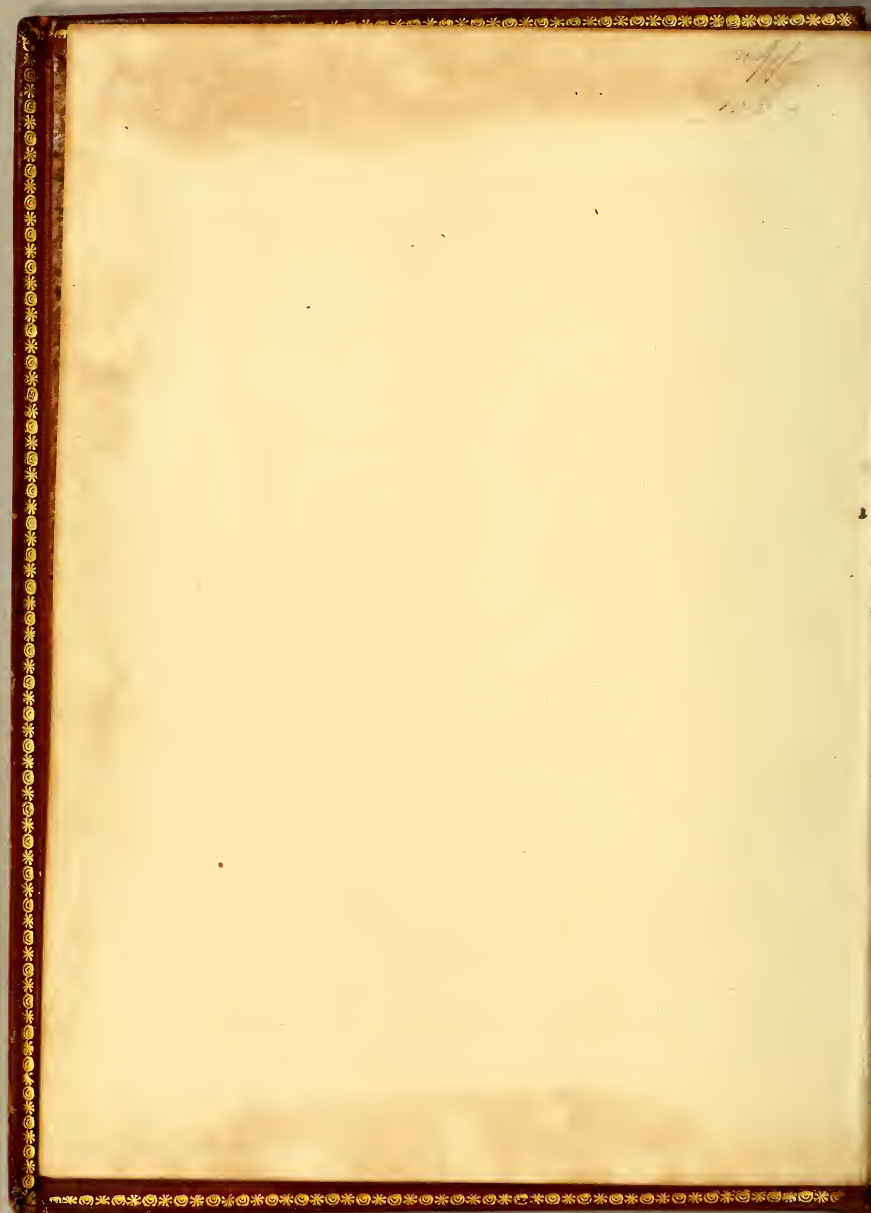
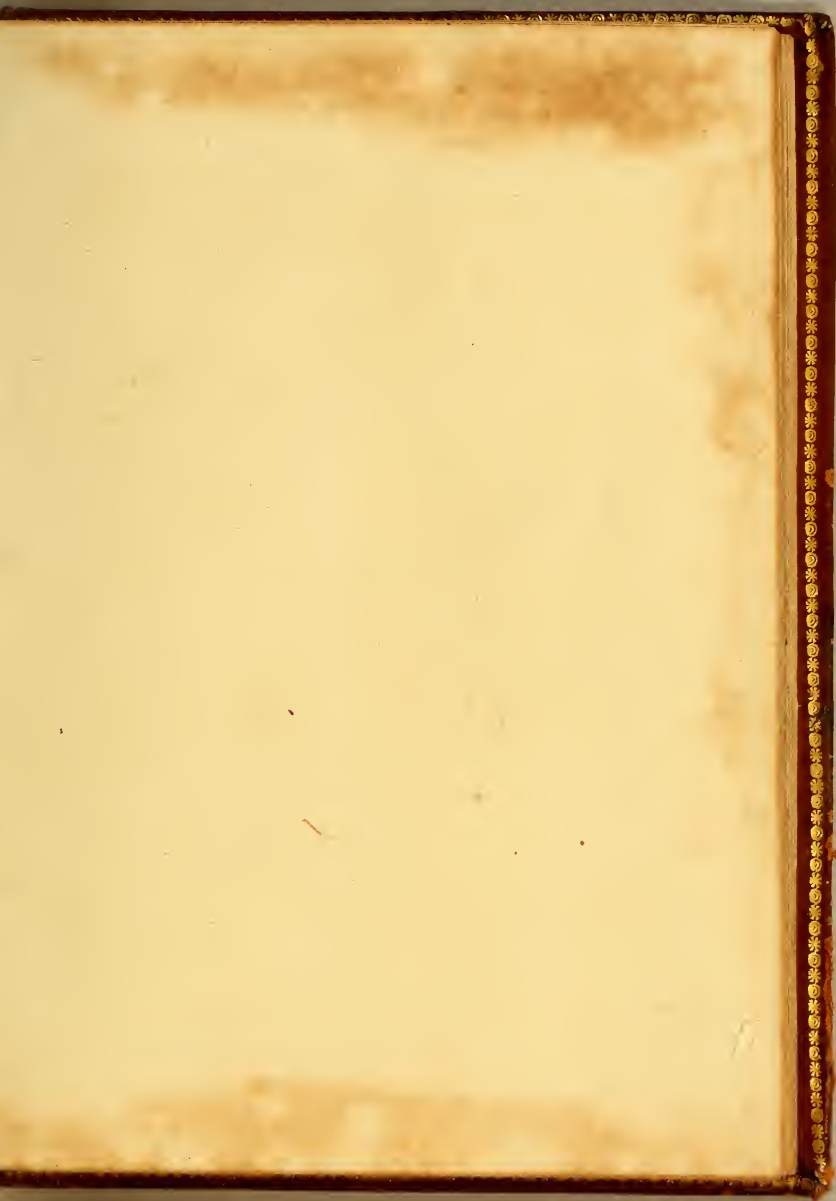
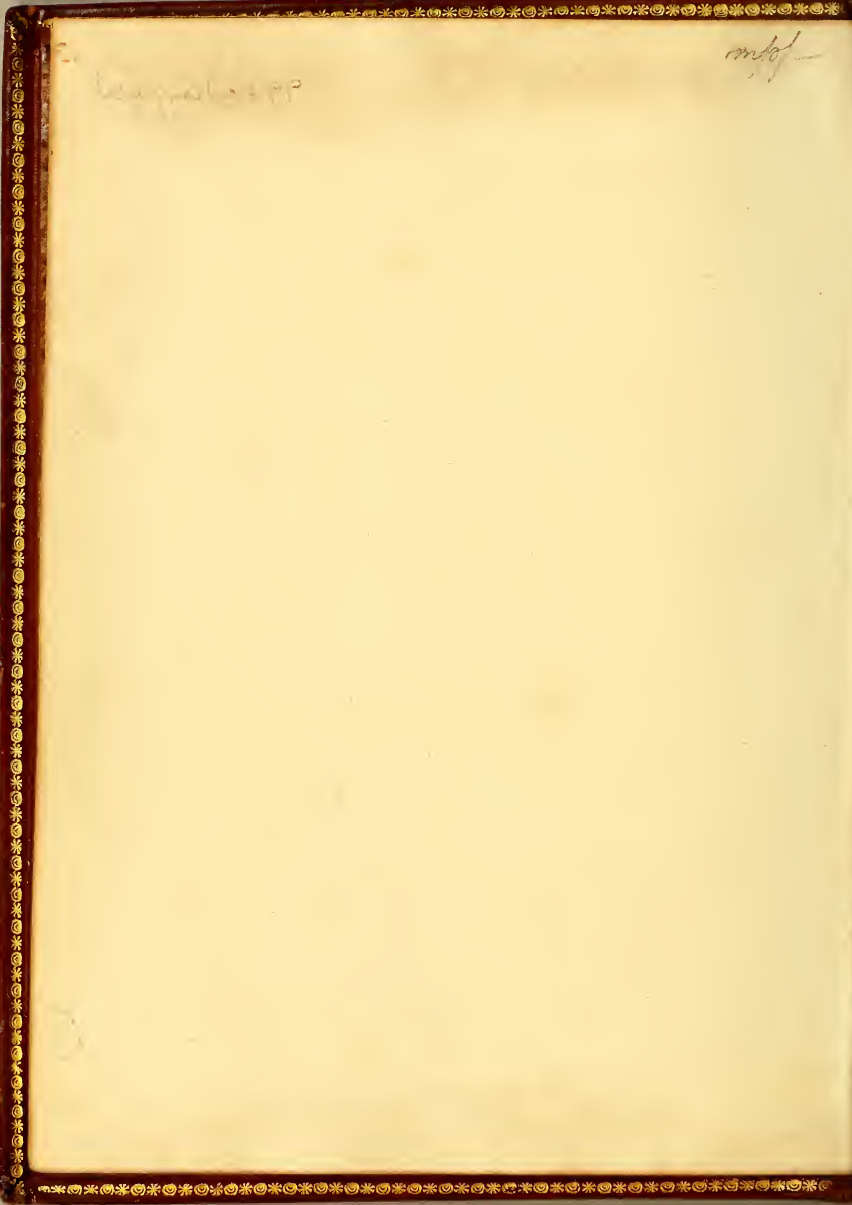


John Carter Brown.





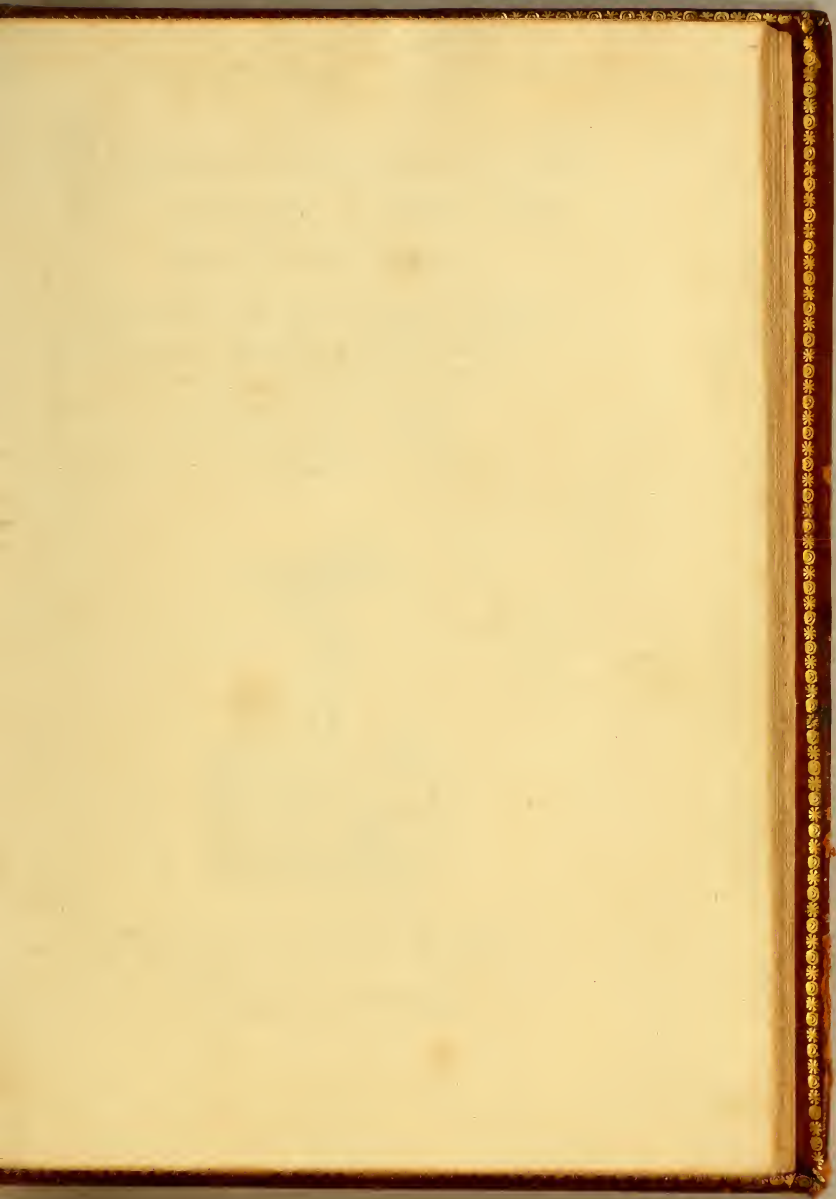


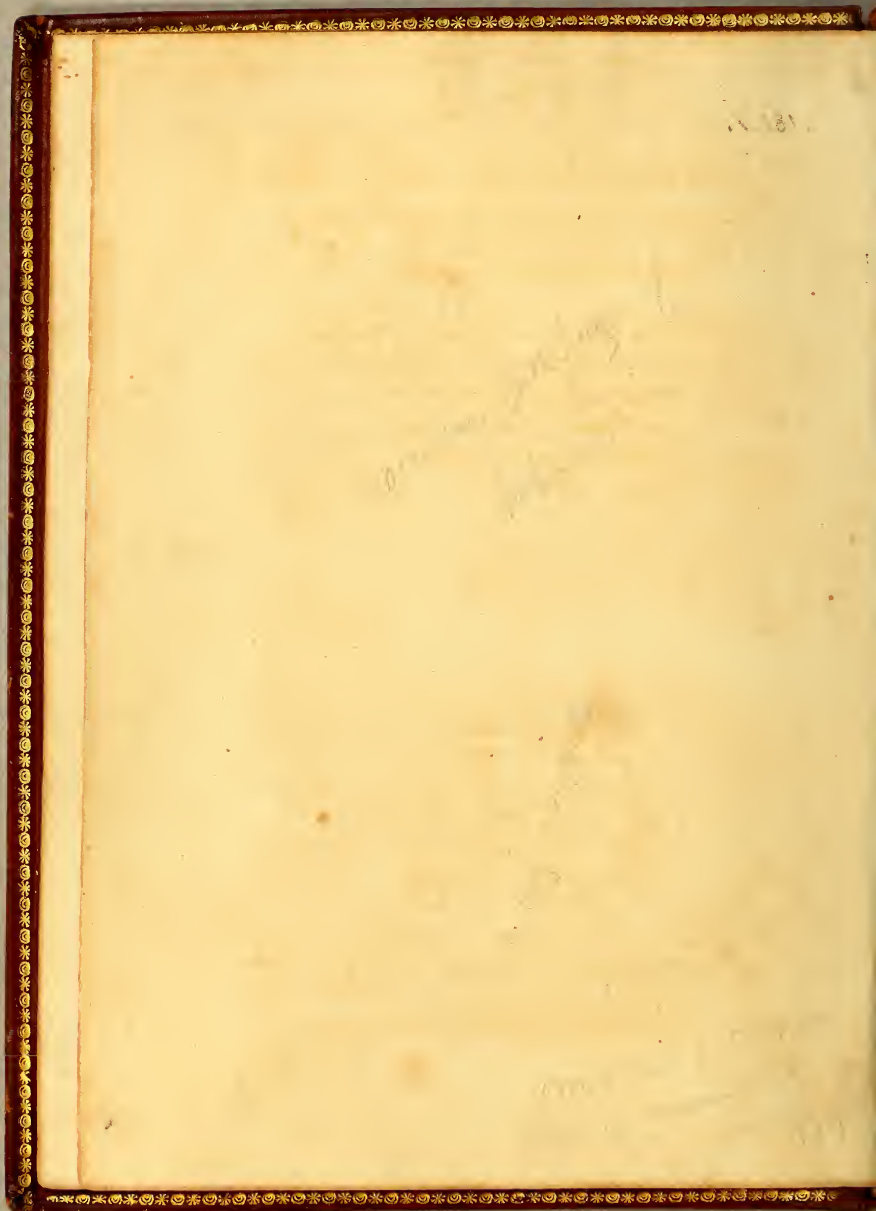


22

Leipzig 1881

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

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

Translated out of the Spa-
nische tongue, by T. N.

Anno. 1578.



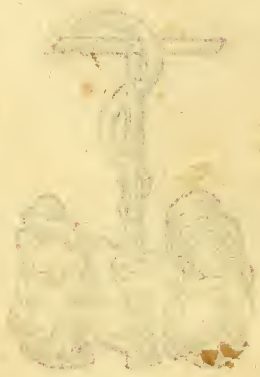
Imprinted at London by
Henry Bynneman.

— 1578. —

THE

Historical History of the
Government of the Virginia
Colonies

Authored by the worthy
James Oglethorpe
Esq. of the Colony of Georgia
in the Year 1733



Printed in London by
Henry Baskin

1733

TO THE RIGHT HO
norable, Sir Francis VValsingham
Knight, principall Secretary to the
Queenes most excellent Maiestie,
and one of hir highnesse most Honorable
private Counsell.

JOHN CARTER BROWN



Hilest I abode (right Honorable)
in the Isle of Palma, in affaires of
merchandize for the vvorshipfull
Thomas Locke deceased, and his com-
pany, time then permitted me, to
haue cōferēce vvith auncient gen-
tlemen vvhicke had serued in the Conquest of the
vvest India, novve called nevre Spaine, vnder the
princely Captaine *Hernando Cortez*. By vvhom as pre-
sent vvitneses at many of the actes herein contay-
ned, I vvvas credibly informed, that this delectable
and vvorthy Historie is a most true and iust reporte
of matter paste in effect: vvherefore I did the more
vvillingly turne ouer and peruse the same, vvhicke
is a Mirrour and an excellent president, for all such
as shall take in hande to gouerne nevre Discoueries:
for here they shall behold, hovv Glorie, Renovvne,
and perfite Felicitie, is not gotten but vvith greate
paines, trauaile, perill and daunger of life: here shall
they see the vvisedome, curtesie, valour and pollicie
of vvorthy Captaynes, yea and the faithfull hartes
vvhicke they ought to beare vnto their Princes ser-
uice: here also is described, hovv to vse and correct
the stubborn & mutinous persons, & in vvhat order

The Epistle

to exalt the good, stout and vertuous Souldiers, and chiefly, how to preferue and keepe that bevvtiful Dame *Lady Victorie* vvhē she is obtayned. And vvhē it vvas supposed, that the golden mettall had his beginning and place in the East and VVest *India*, neare vnto the hote *Zoane*, (as moste learned vvriters helde opinion) it is novve approued by the venturous trauellour and vvorthy captaine *Martin Frobisher* Esquire, yea and also through the greate paynes, procurement, and firste inuention of the vvorshipfull *Mychaell Locke* Merchaunt, that the same golden mettall dothe also lie incorporate in the bovvells of the Norvvcast parties, enuironned vvith admirable *Towers*, *Pillers* and *Pynacles*, of *Rockes*, *Stone*, and *Ife*, possessed of a people bothe straunge, & rare in shape, attire and luyng, yea suche a *Countrey* and people, as all *Europe* had forsaken and made no account of, excepte our moste gracious *Queene* and hir subiectes, vvhome vndoubtedly God hath appoynted, not onely to be supreme *Princesse* ouer them, but also to be a meane that the name of *Christ* may be knovven vnto this *Heathenish* and *Sauage* generation.

