Tecpatlh	Ten yeares
Matlaçtlioe Calli	Eleuen yeares
Matlaçtliome Tochtli	Twelue yeares
Matlaçtliomei Acatlh	Thirtene yeares

The third week of yeares.

Ce Tecpatlh	One yeare
Ome Calli	Two yeares
Ei Tochtli	Thre yeares
Nauí Acatlh	Foure yeares
Macuil Tecpatlh	Five yeares
Chioacan Calli	Sixe yeares
Chicome Tochtli	Seuen yeares
Chicuei Acatlh	Eight yeares
Chiconauí Tecpatlh	Nine yeares
Matlaçtli Calli	Ten yeares
Matlaçtliome Tochtli	Eleuen yeares
	Twelue

The Conquest of

Matlaçliome Acath	Twelue yeares
Matlaçliomei Tecpath	Thirtene yeares

The fourth Weeke.

Ce Calli	One yeare
Ome Tochtli	Two yeares
Ei Acath	Thre yeares
Nau Tecpath	Foure yeares
Macuil Calli	Five yeares
Chioçen Tochtli	Sixe yeares
Chicome Acath	Seuen yeares
Chieuei Tecpath	Eight yeares
Chiconau Calli	Nine yeares
Matlaçli Tochtli	Ten yeares
Matlaçlioe Acath	Eleuen yeares
Matlaçliome Tecpath	Twelue yeares
Matlaçliomei Calli	Thirtene yeares

Each of these weekes, which our men call *Indition*, doth containe thirtene yeares, so that all the foure weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfite number in the reckoning, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeares, to fiftie two yeares, they vsed to make solemne feasts, with straunge Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they begin againe, by the same order before declared, vntill they come to as many mo, beginning at Ce Tochtli, and so forward. But alwayes they begin at the Connyfigure. So that in the forme of reckoning they haue and haue in memorie, things of 850. yeares, and by this Cronicle they know in what yeare euey thing hapned, and how long euery king reigned: howe many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the government of the land.

The

The Indians beleueed that five ages were past,
which they called Sunnes.

The Indians of Culhua did beléue that the Gods had made the world, but they knew not how, yet they beléued that since the creation of the world foure Sunnes were past, and that the fift and last is the Sunne that now giueth light to the world.

They helde opinion that the first Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all liuing creatures perished like wise.

The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heauēes, with whose fall all liuing creatures were slaine, and then (said they) were manye Giances in that Countrey, and certaine monstrous bones, which our men found in opening of graues, by propoztion whereof, some should seeme to be men of twenty spannes high.

The third Sunne was consumed by fire, which 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, trees, yea and y^e mountaines and Rockes were blowen a sunder, but the linage of mankinde perished not, sauing that they were conuerted into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now reigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say, that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the world fell into darkenelle, and so remained for the space of five and twenty yeares continually, and at the fiftenth yeare of that fearefull darkenelle, the Gods did forme one inan and woman, who brought forth children, and at the end of the other tenne yeares, appeared the Sunne whiche was newly bozne vppon the figure of the Conny day, and there.

The Conquest of

therefore they begin their account of yeares at that day, and reckoning from the yeare of our Lord 1552 their age of 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 Cetochli, which is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day, of their fifth Sunne, but also they had the same order and vſe in the other four Sunnes which were paſt: but they let many things ſlip out of memorie, ſaying, that with the new Sunne, all other things ſhould be likewise new. They held also opinion, that three dayes after this laſt Sunne appeared, all the Goddes did die, and that in proceſſe of time the Gods which now they haue, and worſhip, were bozne. And through theſe falſe opinions, our Diuines did ſome conuert them to the knowledge of the true lawes of God.

The nation of the Indians called Chichimecas.

In the land now called new Spaine, are diuers & ſundry generations of people: but they holde opinion, that the ſtock of moſt antiquitie, is the people now called Chichimecas, which proceeded out of the houſe of Aculhuacan, which ſtandeth beyonde Xalisco, about the yeare of our Lord, 720. Many of this Generation did inhabite aboute the lake of Tenuchtilan, but their name ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they had no King; nor yet did builde either houſe or towne. Their onely dwellings was in caues in the mountaines. They went naked, they ſowed no kind of graine, nor vſed bread of any ſort. They did maintaine themſelues with rootes, hearbes, and ſilueſter frutes: and being a people cunning in ſhotting with the bowe, they killed

led Deare, Hares, Connies, and other beastes and foule, which they eate also, not sodden or roasted, but rawe, and dyed in the Sunne. They eate also Snakes, Lizards, and other filthy brasts, yea, and at this day there are some of this generation that vse the same diet. But although they liued such a bestiall life, and being a people so barbarous, yet in their diuinitish religion they were verie devout. They worshipped the Sunne, vnto whom they vied to offer Snakes, Lizards, and such other beastes. They like wise offered vnto their God all kinde of foule, from the degree of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They vied not sacrifice of manslaughter, noz had any Idoles, no not so much as of the Sunne, whom they held for the sole and onely God. They married but with one woman, and in no degree of kinred. They were a stout & a warlike people, by reason whereof they were Lords of the land.

The coronation of the kings of Mexico.

Although one brother was heire to another among the Mexicans, and after their deceasse, did inherite the Sonne of the eldest Brother, yet they toke no possession of the state or name of king, vntil they were appointed and crowned openly.

As soone as any king of Mexico deceased, and his funerals ended, then were called to Parliament the Lord of Tezcucoc, and the lord of Tacopan, who were the chiefe states, and then in order all other noble men, who owed any seruice to the Mexican Empire. And being come together, if any doubt of the inheritance of the Crowne hapened, then the matter was decided with all haste: then the newe king being knowne, he was stripped starke naked, except a cloath to couer his priue parts, and in this sorte was carried among them, to the great Temple

The Conquest of

of Vitzilopucheli with great silence, and without any toy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie whose office it was, ledde him vpp the staires of the Temple by the armes, and before him wente the Princes of Tezcucuo and Tlacopan, who that day did weare their robes of Cozonation, where vpon was painted their armes and title. Gerrie setue of the Laitie wente by into the Chappels, but onely those that were appointed to attire the newe king, and to serue in other Ceremonies, for all the restous stood vpon the steypes and belowe, to beholde the Cozonation. These Magistrates being aboute in the Chappell, came with great humillitie and reuerence, kneeling downe vpp their knees before the Idoll of Vitzilopucheli, and touched the earth with one finger and then kissed the same. Then came the high priest cloathed in his pontifical vestmentes, with many others in his company, who did weare surplisces: and without speaking any worde, they painted or coloured the Kings person, with ynke made for the purpose, as blacke as any cole. After this Ceremonie done, they blessed the annointed King, and spynckled him foure times with a certaine holly water, that was made at the time of conccration of the God, made of dowe or passe, with a spynckle made of boughes of Cane leaues, Ceder, and willew 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 that another blew, and both were painted with figures of dead mens skulles & bones. Then they put about his neck certaine laces, whereat did hang the armes of his Crowne. And behind his backe they did hang certaine litle bottels ful of powders, by vertue whereof he was deliuered from pestilence and diseases, according to their opinion: yea & therby witches, nor witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet euill meanne deceyue him. In fine,
with