Not long since (right Honorable) I happened to trauayle from the famous *Cittie* of *Tolledo* in *Spayne*, tovvarde highe *Castile*, and by fortune ouertooke an auncient *Gentlemen*, vvorshipfully accompanied, vnto vvhō I vvas so bold as to approach, beseching his vvorship to aduertise me of his iourney: vvho (after he had beheld my white head & beard) ansvyered ful gently, that his intēt vvas to trauayle vnto the king
of

Dedicatory.

of Spaynes Court, and vvelcomed me vnto his company. In shorte space that vve had iourneyed together, and communed of each other his Countrey, it pleased him to say as follovveth: My good friende, if you knevv my sute vnto the Kings maiestie, you vvould iudge that I vvere a mad man, and therefore to shorten oure vvay, I vvill declare my attempted sute vnto you. You shall vnderstande, that I am a Gentleman of lxx. yeares of age, and sometimes I serued in the ciuill vvarres of *Pirru*, vvhere I vvas vvounded in diuers parts of my body, and am novv thereby lame in one of my legges and shoulder. I haue neyther VVife nor childe, and at this presente (God be praised) I haue in the Contractation house in the Citie of *Siuill*, in golde and plate, the summe of thirtie thousande Duckates: and I haue also in *Pirru* in good lands and possessions, the yearely rente of vvvelue thousande Duckates, vvhiche rentes and readye money is sufficiente to mainteyne a poore Gentleman. But al this notwithstanding, I do novv sue vnto the Kings Maiestie, to haue licence and authoritie to discover and conquare a certayne parte of *India*, vvhyche adioyneth vvith *Brazile*: and is part of the Empire of *Pirru*, I pray you novve declare what you thinke of my sute. By my troth sir (quoth I) I trust your vvorship vvill pardon a rash and sudaïne iudgemēt, which you now demand at my hād: yea truly (quoth he) say vvhat you list. Then (quoth I) my opiniō is, that you are not wel in your wit, for vvhat vvould you haue? vvil not reason suffice you? or else vvould you now in your old days bean Empe-

The Epistle

considering that your Sepulchre attendeth for you. Nowve truly I thanke you (quoth he) for of youre iudgement are most men: but I say vnto you, considering that all flesh must finish, I seeke for no quiet rest in this transitorie life: yea the vvise and Christis an Doctōrs do teach and admonish, that euery true Christian is borne, not for his ovne priuate vvealth and pleasure, but rather to help and succoure others his poore breethren. Likevvise doe I consider the greate number of Gentlemen, yonger breethren, and other valiāt persons, vvho through vvant of liuing, do fall into many disorders. VVherefore to accomplish my dutie tovvard God and my Prince, and to relecue such poore Gentlemen; do I novv attempte this iourney, vvith the aduerture of my bodye and goodes, and for that purpose I haue in readinesse foure tall Shippes, vvell furnished in the porte of *Saint Lucar de Barrameda*, hoping assuredlye, that before the life depart from my body, to heare these valiante yong Gentlemen (vvhome novv I meane to haue in my company) say, oh happie day, vvhen olde *Zarate* (for so is my name) broughte vs from penurie, yea and from a number of perils that vve vvere like to fall into. I hope also, that the royall estate of my Prince shall be by my paynes and poore seruice enlarged: belecue you me, this is the onely sumptuous Tumble that I pretende to builde for my poore carcas. But yet I knowv there are some, vnto vvhome I may compare the Bore that lyeth vvallouvyng in his Sty, vvho vvill not lette to saye, vvhat neede vve any other vvorld, honor, or Kingdomes: let vs
be

Dedicatory.

be contented vvith that vve haue: vvho may easily be aunsvvered, Sir glutton, your paunch is full, and litle care you for the glory of God, honor of youre Prince, neyther the neede and necessitie of youre poore neyboures. VVith this conclusion the Gentleman ended his tale, the iudgement vvhereof I leaue to noble Gentlemen his peeres to be determined.

And vvhere oure Captayne *Hernando Cortez*, of vvwhose valiant actes this historie treateth, hathe deserued immortal fame, euē so doubtlesse I hope, that vvithin this happie Realme is novv liuing a Gentleman, vvwhose zeale of trauayle and valiant beginnings dothe prognosticate greate, maruellous, and happie successe: for perfection of honor and profite is not gotten in one daye, nor in one or tvvo voyages, as the true histories of the East and VVest Conquests by Spanyardes and Portingalles do testisye. And calling to remembrance the greate zeale and good vvill vvwhich your honor hath alvvayes extended to good and profitable attemptes, and especially in the proceedings of the nevv discouery, youre honor hath not only vsed liberalitie in your aduētures, but also taken greate paynes in Courte, to aduance and further the voyage, a number I saye of Gentlemen, Marriners, and other artificers, shal haue great cause to pray for your honor. And vvhere I for my parte haue tasted of your honors goodnesse sundrye vvayes, I am novve most humbly to beseech youre honor to accept this poore gifte, the vvliche I haue translated out of the Spanish tong, not decked vvith gallant couloures, nor yet fyled vvith pleasant phraze
of

The Epistle

of Rhetorike, for these things are not for poore Marchant trauellers, but are reserued to learned VVriters: yet I trust the Author vwill pardon mee, bycause I haue gone as neere the sense of this Historie, as my cunning vwould reach vnto. I also craue; that it may please youre honor, vwhen your greate and vvaightie businesse vwill permitte, to beholde this vvorke, and that shall be for me an encouragemente to take in hande the translation of the East

India, vvhiche is novve enioyed by the King of Portugall. Thus I ende, beseeching the Almighty to preferue your honorable estate.

(?)

Your honors most ready at commaundement
Thomas Nicholas



The Conquest of the Weast India.

I

The Byrth and lynage of

Hernando Cortez.



In the yere of our Sauour,
1485. being kings of Castill and
Aragon, the Catholike princes
Fernando and Isabell his wyfe,
was boyme Hernando Cortez in
a towne called Medellin, situa-
ted in the prouince of Andulo-
zia: his ffather was named
Martyn Cortez de Monroy, & his

mother was called Lady Katherin Pisarro Altamirano, they
were bothe of god byrth, and proceeded from foure prin-
cipall houses, that is to say, the house of Cortez, the house
of Monroy, the house of Pisarro, and the house of Altamira-
no, which foure houses are auncient, noble and honozable:
yet these parents but powe in gods, but riche in vertue &
god life, for which cause they were muche esteemed and
beloued among theyr neighbours. His mother was of
inclination deuoute, but somewhat harde: his father was
charitable and mercyfull, who in his youth applied him-
selfe to the warres, and was Liuetenant to a company of
hofemen. Hernando Cortez in his childehood was very
sickely, so that many tymes he was at the poynt of death:
And when he came to xiiiiij. yeres of age, his parents sent
him to the Uniuersitie of salamanca, where he remayned
two yeres, learning Grammar, and then returned to
Medellin werie of his studie, yea possible for want of mo-
ney: yet his paréts were much offended with him for lea-
uing his studie, soz theyr onely desire was to haue had

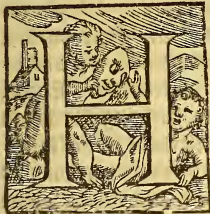
B.

him

him a student at lawe, whiche is a facultie both riche and worshipfull, considering their some to be of a good witte and abilitie: Yet he caused muche strife in his Fathers house, for he was a very unhappy ladde, high minded, and a louer of chivalrie, for which cause he determined with himselfe to wander abroad to seeke adventures. And at that instant happened two iorneys fit for his purpose & inclination. The one of them was to *Naples* wyth *Gonsalo Hernandez* of the Citie of *Cordoua*, who was a worthy man, & named the great capitaine. And the other iourney was to the *West India*, with the *Loorde Nicholas de Ouando*, a knight of the order of *Larez*, who was then appointed for gouernour of those partes. And musing with himselfe which waye to take, determined to passe into *India*, chiefly because the gouernour was of his acquaintance, and such a one as would haue care of him. And likewise the great desire of gold made him to couet that voyage more than the Iorney vnto *Naples*. Now in the meane while that y^e fleet was preparing for *India*, it chanced, *Hernando Cartez* pretended to go vnto a certaine house in the night season to talke with a woman, and clymning ouer a Wall whyche was of weake foundation, both he and the Wall fell together: So that with the noyse of hys fall, and rattling of his armour which he ware, came out a man newly married, and finding him fallen at hys doze would haue slayne hym, suspecting somewhat of his newe married wiffe, but that a certaine elde woman (being his mother in lawe) wyth great perswasions stayed him from that fact. Yet with the fall he fell into a grieuous Ague, and continued sicke for a long season, so that he could not procede bypon his voyage with the gouernour *Ouando*. And when he had obtained and fullpe recovered his health, he mynded to passe into *Italy*, And so toke hys way towards *Kalientia*
wandering

wandering here and there almoſte a whole yeare wyth much neceſſitye and penurie, and then returned home againe to *Medellyn*, wyth determination to proceed vpon his pretended voyage of *India*: Wherevpon his father and mother waying their ſonnes eſtate, deſired God to bleſſe hym, and gaue him money in his purſe for his toyney.

The age of Cortez vwhen he paſſed
into *India*.



Ernando Cortez was of the age of nineteene yeares, in the yeare of *Chriſt* 1504. and then he went toward *India*, and agreed for his paſſage and victual wyth *Alonſo Quintez*, who went in companie of other four ſhyppes laden wyth merchandise, whiche nauie departed

from *ſaint Lucas de Barramedo*, wyth proſperous navigati- on, vntyll they arriued at the Iſlande of *Gomera* one of the *Cauarie* Iſlands, where they did prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie for ſo long a voyage as they then had in hand.

Alonſo Quintez, being greedie of his voyage, and deſirous to come to the Iſlands of *Sainto Domingo* befoze his fellowes, hoping to ſel his commoditie the better, departed from *Gomera* in the night ſeaſon wythout knowledge giuing vnto his company. But incontinent after he had hopſed by his ſayles, aroſe by ſo great a winde and tempeſt, that his maine maſt brake, whereby hee was forced to reſourne backe againe to the Iſlande of *Gomera*. And he made earneſt requeſte to them of the other ſhyppes to ſtaye for him, vntyll hee hadde mended his Maſt, who friendlye and neyghbourlye graunted his deſire,

B. y.

and

and departed altogether, sayling in sight the one of the other certayne dayes: yet the sayde *Quinters*, seying the weather stedfast, and harpyng upon gaynes, flew from his fellows agayne. And where as *Frances Ninio de Guelua* his pilote was not experie in that nauigation, they knew not where they were at length: the Mariners did giue sundry Judgements: the Pilote was in great perplexitie and sadnesse, their passengers lamented, and bewayled their vnfortunate successe: the Master of the shippe layde the faulte to the Pilote, and the Pilote likewise charged the Master, for it did appeare that they were fallen out before. In this meane time their victuall waied skant, and their freshe water wanted, so that they prepared themselues to die. Some cursed theyz fortune, others asked mercie at Gods hande, lookyng for death and to be eaten of the *Carines*. And in this tyme of tribulation came a Doue flyng to the shippe, beyng on godd Friday at Sunne sette, and satte him on the shippe toppe: whereat they were all comforted, and toke it for a miracle and godd token and some wept with ioy, some sayd y

Comfort of
God.

God had sente the Doue to comforte them, others sayde that lande was heere, and all gaue hartie thanks vnto God, directing their course that way that the Doue flew: and when the Doue was out of sighte, they sorrowed againe, but yet remayned with hope to see shortlye lande and on Saterdag they discovered the Ilande of *Santo Domingo*, whiche was firste disceried by *Christopher Zorfo*, who cryed, lande, lande, a cherefull voyce to the saylers. The Pilote looked out, and knewe that it was the poynt, or cape of *Semana*, and within foure dayes after they arriued in the porte of *Santo Domingo*, whiche was long wished for, and there they founde the other shippes of their company arriued many dayes before.

The

The time that Cortez abode

in Santo Domingo.



Done after that the Governoure *Ouando* was in his regimente and office, *Cortez* arriued at *Santo Domingo*, and the Governoures Secretarie, called *Medina*, receyued and lodged him, and also enfor- med him of the estate of the Iland, and ad- uised hym 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 husbandry. But *Cortez* his thought was cleane contrary, for hee iudged, that as soone as he came thither, he should lade with gold, whereby hee did little esteeme his friend *Medina* his coun- sell, saying, that he had rather goe to gather gold, than to trauell in husbandrie. *Medina* yet perswaded him, that he should take better aduisement, for to finde golde, was doubtfull, and very troubesome. This talke ended, *Cortez* went to kisse the Governours handes, and to declare the cause of his comming, with other newes from *Extremadure* the Governours Countrey. The Governour friendly welcommed him, and also perswaded him to abide there, the which counsell he accepted, and shortly after wente to the warres, whereof was Captayne *Iaymes Velasques*, in the prouince of *Anigua Iagua*, and *Guaca Iarima*, and other Lordships whiche were not as yet pacified wyth the late rebellion of *Anacoana* widdowe, who was a gentlewoman of great liuing. *Ouando* gaue vnto *Cortez* certayne *Indyans* in the Countrey of *Daigua*, and also the office of publike notarie in *Azua*, a towne whyche the Governour had builded, and there dwelt *Cortez* fyue or syre yeares, and began to play the good husband. Now in this meane season he would haue gone to *Veragua*,

B. iij.

whiche

which was reported to bee maruellous riche, with the Captayn *Iaymes de Nicuesa*; but bycause of an empoffume that he had vnder his righte 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 Ilande of Cuba.



The Lorde *James Coler* being Admirall and chiefe Gouvernour of the new India, sent one *Iaymes Velasques* to conquer the Ilande of Cuba, in the yeare. 1511. And gaue vnto him men, Armour, and other thinges necessarie. And then *Hernando Cortez* wente to that conquest as a Clarke to the Treasozer called *Michaell de Passamontes*, for to keepe the accoynpts of the Kings siftes and reuenewes, being so intreated and required by the same *Iaymes Velasques*, by cause he was holden for a man both able and diligente. And it followed, that in the repartition of the lands conquered, *Iaymes Velasques* gaue vnto *Cortez* the Indians of *Manicorao*, in coniunct company with his brother in lawe called *Iuan Xuarez*, wherebpon *Cortez* did inhabite in *Saint James de Barucoa*, whiche was the first place of habitation in that Ilande, whereas he bredde and broughte by him, Sheepe, and Pares, and was the first that hadde there any heard or focke, and with his Indians he gathered great quantitie of golde, so that in short time he was enriched, and toynd in company with one *Andres de Duero* a Merchaut, and put in two thousande Castlins for his focke. He was also highly esteemed with *Iaymes Velasques*, and put in authoritie to dispatch businesse, and to giue

giue order for edifices. In his tyme he caused a money
 house to be built, & also an Hospital. At that time one *Iuan*
Xuarez naturall of the Citie of *Granada*, carried to the
 Ile of *Cuba* his mother and thre sisters, whiche came to
 the Island of *Santo Domingo*, with that vicequene the
 Lady *Mary* of *Toledo*, in Anno. 1509. hoping to marrie
 them there with rich men, for they were very poore. And
 the one of them named *Cathelina* was wont to say, That
 she shoulde be a greate Gentlewoman: it was eyther by
 dreames and fantassies, or else some Astronomer hadde
 made hir beleue so, but hir mother was reported to bee
 very cunning. The maydens were beautifull, for which
 cause, and also being there but fewe Spanishe women,
 they were muche made of, and often feasted. But *Cortez*
 was woer to the saide *Cathelina*, and at the ende married
 with hir: Although at the first there was some strife 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: wherein *Iaymes Velasques*
 did stande hir friende, by reason of an other sister of hys
 which he had, but of an euil name. It so fell out that one
Baltazar Bermudez, *Iuan Xuarez*, and the two *Anthony Ve-*
lasques, with one *Villegas* accused *Cortez*, that he ought to
 marrie with *Cathelina*, yet those witnessles spake of euill
 will many things, as touching y^e affaires comitted to his
 charge, alleadging y^e he vsed 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, complayning of *Iaymes Velas-*
ques. Some because they had not iust reparation of the co-
 quered *Indias*, and other some not according to deserte.
 Contrariwise *Iaymes Velasques* gaue credit to his talebea-
 rers, because *Cortez* refused to marrie wth *Cathelina Xuarez*,
 & vsed vncourteous words vnto him in y^e presence of many

W. iiii.

that

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 many times dothe happen in those parties. At time conueniente he brake the locke off the stocks, and layde hand vpon the Sword and Target of the keeper, and brake by a windowe, escaping thereby into the streete, and toke the Church for Sanctuary. But when *Iaymes Velasques* had notice thereof, he was greatly offended with *Christopher Lagos* the Tayler, saying, that for money he had losed him: wherefoze he procured by all meanes to plucke him out of the Sanctuary. But Cortez hauing intelligence of his dealing, did resiste and withstand his foze. Yet notwithstanding one daye Cortez walking befoze the Church doze, and being carelesse of his businesse, was caught by the backe with a Sericant called *Iohn Esquier* and others, and then was put a bozde a Shippe vnder hatches. Cortez was welbeloued among his neighbours, who did well consider the euill will that the Governour bare vnto him. But nowe Cortez seeing himselfe vnder hatches, despaired of his libertie, and did verily thinke, that he shoulde be sent prisoner to the Chancerie of *Santa Domingo*, or else to *Spainne*, who being in this extremitie, soughte all meanes to get hys foote out of the chayne, and at length he gote it out, and the same nighte he changed his apparell with a ladde that serued him, and by the Pump of the Shippe he gote out, not heard of any his keepers, climbing softly along the Shippe syde, he entred the Skiffe and went hys way therewith, and bycause they shoulde not pursue after him, he losed the Boate of another Shippe that roade by them. The Carrant of *Macaguanigua* a riuer of *Barucoa*, was so fierce, that he could not gette in with his Skiffe, because he had no help to row, & was also very werte, fearing to be drowned if he should put himselfe to the land, where