The ointment.

with those reliques he was sure from all perill and daunger. Upon his left arme they bound a little bagge of incense, and then brought vnto him a chaffing dish of tinners made of the bark of an Oke tree. Then the king arose, and with his owne hande threw of the same incense into the chaffing dish, and with great reuerence brought the same to the God Vitzilopucheli, and after he had smoked him therewith, he satte him downe, then came the high Priest and toke his oath to maintaine the religion of the Goddes, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maintaine iustice, and not to agrauate any of his bassals or subiects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he should cause the Sunne to giue his light, the cloudes to yelde raine, the riuers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of graine, fruites, and other needefull hearbs and trees. These and many other impossible things the newe king 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, carried him downe againe. Then all the people cried, the Goddes preserve the newe king, and that he may raigne many yeares in health with al his people. But then some began to dance, other to play on their instruments, shewing outwardly their inward ioyes of heart. And befoze the king came to the foote of the steppes, all the noble men came to yelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faithfull subiectes, they presented vnto him feathers, strings of snail shells, Collers, and other Jewelles of golde and siluer, also mantels painted with death, & bare him company vnto a great hall within the compasse of the temple, and there left him. The king sitteth downe vnder his cloth of estate, called Tlacatecco, and in four daies departeth not out of the circuite of the temple, the which

The Conquest of

he spendes in prayers, sacrifice and penance, he eates then but once a day, and euery day he bathes himselfe, and againe in the night in a greate ponde of water, and then lettes himselfe blood in his eares, and senseth there with the god of Water, called Tlaloc: he likewise senseth the other gods, vnto whome he offereth bread, flowers, Papers, and little Canes, tied in the blood of his owne tongue, nose, handes, and other partes of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noble men to beare him company to his pallaice, with greate triumph and pleasure of all the Citie, but after his consecration fewe or none dare looke him in the face.

And now with the declaring of the rites and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings are crowned, I shall not neede to rehearse of other kings, for generally they all do vse the same order, sauing that other Princes goe not vnto the topp of the Temple, but abide at the foote of the Steppes to be crowned, and after their Coronation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at their returne to their countrey, they made many drunken feasts and banquets.

The opinion of the Mexicans concerning the Soule.



The Mexicans did beleue that the Soule was immortal, and that they receiued either toy or paine according to their desertes & liuing in this world, vnto which opinion al their religion vsd attaine, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They helde for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, & the chiefest place of glozy to be nere vnto the Sunne, where the soules of those which were
god

god men slaine in the warres, and those which were sacrificed were plac'd, no that all other sortes of euill persons their soules abode on þe earth, and were deuided after this sorte, childezen that were dead bozne went to one place, those which died of age or other diseale went to another, those which died of sudden death to another, those which died of woundes or contagious diseales went to an other place, those which were drowned went to another, those which were put to death for offence by order of Justice, as for robbery and adultery to another: Those which slew their fathers, mothers, wiues or childezen, to another place by themselves, also those who slew their maisters or any religious person went to another place: The common sorte of people were buried, but Lozdes and rich men had their bodies burned & their ashes buried. In their shroud they had a great difference, for many deade bodie's were buried better apparelled then when they were on liue. Women were shroud'd after another sort. And he that suffered death for adultery, was shroud'd like vnto the God of liachery, called Tlazoulteucl, he that was drowned like vnto the God of water named Tlacoc, and he that died with drunkenesse was shroud'd like vnto the God of wine called Ometocheli. But the souldier had an honorable shroud like vnto the attyre of Virzilopucheli, and the like order in all other sortes of deathes.

The buriall of Kings in Mexico.



When any King of Mexico happened to fall sicke, they used forthwith to put a visor vppon the face of Tezcatlipuca, or Virzilopucheli, or some other Idoll, whiche visor was not taken awaye, vntill

The Conquest of

untill they sawe whether the king did amend, or else die: But if he chanced to die, then word was sent throughout all his dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the noble men that were his mightest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure dayes to come vnto his buriall.

The dead bodie was laid vpon a faire matre, and was watched foure nights, with great lamentation and mourning: then the bodie was washed, and a locke of haire cut from the croone of his head, which was preserved as a great relieke, saying that therein remained the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put in his mouth, and his bodie shrowded in seuentene riche mantles, of colours, both rich and costly wrought. vpon the upper mantle was sette the deuise or armes of Vitzilopuchli or Tezcalipuca, or some other Idoll, in whome the King had great confidence in his life time, and in his temple should the body be buried. vpon his face they put a visor, paynted with foule and Diuellish figures, besette with many Jewelles, precious stones, and pearles. Then they killed his slaue, whose office was to light the Lampes, and make fire vnto the Goddess of his Ballaice. These things done, they carried the dead bodie vnto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others sung the death of the King by note, so; so was the custome.

The Noble men and Gentlemen of his household carried Targets, Arrows, Bases, and Ensignes to throwe into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie receiued him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after hee had saide certaine words, the bodie was throwne into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the Jewels that hee had about him, and all the other things which was brought

brought to honour the buriall: also a dogge newly strangled with an Arrowe, which was to guide him his way. In the meane while that the King and dogge were burning, the Priestes sacrificed two hundred persons, howbeit in this Ceremonie there was no ordinary fare, for sometimes they sacrificed many more: they were opened with a rasour of stinte in the breastes, and their hearts taken out and throwne into the fire where the Kings bodie was. These miserable persons being sacrificed, and their bodies throwne into a hole, they believed assuredly that those should serue for his slaves in another world: some of them were Dwarfes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead bodie of the King besoze his buriall, Roses, Floures, and sundry dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durst touch the same, but onely the Priestes, for it seemed to be an offering.

The next day following, all the ashes were gathered together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the which things were put into a chest, paynted on the inside with horrible figures of diuels, and the locke of haire which was cut from his crowne, and another locke of haire which was preserved from the time of his birth. When the chest was lockt, an an image of wood made and cloathed like vnto the kings person, which was set on the toppe of the chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the which the wiues and daughters of the king offered great offerings at the place where his bodie was buried. and besoze the chest and his image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fiftene slaves were sacrificed for his soule, and on the twentieth day, or ther sine persons were also sacrificed, likewise on the sixtie thre, and fourescore, which was lyke vnto the yeares minde.

The order of buriall of the Kings of
Michuacan.