Cortez
escapeth.

wherefoze he stripped himselfe naked, and tyed a nyght-kerchiefe aboute hys head, with certayne wyptings apperteyning to his office of Portarie and Clearkshyppe to the Treasourer, and other things that were agaynst the Governoure *James Velasques*, and in this sorte swamme to lande, and wente home to hys owne house, and spake with *Iohn Xuarez* hys bzother in law, and toke *Sanctuarie* agayne with Armour. Then the Governoure *James Velasques* sente hym worde, that all matters shoulde be forgotten, and that they shoulde remayne friendes, as in tyme past they hadde bin, and to goe with hym to the Warres agaynste certayne Indians that hadde rebelled. *Cortez* made hym no aunswere, but incontinent married with mistresse *Catalina Xuarez* according to his promise, and to lye in peace. *James Velasques* proceeded on hys journey wyth a greate companie agaynste the Rebelles. Then sayde *Cortez* to hys bzother in lawe *Iohn Xuarez*, byng me (quoth he) my Launce and my Crossebowe to the Townes ende. And so in that evening hee wente out of Sanctuarie, and taking hys Crossebowe in hande, hee wente with his bzother in lawe to a certayne ffarme, where *James Velasques* was alone, with his householde seruauntes, for hys armye was lodged in a Village thereby, and came thither somewhat late, and at suche tyme as the Governoure was perusing hys Booke of charges, and knocked at his doze which stode open, saying: Here is *Cortez* that woulde speake with the Governoure, and so wente in. When *James Velasques* sawe hym armed, and at such an houre, he was maruelously afrayde, desiring hym to rest hymselfe, and also to accepte hys Supper: No Sir (quoth he) my onely coming is, but to knowe the complayntes you haue of me; and to satisfye you therein, and also to be your friende and seruitoꝝ. They then embraced eache other in token

The Governoure
was sore
afrayde.

of friendship. And after long talke, they lay both in one bedde, where *James de Orrelano* founde them, who went to carrie nelues to the Gouvernoure, how *Cortez* had fledde. After this fozt came *Cortez* agayne to his former friendshyppe with *James Velasques*, and proceded with him to the *Marres*, but afterwarde at his returne, he was lyke to haue bin drownded in the sea: For as he came from the *Canes* of *Bani* to visite certayne of hys Shepheardes and *Indians* that wrought in the *Spines* of *Barrucua* where his dwelling was, his *Canoa* or little boate ouerthrew, being night, and halfe a league from land, with tempeste, wherby he was put to his shiftes, and forced to swimme, and happened to espye lyght that certayne Shepheardes had which were at supper nere the *Sea* side. By suche like perils and daungers, runne the excellent meerne their race, vntill that they arriue at the *Hauen* where their god lotte is pferued.

The discouerie of nevv Spayne.



Fraunces Hernandes de Cordoua did first discouer *Xucatan*, going with thre Shypps for *Indians*, or else to barter. These Shippes were sette forth by *Christopher Morante*, and *Lope Ochoa de Saizedo*, in Anno. 1517. And although he broughte home nothing at that time but *Stripes*, yet he broughte perfect relation, how the Countrey was rich of gold and siluer, and the people of the countrey clothed. Then *James Velasques* Gouvernoure of the *Iland* of *Cuba*, sent the next yeare following his kinsman, called *Iohn de Grijalua*, with two hundred *Spanyarden* in foure Shippes, thinking to obtayne much gold and siluer for his *Merchandise* at those places, which *Fraunces Hernandez* had enformed him: So that

that *John de Grijalua* wente to *Xucatan*, and there foughte with the *Indians of Champoton*, and was hurt. From thence he entred the river of *Tausco*, which *Grijalua* hadde 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 w^ought of feathers. He was also at *Saint John de Vlhua*, and toke possession for the King, in the name of *James Velasques*, and there also exchanged his *Haberdash*e wares, for Golde, and Couclets of cotten, and feathers: and if he hadde considered his good fortune, he would haue planted habitation in so rich a land, as his company did earnestly request him, and if he had so done, then had he bin as *Cortex* was. But suche wealth was not for him which knew it not, although he excused himselfe, saying, he went not to inhabite, but to barter onely in traffike of his Marchandise, and to discover whether that land of *Xucatan* were an Ilande, or no. And finding it a mayne land, and populous, he left off for very feare. Likewise, some of his company were desirous to returne to *Cuba*, among whome, was one *Pedro de Aluado*, who was farre in loue with a woman of that countrey. So they determined to returne, with relation to the Governour of suche things as hadde happened till that day, and sayled homewardes along the coast to *Panuco*, and so came to *Cuba*, to the greate griefe of many of his company. Pea some of them wept, with sorrowe that hee would not abide in that rich countrey. He was five monethes vpon his voyage homewarde from land to land, and eyght monethes till his returne to the Citie. But when he came homete, the Governour hauing hearde of his proceedings, would not loke vpon him, whiche was his full reward.

Men tangled in foolish loue.

The Conquest of
 The Inuentorie of the treasure that
Grijalua brought for his waies.



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

The Inuentory.

A little Idoll of golde hollowe.

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

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

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

Two and twenty eare rings of golde.

Two and twenty peeces of an other fashion.

Four braceletes of golde very broade.

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

Another paire, with a Lyon of golde.

A great paire of eare rings of golde.

Two little Eagles of golde hollowe.

A little Saltseller of golde.

Two eare rings of golde with Turkie stones.

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

A great collar of golde.

Sire little collers of golde thinne.

Seauen other collers of gold with stones.
Foure carerings of golden leafe.
Twentie fishinghakes of golde.
Twelue graines of gold, waying fittie Duckets.
A headlace of gold.
Certaine thinne planches of gold.
A Potedge pot of gold.
An Idoll of golde hollowe.
Certaine thinne brouches of gold.
Fine beade stones of gold.
Two payze of gilt beades.
One payze of wodden beades gilt.
A little cuppe of golde, with eighte purple stones, and
twentie thre stones of an other collour.
Foure belles of gold.
A little sauser of gold.
A little bore of gold.
Certaine smal collers of gold of smal value.
A hollow apple of gold.
Fourtie hatchets of gold mixed with copper, valued in
two thousand five hundred Duckets.
A whole harness or furniture for an armed man of gold
thinne beaten.
An other whole armour of wood with leaues of golde,
garnished with little blacke stones.
A certaine piece made like vnto a feather, of an hyde and
gold soynitly wrought.
Foure pieces of armour of wood made for the knees, and
couered with golden leafe.
Two targets couered with feathers of many and sune
colours.
Diuerse other targets of gold and feathers.
A tuffe of feathers of sundry colours, with a little byrd in
the middelt, very liuely.

- A wing of gold and feathers.
 Two flyflappes of feathers.
 Two little chamberpottes of Allabaster, beset with many trimme stones, and some syne, & among them there was one esteemed at two thousand Duckets.
 Certaine beades of tinne.
 Ffive paire of wooden beades rounde and couered wyth a leafe of gold very thynne.
 A hundred and thirty hollow bead stones of gold.
 Many beades of wodde gilt.
 A paire of Duffers of wod gilt.
 Two gilt vissoz.
 A vissoz of strange gesture of gold.
 Foure vissoz of wod gilt.
 Foure dishes of wod couered with golden leafe.
 A dogges head of gold beset with stones.
 An other beastes head garnished with gold.
 Ffive paire of russh shwes.
 Thre red hides.
 Seven rasoz of flint stone, soz to cut by men that were sacrificed.
 Two painted dishes of wod with an Ewer.
 A garmēt with halfe stæues of feathers of exceeding fine colours.
 A couerlet of feathers.
 Many couerlets of cotten very fine.
 Many other couerlets of cotten course.
 Two kerchiefs of god cotten.
 Many perfumes of sweete odoz, much of that countrey frutte.
 They also brought a gentlewoman that was giuen thē, and other prisoner *Indians*. And soz one of them was offered hys weight in golde, but *Grijalua* woulde not take it.

They

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

The Inuentorie of the Spanish Merchandise.

Three course shirts.

Three paire of Maryners breeches of linnen.

Five paire of womens shoes.

Five broad leatherne girdels wrought with coloured thread, with their purses.

Manye purses of shepes skinne.

Sixe glasses a little gilt.

Foure bouches of glasse.

Two thousand beadstones of glasse greene.

A hundred paire of beades of diuerse colours.

Twenty wooden combes.

Sixe paire of Silfers.

Fiftene knives great and small.

A thousand taylers needels.

Two thousand pinnes of sorts.

Eight paire of corded shoes.

A paire of pinners and a hammer.

Seauen red night cappes.

Three coates of colours.

A freeze coate with a cap of the same.

An old greene veluet coate.

An alde veluet cappe.

The

The determination of Cortez to prepare a
Nauię for discouerie.

Becaufe *Iohn de Grijalua* was absent a longer season than was *Francisco Hernandez de Cordona*, befoze his returne, or giuing aduise of his proceedings, the gouernour *Valasques* prepared a Caruel, and therein sent one *Christofer de Olid*, for to seeke *Grijalua* with succor if need wer, and gaue *Olid* great charge, that he should returne with newes from *Grijalua* with all speede. But this messenger taried but a small while vpon his voyage, and saw but little of *Yucatan*, and not fynding *Grijalua*, he returned backe againe to *Cuba*, which returne happed not wel for the gouernour nor yet for *Grijalua*. For if he had proceeded forthe on his way to *Saint Iohn de Ulbua*, hee had then mette with whom he sought for, and likewise caused hym to haue inhabited there. But he excused himself, alleaging that he had lost his ankers, and was therfore forced of necessitie to returne.

And as soone as *Olid* was departed on that voyage, *Pedro de Aluaro* returned to *Cuba*, wyth full relation of the discouerie, & brought many things wth hym, w^zought in gold, with strange coloured feathers, and cotton wool. The gouernour *Iames Valasques* retoyced much to behold those principles: And all the Spaniards of *Cuba* wondered therat, and likewise to heare the whole relation of the iourney. Yet the gouernour feared the returne of his kinsman, because some of his companie that came sicke and diseased from those parties, saide that *Grijalua* meained not to inhabit 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. Wherevpon he determined to send thither certaine shippes, with souldiers 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 three thousand ducets for his furniture and provision. Their governour hearing this demaund, answered, that in suche sorte the charges would be more than the profite: And so for that tyme lefte off the matter, because he was covetous, and loth to spend, thinking to provide an army at other mens cost, as he had done before, when *Grijalua* went firste on that voyage, for at that time one *Francisco de Montez* did furnish one shippe. And also certaine gentlemen called *Alaunso Fernádez*, *Porto Carero*, *Alaunso de Luila* & *James de Ordas* with manye others, wente with *Grijalua* at theyr proper costes and charges. It followed that the governour brake the matter to *Cortez*, & required that the voyage should be set forth betwixte them, knowing that *Cortez* had two thousand Castlyns of gold in the power of one *Andres de Duero*, a merchaunt, and also that *Cortez* was a man diligent, wise, and of stout courage. *Cortez* being of haughtye stomacke, accepted both the voyage and the charges, thinking the cost would not be much. So that the voyage and agrémente was concluded, whervpon they sent one *Iohn de Sanz:do* to the kings counsell and chauncery, resident in the Iland of *Santo Domingo*, who were then religyous persons, to haue and obtain of them licence, frelye to goe and traffike into those parties of newe discouerie, and also to sake for *Iohn de Grijalua*, for they imagyned that wythout hym small trafficke would be hadde, whyche was, to exchange trifles of *Haberdashe* for golde and syluer. The chiefe rulers of gouernemente at that tyme

in þe kings counsell there, were these following, *Signiour Aloüso de São Domingo, Signiour Luys de Figueroa, & Signiour Barnardo de Munsanedo*, who graunted the licence, and appointed *Hernando Cortez* for captaine Generall of the voyage, and letter forth in company of *James Velasques*. They also appointed a Treasurer, and Suruepour to procure for the kings portion or parte, which was according to custome one fiftie parte. In thys meane season *Cortez* prepared hymselfe for the Journey, and communed wyth hys especiall friendes to see who would beare hym company: And hee founde thre hundred men that agræd to his request. He then bought a Caruell and Vergantine, and another Caruell that *Pedro de Alvarado* brought home. An other Vergantine he had of *James Velasques*: he provided for them armour, artillery, and other Munition: hee brought also wyne Dyle, Beanes, Pease, and other victuals necessarpe: he toke by also vppon hys credite, of one *James Saucedo* muche Haberdashye, to the value of seauen hundred Castlyns in golde. The gouernour *Velasques* deliuered vnto hym a thousande Castlyns whyche he possessed of the goods of one *Pamfilo de Naruaiz* in hys absence, alleaging that he had no other money of hys owne proper. And beeyng in thys manner agræd, the Articles and Couenauntes were drawen and set doونه in wytyng, befoze a Notary, called *Aloüso de Escalantes*, the thre and twenty day of October Anno. 1518.

The coming
ome of
Grijalua.

In this meane time arriued at *Cuba*, *John de Grijalua*, vpon whole arriual, the gouernour chaunged his purpose and pretence, for hee refused to disburse any moze money, noz yet would consent that *Cortez* should furnish his parte. For the onely cause was, that he ment to dispatch backe againe his kinselman and his army. But to behold the stout courage of *Cortez*, his charges, and liberalty

beralltie 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 tokes that he wold rebel, being in place conuenient, and that he woulde reuenge olde griefes. Also it grieved *Vermudez* that he had not accepted y^e voyage, vnto who it was once offered, seeing the great treasure that *Grijalua* had brought, & what a rich land the countrey newly discovered was. Also he pretended that y^e gouernoz wold be chieftain of y^e fleet, although his kinsman were not fit for y^e rone. The gouernoz also thought y^e he being slacke, *Cortez* wold also be slacke. But yet he seeing *Cortez* earnestly proceed, he sent one *Amador de Larez* a princypal mā, to intreate him to leaue off y^e voyage (considering y^e *Grijalua* was returned) and y^e he wold pay him al y^e costs & charges y^e he had layd out. *Cortez* vnderstanding the gouernozs minde, made answer vnto *Larez*, y^e he wold not leaue of the Iorney, for very shame, noz yet breake the agrément made. And also if *Valasques* wold send a shauy for his owne account, he woulde be contente, for (quoth he) I haue alreadie my licence and dispatch of the fathers & gouernours. And the he conferred with his friends, to knowe their mindes if that they wold fauour and beare him cōpany, at whose handes he found both ready helpe and friendshippe. Hee sought then for money, and toke vp vpon his credit foure *pp.* Castlyns in gold, of his friend *Andreas de Duero*, & of *Pedro de Xerez* & others. With y^e which money he bought two shyps, 6. hozles, & much apparel, & began to furnish a house & kepe a good table for cōmers & goers: he went also armed like a captaine, & many wayting & attending vpon him, whereat diuerse murmured, saying that hee was a Lord without rente. In thys meane while came

The gouernour an old enemy.

Courage of Cortez.

D. G.

Grijalua

Grijalua to the Cittie of *Sainte James de Cuba*; but by his kinseman the generall would not loke vpon hym because he had lefte and forsaken so ricke a lande. Also it grieued him inwardlye that *Cortez* proceeded thitherward so strong and mightye, and coulde by no meanes disturbe or lette hym, and to see the greate traine that wayted vpon hym wyth manye of them that had byn the other voyage with *Grijalua*; yea if that he should disturbe him, bloud shedde would follow in the Cittie. So that he was forced to dissemble his sorow. Yet (as many affyrme) hee commaunded that hee shoulde haue no victuals solde vnto hym. So *Cortez* departed from thence, proclayming himselfe for General, and that the governour *Valasques* had nothing to doe wyth his Spanise, requesting his soldiers to embarke themselves wyth such victuals as they had. He also bargayned wyth one *Fernando Alonso* for certayne Hogges and Sheepe that were prepared for the shambles, and gaue vnto hym a chayne of golde and brouches for payment, and also moneye, to pay the penaltie that the butcher fel into for prouiding the Cittie. And so he departed fro *Saint James de Baracoa* the eighteenth of Nouember, wyth about thre hundred Spaniards in fure shippes.

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



Ortez departed from *Saint James de Baracoa* with small prouision of victuals for suche a number of men, and also for the nauigation whych as yet was vncertaine. And beeyng out of that parte, he

he sent *Pedro Xuares Gallinato* with a Caruell to *Jaymaica* for vittayles, commaunding him, that those things which he should there buy, to goe therewith to *Cape de Corrientes*, or to *S. Anthonies point*, which is the farthest part of that Iland Westward. And he himselfe wente with his compaigne to *Macaca*, and boughte there greate quantitie of bread, and some Hogges, of one *Taymais*. Then he proceeded to the *Trinitie Ilande*, and there boughte, an other Shippe of one *Alonso Guillen*. And of particulare persons he bought three Horses, and five hundred bushels of Cozne. And being there at roade, he had aduice, that *John Nonex Sedenio* passed that way with a Shippe laden with victuals, for to make sale thereof at the *Spynes*. Whereupon he sente *James de Ordaz*, with a Caruel well armed, for to take him, and to bring him vnto *S. Anthonies point*. *Ordaz* went and toke him at the Channell of *Lardines*, and brought him to the place appointed. *Sedenio* broughte the register of his marchandise, whiche was greate stoz of bread, Bacon, and Hennes: *Cortez* gaue him chaynes of golde, and other pieces for payment, and a bil for the rest. In consideration whereof, *Sedenio* wente with him to the Conquest. In the *Trinitie Ilande* *Cortez* gathered together two hundred men more, who had bin in *Grijalua* hys company, and were dwellers in that Iland, and in *Matancas*, *Carenias*, and other Villages, and sending his ships for ward, he went with his men by land to *Hauana*, which was then inhabited on the South side in the mouth of the riuer called *Onicaxinall*, but there they would sell him no prouision, for feare of the Governour *Velasques*. But yet one *Christopher Galsada* rentgatherer to the Bysshoppe, and receyuer for the Popes Bulles, solde to him great stoz of Bacon and bread of that Countrey called *Maiz*, and other prouision, whereby his flecte was reasonably prouided, &c. And then he beganne to distribute his men and

D. iij.

vittayles

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

A snare
 lay for
 Cortez.

Also, the sayd Governour sente other secret letters to *James de Ordas* and others, requiring them to apprehende and take prisoner *Cortez*. Nowe *Ordas* did inuite *Cortez* to a banquet abowde his Caruel, thinking by that meanes to catche *Cortez* in a snare, and so to carrie him prisoner to the Citie of *Saint James de Barocoa*, but *Cortez* vnderstood the matter, and fained hymselfe to be very sicke, and also fearing some vyioze, he went abowde his Shippe *Admirall*, and shot off a peece of Ordnance, giuing warning to his Raie to be in a readinesse to make sayle, and to follow him to *Saint Anthonies* poynthe, whiche was done with expedition, and there in the Towne of *Guani Guaniga* he mustered his men, and found fve hundred and fiftie Spaniards, wherof fiftie were Parriners. He denided them into eleuen companies, and appointed these persons following for Captaynes, that is to say, *Alonso de Auila*, *Alonso Fernandez Porto Carrero*, *James de Ordas*, *Francisco de Monteio*, *Francisco de Morla*, *Francisco de Salzeda*, *John de Escalante*, *John Velasques de Leon*, *Christopher de Olid*, and one *Escovar*, and he himselfe as Generall toke one Company. He made these many Captaynes, because his whole flecte was eleuen sayle, and that eache of them shoulde feuerally be Captayne, both of Shippe and men. He also appointed for chiefe Pilote *Antonio de Alaminas*, who had taken charge befoze with *Francisco de Hernandez*,

mandez de Cardona, and Grijalua, &c. He carried also 200
 Indians, bozne in y^e Ile of Cuba, to serue and to carrie bag-
 gage, & also certayne Negroes with some Indian towmē, and
 Artēne Horses & Mares, with great prouision of Bacon,
 rozne, bisket, hennes, wine, oyle, pease, and other fruttēs,
 wth great store of Haberdash, as Welles, necklaces, beades
 of glasse, collers, paints, pinnes, puttes, nedels, girdels,
 thzedde, knives, silers, pinsars, hām ers, hatchets, Shirts,
 Coyfes, headkerchiefs, handkerchiefs, byæches, coats,
 clokes, cappes, Parriners byæches, all y^e which M^r Cortez
 diue he deuided amōg his nauie. The Ship Admiral was
 of the burthen of a hūdzred Tunnes. Ot her thre Shippes
 of the burthen of eightie Tunnes the pæce. A ll the residue
 were small withoute ouerloppe, and vergan ines. The
 deuice of his ensigne oz aunciente, was flames of fire in
 white and blewe, with a redde crosse in t^{he} middest, and
 bozded round with letters, in the Lattine and Spanishe
 tonge, which signified this in effect: friends, let vs follow
 the Crosse, and with liuely faith with this standerde we
 shall obtayne victozie. The p^remisses (as ye haue hearde)
 was the furniture that Cortez p^rouided for his iourney,
 and with so small a thinge he conquered so greate and
 mightie an Empire, & strange Countreys, vnknown at
 that time. There was neuer Captayne that did with like
 army overcome so infinite a people, & bzing both thē and
 their cōtrey vnder subiectiō. He carried no money to pay
 his souldiers, but was rather much indebted to others at
 his departure. And to say the truth, there needed any mo-
 ney to make pay to those souldiers that went to the Cō-
 quest, for if they shuld haue serued for wages, they would
 haue gone to other places nere hand. But in India, euery
 one p^retēdeth y^e state of a noble man, oz else great riches.
 Now all y^e flæts being in readinesse (as ye haue hearde,)
 Cortez began an exhortation to his cōpany as followeth.

D. ity.

The

The Oration that Cortez made
to his Souldiers.

M louing fellowes and deere friendes, it is certayne that euery valiant manne 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 do now take in hand such an enterprize, as godwilling shall be hereafter of greate fame, for myne heart doth pronosticate vnto me, that we shall winne greate and rich Countreys, and manye people, as yet neuer sene to anye of oure nation, yea and (I beleue) greater Kingdomes than those of oure Kinges. And I assure you, that the desire of glozy dothe further extend, than treasure, the whiche in sozte, mortall life doth obtayne. I haue now prepared Shippes, Armoz, Hozles, and other furniture for the warres, with victuall sufficient, and all things that are vsed as necessary in Conquestes. I haue bin at greate costes and charges, wherein I haue not onely employed myne owne goodes, but also the goodes of my frendes, yet me thinketh that the employmente thereof dothe encrease my treasure and honoz. We ought (louing fellowes) to leaue off small things, when great matters doe offer themselues. And euen as my trust is in God, euen so greater profite shall come to our kings, and a nation of this oure enterprize, than hath heretofore of any other. I doe not speake how acceptable it will be to God our sauiour, for whose loue I do chiefly and willingly, hazard my goods and trauel. I will not nowe treat of the perils and danger of life that I haue passed since I began this voyage. This I say, that god men doe rather expect renoune, than treasure. We doe now attempt and begin warre that is both god and iust,

ius, and the almighty God in whose name and holy faith this voyage is begonne, will assuredly graunte vnto vs victoꝝ, and the time will shew the end of things well begonne. Wherefoꝛe we will now haue an other manner in our proceedings, than eyther *Cordoua* oꝛ *Grijalua* hadde, whereof I meane not now to dispute, foꝛ the presente time doth haften vs away, but at our arriuall, we will do what shall seeme vnto vs conuenient. Heere deere friends do I lay befoꝛe you great gaynes, but wrapped in greate trauell, yet *Vertue* is an enimie to idlenesse. &c. Wherefoꝛe if you will accept hope foꝛ *Vertue*, oꝛ *Vertue* foꝛ hope, and also if ye forsake me not, as I will not forsake you, I will with Gods help make you in shorthe time the richest men that euer passed this way. I doe see you are but fewe in number, but yet such men of haughtie courage, that no foꝛce oꝛ strength of *Indians* can offende. Likewise we haue experience, that *Christ* our sauour hathe alwayes fauoured our nation in these parties. Wherefoꝛe 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 *Acosamill*.

Vith the aforesayd communication, *Cortez* gaue great hope to his copany of waigh- tie matters, yea and 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 imbarqued themselves, and after their prayers made vnto God, hoysed by their sayles, and with faire winde departed the eight- tenth day of februarye Anno 1519. And beyng at Sea, he willed all his nauie (as the vs is) to haue *S. Peter* foꝛ their

their patrons, warning them alwayes to follow the Admirall (wher in 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 nereest part of *Cuba* to *Cape de Corache*, which is the first lād point of *Yucatan*, whither they were bounde, so y being there, they might run along the coast, betwene the South point and the West. The first night y *Hernando Cortez* began to passe ouer the gulfe betwene *Cuba* & *Yucatan*, being little aboue lx. leagues, the winds rose by at South east with much force, so y all the flete were separated without sight y one of the other: yet by the account that their Pilots kept, they arrived all saving one at the Ilande of *Acusamil*, although not at one time, and those that last arrived, wer the Admirall, and Captayne *Morla* his Ship, who had lost his Ruther, but by shooting off a pece, *Cortez* understood his necessitie, and came verting to him, and as mayned his sailes to succour him, being in y night season. Yet when the day appeared, it pleased God y the rage of the tempest ceased, & being clere day, they found agayne their Ruther, and trimmed the Ship, and made sayle, and sayled that day and the next following, without sighte of land, or any of the flete. But the third day they arrived at a cape or point of land, called *Momens* cape. *Cortez* commanded *Morla* to follow him, directing his course to seeke the residue of his flete, and arrived in this sorte at the Ilande of *Acusamil*, and there found all his nanie excepte one, whereof they hearde no newes in many dayes after. The people of that Ilande beholding suche a strange sight, were in great feare and admiratiō, so that they gathered their stufte and wente by into the Mountaynes. *Cortez* caused a certayne number of his mē to goe a land to a Towne which was nere the place where they were arrived, and they found the towne wrought with Palons woꝝke, and good building, but they founde no creature therein.

The feare
of the In-
dians of A-
cusamil.

therein, yet in some houses they found cloth made of cotten
 woll, and certaine Jewels of gold. Also they entred into
 a high tower made of stoneworke, nere the sea side, and
 there they founde nothing but Idols of earth and stone.
 With this newes they returned to Cortez, and enformed
 him what they had seene, and also many faire lowe fields
 of maiz, and great store of hives of Bees, and many trees
 of fruites, and also presented unto him the gold and other
 things that they had found. Cortez reioyced with y^e newes,
 but yet marvelled that the people were fledde, considering
 that when Grijalua was there, they had not so done, where-
 by he iudged, that his nauie being greater, caused them
 to feare and flie, and likewise he feared least a snare were
 prepared for him. Then he commanded to vntship his Voy-
 ses for thre causes: the one to discover the Countrey: and
 the other to fight if neede were: and also to graze thē, ha-
 uing there abundance. Also he vntshipped his men of warre,
 and sent them to discover the land. And in the thickest of
 the Mountaynes, they found four women, and thre chil-
 dre, whome they brought to Cortez, so that not vnderstand-
 ing their language, by signes & tokens they ymagined
 that one of thē was the mother to the children, & mistresse
 to the other women. The poze creatures bewayled theyr
 captiuitie. Cortez made muche of them, & apparelled the
 mistresse as wel as he might with Spanissh attire: and to
 hir seruants he gaue looking glasses and silfers: and to the
 little children other toys to play withall, vsing no dispo-
 nectie towards thē. And thē he determined to send one of
 the wenches to call hir maister, and to enforme him how
 well they were intreated. In this meane season came
 certaine spies lurking a farre off, by the commandement of
 their Lord, who was called Calachuni, to bring newes of
 his wife, & what else passed. Cortez receyued them getly, &
 gaue vnto them certayne trifles, and sent others to their
 Lord, and returned thē wth embassage on his behalfe & his

How the
 people
 were founde

wiues, to desire hym 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 anye molestation of him, nor of any of his company. *Calachuni* vnderstanding this friendshipde, and also with the loue hee bare to his wife and childre, came the next day following with all the *Towncsmen*, in whose houses the *Spaniards* were lodged, who woulde not permitte that their guestes should giue place. And the *Lozde* commaunded, that they should be wel entertayned, and fro that day forward prouided them of bread, fishe, honey, & fruite. *Calachuni* spake and saluted *Cortez* with greate humilitie and ceremonie, and euen so was he louingly receyued, & wel entertained. *Cortez* did then declare vnto him the commoditie that would ensue vnto him by that nation. And also presented vnto him & his copany many toyes, which were vnto the of small valewe, but muche esteemed among them, yea moze than golde. And mozeouer *Cortez* commaunded, that all the golde and other things that his men had taken in the *Towne*, shoulde be broughte befoze him, and placed it so, that euery *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 straunge giftes, and went throughout all the *Iland*, shewing 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 commaundement, euery man returned to his house and *Towne* from whence he had fledde. And after thys sort their feare was pass, and they prouided the *Camp* abundantly of honey, bread, ware, fishe, and fruite, all the time that they abode in that *Iland*.

A facte
worthy of
praise.

The

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



When Cortez seeing these Indians quiet and well pleased, and also very seruiceable, he did determyne to take away theyr Idols, and to giue them a remembraunce of Iesu Christ bozne of the Virgine Mary, by one Melchior a sithier man and very ruffical, who had bin ther before with Francisco Hernandez de Cordona, who declared vnto them, that Cortez his Lord and captaine would enforce them of a better god, and better lawes, than those which they maintained. The Indians answered, that they were contented therewith, and went with them vnto their temples, and there brake downe their Idols, and celebra ted diuine seruite, teaching them to adoze and worshippe Christ crucifyed, so that they were verpe at tentfue to the doctrine, and ceased sacrifice of men which they were wot to vse. These Indians did wonder much at the shippes and hozses, yea and marueyled as inuche at our colour and beardes, so that many times they would come and seele them, and signified vnto them by signes and tokens towards Tucatán, that there were siue or sixe bearded men. When Cortez considering how profitable it wold be to haue an interpreter to vnderstand and to be vnderstood, he besought Calachuni that he would appoint a messenger to carrie a letter to the bearded men, who were in the power of a great Lord and Tyrant, and Calachuni found none that durst take that iourney in hand, fearing that they should be slaine and eaten. Cortez seing this, entreated with sacre wordes, three of the Indians that serued him to accept the iourney, and gaue the rewarde for theyr labour: yet the Indians excused them, saying that

Neyves of
bearded men.

C. li.

they

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

Worthyshipful sirs, I departed from *Cuba* with cleven saile in my fléete, furnished with five hundred and fiftie Spaniards, and I arrived here at *Acusmil* from whence I write you this letter. The people of this *Isle* have certified me, that there is in that countrey five or six bearded men, and in all pointes like unto vs: they can not here enforce me of anye other signes or tokens, but hereby I do coniecture, and certainly beleve that ye be Spaniards. Both I and these gentlemen of my company do come to discover and inhabit this land, we hartly pray you y^e within sixe days after the receipte hereof, ye come unto vs, without any excuse or delay, and if ye so doe, all we of this nautic will gratifye your gentlenesse & good service y^e ye shall do unto vs. I do send you a *Mergantyn* wherein you may come, & two shippes for your safeconduct.

Hernando Cortez.

This letter being written, there was found an inconvenience, which was, they knew not how to carrye the letter so secretly y^e it might not be séene, & they taken for espies, wherof the saide *Indians* stood in great feare. The *Cortez* bethought him, y^e the letter wold passe wrapped in y^e haire of the head of one of the, for ordinarily the *Indians* wear long haire, & on their solemn feasts & in wars they vse their haire platted & bound about their foreheads. And he appointed captaine of the *Mergantine* wherin his messengers wét, *John de Escalante*, & *James de Ordaz* for captaine of the other two shippes, with fiftie men if any neede should happen. So shortly after the shippes arrived at the place appointed, *Escalante* set a land his messengers, and abode there eight days they returne, although he promised the to abide there but sixe dayes. And the seeing that they

they came not, he surmised y they were either flaine or taken captiues: & so returned backe againe to *Acusamil* without his messengers, wherof al the army were sorrowfull, & chid by *Cortez*, thinking that the *Indians* had wronged their shippes. Some in this meane reason they trymed their shippes of the hurte receiued by the late tempest, & at the returne of the two shippes and *Bergantyne*, they hoysed by sailes and departed.

A miraculous chaunce how *Geronimo de*

Aguilao came to *Cortez*.



Alachuni and all his subiectes were full of beautinesse (as it seemed) with the departure of the *Christians*, by cause they were well vsed at their handes. From *Acusamil* the fleet sayled to get the coast of *Tucatan* to the cape called *Womens point*, with prosperous weather, & there *Cortez* came to an Anker, desirous to see the disposition of the lande, and the manner of the people: but it liked him not, so that ynert day following being *Shouetuisday*, he departed, meaning to double the sayde cape, and so to passe to *Cotoche*, and to biewe it.

But before they hadde doubled the pointe, *Peter de Aluarado* shotte off a piece, in token that hee was in great perill, wherehypon the other shippes drew neare to knowe what hadde happened: And when *Cortez* understood that *Aluarados* shippe was in so great a leake that with two pumpey they mighte not emptie the water, he found no other remedy but to returne backe againe to *Acusamil* with al his fleet. The *Indians* of y *Flaude* came incontinent to y water side very sayfull, and to knowe whether they had left any thing behind the. The *Christians* enforced the of their mishap, and came a shore, & in short tyme found the leake & amended it. The Saturday following they toke shipping againe, al the army excepte

Hernando

Hernando Cortez, and fiftie of his company, then the wind arose contrary, and so much, that they could not departe that day: & the furie of the winde endured al that night, but in the morning it wared calme, so that they myghte proceede on their voyage. But for as much as that was the Sabbath daye, they determined to heare diuine seruise, and after dinner to make saile. When their seruise was ended, and *Cortez* sitting at his meate, there was newes brought him that a little vessell called a *Canoo*, came vnder saile toward the shippes, whiche seemed to come from *Yucatan*: with that newes *Cortez* arose from his meate, to behold whether the *Canoo* went, and perceiuyng that she left the way toward the shippes, he sente *Andrés de Tapia* with certaine others, as secreete & close ly as might be deuised, to lye in ambuſhe for their coming a shoare. The *Canoo* arrued in a calme place, out of the which came foure men all naked, except their priuie members, and the heare of their heades platted and bound aboute their foreheades like vnto women, with bowes and arrowes in their hands: three of them which were *Indians*, wer afraid when they saw the Spaniards with their drawen swordes, and would haue fled againe to their *Canoo*, but the Christian feared not, and desired his fellowes in the *Indian* tong to abide with hym. And then he began to speake in the Spanissh tong in thys wise: Masters are ye Christians, yea (quoth they) and of the Spanissh nation. Then he reioyced so much, that the teares fell from his eyes, and demaunded of them what day it was, although he had a Primer wherein he dayly prayed.

He then besought them earnestlye to assist him with their prayers & thanksgiuing vnto god for his deliuey, & kneeling deuoutly downe vppon his knees, holding by his handes, his eyes toward heauen, and his face bathed

with teares, made his humble prayer vnto God, giuing most hartie thanks, that it hadde pleased hym to deliuer him out of the power of Inādels and infernal creatures. and to place hym among Chyrtians and men of his owne nation. *Andrés de Tapia* holpe hym vpp, and toke hym in hys armes, and so did al y others embrace & loningly salute him. Then he commaunded the other thise *Indians* to follow him, and went talking wyth hys friends, where *Cortez* a boade, whs receoued him ioyfully, and gaue vnto hym such apparel as he needed, and wyth great pleasure hauing him in his compaigne, hee demanded the estate of his misfortune, and what was hys name, who answered befoze them al, saying, Sir my name is *Geronimo de Aguilar*, I was bozne in the Cittie of *Esja* in the *Andoloxia*, and by misfortune I was losse after this sorte. In the warres of *Darien* and in the tyme of the contentions and passions of *James de Nicuesa*, and *Vasco Nonex Balboa*, I came with Captaine *Valdina* in a little Caruell, toward *santo Domingo*, to giue aduice to the Admirall and gouernour, of the troubles which had happned, and my comning was for men and victuals: and likewise we brought twentye thousand Duckettes of the kings in Anno. 1511. And whē we appoyted at *Lamayca*, our Caruel was lost on the shallowes whiche were called the *Uipars*, and with greate pain we entred (about twenty persons) into the boate, wth out sayle, water or bzead, and weake prouision of oares: we thus wander thirtēne or fourtēne dayes, and then the currant, whiche is there very great & runneth alway weastward, cast vs a shoare in a prouince called *Majsa*, & traveling on our way, seauen of our fellowes died wyth hunger & samin. And captain *Valdina* & other 4. were sacrificed to the ydols by a cruel and cursed *Cacike*, that is to say, a Lord in whose power we fell. &c.

The coming
of Aguilar
to Cortez.

¶.