The 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 such extremitie, y^e hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Whisitions, the would he name and appoint which of his Sonnes should inherit the estate, and being knowne, the new king or heire, incontinent sent for all the gouernours, Captaines, and valiant souldiours, who had any office or charge to come vnto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thence, forth was helde for a Traytour and so punished. When the death of the olde King was certaine, then came all degrees of Estates and brought presents to the newe king, for the approbation of his kingdome, but if the King were not thoroughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter, and when his life was departed, then beganne a generall rrie and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead king lay, and to touche him with their handes: this being done, the carhaffe was washed with swete waters, and then a fine shirte put vpon him, and a paire of shoes made of a Deere skinne put on his feete, and aboute his ancles were tied certaine belles of golde, about his wrystes of his handes were put Spangyllias of Turkes, and other bracelets of golde, likewise aboute his necke they hung other collers of precious stones and golde, and rings in his eares, with a greate Turke in his neather lippe. When his body was laide vpon a large beare, whereon was placed a good bedde vnder him: on his one side lay a bowe with a quiver of arrowes, and on his

his other side lay an image made of fine mantels of his owne stature or highnesse, with a greate tuffe of fine feathers, shoes vpon his fete, with byacelets, and a collar of gold. While his worke was a doing; others were busied in washing the men and women whiche shoulde be slaine for to accompany him into Hell: these wretched folke that shoulde be slaine were banqueted & filled with drinke, because they shoulde receiue their death with lesse paine. The newe king did appoint those who shoulde die for to serue the king his father, but yet many of them had rather haue bene without his seruice, notwithstanding some simple soules esteemed that ominous death for a thing of immortal glozy. First, seuen Gentle women of noble parentage were appointed to die, the one to haue the office of keeper of his iewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of cup-bearer, another to giue him water with a basin and ewer, another to giue him alwaies the bynall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serue for laundresse. They slewe also many woman slaues, and free maydens, for to attend vpon the Gentle women, and mozeouer, one of euery occupation within the cite. When all these that were appointed to die were washed & their bellies full with meate & drinke, then they painted their faces yellowe, and put garlandes of swete flowers vpon each of their heads. Then they went in order of procession before the beare wheron the dead king was carried, some wente playing on instrumentes made of snaille shelles, others went whistling, and the most part weeping: the sonnes of the dead king & other noble men carried vpon their shoulders the beare where his corse lay, & proceeded with an easie pace towarde the Temple of the God Curicaueri: his kinsmen went round about the beare, singing a sorrowfull song. The officers and household seruants of the Court w other

Magistrates and rulers of iustice bare the Standarts and diuers other armes.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesaide, out of the kings pallace, with great light of fire brandes, and with a heauie noyle of trumpets and drummes. The Citizens which dwell where the coise passed, attended to make cleane the stréete. And when they were come to the temple, they went foure times rounde about a great fire made of the wood of Vine tree, which was prepared to burn the dead bodie: then the beare was laide vpon the fire, and in the meane while that the bodie was burning, they mawled with a clubbe those which had the garlandes, and after ward buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behinde the temple.

The next day in the morning, the ashes, bones and Jewels, was gathered & laide vpon a rich mantle, the which was carried to the temple gate, where the priests attended to blesse those diuinitie relickes, whereof they make a doctour or passe, and thereof an image which was apparelled lyke a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sorts of Jewels that the dead king was wont to weare, so that it seemed a gallant idoll. At the foote of the temple staires, they opened a graue ready made, which was square, large, and two fadom déep, it was also hanged with new mats round about, and a faire bed therin, in the which a religious man placed the idoll made of ashes, with his eyes toward the East part, and hung round about the walles, Targets of gold and silver, with bow and arrowes, and many gallant tuftes of feathers, with earthen vessels, as pottes, dishes, and platters, so that the graue was filled vp with house hold stuffe, chests couered with leather, apparell, iewels, meate, drinke, and armor. This done, the graue was shut vp, and made sure with beames, boards, and flozed with earth on the toppe.

the vvest India.

389

All those Gentlemen which had serued or touched any thing in the buriall, washed themselves, and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings house without any table, and hauing dined, they wiped their hands vpon certaine lockes of Cotten woll, hanging downe their heads, and not speaking any woꝛde, except it were to aske soꝛ drinke. This Ceremonie endured five dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the City, except in the kings house and temples, noꝛ yet any coꝛne was ground, or market kept, noꝛ none durst go out of their houses, shewing all the soꝛow that might be possible soꝛ the death of their king.

The order of Matrimony among the Indians.



In Tlaxcallan and many other cities, was vsed a principall ceremonie and token of mariage, that the Bridegrome and his Bride, agaynst the day of mariage, had their heades polled, which was to signifie, that from that day soꝛwarde, all childish orders shoulde bee laide aside, and from that time ne we

haire might grow, to declare another kinde of life. The chiefe knot of mariage vsed in Michuacan, was, that the Bride doe looke directly vpon her spouse, soꝛ other wise the matrimonie was not perfecte, noꝛ available.

In Mixteopan which is a great prouince, they vse to carrie the Bridegrome to be married vpon their backs, which is to be vnderstande, that he goeth against his will, but yet they take handes, in token that the one shall helpe the other, and then they knit both their mantels together with a great knot, signifying that they ought continually, while life lasteth, to dwell together.

The Conquest of

The Indians called Macatecas, consume not their Patrimoine in twentie dayes after their marriage, but abide in fasting and prayer all that while, sacrificing their bodies, and anointing the mouthes of the Idols with their owne proper blood.

In Panuco the husbandes buy their wiues for a boy, two arrowes, and a nesse, and afterward the father in laue speaketh not one worde to his sonne in laue for the space of a whole yeare. And when the husband happeneth to haue any childe, he lieth not any moze with his wife in two yeares after, for feare least she might be with childe againe befoze the former childe were out of daunger, although some doe sucke vntill twelue yeares of age, and for this consideration they haue many wiues. Like wise there is an order among them, that no woman may touch or bzeise any thing being with their menstruall ordinarie.

Diuorcement was not permitted without a iust cause and authoritie of Justice, among those who were openly married, but the other sort might be as easily forsaken as taken.

In Mechuacan was not permitted any diuorcement, except the partie made a solemne oath, that they looked 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 barren, soule, and of a naughtie condition: but if they put away their wiues without order and commaundement of the Judge, then the haire of the offenders head is burned in the market place, as a shame or punishment of a man without reason or wit.

The paine of adulterie was death, as well for the man as the woman: but if the adulterer were a Gentleman, his head was decked with feathers after that he was hanged, and his bodie burned, and for this offence was no pardon,

parbon, eyt her for man or woman, but for the auoiding of adulterie, they doe permit other common women, but no ordinarie kewe.

Of the Iudges and order of Iustice.

In Mexico were twelue Iudges, who were all noble men, graue, and well learned in the Mexican lawes. These men liued onely by the rents that properly appertaine to the maintenancie of Iustice, and in anie cause iudged by them, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale vnto other twelue Iudges, who were of the princes blood, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were maintained at the Kings owne cost and charges. The inferior Iudges came ordinarily once euery moneth to consult with the higher. And in euery fourescore dayes came the Iudges of euery Province within the Mexican Empire, to consult with the Iudges of Mexico, but all doubtful causes were reserved to the King, onely to passe by his order and determination. The Painters serued for notaries, to paint all the cases which were to be resolved, but no sute passed aboue fourescore dayes without finall end and determination. There were in that citie twelue Sergeants, whose office was to arrest, and to call parties befoze the Iudges. Their garments were painted mantels, wherby they were knowne a farre off. The prisons were vnder ground, moyst and darke, the cause wherof, was to put the people in feare to offend. If any witnesse were called to take an oath, the order was, that he should touch the ground with one of his fingers, and then to touch his tongue with the same; which signified that he had sworne and promised to speake the troth with his tong, taking witnes therof, of y^e earth which did maintaine him. But some do interpret the oath, y^e if the partie swaue
not

The Conquest of

not true, that then he might come to such extreme, as to eate earth. Sometime they name and call vpon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

The Judge that taketh bribes or gifts, is forthwith put out of his office, which was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproch. The Indians did affirme that Necualpincintli did hang a Judge in Tezcucoc, for giuing an vnjust sentence, he himselve knowing the contrarie. The murder is executed without exception.