And

And after the sacrifice, they were eaten among the *Indians* for a solemne banquet: and I, and other five wer put into a Cage or coupe, to be fatted for an other sacrifice. And for to escape suche abhominable death, we brake the prison and fledde throughth certaine mountaines: So that it pleased God that wee mette with another *Cazike* who was enemy to him that first toke vs, his name was *Quinquis*, a man of moze reason and better condition, hee was Lord of *Xamansana*: he accepted vs for his captiues, but shortly after he dyed, and then I aboad with *Taxmar* his heire. Then deceased other five of our fellowes, so that there remayned but onely I and one *Gonsalo Guerrer*, a maryner, who now abydeth with *Nachancan* the Lorde of *Chetemal*, and he married with a rich gentlewoman of that countrey, by whom he hath childzen, and is made a Captaine, and wel esteemed with the *Cazike* for the victories y he hath had in the wars against the other Lorde. 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 belue for verpe shame, because hee had his nose ful boared of holes, & his eares tagged, hys face & handes painted according to the vse of y countrey, or else he abode there for the loue he bare to his wife and childzen. All those whiche stode by & hard this *hystorie*, were amased, to heare *Gerommo de Aguilar* report howe those *Indians* did sacrifice & cate mans fleshy. They also lamented the miserie & death of his fellowes, and highly praysed God, to see him free fro his bondage & from such cruell & barbarous people, & to haue likewise so good an enterpreter with thē, for vndoubtedly it semed a miracle y *Aluarcados* ship sel into a leak, for with y extremity they returned back again to that Iland, wheras with contrarie winde they were constryed to abide y coming of *Aguilar*. And certainly he was y mean & speech of al these proceedings.

proceedings. And therfore haue I bin so p̄solituous in ȳ
rehearsal of this matter, as a notable point of this histo-
rie. Also I wil not let to tell how the mother of *Geranimo*
de Aguilar, became mad. &c.

When she hard ȳ hir son was captiue among people ȳ
blesed to eate māns flesh, & euer after whē she saw any flesh
spitted or roasted, she would make an open outcrie, say-
ing, oh I miserable woman, behold this is the flesh of my
dearebeloued sonne who was all my comfort.

The Iland of Acusamil.



The *Indians* naturall of that countrey do
cal their Ilande *Acusamil*, & corruptlye
Cosumel. *John de Gryalua* was ȳ first Spa-
niard that appoyted there, and named it
the holy Ilande, bycause hee fell in sighte
therof on holy roade daye. It cōtayneth

ten leagues in length & thre leagues in breadth, although
some say moze, some lesse: it standeth twentye degrés on
this side the equator, and fiue leagues from the womē's
cape: it hath thre villages, in ȳ which lieth nere; thou-
sand mē. The houses are of stone and byck, and couered
with straw & bowes, & some with tile. Their temples and
towers are made of lime & stone very wel built: thei haue
no other fresh water but out of welles and raine water:
Calachuni is their chiefe Lord: they are bytome people &
goe naked: & if any weare cloth, it is made of cotten wool
only to couer their p̄suiue mēbers: they vse lōg hear plat-
ted & bound about their foreheads: they are great fisher-
mē, so ȳ fish is their chiefeest fōde & sustenance, they haue
also *Maiz* which is for bread: also godd fruites: & hony, but
somewhat soure: and plots for bees, which contayn. 1000
hives. They knew not to what vse way serued, but whē
they saw our mē make cādels therof, they wōdzed therat.

F.ij.

Their

Their dogges haue Fore faces and barke not, these they gelde and fatten to eate. This Iland is ful of high mountains, & at the secte of them, god pastures, many Deare, and wilde Boares, Connyes and Hares, but they are not great. The Spaniards with their handgunes and crossbowes proude them of that victual, fresh salt and dyed. The people of this Iland are Idolaters, they doe sacrifice children, but not manye. And many times in stead of children they sacrifice dogges. They are poore people, but very charitable and louing in their false religion and beliefe.

The religion of the people of

Acusamil.



The temple is like vnto a square Courte broad at the foote, & keps round about it, & from y^e middelt vpyward very straight: the top is hollow & covered with straw: it hath foure windowes with frontals and galleries. In y^e hollow place is the chappel, wheras their Idols do stand. The temple that stode by the sea side was such a one, in the which was a maruelous straunge Idol, and differed muche from all the rest, although they haue manye and of diuerse fashions. The body of this Idol was great and hollow, and was fastened in that wall with lime: hee was of earth. And behinde this Idols backe was the Westerie, where was kept ornaments & other things of seruce for y^e temple. The priests had a little secret doore hard adioyning to y^e Idol, by which doore they crept into y^e hollow Idol, and answered the people y^e came with prayers & peticions. And w^{ch} this doore y^e simple soules beleued al y^e the Idol spake, & honoret y^e god more th^{an} al the rest w^{ch} many perfumes & sweetes


A strange
Idol.

swete smells, and offered bread and fruite, with sacrifice of Quayles blond, and other birds, and dogges, and some time mans blond. And through the same of this Idoll and Image, 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 ppyer pinacles, in the middelt whereof stode a Crosse of ten foote long, the which they adozed for God of the rayne, for at all times whē they wanted rayne, they would goe thither on Proceſſion deuoutely, and offered to the Crosse Quayles sacrificed, for to appease the wyath that the God seemed to haue agaynste them: and none was acceptable a sacrifice, as the blond of that little birde. They vsed to burne certaine swete gūme, to perfume that God withall, and to bespyinkle it with water, and this done, they beleued assuredly to haue rayne. Suche is the Religiō of those *Indians* of *Acusamil*. They could neuer knowe the original how that God of Crosse came amōgst them, for in all those parties of *India*, there is no memozye of a nye Preaching of the Gospell that had bin at any time, as shall be shewed in another place.

The God
of rayne.

The Battell and vwinning of

Potanchan.

 *Ortez* proceeded with his flēte very ioyfull, because he had found one of his Ships which hee thought had bin lost, & apozed at the river *de Gujalua*, whiche in the *Indian* tong is called *Tauasco*, and anckred at the riuers mouth, fearing to enter in with the bigger vessels ouer the barre: and incontinente came manye *Indians* to gaze at them and theyr Shippes, who were armed with feathers, and suche lyke armour as they vse, seeming a sarre off trimme fellows.

F. iij.

They

They wondered not muche to see oure Shyppes and menne, bycause they hadde seene befoze *John de Grijalua* in the same Riuer. The behauiour of that people, and scituacion of the Countrey, liked *Cortez* verpe well, so that leauyng sufficiente garde in hys Shyppes, he manned hys Wergantynes and Boates, and carried with hym certayne pieces of Ordnance, and with foze of oares he entred the Riuer agaynst the streame, whiche was verpe greate, and hauyng rowen little moze than halfe a league, they elpped a greate Towne walled wyth Timber, and the houses made of mudwall, covered with strawe. The Towne wall was verpe strong, with lope holes to offende withall. And befoze oure menne came nere the Towne, they mette with manye little Boates, whiche the *Indians* call *Tahucup*, full of armed menne, shewyng themselves desirous of battayle. *Cortez* proceeded forwarde, and made vnto them signes of peace, declaring vnto them by his interpreter, that hys comyng thither was not to molest or disquiet them, but onely to take freshe water, and to buy victuals, as menne that trauelled by Sea, and stode in nede thereof, promisyng good paymente for anye thing that they shoulde take. The *Indians* hearpyng theyr request, promised to shewe theyr message to the Townesmen, and woulde also retourne with theyr aunswere and vittayles, and so departed. In shorthe space they returned againe, and bzoughte bread and fruite, and eyght Turkie Cockes, and presented it franchely vnto them. *Cortez* gaue them thankes, but (quoth he) the pquisition that ye haue bzought, is very little, for the nede that I and so manye persons which I haue within yonder greate besels locked and shutte by, therefore I pray you to bzpyng me moze vittayles, or else to permitte and suffer mee and my folkes to come vnto youre Towne to seeke our remedse.

Policie,

remedie.

The *Indians* demaunded one nyghtes space to doe the one and the other, and departed towarde the towne. *Cortez* also went to a little Ilande that standeth in the riuer, to abide their answer, so that eache pretended to deceyue the other, for the *Indians* demaunded that time, to the intent to carrie that night away theyr godes, and to put in safetie their wines and childzen in the Spoun-taynes, and likewise to gather their men of warre to defende theyr Towne. *Cortez* also commaunded his *Hart-gabushiers* and *Crossebowmen* to goe a lande vppon the Ilande, and caused the Riuer vppwardes to be soughte for way, to wade ouer, so that these thyngs were done that nyghte without anye knowledge to the contrarpe syde. And all those whych abode abowde the Shyppes, came vnto *Cortez*, and those who wente to seeke the passage, founde within lesse than halfe a league vppwardes, a place that was of depth to the girdle of a manne. And likewise founde suche couerte of wooddes, that they myghte come nere vnto the Towne, and not to be seene.

Diligence
of a good
Captayne.

This newes lyked well *Cortez*, wheredvppon he appointed two Captaynes, whose names were *Alonso de Auila*, and *Peter de Aluarado*, and to eache of them fiftie menne. The same nyghte he sente certayne Souldyers wyth a sea compasse, to lye in ambush in the wodde whych stode betwæne the riuer and the towne, for two considerations. The one, because the *Indians* shoulde see, that there were no moe Spanyardes in the Ilande, than were the daye before. And the other was, that hys menne hearing their watchword, shoulde assaulte the towne on the land side. And as sone as the day appeared, came eight boates of *Indians* armed, wheras oure Campe was pitched, who broughte a little

F.iiij. viduall,

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

Then *Cortez* seeing that wordes preuayled not, he signified vnto them that he would enter their Towne by force, to see it and their Countrey, for to giue thereof relation to the greatest Prince in the worlde, who hadde sent them thither: requesting them to be therewith contented, considering he meante not to disquiet them: and if they would not permitte the same, he would commend himselfe to his God, and to the strength and force of hys men. The *Indians* answered agayne, that they should depart, and not thus bragge in other mens land, for in no wise they would permitte them to enter their Towne. And if with this warning they would not departe, they meante to kyl both him and as many as were with him. Yet *Cortez* ceased not to vse all humanitie with those barbarous people, according to the commaundements and instructions giuen vnto him by the King of *Castill*, whiche was, to require those people oftentimes with peace, befoze the attempting of warre, or entring perforce into their Townes and Countrey, so that yet a
gayne

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

The *Indians* laughed at his talke, and looking at him, they returned to the Towne, to enforme their fellowes of the pride and madnesse that they thought they hadde hearde. When the Spanyarden wente to dinner, and hauing well refreshed themselues, they putte on their Armour, and went aboꝝde their Boates and Bergantines, looking for some aunswere from the *Indians*, and seeing the Sunne decline apace, and no aunswere, Cortez aduised the Spanyarden that lay in ambush in the woodde, to giue assault, and he imbarqued himselfe with his rapier and Targette, ggyung likewise assaulte with nere two hundred men, who comming nere the Towne walles, discharged his Ordnance, and lept into the water to the knees, and began valiantly to assault the walles and bulwarkes. The *Indians* seeing their enemies so nigh vnto them, beganne to fight with courage, shooting arrowes, throwing of dartes and stones, wherewith they hurte about twenty Spanyarden: yea, and though the fearefull nosse of the Ordnance did many times so annoy them, being things so straunge, and neuer befoze sene 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

hearde the shooting of their fellows, they began likewyse theyr onsette. The *Indians* knowyng nothyng what was prepared behynde theyr backs, and hauing also theyr bandes full in defending the entrance by the Riuer: and the *Christians* fyndyng that parte of the Towne without resistance, entred in wyth a terrible noyse, killing as many as they mette. When the *Townclimen* vnderstode theyr ouersyghte, and woulde haue remedyed it, and fledde from the place where *Cortez* was gyuing combat, wherby *Cortez* and hys Company entred the Towne at ease, without contradiction, so that hee and the other Companys of his *Souldyers* mette together at the *Markette* place, and expulsed all the *Indians* out of the Towne, excepte those that were taken prisoners, and the carcases of the deade. When the *Christians* soughte the spoyle, and founde nothyng but *Turkie Hennes*, and some thyngs wrought of *Cotten wolle*, but very little *Golde*.

There was that daye aboue foure thousande *Indians* in fyghte and defence of the Towne: There was much *Indian* blood shedde, because they sought naked, many were wounded, and fewe Captiue. *Cortez* lodged himselfe wyth hys armie in the chiefest Temple of the *Idolles*, where was some sufficiente. They kepte that nyghte good watche, as in a house of enemies, but the poore *Indians* durst not once interrupte them. After this forte was *Potonchan* taken, beeyng the pyfthe *Cytie* that *Cortez* waime by force in all hys Conquest.

The Battell of Cintla.



A y nighte Cortez slept not, but rather oc-
 cupped himselfe in carrying the wounded
 men, & other stuffe aboard y Shypps, & also
 to disenbarke thirténe Hoyses, & the rest
 due of his mé y he had left aboard, y which
 he brought to passe befoze the sunne rising, although the
Tamasans had notice thereof. Whé the sunne was risen, he
 had with his company made vnto God their prayers, and
 mustered his men, where were at that time in Campe-
 nére siue hundred Spanyardes, thirténe Hoyses, and
 sixe péces of ordnance: These Hoyses were the fyrste
 that euer came into that Countrey, whych now is called
 new spayne. He planted his men and munition in good or-
 der, and thus marched forwarde toward Cintla. The *In-*
dians séeyng this preparation, began also to make readie,
 and to place in good order fortye thousand men in syue co-
 panies: their méeting was in ploughed lande among ma-
 nye déepe lakes and pondes, very daungerous to passe,
 so that our men by reason thereof were brought out of
 order. And *Hernando Cortez* with his hoysemen wente to
 séeke a better passage, and to enclose himselfe among cer-
 tayne trées on their left hand, for to set vpon the enimies
 when time should serue. The footemen procéded on, and
 passed many marithe groundes, vntill they came to the
 filled land. The *Indians* were expert in those places wher
 they beganne the battayle, shooting with their bowes
 and stings, and throwing of dartes. And although our mé
 did some hurt among them with their Crossebowes, há-
 gunnes, and Ordinance, whé they were in place to shote,
 yet the *Indians* pursued our men so thicke, that they could
 not put them off, for by pollicie, the *Indians* of *Potonchan*
 hadde soughte out that place: and it is to bée thoughte

Care of a
 good Caps-
 tayne.

Fortye
 thousande
 Indians.

G. y.

that

that they were not barbarous, noz of small vnderstanding in warres, yet notwithstanding wyth much payne, oure men gate out of that place, and obtayned another somewhat better, and moze playner grounde, whereas they myghte vse their Ordinance, and fyghte wyth their weapons bodye to body. But the *Indians* being so greate a number, draue our men to so narrowe a place, that they were fayne to ioyne backe to backe for theyr owne defence, yea & for all that were in maruelous greate daunger, for they hadde no roome to vse their Ordinance, noz yet Hozsemen to make them waye. They being in thys perplexitie, and readie to dye, suddenly appeared a Hozseman with a speckled Hozse, whome they iudged to be Captayne *Morla*, whych Hozsemanne sette vpon the *Indians*, and made them retyre: and hauyng moze space than befoze, they sette afresh vpon the enimies, and slewe some of them. In thys meane tyme the Hozsemanne vaded away, and was not sene, and wyth hys absence the *Indians* begonne afresh, and enclosed the *Chyistians* in the same daunger that they were in befoze: then the Hozsemanne appeared agayne nere oure menne, and made maruellous way among the enimies, wherevpon our menne seeing this succour, gaue the onfet agayne with great courage, and slewe and hurt many *Indians*, but at the best season, the Hozseman vanished away cleane out of sighte, and when the *Indians* saue not the Hozseman, with feare of whome they fledde, thinking that he hadde bin a *Centaure*, and that the Hozse and man was all one incorporeate, they returned agayne with lively coorage, and vled our *Chyistians* worse than they hadde done befoze. When the Hozseman returned the thirde time, and putte the *Indians* to flight with great hurte, whom our soterne pursued with great slaughter.

Perill of
the Chry-
stians.

A miracle.

Now at this instant came Cortez with all his company of horsemen, being wearied with the travaile in passing such strange lakes and wilderness, wherof the countrey is replenished. Our men being ioyful of his coming, they began to enforme him what wonders they had sene a horseman do, which came to succour them, demanding of him which of their company it was. Cortez answered and faithfully assured them, that it was none of their company, because it was not possible for any of them to come any sooner: Then they all gaue God praise, belieuing that it was a helpe sent from heauen. Cortez said (my deare fellows) forwarde, for god is with vs. Then the horsemen set vpon the Indians, and with force of lance drove them out of the marshy ground, and brake their mayne battel. The Indians incontinent left the fielde, and fled into the thicke wooddes, the footemen followed them, and slue a-boue three hundred Indians, besides many other that were hurt. There wer aboute seauenty Spaniards wounded with arrowes and stones.

And whether it were with labour of the battel, or with excessive heate, or with drinking the water of that place, there fel such a stich in their loynes, that about a hundred of them fel flat vpon the ground, not able to go nor stand, their fellows being forced to carry the on their backs. But it pleased god that the same night the payne wente fro them, being in the morning wel againe. Who seeing themselves deliuered from so manye perils, gaue mosse humble thanks to the almighty god that had miraculously deliuered them. They all agreed that three times they had sene the strange horseman, with the speckled horse, fight in their fauour, as is aforesaid, beliening generally it was a miracle, as certainly it did appeare, for the Christians did not alone see this thing, but also the Indians. Byd muche note it, for the maruelous fiercenes

A sodaine
disease.

C. liij.

wherewith

wherwith he came vppon them, with such great murder, that they were amased, and almoste blynde wth hys bygthnesse, being so trodden vnder hys fæte . The captiue *Indians* after the battayle declared the circumstance therof.

The Lord *Tauasco* submittech
himselfe to the *Christians*.



Cortez released some of hys prisoners and sent them to their *Lozde*, saying that it grieved him the hurt done on both parties, but the fault was theirs. And that god was witness of hys innocence and also of hys curtesie offered vnto the. But notwithstanding all that was passe, he pardo-

ned their errour with suche condition, That if in contynent or within two dayes, they *Lozde* woulde come vnto him, to yelde satisfaction of their malice and stubbornesse, and to treat of peace and friendship, warning and aduising them, that if they came not wthin the time appointed, hee woulde enter into his countrey, burning and spoyling with slaughter both great & smal, armed and vnarmed: with which message the messengers departed, and *Cortez* returned to the towne to cure his wounded men. The next day came fiftie ancient *Indians* to craue pardon for their offence, and allowance to bury the dead, with likewise safeconduct that their rulers and principal persons, myght safely come vnto

The Car-
like embas-
sadors.