The woman with childe that wilfully casteth her creature, suffereth death for the same, because many women did voluntarily vse that fact, knowing their children could not inherite. The punishment of adulterie was death.

The Thiefe for the first offence, was made a slaue, and hanged for the second. The traitor to the king and common weale, was put to death with extreme torments.

The woman taken in mans apparell died for the same, and likewise the man taken in womans attire. Every one that chalengeeth another to fight, except in the wars, was condemned to die. In Tezcucoc the sinne of Zodomie was punished with death, and that law was instituted by Necualpincintli, and Necualcoio, who were Judges, which abhorred that filthy sin, and therefore they deserved great praise, for in other prouinces that abhominable sinne was not punished, although they haue in those places common feloes, as in Panuco.

The order of cruell Sacrifice vsed among the Indians.

At the ende of euery twentie dayes, is celebrated a festiual feast called Tonalli, which falleth continually the last day of euery month, but the chiefest feast in the yere, when most men are sacrificed & eate, is at the

the ende of euery fiftie two yeares. But the Tlaxcaltecas and other common weales, do celebrate this feast euerye fourth yeare.

The last day of the first moneth is called Tlacaxipeualiztli, on the whiche day were slaine a hundred slaues, which were taken in the warres, and after the sacrifice, their flesh was eaten in this order. All the Citizens, gathered themselues together in the high Temple, and then the Ministers or Priestes came and bled certaine ceremonies, the which being ended, they toke those which were to be sacrificed, by one and one, and laid them vpon their backs vpon a large stone, and then the slaue being on liue, they opened him in the bzeast, with a knife made of flinte stone, and toke out his heart, which they threw immediately at the foote of the Altar, as an offering, and anointed with the fresh bloude, the face of the God Vitzilopuchtli, or any other Idoll. This done, they pluckt off the skinnes of a certaine number of them, the which skinnes so many auncient persons put incontinent vpon their naked bodies, all freshe & bloudy, as they were seane from the deade carkasses. And being open in the backe part and shoulders, they used to lace them, in such sorte that they came fitte vpon 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 honoz the feast, and an infinite number followed him to behold his terrible iecture, although some hold opinton that they followed him to contemplate his greate deuotion. After the sacrifice ended, the owner of the slaues did carry their bodies home to their houses, to make of their flesh a solemne feast to all their friends, leauing their heades and hartes to

The Conquest of

the Priestes, as their dutie and offering. And the skinned were filled with cotten wolle, or straws, to be hung in the temple, and kings pallaces, for a memorie.

The slaves when they went to their sacrifice, were apparelled in the habite or deuise of the Idol vnto whom each of them did commend himselfe: and mozeouer they decked them with feathers, garlandes and floures. Many of these sort of people, do goe to the slaughter with ioyfull countenance, dauncing, demanding almes thzough the Citie for their sacrifice, all the which almes is due vnto the priestes. When the graine cozne was a foote aboue the ground, they vsed to go vnto a certain hil which was appointed for such deuotion, and there sacrificed two children, a boy, and a girle of thze yeres of age, to the honoz of Tlaloc god of water, beseeching him theretoz deuoutlye, to haue alwaies a care to prouide them water: these children were free bozne, and theretoz they hartes were not taken out of their bodies, but after that their thzots were cut, their bodies were wazpped in a new matel, and then buried in a graue of stone.

The feast of Tozoztli was, when the fieldes of Maiz were growen two foote high, then a certaine summe of merchandise was gathered among the dwellers in the Motone, wherewith were bought foure little slaves betwixt the age of five and seuen, and they were likewise sacrificed to the god Tlaloc, for continuall houres 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 yeares space it rained not, in the which season the springs were dzed vp, and all graine things perished: wheretoz they were forced to leaue the countrey, and went to inhabit at Nicaragua. In the moneth and feast of Hueitoztli, when the cozne fieldes of Maiz waxed ripe, then c
ury

uery one in generall gathered his handfull of Maiz, and brought it vnto the temple for an offering, with a certaine dzinke called Atuli, whiche is made of the same Maiz. They brought also the swæte gum Copalli to sence the gods which do cause the cozne to growe: and also that night they ceased not dauncing without dzunkenesse. At the beginning of summer they celebrate an other feast called Tlaxuchimcaco, with all kinde of Rholes and swæte floures that might be gotten, and thereof they vsed to make garlandes to set vpon the Idols heades, and so spent all that day in dauncing. And to celebrate the feast called Tecuilhuicli, al the gentlemen, and pzincipall persons of ech pzouince, do come vnto the Citie, on the euening of the feast, and then they apparell a woman with the atire of the Gods of salt, who daunced among a great company of her neighbours. But on the nexte day she was sacrificed with all the Ceremonies and solemnitie accustomed, and all that day was spent in great deuotion, burning of incense in the fire pannes of the temple.

The merchants who had a temple by themselves dedicated to the god of gaines, made their feast vppon the day called Miccaihuitl, wherein they slewe many slaues in sacrifice, which they had bought, and banqueted that feast with mans flesh, dauncing all the day. The feast of Vchpanizch they sacrificed a woman, and afterwarde her bodie was slaine, and her skinne put vppon an Indians backe, who daunced two dayes a row with al the townsmen, which were apparellled in their best attire to celebrate h feaste. The day of Hatamutzch the feast is kept in Mexico, where they enter into h lake w a greate nûber of Canoas, & there they dzowen a boy & a girle in a little boat, which they cause to be sunke, in suche sozte, that neuer after that boat appeareth again: & they hold opinion that

The Conquest of

those childzen were in company with the Goddesses of the lake. So that, that daye was spent in feasting in the temples, and anointing the Idols chékes, with gum called Vili. There were some Images that had their faces two inches thicke with that gum.

The order of certaine religious women.



P the backe side of euerye greates Temple, in euerye Cittie was made a greates Hall of lodging, standing alone, where as many womē did eate, drinke, lodge, and leade their liues. And although such houses had no orders, they abode there sure inough.

These woman which lay in the houses of the Goddesses, were of sundry intentions. But none of them came to abide there al their life time, although among them were some olde women. Some entered into those religious houses being sicke and diseased, hoping thre to recouer they health: others came thither thzough pure náde, and necessitie, to be there relieved: other some came thither to be god and vertuous: and some entered into the religion, hoping that the Goddesses woulde giue vnto them riches, and long life. But generallye their comming thither was, to haue god husbandes, and manye childzen: eche one of them vnder the time that she would ordment 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 from others.

Their

Their offices were to spinne cotten woll and feathers, and to weaue cloth, for to apparell the Goddes and themselves, to sweep the yarde and lodgings in the temple (for the stazes and high chappels, the ministers themselves did make cleane) they vsed also to let them blood in certain partes of the body, to offer to the Diuellish Idols. On euery festiual day they went on procession with the pyelles, but it was not lawfull for them to presume to go vpp the staires of the temple, nor yet to sing. They liued on almes, for their kinnsolke being rich, did maintaine them with almes as a charitable seruice done vnto the Goddes: their soue was boyled fleshy, and hote bread, to the intent that they should offer thereof to the Goddes, that they might tast of the smoke of that victual: they vsed to eate in communitie, and lay altogither in one dormitorye, as a flocke of sheepe: they lay alwaies in theyr clothes, for honestie sake, and also to be the sower ready in the morning to serue the Gods, & to go to their worke. And yet I know not why they should 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 whozedom, then both the man and the womā were slain, yea they beléued that all suche offenders fleshe would 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 all the while that they aboade there.

The Conquest of

How the Diuell appeared to the Indians.



He Diuell did many times talke with
 the Priestes and with other rulers and
 perticular persons, but not with all sort
 of men . And vnto him to whome the
 Diuel had appeared, was offered and pre-
 sented great gifts. The wicked spirit ap-
 peared vnto them in a thousand shapes, and fashions, and
 finally hee was conuersant and familiar among them
 verie often. And the fooles thought it a great wonder,
 that Gods would be so familiar with mortall men. Yea
 they not knowing that they were Diuels, and hearing
 of them many thinges befoze they had happened, gaue
 great credite and beleafe to their illusions and deceits.
 And because he commaundered them, they sacrificed such
 an infinite number of creatures . Likewise, hee vnto
 whom hee had appeared, carried about him painted, the
 likenesse wherein he shewed himselfe the first time. And
 they painted his image bypon their dozes, benches, and
 euerie corner of the house . And as he appeared in sun-
 dyie figures and shapes, euen so they painted him, of infi-
 nite fashions, yea and some foule, grieuie and fearefull to
 beholde, but yet vnto them, it seemed a thing delectable.
 So this ignozaunt people giuing credite to the condem-
 ned spirite, were growne euen to the highest hill of cru-
 ellie, vnder the coloz of deuout and religious persons, yea
 they had such a custome, that befoze they would eate or
 drinke, they would take a little quantitie, and offer it vn-
 to the Sunne and to the earth. And if they gather cozne,
 fruite, or roies, they would take a lease befoze they would
 smell it, and offer the same, and he that did not obserue
 these and such other ceremonies, was iudged one that had
 not

not God in his heart, yea, and (as they say) a man out of Gods fauour.

The Viceroyes of *Mexico*.



The greatnesse of the newe Spaine, the Haieitie of *Mexico*, and the qualitie of the conquerours, required a man of notable blond to gouerne, whereupon the Emperour sent thither Don Antonio de Mendosa, brother vnto the Marques de Moniar, for Viceroy, at whose arriuall there returned from thence Sebastian Camires, who had gouerned that countrey with great discretion, and worthy commendation. In recompence whereof the Emperour made him President of the Chancerie of Vallodolid, and Bishop of Culuca. Don Antonio de Mendosa, was appointed viceroy in the yeare 1534. who carried with him many artificers verie expert in their sciences, likewise through his intercession, a money house was erected in *Mexico*: he also caused silke to be made and brought in that countrey, and planted many Pulberie trees for the same, Although the Indians little care for such things through their slothfulnes and great liberty. This viceroy Dou Antonio, called all the Bishops, Cleargie, and learned men together, to consult vpon ecclesiasticall matters, which tended to the doctrine of the Indians. At that instant was decreed, that the Indians should be instructed onely in the Latin song, which they learned very wel, and also the Spanishe song. They learned the Musicke with god will, especially the flaute: their voyces are not good for the pycke song. At that season was also decreed, that no Indian should take order of Priesthood.

The

The Conquest of

The viceroy Don Antonio, built certaine townes with Romaine pillars, in honoz of the Emperour, and caused his name to be grauen in Marble. He also began the Key or wharfe in the porte of Medellin, a costly and necessarie worke: he also reduced the Chichimecas to ciuill lining: he spent much mony in the entraunce of Sibola, without any profit, and also thereby remained an enimie to Cortes. He likewise discovered much land on the south coast nere Xalixco: he sent also shippes to Molluca, for spices, which were lost: he behaued himselfe very prudently, in the rebellion time of the Indians of Piru.

The Emperour commaunded him afterwarde to goe into the Piru for viceroy, considering the Licenciat Gasca, who gouerned there, was returned into Spaine, and likewise hauing vnderstood his good gouernement in the new Spaine, although some complaintes were made of him. It grieued Don Antonio de Mendosa, to depart from the newe Spaine, where he found himselfe well beloued among the Indians, who had cured him of sundry diseases with bathes of Hearbes, where befoze he was starke lame, and also possessed of lands, Cattle, and other riche things, which he was loth to leaue. Likewise he desired not to haue to deale with other newe men, whose conditions he knew not, although he knewe that the Piruleros were stubbozne and burly fellows. But of necessitie he was compelled to take that iourney by lande from Mexico to Panama, which standeth five hundred leagues distant, in the yeare 1551. And that yeere came Don Luys de Valasco for viceroy to Mexico, who was a Gentleman wise and discret in his gouernement. The office of viceroy in the newe Spaine, is a charge of great honoz and profit.

The conversion of these Indians, doubtless your god will
 be pleased to see, and will give you strength to respect the
 way of the Lord, and to walk in the same.

How greatly are those Indians bound to praise
 God, who being servants of Satan, and lost sheepe,
 yet it pleased the goodnesse of the almightie to haue
 compassion of them, who hath giuen them light to
 come of darkenesse, and brought them to the knoweledge
 of their cruell and abhorrible life, and hath now giuen
 vnto them the holy Ghost in baptisme: oh most happie
 Cortez, thy paines was well imploied, yoh valiant Con-
 querozs, your names shall liue for euer: I am now bolde
 to say, that all that lande which is conquered in the newe
 Spaine, the people therof are generally conuerted vnto the
 faith of Iesus Christe: oh what a great felicitie is it vnto
 those blessed Kings who were the beginners there of.

Some doe saye, that in the newe Spaine onely are con-
 uerted Christians five Millions. Others hold opinion of
 eight Millions. And other some doe assuredly affirme,
 that aboute ten Millions are Christened. But in conclu-
 sion, I am assured, that within the limittes of foure hun-
 dred leagues, there are none vnchristened.

The conuersion began with the Conquest, but with the
 diligence in prosecuting the warres, little good was done,
 vntill the yeare 1524. and then the matter went forward
 effectually, by reason that certaine learned menne wente
 thither for the same purpose.