Into the towne. Cortez granted their request, warning
 them to make any lyes or yet to conspire againe: and al-
 so if their lordes came not personally, he would not heare
 any moze embassadozs: with this rigorous comādemēt
 & protestation they departed. These *Indians* feeling their
 strength woulde not p̄uaile, thinking the chzistians to
 be inuincible, their Lordes and chiefest persons did deter-
 mine to goe and visite the chzistians and their captaine.
 And according to the time appointed, the Lozde of that
 towne and other foure Lordes his neyghbours came vnto
 Cortez with a god trayne of their bellals and seruitours,
 and presented vnto him, byead, turkie hennes, & frustes,
 with other like p̄ouision for his host, with four hundred
 pieces of gold of ʒ value of 400. double duckets, w̄ other
 small Jewels, and certaine turkie stones of small value.
 And twentie women slaves, to serue to make bzeade and
 bzeasse meate for ʒ whole army. He craued and beseeched
 Cortez to pardon his sozmer offence. And to accept and
 receiue them into hys friendshippe. And in token of his
 obedience, hee and his fellowes dyd willingly deliuer
 their bodies, landes and gods into his handes and
 power. Cortez did louingly receiue them, and gaue vnto
 them certaine trifles of his wares, whiche they esteemed
 much. And those *Indians* hearing the hozles and mares
 ney, they maruelled at their neyng, thinking that the
 hozles could speake, & demaunded of the Chzistians what
 they sayd, (marʒ quoth they) these hozles are soze offen-
 ded with you bycause ye fought with them, & wold haue
 you corrected and chastened for pour so doing. The sim-
 ple *Indians* hearing this, presented roses and Gynea Hens
 vnto the hozles, desiring them to eate and so pardon the,

Certaine questions that Cortez demaunded of the Cacike Tausco.



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

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

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

The thirde was: Why they being so many in nuber, fled from them being so fewe?

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 Iesu Christ.

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

And

The answer
of
the Cacike.

And as touching the captaine that was here of late, we ſeeing the men and ſhippes to be ſuch as we had neuer before ſcene, ſpake vnto them and demaunded what they would haue, they ſayde that their coming was, to chaunge their merchandice for gold and nothyng elſe, wherefore we graunted to their requeſt. But now ſeing greater veſſels and moe in number, wee feared leaſt ye came to take our ſubſtance. And I knowing my ſelfe nothing inferiour to any of my neyghbours, would not permit any iniurie to be offered me, and that he and his ſubiectes did eſtēme themſelues the moſt valiant of men of warre in all theſe parties, and that none durſt take away their goods, women, and children, to be ſacrificed by force, wherevpon he thought to withſtande thoſe ſewe Chriſtians, but (quoth he) I founde my ſelfe deceiued, ſeeyng we could not kill any of your companie. And likewiſe the brightneſſe of youre weapons dyd blynde vs, and the woundes you made were incurable.

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

How the Indians of Potonchan brake

*downe their Idols, and worshipped Christ
crucified.*



With the relation of *Tanasco* Cortez sawe that the countrey was not for Spaniards, nor yet he toke it a thing conuiente to settle themselues where no golde nor siluer was, or other riches. And so pretended to passe forwarde to discover westward the lande endowed with golde. But befoze his departure, he declared to those new conquered *Indians*, that the Lord in whose name he and hys company had taken that tourney was king of Spayne and Emperour of *Christians*, and the greatest Prince in the worlde, vnto whom many kings and Princes dyd homage and obey. And that hys rule and gouernemente in iustice proceeded from God, being iust, holy, peaceable, and sweete, and also the *Monarchie* of the vniuersall did appertaine vnto him. And for these causes he required them to yelde themselues as his subiectes. And if they would doe so, there shoulde ensue vnto them great profite, lawes and pollicie. And as touching their religion, he declared their blindnesse & greates abuses which they vsed in worshipping many Gods, and in making sacrifice vnto them with mans bloud, yea & thinking that those images and Idols, did or coulde doe god or enill vnto them, being dūbe, without life or soule, yea and y worke of their owne hands. He certified them of one god maker of heauen and earth, and all creatures whom the *Christians* did worshyppe and serue, and that

all

all creatures ought to doe the ſame. In concluſion with theſe doctryne they brake downe their Idols, and receyued the croſſe, *Cortez* hauing firſt declared vnto them the great miſeries that the ſon of God ſuffered on y^e Croſſe for mankynde. And in the greateſt temple of *Potonchan*, ſet vp a Croſſe in 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 dayes to come agayne to theſe diuine ſeruiſe. And that day was Palme ſunday. And ſo they did and brought an infinite number of men women and children of other villages with them whych was ſtraunge to behold. And there generally gaue they baſſallſhip to the king of Spaine into the handes of *Hernando Cortez*, with proteſtation of perpetuall friendſhip with the Spaniſh nation. So that theſe were the ſpythe baſſals that the Emperour had in the new Spayne. And this feaſt and ceremony ended, our men toke ſhipping with the palme boughes in their handes. In this doying *Cortez* deſerued no leſſe praſe than in his victorie, for he bleſed wiſedome with manhode in all his doings: he lefte thoſe *Indians* with a newe faith, and the towne free and without hurt, he toke none for ſlaues, nor yet any ſpoyle nor exchanged his merchaundice for any thing although he abode there twenty dayes. The towne is called in the *Indian* tongue *Potonchan*, that is to ſaye, a place that ſtinketh, and our menne named it, the victorie.

The Lord (as ye haue heard) was called *Tauaſco*, and therefore the ſicke Spaniards that came thither, named the riuer *Tauaſco*, but *Grijalua* called it after his owne name, whole name and remembrance will not ſo ſone be forgotten. And truly all thoſe that do diſcover
 new

newe countreys, ought to make perpetuall their owne names. This towne both containe neare five and twenty thousand houses (as some say) but as euery house standeth by himselfe like an Island, it seemeth much bigger than it is in deede. The houses are great, made of lime stone, & brick: others there are made of wood wal, and rafters & couered with straw or bozdes. Their dwelling is in the upper part of the house, for the greate moystnesse of the rivers and lakes, and for feare of fier, they haue their houses separated the one from the other. Without, the towne they haue moze fairer houses than wythin for their recreation and pleasure. They are browne people, and go almost naked, and eat mans flesh sacrificed. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes, slyngs, darts, and lances. The armour wherwith they defend themselues, are Targets and shulles made of wodde or barke of trees, and some of gold very thinne. They haue also a certayne kinde of harness made of cotten wolle wrapped aboute their stomacke.

The armor
of the Ind-
ians.

The good entertainment that

Cortez had in saint Iohn de
Vlhua.



Aptaine Cortez, and his company beeing embarked, sayled weast wards as nye the shoar as thei might. And this coast hauing no harborz, they founde no place where they might Anker safely with their greater vessels, vntil they arriued vpon Sandie thursday at saint Iohn de Vlhua, whiche seemed a good harbor for them. The Indians of this place call this harbour Chalchicocca, there the flecto came to Anker. They were not so soone at Roade, but incontinent came two
little

little boates named *Calles*, enquiring for the Generall of the floete, who when they came to hys presence, dyd humble reuerence vnto him, and sayde vnto hym that *Tendillo* the Governoure of that Province sente to knowe what people they were, and what they woulde haue, and whether they meante to stay there or procede farther. *Aguillar* dyd not well vnderstande that language. *Cortez* caused them to come aboarde hys Shyppe, gyuyng them thankes for theyr paynes and visitation. He made vnto them a banquet of Wyne and Conserua, and sayde vnto them, that the nexte day following hee woulde come alande, and talke with the Governoure, whome hee besoughte not to alter him nor hys people wyth hys commyng a shoze, for he meant not to molest hym, but rather to pleasure and profytc hym. So that these messengers were rewarded wyth certayne gyftes, they eate and dranke, but yet suspected euill, although they lyked the Wyne well, wherefoze they desired to haue thereof, and also of the Conserua, to presente vnto theyr Lorde, whyche was given them, and so departed.

The nexte daye beinge good Friday, *Cortez* came alande wyth hys Boates full of menne, and broughte hys Horses and artillerie a shoze by little and little, wyth all hys menne of warre, and two hundred *Indians* of *Cuba*, whyche serued to toyle and labour. Hee planted hymselfe in the best scituation that hee coulde fynde among the Sandy bankes on the Sea syde, and there pytched hys Campe, and hauyng nere that place manye trees, they bulke them Cotages with boughes.

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

suche toys, as the two little Boates had broughte from them before. They brought also bread and meate readie dressed after their vse likewise to sell. Dure men chaunged wth them beadedstones of glasse, looking glasses, sissors, knives, pinnes, and suche other wares, whereof the *Indians* were not a little glad, returning home to their houses, shewing their neighbours. The ioy and pleasure that these simple soules tooke with these trifles, was so greate, that the next day they came agayne wth other *Indians* ladē wth Jewels of gold, Turkie Hennes, bread, meate, and fruite, that suffised for all the Campe, and for the same they receiued needles, and beadedstones of glasse, but the poore soules thought themselues therewith so riche, that they knewe not where they were wth ioy and pleasure, yea and they thoughte that they hadde deceyued the *Strangers*. Powe *Cortez* seeing the greate quantitie of golde broughte and bartered so foolishly for trifles of no balewe, proclaymed throughout all hys host, that no *Chyistian* shoulde take any golde vpon greate penaltie, and that they shoulde all shewe, as though they knewe not to what purpose the golde serued, and that they passed not for it, bycause they shoulde not thynke that the desire thereof had broughte them thither, and so they did dissemble that great demonstration of golde, to see what was meante thereby, and whether the *Indians* hadde brought that golde, to proue whether they commynge was for that or no. On the next day in the morning, came *Teudilli* the Governour to the Campe, from *Catofia* hys dwelling place, wherby was eyght leagues from thence. He brought attending vpon his person foure thousande men without weapon, and the most part well clothed, some of them wth garments of Cotton, riche after their manner. And others naked, laden wth victuals in great abundance, whiche was

¶ Wife-
dome.

The count-
raing of the
Gouernour.

was straunge to see. *Teudilli* according to their vsance, did his reuerence to the Captaine, burning frankinsence, and little strawes touched in bloud of his owne bodye, he presented vnto him the victuals, and certayne Jewels of golde very ri che and well wrought, and other things made of feathers very curious straunge and artificiaall. *Cortez* embraced him in his armes, and receyued hym topfully, saluting all hys company. He gaue to *Teudilli* a coate of sli ke, a byoche, and a collar of glasse, with many other peces of Haberdashe wares, whiche was highly esteemed of him.

A strange salutation.

The talke of Cortez vvith

Teudilli.



A the former talke was had without an Interpreter, bycause *Ieronimo de Aguillar* vnderstode not thys language, bycause it differed muche from the speche of the other *Indians*, where as he hadde bin captiue: for whyche cause *Cortez* was somewhat carefull,

bicause he would largely haue discoursed with *Teudilli*. It chanced that among those twentie women giuen hym in *Potonchan*, one of them stode talking with a seruaunte of *Teudilli*, bycause she vnderstode them as menne of hir owne language. *Cortez* espying this, called hir aside, and promised hir moze than libertie, so that she woulde bee a trustie and faithfull interpreter betwixte hym and those *Indians*, and that hee woulde esteeme hir as his Secretarye. And further demanded of hir of what lignage she was, then she answered, that she was naturall of the Countrey that bordered vpo *Xalisco*, and of a towne called

A marvelous happy

H. iij.

called

called *Pilus*, daughter vnto riche parentes, and of the kinrede of the Lorde of that lande. And beeing a little girle, certayne Merchantes tyd steale hir away in tyme of wa. re, and brought hir to be solde at the kaye of *Xicalance*, whyche is a greate Towne nere *Coasagualce*, not farre distant from *Tauasco*: and after this sozte she came to the power of the Lord of *Potonchan*. This woman was Christened *Ma. ma*. She and hir fellowes were the firste Christians baptised in all the newe *Spayne*, and the onely with *Aguilar*, were Interpreters betwixt the *Indiās* and our men.

Howe *Cortez* beeing assured of hys true Interpreters, hee celebrated hys accustomed deuine seruice, and *Tendilli* wyth hym, and after they hadde dyned in *Cortez* hys Tente in presence of many *Spaynards* and *Indians*, *Cortez* enioyned *Tendilli* howe that hee was bassall to the Lord *Charles* of *Austria* Emperour of the *Christiās*, and King of *Spayne*, and Lorde ouer a greate parte of the worlde, whome great Kings and Princes dyd serue and obey: and that all Princes were glad to bee hys friendes for his Vertue and myghte. And hee hauyng aduertisemente of that Countrey and Lorde thereof, had sente him thither to visite hym on hys behalfe, and to enioyne hym of certayne secrets matters, the effecte whereof he hadde in wytyng. Sir (quoth *Tendilli*.) I am very glad to heare the Maiestie and Vertue of the Emperoure youre maister, but you shall vnderstande, that my Lorde the Emperoure *Melzuma* is as greate and as god a Prince as he: And I doe muche maruell, that there shoulde bee anye so greate a Prince in the whole worlde, but yet according to youre request, I wyll certifie hym, and knowe hys pleasure, for I trust (quoth he) in the clemencie of my Prince, that youre newes and message shall bee acceptable vnto him, and

The ann-
sversers of
Tendilli.

and you well recompensed for your paynes. Cortez then commaunded al his men to set themselves in order of battayle with sife and ordunne, and to skirmishe befoze *Tendilli*. And that the hozlemen shoulde runne, and the ordunance shotte of, to the entent that *Mutezuma* shoulde be aduertised thereof. The *Indians* did much beholde the gesture, apparell and beardes of our men, they wondered to see the hozles runne, they feared the brightnesse of the hozdes, and at the noyse of the ordunance they fell flatte to the ground, thinking that the heauens did fall. And the shippes, they held opinion was the God of the ayre called *Quezalcoatl*, whiche came with the temples on his backe, for they dayly looked for him. *Tendilli* dispatched the poste to *Mexico*, to *Mutezuma*, aduising him of all that he had seene, and demaunded golde of him for to giue vnto the Captayne of that newe people. Because Cortez had inquired of him, whether *Mutezuma* had gold or no, he answered (yes) many quoth Cortez, I and my fellowes haue a certayne disease of the harte, and golde helpeth vs. This message wente from the campe to *Mexico* in one day and a night, whiche is 210. myle, and the poste caried paynted the hozles and hozlemen vpon them, the maner of theyr armour, and howe many peeces of ordunance they had, & 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 aforesayde, *Tendilli* 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 thozte a space, was, they had certayne places that postes attended, as we may say hozlepotes which gaue alwayes from hand to hande the paynted cloth: they doe runne on sote faster in this sote, than by hozlepote, and is more of antiquitie than hozlepote. Also *Tendilli* sent to *Mutezuma* the garments & many

The disease
of the Spaniards.

other things whiche Cortez had given him, whiche things were after wardes founde in the treasorie of *Mutezuma*.

The present and ansvere that

Mutezuma sente vnto Cortez.



After the message sente, and the answere promised, *Tendill* toke his leaue, and with in two slight shote of Cortez his campe, he caused a thousande cotages of boughes to be made, & leste there two principall men as Captaynes ouer two thousande persons men and women, and then departed for *Corosta* hys dwelling place. The two Captaynes had charge to prouide the Chulchians of all things necessarie, and the women serued to grynde their coyne and make bread of *Maiz*, and to dresse theyr fishe and flesh and other victuals, and the men serued to carrie the dressed meate to the Christians campe, and wood, water, & grasse for the horses and al other necessaries, and this they palled eight dayes. In this meane season returned the poste with a riche and gentle present, whiche was many couerlets and clothes of cotton, white, and of other colours wrought, many tuftes of feathers very fayre, and some things wrought with golde and feathers, quantitie of Jewels and peeces of golde and siluer, two thime wheeles, the one of siluer, whiche wayde 25 markes with the signe of the Moone, and the other whele of golde which wayed a hundredth markes, made like vnto the Sunne, with many leaues and beafts, a very curious pece of worke: these two things they helde for Gods in that countrey, & giueth the the colours of the metall that is likest the, every whele was two yardes & a half broad, and so proportionally in compasse round aboute, this present was esteemed at 20000 Ducates. This present shold

haue

have bene given to *Gryalua*, if he had not so sone departed as the *Indians* repozted. He also gaue vnto *Cortez* this answer, that *Mutezuma* his Lorde was very gladd to know, & to be friend to such a mighty Prince as the king of Spayne was, and that in his time should arrine in his countrey such new people, & the like neuer seene before, & that he was ready to shew them al pleasure & honour, requesting him to see what things he stood in neede of for y^e time that he meant to abide there, as well for himselfe as for his ships, army and vesse, and it should be prouided abundantly: yea & also if he could finde any thing in that countrey to his contentment, to present to the Emperour of Christians, he would willingly prouide 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 could not come vnto the sea coast, and likewise for *Cortez* to come where he did abide, it was harde, troublesome and difficill, as well for the many and cragged mountaynes, as also the countrey, wilde, desert & without habitation; and shoulde be constrained to suffer hunger, thirst, and other necessitie: and mozeouer the inhabitants of much part of the way that he should passe, were his enemies, both cruell & cursed people, and knowing the to be his friends, they should not escape with life.

All these excuses did *Mutezuma* by the mouth of *Tendilli* declare vnto *Cortez*, thinking to drine him fro his purpose & pretended iourney, alleaging the foresayd difficulties and perils, the *Indians* did also hope that with some contrary weather they should be forced to leaue that coast & countrey. Notwithstanding this contradiction, so much the moze desire had *Cortez* to visite *Mutezuma*, who was so great a prince in that parties, & throughtly to discover the treasure which he imagined to be there. And hauing receiued y^e present, & also y^e answer, he gaue vnto *Tendilli* a garment of his

The excuse of
Mutezuma

owne wearyng, and many other trifles of his Haberdashy, to be sente vnto *Mutezuma*, saying that if it were for no other purpose but onely to see so mightie and vertuous a Prince, it should be requisite and iuste to trauayle vnto his Court, how much the moze, he was of duetie cōstrayned to doe the Embassage which the Emperour of Christians had willed and commaunded him to doe, for otherwyse he shoulde incurre the displeasure of the King his mayster, wherefoze he besought *Teudilli* yet once agayne to aduertise *Mutezuma* of his constant determination, because he shoulde vnderstande that he would not leaue off hys pretended purpose for any inconuenience that was objected vnto him. Alleagyng mozeouer, 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 pzoouision, and likewise his shippes in danger, he required that with all expedition the messengers should be dispatched. *Teudilli* desired him to recreate himself, & not to take any grief, for as much as he himself did dayly aduertise *Mutezuma* of his 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 shoulde take no care, for abundantly he should be pzoouided. And also desired him for so much as he was not well placed among those sandy bankes, that it might please him to goe with him to certayne townes aboute fife or seuen leagues frō thence. *Cortez* refused that offer, wherevpon *Teudilli* departed, and he abode there ten dayes looking for answer from *Mutezuma*.