At the beginning it was a troublesome thing to
 teach them, for wante of vnderstanding the one of the o-
 ther, wherefoze they procured to teache the childzen of
 Gentlemen which were most aptest; the Spanishe tong,

The Conquest of

and they likewise learned the Mexican sp  che, in the which language they daily preached. It was at the first a painfull thing to make them leaue those Idols in whome they had euer bel  ued, yea and the diuell gaue them cruell warres in spirite, and many times, in appearing in diuers formes vnto them, threating, that if they did call vpon the name of Iesus Chzist, it should not raine, and that all their delight and pleasure should bee taken from them; pzouoking them still to rebellion against the Chzistians, but his wicked counsell would not pzeuaile.

Thzough great punishment they haue left off the horrible sinne of Sodomie, although it was a great griefto put away their number of wiues.

There are now in the new Spaine eight Bishoppicks, wheresof one is an Archbishoppicke.

The death of Hernando

Cortes.



Here was a great contention betw  ene Hernando Cortes, and Don Antonio de Mendosa, the Vizeroy, as concerning the pzouince of Sibola, for each of them pretended a title vnto the same thzough the Emperors gift, the one by meanes of his office of Vizeroy, and the other by his office of Captaine Generall, vpon the which matter they grewe into such hatred, that perfect friendship could neuer after take place betw  ene them, although at the beginning they were familiar and louing friends: but mallice grew to suche extremittie, that each of them wrote vndercently against other, to the Emperour their maister, the which their doings, blemished both their credits.

Cortes

the west India.

303

Cortes went to lawe with the Licenciat Villa Lobos, the Kings Atturney, about certaine of his vassalls, and also the Azeroy assisted againste him as muche as hee might. Upon consideration wher of, he was enforced to come into Spaine in Anno. 1540. and brought Don Martin his sonne and heire, being a childe of eight yeares of age, and his sonne Don Luys, to serue the pzince: he came very rich, but not so rich as the first time. He entred into great friendship with the Cardinall Loaisa, and the Secretarie Cobos, but it pzeuailed not, for the Emperoz was gone into Flaunders about matters of Ganc.

In the yeare 1541. the Emperour personally went to the siege of Argel, with a mightie army, and Cortes with his two sonnes went also thither to serue him, with a good company of men and hozles, but it pleased God to raise by such a tempest, where with the most part of the flete perished. Cortes then being in the Galley of Don Henrike Enrikes, called the Esperanca, and fearing to lose his rich Emraldes and other Jewels, at the time that the Galley was dziuen by violence of weather vpon the shoze, he then bound about him the said fine rich Emraldes, esteemed in a hundzeth thousande Duckates, yet notwithstanding thzough the thzong of people, and haste to escape out of these and mire, the Jewels fell from him, who could neuer heare moze of them, so that the pzeient warres cost him moze then any other, except the Emperours maiestie, although Andrea de Oria lost eleuen Galleys.

But the losse of treasure græued him not so much, as the excluding him out of the Councell of the warres, whereas other yong Gentlemen of lesse knowledge and abilitie were accepted, which was a cause of great murmuring among the hosse. And where in the Councell of warre it was determined to leaue the siege and to depart, it græued many, where vpon Cortes made an open offer,

¶ ff 2

that

that he alone with the Spanish nation would presume to take Argell, having but the one halfe of the Tudecos and Italians, if it would please the Emperour to graunt vnto him the enterprife. The Souldiers on the land did highly commende his courage, but the Seamen would give no care vnto him, so that it is thought that the offer came not to the Emperours knowledg. Cortes went by and downe in the Courte a long season, being fore assisted, in a certaine sute about his bassals, and also the processe and allegations of Nunio de Guzman, laide vnto his charge in his residence. The whole processe was scene in the counsell of Indias, but the iudgemente was neuer pronounced which was a greate hartes ease for Cortes. And then he departed from the Courte toward Siwill, with determinate will to passe vnto the newe Spaine, and to ende his life in Mexico, and also to receiue the Lady Marie, Cortes his daughter, who was come from India, and promised in marriage vnto Don Aluar Perez Osorio, with a hundred thousand Duchetes in dowry, and her apparel, but the marriage toke no effecte, through the faulte of Don Aluar and his father.

He then fell sicke of a fluxe and indigestion, which endured long, so that on his iourney towarde the Citie of Siwill, he departed this transient life, in a little Village called Castilleia de La Cuesta, which standeth a mile from the citie of Siwill, on the second of December, Anno 1547. being thre score and thre yeares of age.

His body was deposited with the dukes of Medina Sidonia.

He left a sonne and thre daughters begotten of the Lady Iane de Zuniga, his wife, his sonne was called Don Martin Cortes, who did inherit his fathers estate, and was married vnto the lady Ana de Arellano, his cousin, daughter to the Countie, De Aguilar, by order of his father.

The

The daughters unto Cortes were named as folloiweth,
the Ladie Donca Maria, Donea Catelina, and Donea Iua-
na who was the yongest. He had another sonne by an In-
dian woman, and he was called Don Martin Cortez. He
had also another base sonne by a Spanish woman, who
was named Don Luis Cortes, & thre daughters by thre
seuerall Indian women.

Cortes built an Hospital in Mexico, and gaue order for
a Colledge to be also erected there. He built also a Tem-
ple in Coioacan, where he willed in his Testament that
bones should be buried at the charges of his Sonne and
heire. He situated foure thousand Duckets of rent, which
yeldeth yearely his houses in Mexico for the pur-
pose aforesaid, of the which foure thousande
Duckets, two thousand should be to
maintaine the Students in
the Colledge.

FINIS.



A Table expressing the
Chapters which are conteyned in
this Historie.

T He birth and linage of Hernando Cortez.	Fol. 1
The age of Cortez when he passed into India.	2
The time that Cortez abode in Santo Domingo	5
Things that happened to Cortez in the land of Cuba.	6
The discoverie of new Spaine.	10
Inuentorie of treasure that Grijalua brought	12
The determination of Cortez to prepare a fleete for discoverie.	16
The Nauie and men that Cortez carried to the Conquest.	20
Oration made by Cortez to his souldiers	24
The entrance of Cortez into the Iland of Acufamil.	25
The Indians of Acufamil gaue newes of bearded men.	29
A miraculous chaunce how Aguilar came to Cortez.	31
The Iland of Acufamil	35
Religion of the people of Acufamil.	40
Battell of Potoncan.	41
Battell of Cintla.	43
The Lord Tausco yeeldeth to the Christians.	46
Questions demaunded by Cortez of the Cacike Tausco.	48
Howe the Indians of Potonchan brake downe their Idols.	50
The good entertainment that Cortez had in Saint Iohn de Vihua.	51
The	

The Table.