How

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



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

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

These *Indians* dyd differ muche from all the other *Indians* yet sene, for they were hygher of person, and had the gyffels of theyr noses sitte, hanging ouer their mouths, and rings of Iette and Amber hanging thereat. They had also theyr neither lippes bozed, and in the holes rings of golde and turky stones, whiche wayed so muche,

The *Indians*
attyre.

that their lippes hanged downe ouer theyr chinnes, and their teeth remainned bare: The whiche custome although they vsed for a brauery, it seemed a foule and vgly sighte in the Spanyardes eyes, and very lothsome.

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

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

Cortez made muche of them and shewed a cherefull countenaunce vnto them, for they seemed very bestiall, he declared vnto them that he was gladd of theyr comyng, and to knowe the good will that theyr Lozde bare vnto him, and gaue them *Haberdash*e toys, and shewed them the *Horses* and *Armour*, a straunge sighte for them. And so they wente through the army looking and gasing here and there as menne amazed, And in all the tyme they abode there, they vsed no conuersation with the other *Indians*. *Cortez* enquired of *Maryna* the cause thereof, and she sayde that those menne did not onely speake an other languague, but also did appertayne to another Lozde, who was not vassall to *Mutezuma*, but by force and extorcion.

Cortez

Cortex was very gladd of that newes, for hee con-
 fectured by the talke of *Tendilli* that *Mutezuma* had
 warres and enemies, wherebpon hee toke aside thre
 of those *Indians* whiche seemed moste wysse, and de-
 maunded of them by *Maryna* what Lordes there were
 in that Countrey: they answered that *Mutezuma* was
 Lozde ouer all, although in every Citty and Prouince
 was a Lozde, yet neuerthelesse all in generall byd paye
 tribute and serue him as vassalls, nay rather lyke slaves.
 But yet many of them of late dayes did reknowlege
 hym by force of armes, and payde vnto him suche tollie
 and tribute that they were not accustomed to pay, of
 whiche number their Lozde of *Zempoallan* was one of
 them, and other his neyghbours, who many tymes helde
 him warre to be free from his tyranny and bondage, but
 yet sayde they, it preuailed not, for his hoste was greate
 and his warriers valiant.

Cortex receyued greate pleasure to finde in that coun-
 trey dissention and discorde among some noble men,
 and at deuision among themselves, thinking thereby
 the better to bypnyng 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
 often to his campe, and so toke his leaue of them, with
 his commendations to their Lozde, and sente him cer-
 tayne presents, with aduertisement, that shortly he would
 come and see him, yea and also serue him.

Hovy

Howv Cortez vvent to suruey the
Country with foure hundred men.

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

Cortez suspecting this alteration prouided himselfe with preparation for battayle, & finding the matter contrary to his expectation, he deliberated to seeke a sure roade or harbor for his nauie, & also a good plotte or situation to buyde vpon, for then he fully meant to obtayne perpetuities to conuere the lande, considering y he had found such great tokens of gold, plate, & other riches, & thereaboute within a whole league copasse was no fit place for y purpose: for why: all was sandy ground, & such as tossed to & fro with the winde, with other moorish ground not meete for habitation. In consideration wherof he sent *Francisco de Monteio*, with two bergantines, and fiftie men, to runne along the coast,

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

Monteio proceeded on his voyage, and sayled in sighte of lande, vntill he came to *Panuco*, withoute finding anye port or harboz, sauing the shadowe of a Rocke, whyche stood sometowhat distant from the land a sea boord, so that at thre wēkes ende he returned backe agayne with the sayde newes. Haying runne so little a way, he fell into suche terrible currants, that although he made waye wyth oares and sayles, yet the sayde Currant forced hym backe agayne. Also he broughte newes, that the *Indians* of that coast did let themselues bloud, offering the same vnto them vpon little strawes, in token of friendship or deitie.

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

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

After hee hadde journeyed thre leagues, hee came to a sayre vadeable Riuer, and passing ouer the Riuer, hee founde

found a towne not inhabited, for the inhabitantes thereof were fledde with feare: he entred into a great house, which seemed the place of the Lords of the Towne, built with timber and earthen walles, the foundation whereof was rayfed with handie woрке, about a fademe high: the roofe was covered with strawe, but of a fayre & strange wořkemanſhippe inwarde, with many greate perſitions, ſome full of pottes of honey, and Hain, with other grayne whiche they keepe in ſtoze all the yeare: other womens had cloth of Cotten wal, wrought with feathers, golde and ſiluer.

Cortex commaunded Proclamation to be made, that none of his company ſhoulde take any thyng away, vpon payne of deathe (onely viduals excepted) to the ſentence to obtayne the god 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 bloody papers, and much mans blood of thoſe which hadde bin ſacrificed; as *Marina* dyd certifie.

They found alſo the blocke wherevpon they ſled to cutte open the menne ſacrificed, and the razors made of Flint, wherewyth they opened their breaſtes, and plucked out their heartes beſyng alive, thꝛowing them by the toward Heauchen 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, pea and a feare among our *ſpanyards*, who did beholde theſe things. From this Village they went to other thꝛee or foure, and found none aboue two hundred houſes, and all without people, yet well provided with viduall, as the firſte towne was.

Cortex

Cortez returned from thence to discharge his Shippes, and to take order to sende for moe men: and with desire to beginne habitation, in these affaires he occupied hym selfe tenne dayes.

Howe Cortez rendred vp his charge

and office with pollicie.



When Cortez was come where his Ships were, and the residue of his company, hee began this talke, saying:

How my louing friends and fellowes, ye doe see what greate mercy God hath shewed vnto vs, in byrning vs safe and in health to so good and riche a Countrey, as by manifest signes and tokens we haue alreadye seene, yea and ho we plentifull of meate, inhabited of people, better clothed, and of moze iudgement and reason, than the others whiche ye haue seene, since your firste coming: also better buildings, fieldes of grayne and cozne: yea and it is to be thought, that the things not yet seene, doe surmount all that hither vnto ye haue playnely seene. Wherefore wee ought to giue most hartie thankes vnto God, and to beginne oure habitation heere, whereas we shall enioy the grace and mercy of God. And to byrning this matter to passe, me thinke best that we abide heere, vntill we may finde a better port or scituation. Also that we make a wall or Castell for oure defence, if neede shoulde happen, for the people of this land hath little ioy of our coming and abiding heere.

It was then considered that fro that place they might the sooner haue friendship and contraction with the Indians and Townes nexte adioyning, as *Zempallan*, and others whiche were enimies to *Mutezuma*, and beynge in this order once placed, they myghte

h. ij.

discharge

discharge their Shyppes, and sende them incontinent to *Cuba*, *Santo Domingo*, *Iamayca*, *Borriquen*, and other *Islandes*, or else to *Spaine* for moze men, armour and *Hoyses*, and for clothing and victuals.

Politic.

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

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

And also ordeyne all other offices that shoulde be necessary and needefull to rule and gouerne a Citie, whych he then pretended to edifie and create, the whiche Magistrates should fully commaund, vntill such time that the Emperour should other wise prouide in matters conuenient for his seruice.

A good
subiecte.

After this diligence put in bre, he solemnely take possession of all y land, in the name of the Emperour *Charles* King of *Castill*, with all the actes and ceremonies, as to such a matter apperteyned. And demaunded of *Francisco Fernandez* notarie appoynted, that he shoulde gyue vnto him by testimonie in writing, all the actes done therein. All his company answered, that they did very well allowe hys proceedings and prayled, and also approued hys determination, besleching hym to procede accordingly, sithence they were come to serue and obey hym. Then *Cortez* named Judges, Aldermen, Attozney, Serseant, Notary, and Towneclearke, and all other officers apperteyning to the good gouernement of a Citie, in the name and behalfe of the Emperoure hys naturall Lord, and delyuered incontinent to the Judges white roddees to beare in their handes in token of Justice, and named the newe Citie to be builde, *The ryche Towne*

De la

De la Vera Cruz; by cause that one good Friday they had entered into that land. After these things finished, Cortez began before he saide Potary, another act in presence of the iudges, who were Alonso Fernandez Potocarero, and Francisco de Monteio, in whose handes he made tession, and dyd desyst from all rule and offices whiche heretofore he had receiued, which was his gouernership, captaineship and general discoverer, receiued in the Chauncerie of Santo Domingo, at the handes of the presidentes, who were there chiefe of the kings counsell, and presidents, likewise he protested not to vse the power and auctozity of the gouernour of Cuba, Admirall of India, soz so much he notv none of them had any rule or gouernement in that Countrey which he and his fellowes had newly discovered, and begun to enhabite in the name of the king of Castil, as his naturall subiectes. The which auctozitie he likewise required to be set downe in recozde, and to haue a copie of the same.

Howv the souldiours chose Cortez

for Captaine generall, and chiefe ruler
in Iustice.



A the newe officers toke possession and charge of their offices, and entred into the towne house to counsel according to the vse and custome of Castil. In the which congregation or counsel then holden, many matters were had in question as touching the good gouernemente of the common weale. And among many other things, they all agreed to electe Hernando Cortez for captaine generall and chiefe Iustice, and to giue vnto him full power and auctozity

R. 16.

soz

for all matters appertaining to the waies and conquest, vntill such time as the Emperour should other wise prouide: with this determination the next day following al the Aldermen, Judges, and Counsellers, went vnto *Cortex*, and sayde vnto him: Sir we haue greate neede of a guide and captaine for the warres to procede bypon the conquest of this countrey, wherfore vntill such time as y^e Emperour shall prouide therein, they all besought, bynt to accepte that office and charge, approuing him a man most fit for the same, both to rule and gouerne, for y^e great experience that they had sene of his courage, wisdom, and pollicie, and by Vertue of their offices, did comaund him to accept the same, saying, that in so doing, God and the king shoulde bee faithfully serued. And they woulde thankfully gratify the same, knowing that at his hands, they should be ruled with iustice, bled with humility, & be preserved with diligence and strength. And for that purpose, they had choisen him for that office, giuing vnto him their ful & whole authorizty, submitting theselues vnder his hands, iurisdiction & defence. *Cortex* accepted y^e charge at final entreating, for he desired nothing so much.

And being in this sort elected general, the counsel said vnto him. Sir you do wel vnderstand, that vntill such time as we shal bee better planted in this countrey, we haue not wherewith to maintaine our selues but only wth suche things as are aboird our shippes. Wherfore it may please you to commaund it to be brought ashore, and that you take therof what shal seme good vnto you, for your household and familie, and the residue may be taxed at a reasonable price, and so to be deuised among them: & for payement they wold al binde theselues, or else y^e presently it shoulde be deducted out of the woocke, after that the kings s^h parts were subtracted. Likewise they desired him to value his shippes and artilery, bycause they wold make
 col like

like payment for the same, and that fro thence forwarde
 the ships should serue in common, for to passe to the I-
 lads for bread, wine, clothes, weapons, horses, and other
 things which should be needfull for the new towne and
 army, for thereby they might be better cheape prouided
 than if merchants should prouide them, considering al-
 way they seke for excessive gaine, saying that if it would
 please hym to accepte thys offer and request, they would
 thankfully requite the same. Cortez aunswered, that at y
 time he made his preparation and furniture in Cuba, he
 ment not to sel his prouision as others vsed to do, but he
 would and did frankely giue it vnto them, although hee
 had spent his goods and indetted himselfe therein. And in
 continent he commaunded the maisters of the ships and
 passengers, to bring a lad at their vidual to the town house,
 requiting the Aldermen to deuide it equally, to euerye
 man his part, without making any difference of him or
 of any other, for (quoth he) in time of neede of viduals y
 vidual hath as much allowance as the eldest. And al-
 though I am indetted and do owe more than seauen pp.
 Ducks, I giue this vidual al frankely vnto you. And
 as concerning the ships, I wil do y which shal be most co-
 mment for you al. And (quoth he) I wil determin nothing
 to be done with the, but wil first giue you aduertisemēt
 of the same. Cortez for to get their loue and fauour, by
 cause there were many that loued hym not, although he in
 very truth he was of his own nature liberal and large
 in experiences with al his souldiers in the warres,

Liberality

The

The receiuing of Cortez into

Zempoallan.



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

The

The horſemen toke on theyꝝ way, and when they came to the hill toppē, they made ſignes of peace vnto them, but the poꝛe and fearefull *Indians* fledde with ſpēde, yea being amafed and in great feare to beholde ſuche a monſterous thynge as a horſeman, beleuyng aſſuredly, that horſe and man was one thing incorporate, but in theyꝝ ſight they were ſone ouertaken, and they yelded themſelues, and ſo were all brought vnto *Cortez*.

Simpliſtly.

Theſe men had in theyꝝ eares and noſes boꝛed holes, with rings of golde hangyng thereat, ſoꝝ ſo was the vſe of *Zempoallan*: they enformed *Cortez* that the Cittie was neare at hande. *Cortez* demaunded the cauſe of their comyng thither, they answered to behold and ſee ſo ſtraunge a ſight, but why fledde you then (quoth he?) ſoꝝ feare only ſir ſayde they, of people which we knew not. Then *Cortez* willed them to put all feare aſide, and tolde them that he with his ſmall company would goe vnto their Cittie to viſite their Loꝛde, 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 hym they would conduct him to a village whiche ſtoode on the other ſide of the Riuer and within ſight, and although it were but a ſmall village, yet there was reaſonable lodgyng with meate ſufficiente ſoꝝ 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 aduertife their Loꝛde how the ſtraungers abode in that place, promiſing to returne the nexte day with anſwere. Some of the *Indians* had licence to do the meſſage, the others abode there, attending and providing ſoꝝ the newe geſtes, & in this order they were all lodged and their ſupper abundantly provided. That night *Cortez* fortified himſelfe as ſtrong as mough be, and the nexte morning came a hundꝛeth men laden with *Vennes*, ſaying that

A. theyꝝ

their Lord much reioyce of their comming, and because he was so grosse and vniwealdie, he came not personallie vnto him, but yet notwithstanding he aboade in the cittie expeating his comming. Cortez friendly welcomed them, and with that presente, he and his company brake their fatte, and then proceeded with his guides in god order with two fauonets in readinesse, if neede should happen: and from that passage of the riuer they had a faire way vntil they came to another riuer, which being likewise waded ouer, they discied *Zempoallan*, whiche stode a myle distant from them, all beset wyth saye Orchards and Gardens, verpe pleasaunte to beholde: they vsed alwayes to water them with sluses when they pleased.

There proceeded out of the Towne many persons, to behold and recepue so strange a people vnto them. They came with smiling countenance, and presented vnto the diuers kinde of floures, and sundry frutes, which none of our menne had heeretofore seene. These people came without feare among the Ordinance, with this pompe, triumph and ioy they were receiued into the Citie, which seemed a beautifull Garden: for the tries were so graine and high, that scarcely the houses appeared.

At the Citie gate stode many graine persons of nobilitie, as Magistrates of the Citie, who solemnely welcomed the Strangers. Sire Hoysmen, which hadde gone befoze the army to discover, returned backe as Cortez was entring into the Citie, saying, that they had seene a great house and Court, and that the walles were garnished with siluer. Cortez commaunded them to procede on, willing them not to shew any token of wonder of any thing that they should see. All the streets were replenished with people, whiche stode gaping and wondering at the hoyses and straungers. And passing through a great market place, they saw on their right hande, a great wal-
led

Mens folly
vwith a
great lyr.

led house made of lyme and stone, with loupe holes and towers, whited with playster that shined lyke siluer, being so well burnished and the sunne glistering vpon it. And that was the thing that the Spaniards thought had bene walles of siluer. I doe beleue that with the imagination and great desire whiche they had of golde and siluer, all that shined they deemed to be the same mettall.

Within this great house was a long row of lodgings, and on the other side sixe or seven Towers one higher than another. They proceeded on, dissimulynge the errour of the siluer walles, and followed their guide vntill suche time as they came to the Lordes lodging, who came forth accompanied with many auncient persons, and better attired than the other Citizens were, with two Gentlemen that ledde him by the armes. They saluted eche other accordyng to the vse of their countreys, and then entred into the pallyace, where certayne principall men conducted Cortes and all his frayne to their lodgyng, and Captayne Cortes was lodged in the house whiche had the glisterynge walles, situated in the markette place, whiche house was sufficient for him and all his company. And when they were placed, and behelde the walles, they were ashamed of their owne folly: for where they thought those walles had bene adozned with siluer, they founde them cleane contrary. Cortes deuided his men, caused his hozles to be trimmed, and planted his ordinaunce at his doze, making himselfe as strong as though he had bene in campe and nere his enemies. And commaunded, that none of his men shoulde goe out of the house without his expresse licence vpo payne of death. The officers of the Lorde prepared a plentefous supper for them, and beddyng accordyng to their vse.

A vigilant
Captaynes.

The talke that the Lorde of Zempoallan had with Cortez.



The next day in the morning came the Lorde, to visite Cortez with an honorable company, and presented vnto him many garments wrought of Cotté wolle, according to the ir fashion, with a knot on the shoulder like vnto the Egyptian garments, and certaine iewels of golde that might be worth two thousande Ducates, besechyng both him and his company to recreate themselves and take their reste, and at that present he meante not to trouble him with any matters: And so toke his leaue for that time as he had done the day befoze, willing him to demaunde and call for any thing that he should neede. Cortez gaue him hartie thaks, and so departed.

Then came moe Indians in number than there were Spaniards, with their courses & seruice of meate ready dressed, and many boughes of daintie fruits. In this sorte they were feasted & baked fiftene dates most plentifully. The next day folowynge, Cortez sent vnto the Spaniards certaine olde garments of the Spanishe fashion, and many other trifles, besechyng him to appoynt a day of conference at his owne pallyce: woꝝde was sent agayne that he was ready and very well contented. Wherevpon Cortez toke with him fiftie of his men all armed, and left the residue at his lodgyng in a good readinesse, and appoynted an vnder Captayne to gouerne them. The Lorde hearing of his comming, came out of his Courte into the streete to receyue him. And hande in hand they entred together into a lowe hall, whiche they vse for the extremitie of heate in that countrey, the plotte that they buyde vpon is rayled a sadome from the grounde, so that they ascende vpon

upon fteppes, and the walles plaistered with very white lime, their tile is eyther of straw or leaues of trees, very beautifull and straungely wrought, and a good defence against the rayne. The Lozde and Cortes satte them downe upon thre footed stoles made all of one peece, the Lozde commaunded his seruitours to stande aside, and by their interpreters they began to commune of their assayes a great space, in demaundes and answeres, because Cortes desired to be well instructed of the assayes of that countrey, and lykewise of that mightie kyng of *Mutezuma*.