The talke of Cortez with Teudilli.	55
The present by Mutezuma vnto Cortez.	58
How Cortez knew of discord in the Countrey.	61
How Cortez went to suruey the countrey with foure hundred men.	64
How Cortez rendred vp his office by policie.	67
How the souldiours chose Cortez for their Captaine generall.	69
The receiuing of Cortez into Zempoallan.	72
The talke of the Lord of Zempoallan with Cortez.	76
Things that happened vnto Cortez in Chiauitzlan.	80
The message sent by Cortez to Mutezuma.	83
Rebellion done by the industrie of Cortez.	85
The foundation of the rich towne of Vera Cruz.	88
The taking of Tizapanfinca.	90
The present that Cortez sent to the Emperor Charles for his fifth part.	92
Letters ingenerall from the Magistrates of Vera Cruz to the Emperour.	97
An vprore among the Souldiers against Cortez, & the correction for the same.	100
Cortez caused all his ships to be sunke, a worthie fact.	102
How the inhabitants of Zempoallan brake downe their Idols.	104
How Olintlec exalted the mightie power of Mutezu.	107
The first encounter that Cortez had with the men of Tlaxcallon.	112
How their ioyned a hundred and fiftie thousande men against Cortez.	116
The threatnings of the Indians campe agaynst the Spaniards.	120
How Cortez cut off the handes of fiftie espies.	124
The Embassage that Mutezuma sent vnto Cortez.	126
How Cortez wan the Citie of Zimpanzinco.	129
The	

The Table.

The desire that some of the Spaniardes had to leaue the warres.	132
The oration made by Cortes to his Souldiers.	133
Howe Xicotencatl came for Embassadour to Cortes his campe.	136
The receiuing of Cortes into Tlaxcallan.	136
Description of Tlaxcallan.	141
Answer of the Tlaxcaltecas touching the leauing of their Idols.	145
Discorde betwene the <i>Mexicans</i> and the Tlaxcaltecas.	147
Solemne receiuing of the Spaniards into Chololla.	148
The conspiracie of the Cholollans agaynst the Spaniards.	152
Punishment for conspiracie.	155
Sanctuarie among the Indians was Chololla.	158
The hill called Popocatepec.	160
The consultation of Mutezuma concerning the comming of Cortes into <i>Mexico</i> .	162
Things that happened to Cortes in his iourney towarde <i>Mexico</i> .	164
The solemne pompe wherewith Cortes was receiued into <i>Mexico</i> .	169
The oration of <i>Mutezuma</i> to the Spaniards.	172
The maiestie and order wherewith <i>Mutezuma</i> was serued at his table.	175
Footc plaiers that plaied before <i>Mutezuma</i> .	178
The tennis play in <i>Mexico</i> .	179
The number of wiues that <i>Mutezuma</i> had.	181
A house of foule which were onely preserued for the feathers.	183
A house of foule for hawking.	184
The armorie of <i>Mutezuma</i> .	186
The gadens of <i>Mutezuma</i> .	187
	The

The Table.

The court and guard of Mutezuma.	188
The great subiection of the people to their king.	189
The situation of Mexico.	192
The market place of Mexico.	196
The great temple of Mexico.	201
The Idols of Mexico.	204
The charnell house of Mexico.	206
How Cortez tooke Mutezuma prisoner.	207
The recreation of hunting which Mutezuma vsed.	212
How Cortes began to pluck down the Idols of Mexico.	214
The exhortation made by Cortes to Mutezuma and the citizens for the abolishing of Idols.	215
The burning of the Lord Qualpopoca & other Gent.	219
The cause of the burning of Qualpopoca.	220
How Cortes put a pair of Giues on Mutezuma his legs.	221
How Cortes sent to seeke for the mines of golde in diuerse places.	223
The imprisonment of Cacama king of Tezcuco.	227
The sorrowfull oration that Mutezuma made vnto his noble men, to yeeld them to the Emperour.	230
The gold and Jewels that Mutezuma gaue vnto Cortes for his first tribute.	233
How Mutezuma required Cortes to depart from Mex.	235
The feare that our men stand in to be sacrificed.	239
How Iames Velasques sent Pamfilo de Naruaes agaynst Cortez.	241
The substance of a letter that Cortes wrote to Naruaes.	244
The talke of Naruaes to the Indians, and his aunswere to Cortes.	246
The talke that Cortes had with his owne Souldiers.	249
The requests of Cortes to Mutezuma.	251
The imprisonment of Pamfilo de Naruaes.	252
The rebellion of Mexico.	256
The cause of the rebellion.	259
G g g	The

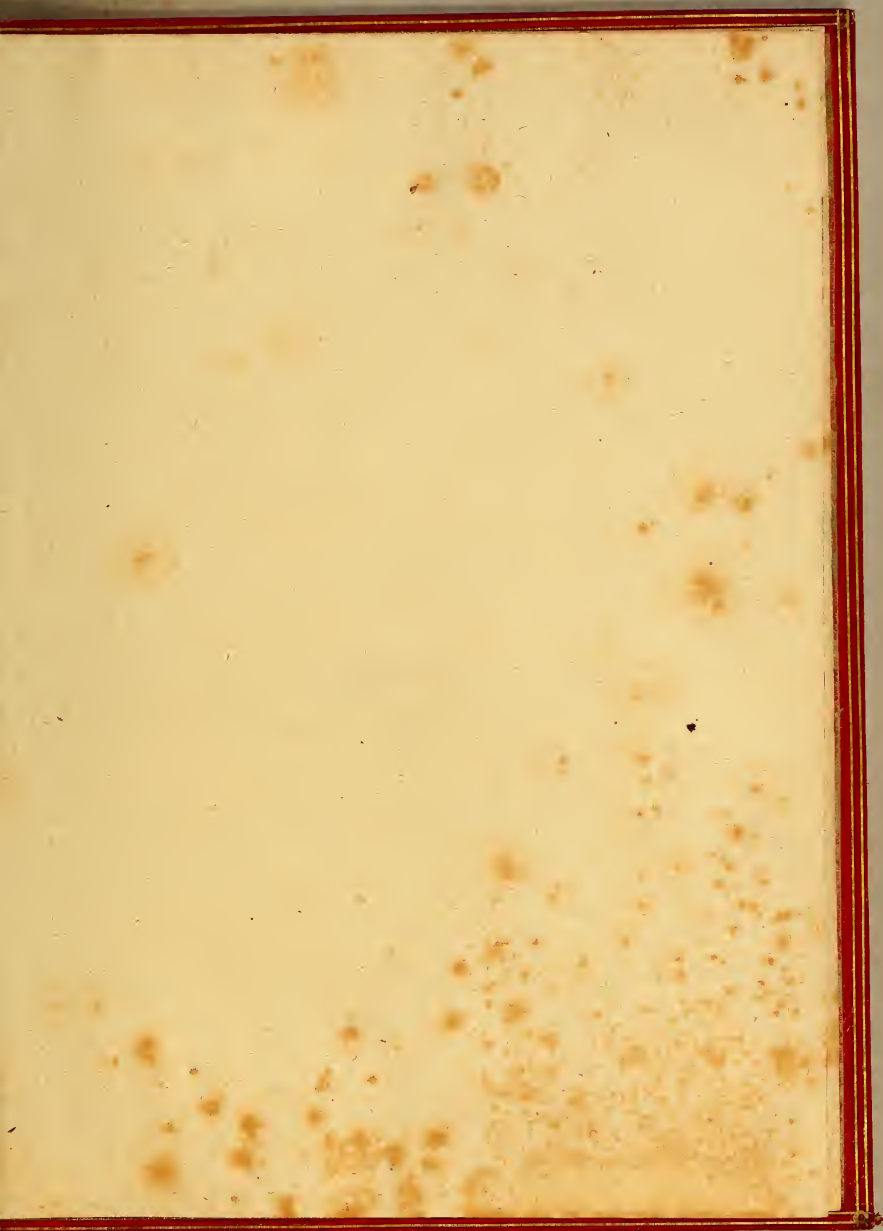
The Table.

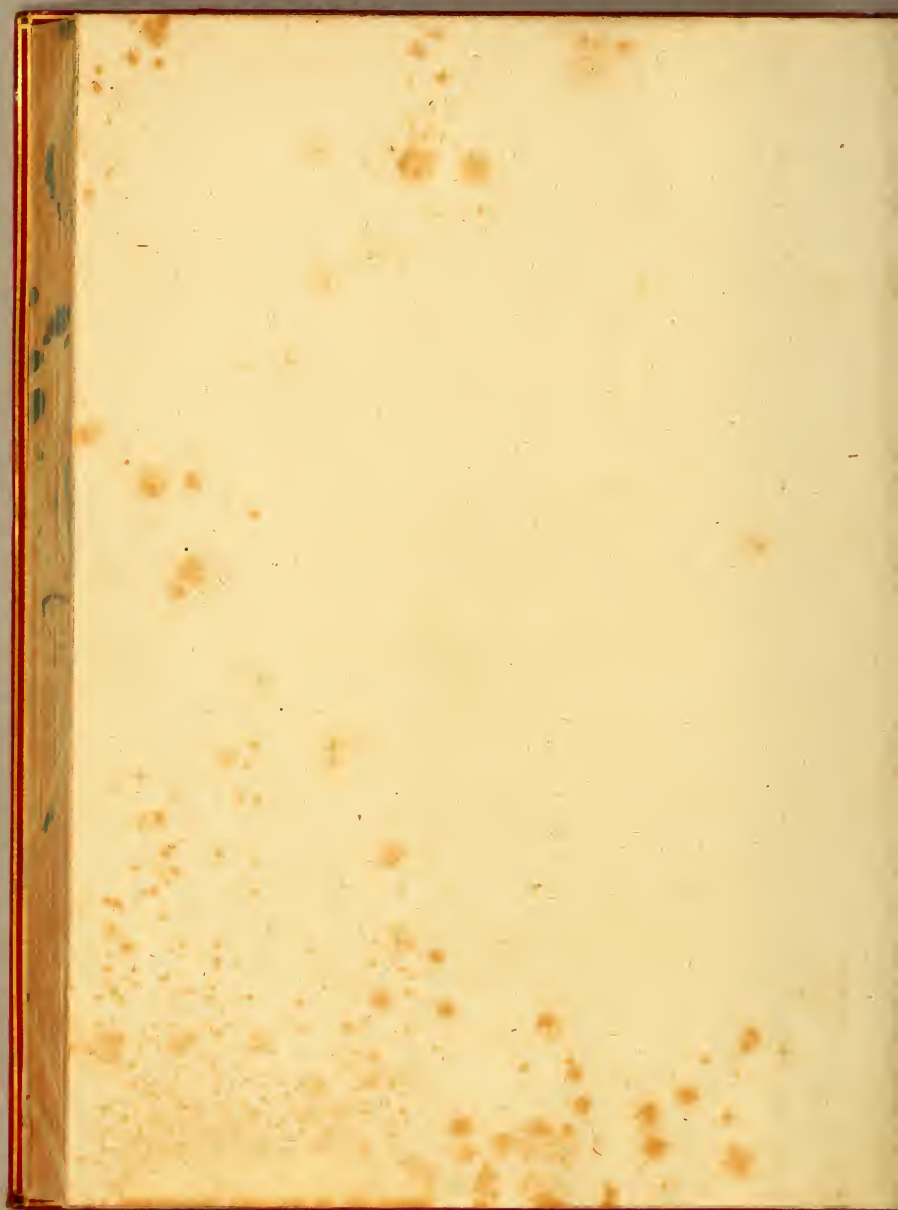
The threatnings of the Mexicās against the Spaniards.	261
Great danger that our men were put in by the strāgers.	263
The death of Mutezuma.	266
The combate betwene the Spaniards and the Indians.	268
How the Mexicans refused the offer of peace & amity.	271
How Cortez fled from Mexico.	274
Battell of Otumpan.	280
The entertainment of the Spaniardes at their returne to Tlaxcallan.	283
Protestation and request of the souldiers to Cortes.	286
An Oration made by Cortez in answer to his souldiers demaund.	289
Warres of Teptacac.	292
The great authority that Cortes had amōg the Indians.	294
The vergantines that Cortes caused to be built, & the Spaniards which he had to besiege Mexico.	296
Exhortation of Cortez to his souldiers.	298
Exhortation made to the Indians of Tlaxcallan.	301
How Cortez tooke Tezcuco.	302
Spaniards which were sacrificed in Tezcuco.	307
How the Vergantines were brought from Tlaxcallan to Tezcuco.	310
Of the docke or trench which was made to launch the vergantines.	311
Order of the host and army to besiege Mexico.	314
Battell and victorie of the Vergantines against the Canoas.	316
How Cortes besieged Mexico.	320
The first skirmish within the citie of Mexico.	322
Great hurt and damage in the house of Mexico by fire.	327
Things that happened to Pedro de Aluarado through his bold attempt.	329
Triumph and sacrifice which the Mexicans made for victorie.	331
	Deter-

The Table.

Determination of Cortes to destroy <i>Mexico</i> .	336
Hunger and infirmitie which the <i>Mexicans</i> suffered with great courage.	340
Imprisonment of Quahutimoc.	343
The taking of <i>Mexico</i> .	347
Marvellous signes & tokes of the destruction of <i>Mex.</i>	349
Building vp againe of the citie of <i>Mexico</i> .	351
Howe the Emperour sent to take account of Cortez his gouernment.	354
The death of the Licenciat Luis Ponce.	358
How Cortez came into Spaine.	359
The honor which the Emperor shewed vnto Cortes with reward.	361
The Marriage of Cortez.	362
How the Chancerie was first placed in <i>Mexico</i> .	364
The returne of Cortes to Mexico.	367
The letters which the Indians vsed in Mexico.	369
The Mexican yeare.	371
The Indians beleeued that siue ages were past, &c.	377
The nation of the Indians called Chichimecas.	378
The coronation of the kings of Mexico.	379
The opinion of the <i>Mexicans</i> concerning the soule.	382
The buriall of kings in Mexico.	383
The order of the buriall of the kings of <i>Michuacan</i> .	386
The order of matrimonie among the Indians.	389
Of the iudges and order of Iustice.	391
The order of cruel sacrifice vsed among the Indians.	392
The order of certaine religious women.	396
How the diuel appeared to the indians in a strage form.	398
The Viceroyes of <i>Mexico</i> .	399
The conuersion of the Indians.	401
The death of Hernando Cortes.	402

FINIS.





B596
L864p