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

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

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

And nowe we seying our errour, haue thought it to late to preuaile agaynst them to take away our yoke of seruitude and bondage, although we haue attempted it. And as often as we haue so done, still the victorie was theirs, and the ouerthrowe ours. Howe all suche as doe

The Indiās
complaynt.

Vnder colour of holinesse.

submitte themselves vnto them, are taxed with certayne tributes, and reknowlegging them for Lordes, are defended by them, and esteemed as friends. But if after such submission made, any chaunce to speake agaynst them, or rebell, then they are terribly corrected, yea murdered, and after Sacrifice made to the Goddess of warre, called *Tezcaltipuca* and *Viczilopuchili* of theyr carcases, then is theyr flesh eaten in banquet, and those who remaine alyue, doe serue for slaues, yea and the Fathers, Brothers and Childzen, are compelled to labour and toyle from the Sunne rising to the Sunne setting, with confiscation of all theyr goddes and landes. And besides all this crueltie and vituperie, they sende theyr officers and Serieantes to execute the premisses, who without eyther pittie or mercie many tymes suffereth them to sterue with hunger. And beyng thus cruelly punished of *Mutezuma*, who nowe reigneth in *Mexico*, who woulde not suffer to bee Masall willingly to so good a Prince as you enformed me of the Emperour, although it were but onely to bee free from such variation and robbery whiche suche a mighty King coulde doe. And with these wordes the teares gushyd out of his eyes, and pauing a whyle, he beganne to extoll the strength, magnificence and situation of *Mexico* planted in a greate lake of water: also he exalted the riches, courte, Maiestie and mightie power of *Mutezuma*. He sayde also howe *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco* and other prouinces thereabouts, as also the people called *Totonaquez* of the Spoutaynes were of contrary opinion to the *Mexicans*, yea enemies vnto them, who had intelligence what had happened in *Tauasco*, 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 agaynst vs.

Cortes reioyced in harte to heare this newes, and sayde

sayde vnto him. It grieueth mee to heare of the cuill vltage of *Mutezuma* towarde his countrey, and subiectes. But I assure you with Gods helpe I will deliuer you, yea and reuenge all your iniuries, for my commyng hither is to take away all cuill customes, and to helpe the oppressed, to fauour the prysoner, and comfozte the afflicted, and chiefly to abolishe tyrannie. And for the good entertaynement that I haue receyued at your handes, I doe remaine yours to doe you any pleasure, and to defende you agaynst your enimies, and the lyke will I doe for your friends, wherefoze I pray you aduertise them thereof as many as are of our confederacie.

Cortes then toke hys leane, saying that he had bene many dayes there, and that he had greate neede to goe visite his shippes and menne, who muche desired his returne, and abode in *Aquibuitlan*, where hee meante to sojourne for a certayne season, and from thence dayly they mighte conferre of their affayres. The Lozde of *Zempoallan* sayde, that if it pleased hym to abyde with him hee woulde gladly accept it, and if his busynesse were suche that he might not, that then he besought him to remember him.

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

Cortes receyued the presente with thankes, because he would

An other
gifte.

woulde not offende the giner thereof. And so departed with their women ridyng behinde them, with many Indian women to wayte vpon them, and many Indian men to beare them company, and to puruey all things necessarye.

Things that happened to Cortez
in *Chiauiztlan*.



The same day that they departed fro Zempoallan they came to *Chiauiztlan*, and yet the shippes were not arriued. Cortes marueyled at their long taryng in so shORTE a Iourney. Ther was a village within shotte of a hargabushe from the rocke called *Chiauiztlan* standyng vpon a litle hill. Cortes hauing litle to do, went thither with his men, and the Indians of Zempoallan, who certified Cortes that the village was appertaynyng to a Lozde oppressed by *Mutezuma*. They came to the foote of the hill, without sighte of any man of the towne, excepte two, that *Marina* vnderstode not, and going by the hill, the hozsemen to fauour their hozses would alight, bicause the ascending was cragged and euill way, Cortes commaunded that they shoulde not alight, bycause the Indians shoulde thinke that there was no place highe nor lowe, but that these hozses shoulde and coulde come vnto it. So by litle and litle they came into the towne, and finding no creature there, they feared some decepte, yet appoehyng further, they mette with twelue auncient men, whiche brought with them an interpreter who vnderstode the language of *Culhua* and the speache of that place, whiche is the language of the *Totonagues*, or inhabitantes of the Mountaynes. These auncient menme declared that the cause of theyr goyng out of the

the towne, was by cause that they had neuer seene anye such men as the Spaniards were, nor 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 bodye, but rather being a people good and peaceable, then wee were well assured who ye were, when we saw you come toward vs. And wee are nowe comen vnto you on the behalfe of the Lord, to bring you to your lodging.

Cortez gaue them thanks, and went with them to a certaine place where the Lord was abyding their comming wel accompanied: he shewed vnto the Christians great good wil, and marvelled to see those straungers with their long beards.

The Lord toke a little chafynge dish in his hande, and cast into it a certaine gumme, whych sauoured in swēt smel much like vnto frankincense. And with a seacer he smoked *Cortez* with this ceremony they ble their salutations to theyr gods and nobilitie.

A strange
saluration.

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

A strange
hap.

The *Caske* certified *Cortez* enen as the Lord of *Zempoallan* had done, but he stood in great feare lest *Mutezuma* should be offended for receyuing and lodging him within that towne, without his commaundement, and being in thys communication, sodenly appeared twentye men entring where they sate, wth certayn wāds like cudgels in their hāds, which did signify y^e they were rent gatherers & in ech other hand, a flye flap of feathers, the *Cacike* & hys company were soare asrayde. *Cortez* demaunded wherefoze he so altered himself, he answered, bicause those twēty *Indians* were collectors of *Mutezuma*, and that he feared that they would complayne of him, hauing founde those

¶

Christians

Christians there, he feared likewise cruell punishment for the same. Cortes comforted him, saying that *Mutezuma* was his friende, and that he would so vse the matter that he should receyue no blame at all, but rather that *Mutezuma* should giue him thanks for that whiche he had done: And if *Mutezuma* did not, or would not so accept it, that then he would defend both him and his subiects, for (quoth he) every one of my me is sufficient for a thousand *Mexicans*, as *Mutezuma* himselfe was well enformed by the late warres at *Potonchan*.

Yet for and notwithstanding all this talke, the *Roode* and all his folke were in great feare, and meante to arise and to lodge the receyuers. Cortes would not suffer him, and by cause (quoth he) thou shalt see what I and my men can doe, commaund thy seruants to apprehend and take prysoners these receyuers of *Mexico*, and I will abide here with thee, in such sorte that *Mutezuma* with all his power shall not offende thee.

With the courage that he receyued at these wordes, he commaunded to lay hande vpon the *Mexicans*, and by cause they defended themselves, they were soze beaten, and layde euery one in a severall prison, and bounde them to a great poste whereat they were tied by the throte, feete, and handes, and beyng 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 remayne as they were, with god watch that they might not escape: When they were brought into a hall in the *Spaniards* lodging, and were placed rounde aboute a god fire, but yet bounde hande and foote with garde of watchmen. Cortes also appoynted certaine of his men to watch the hall doze, and then went to his lodging to supper, where he and his company was well prouided at the *Cazik* furniture.

The receyuers put
in pryson.

The messages sent by Cortez

vnto Mutezuma.



The nighte beyng farre spent, and the *Indians* that kepte the watch being asleepe, Pollide.

Cortes sente vnto the Spaniards that watched at the hall doze where the p^rys^oners were, and commaunded them to let goe tw^o of the p^rys^oners, as secretly

as they might, and to bring them vnto him. The Spaniards handled the matter so well, that they fulfilled his desire, and brought tw^o of them to *Cortes* his chamber, who looked vpon them as though he had not knowen them, and willed *Aguillar* and *Maryna* to demaunde who they were, and what they would haue, and why they had bene in p^rys^on. They answered, that they were vassals of *Mutezuma*, and that they had the charge to receyue certayne tributes, that those of that towne & p^rouince payde vnto their Lozde. And also (quoth they) we know not for what cause we are nowe imp^rys^oned and so euelly vsed. We rather w^oder to see this new custome and madnesse, for in time past these men were wont to mee^te vs and receiue vs with great honour & curtesie, shewing all seruice and pleasure. Therefore we thinke that the cause of this alteration is through the fauour of you and your c^opany, who beare the name of immoztalitie. We also feare lea^st our felowes which are in p^rison shal be slaine, befoze *Mutezuma* haue knowlege therof. Also said they, these barbarous people dwelling in the M^ountaynes, would be glad to rebel if they foud any succour or ayde, only to put their p^rince to cost and charges, as heretofore they haue done. Therefore they mosse humbly besought *Cortes* that hee shoulde not permitte them and thei^r fellowes to be slaine.

nor yet to abide in the handes of their enimies wherem he should do singular pleasure to *Mutesuma* their lord, & otherwise if they should perish, their Lord would be very sorrowfull that his olde, faithful and trustie seruaunts should haue such a reward for their good seruice.

A wise
Captaine.

Cortez answered that it grieved him much, that *Mutesuma* his friend should be misused wher he was, no nor yet his seruauntes euill entreated, and that hee would haue as muche care ouer them as of his owne, willing them to prayse the god of heauen, and to be thankfull vnto him that had commaunded them to be set at liberty, in the grace and friendship of *Mutesuma*: he certified that in all haste they should be dispatched, for *Mexico* with certaine busynesse therefore (quoth he) get you to meate, and make you stragg to take in hand that iourney, trusting to your fate least ye should be taken againe to your greate perill and daunger, & wis their meate was sone eaten with the great hast they had to be gone.

Cortez brought them out of the towne and gaue them victuall to carry with them. And charged for the liberty and curtisie shewed vnto them, that they should signifye to *Mutesuma* their Lord, howe that he was his assured friend, and that after he had vnderstanding of his fame, goodnes and mighty power, he much desired to serue him yea and that he helde himselfe happy, to fynde himselfe at such a time & season to lose those his seruaunts, and to shew therein his good wil, likewise he would do all that lay in him to pferue the honour and auctority of so gret a Prince: as hee was, & also to defende his subiectes and to loke to his affaires as his owne proper, although his highnesse dyd little esteeme hys friendship as appeared by *Tendilli*, who departed from him without bidding him farewell, and likewise absenting all the people of the sea coaste: yet thys notwithstanding he would not
let

let to do him seruice at all times when occasion shoulde serue, and to procure by all meanes possible his grace, fauour, and friendship, and that he was fully perswaded, that his hyghnesse woulde not refuse his god will and friendship, considering that with his acquaintance, God had done much for him, to make with a seruante of the Emperoures, for thereby he might know great secretes of holy things, and also receyue greate benefytes, if then he woulde refuse the same, the fault shoulde be his: but yet notwithstanding he trusted in his wisdom, that considering the thing well, he woulde be glad both to see hym, and talke with him, and also to be friende and brother with the King of *spayne*, in whose most happie name, both he and his company were come thither. And as touching his seruantes that remayned in prison, he woulde so vse the matter, that they shoulde escape all perill, promising also to set them at libertie to pleasure him, and that incontinente he woulde haue done it, but onely because he woulde not offende the Lorde of the Towne, who had friendly entertayned him with greate curtesie, for which cause he would not presume to controll him in his owne house, noz yet to shewe himselse vntankefull. The messengers departed with this message very glad and ioyfull, promising to accomplishe faithfully y charge committed vnto them.

The confederacy and rebellion

done by the industrie of Cortez.



When the *Cazike* founde missing the two prisoners, he blamed muche the garde or watch, and pretended sozthwith to murder those that remayned. When came *Cortez*, and requested that their death should be pardoned, for so muche as they

¶ were

¶ were

were but officers obedient to their Lorde and maister, and accordyng to iustice they had committed no offence, nor yet deserued anye correction in the facte, whiche was seruice to their King: but for so muche as they shall not see as the other two haue done, deliuer them vnto me, and I will take them to my custody and charge.

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

Diners opinions in counsell.

In this sorte they resolued themselues fully to rebell, and not to lose so good an occasion, wherevppon they besought Hernando Cortes to bee their defendour and Captayne, considering that for his sake they had begun that enterpryse, and whether Mutezuma should prepare hys army againste them or no, yet they on their parte were fully

fully pretended to hold hym warre, and to desist from ser-
uitude.

God knoweth how glad Cortez was to heare this mat-
ter, for he well wayed that it was the high way to hys
journeys ende: yet dissimuling the cause, he answered
that they should well looke to the thing which they meant
to take in hande, bycause (quoth he) I vnderstande that
Mutezuma is a mightie Prince, but if ye will valiantly
proceede, I will be youre Captayne, and safely defende
you, for I do moze esteeme your friendship, than the good
will of *Mutezuma*, whyche I nothing care for: there-
fore lette me 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 hundzed thousande menne
of warre. I lyke that well quoth Cortez, wherefoze in-
continente sende youre posses, with aduise vnto all your
friendes in league againste *Mutezuma*, and certifie them
of this agremente and succoure of the Chyistians, not
(quoth he) that I stande in neede of your help, for I alone
with my company are able to stande againste those of
Culhua, although they were as manye moze, but reason
required that they shoulde be warned of your presence,
and to be in readinesse for the same, feareing least *Mute-
zuma* mighte sende his army vpon a suddayne, and finde
you vnprouided.

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

And by this meanes rebelled many *Cazikes* & towne,
and all the whole Spountaynes, so y there was not left a
ny collector, or other officer of *Mexico* in al those borders,
with

with open proclamation of warres againste *Mutezuma*, and all his adherentes.

Cortez his intēt was on the other side, to stirre by these Indians, to get both their godes, willes, and landes, for otherwise, he could not well bying his matter to passe: he only caused the officers of *Mutezuma*, to be taken prisoners, and to be loued agayne, he fayned a greate loue to *Mutezuma*, and stirred his subiectes agaynst him, he offered to be their defendoꝝ, and leste them rebelled, to the intent that they should stand in nēde of him.

The foundation of the riche

Towne called Vera Cruz.



This instant the Flēte was arriued at the port, then wente *Cortez* to visit them, and carried with him many Indians of the Rebels, both of that Towne, and also of *Zempoallan*, who did god seruice to cutte downe timber, and to carrie stones to the place appoynted, for the building of the Citie, named the riche towne of *Vera Cruz*, accordyng to the determination, when the officers were appoynted 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 builde vpon.

They appoynted also a place for the high Church, a Market place, a Towne house, a Gayle, store houses, a hay or Wharfe, to lade or vnlade, a butcher row, & other places necessary to the god gouernement and policie of a Towne. They also drew out a plot to build the Castell or Fort on, nere the roade in a place conueniente, and in this sort began they worke, and their houses made with mudw all, for the earth there is god for that purpose. And euery man being this occupped in this new worke,

came

came from Mexico two kinsmen of *Mutezuma*, with other four graue learned menne for Councelloz, and many leering men that attended vpon them, as Ambassadors from *Mutezuma*, they presented vnto Cortez certayne cloth of Cotten well wouen, and feathers curiously and synely wroughte, other peeces of golde and siluer wrought, and a Casket of graynes of golde, as they were founde in the Pynes not molten, which wayed altogether two thousand & ninetic Caskins, & sayd, y^e *Mutezuma* hadde sente hym the golde in the Casket, to cure theyz disease, and woulde gladly knowe howe they fared, giuing also vnto him most hartie thanks; for losing his two housholde seruautes, and preseruing the others from slaughter, beseechyng hym to make accompte, that hee woulde doe the lyke in anye affayres of his, desiring hym also to procure the libertie of the other eyghtene Prisoners: and bycause those *Indians* hadde entertayned hym well in their houses; he did pardon their vppoze, yet notwithstanding he knewe very well that they were suche a kynde of people, that in shorte space they woulde committe some other offences, whereby they myght be chastised for all togyther, euen as a Dogge deserueth stripes. And as concernyng the rest of hys request, theyz Lorde was not well at ease, and also occupied in matters of warre of greate importance, whereby at that presente, there was no remedie to visit eache other, but in proesse of tyme his desire shoulde be accomplished.

Cortez welcomed them friendly and ioyfully, and also lodged them in Cotages nere vnto the water side, and sent forthwith for the Lorde of *Chiautzulan*, that had rebelled, who came at his commandement. *Cortez* sayd vnto him, lo see what troth I haue vsed with thee, for *Mutezuma* dareth not to send any army, no noz yet displease anye person

person where I am. Therefore from this daye foꝛwarde you and all your lignage and friendes maye accompte your selues free and exempt from the seruitude of *Mexico*, without rendyng the tributes accustomed. He requested to set at libertie the prisoners, and to restore the to the Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*. Thys *Cazike* wylled *Cortez* to doe what pleased him, foꝛ sayde he, euen as we haue chosen you foꝛ oure Captayne, we will not create one iote of youre commaundement: wherebpon he returned home to his towne, and the Ambassadors toward *Mexico*, all well pleased and content.

Some same flew abzoade, blasing that *Mutezuma* feared the Chyistians, wherebpon all the *Totonaques* prepared themselves foꝛ the warres, taking cleane awaye from *Mexico* their tribute and obedience.

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

How Cortez tooke by force of armes *Tizapanfinca*.

Not long after that these things had happened, the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* sente vnto *Cortez*, to desire him of succour against the garriso of *Culhua*, which *Mutezuma* maineyned in *Tizapanfinca*, who did greatly annoy them, in spoyling, burning, and destroying theyz cozne in the fieldes, and slew their husbandmen, and toke many prisoners. The *Towne* of *Tizapanfinca* doth confine with the *Totonaques*, and with the grounde of *Zempoallan*, and is a good strong *Towne*, scituated nere the *Riuer*, and hath a fozt standing vpon a high rocke. And by cause
this

this Towne was ſtrong, and planted among them who were alwayes ſeditious and Rebelles, *Mutezuma* placed there his garrifon, who ſaying the officers of recepuers and auditoꝝ come flying thither foꝝ helpe, baying perſecuted of the Rebels, they wente out to pacifie the Rebellion, and foꝝ to chaſſen them, they burned and deſtroyed whatſoever they found, and alſo had taken many priſoners.

Cortex hearing this newes, departed towarde *Zempoallan*, and from thence in two dayes journey with a greate armye of Indians to *Tizapanſinca*, whiche ſtoode eyght leagues and moze from that Citie.

The garrifon of *Culhua* came into the ſielde, thinkingyng to haue hadde battayle onely with thoſe of *Zempoallan*, but when they ſaw the Hoꝝſemen and the bearded men, they loſt theꝝ courage, and begaunne to flye as faſt as they myghte poſſible: theꝝ ſuccoure baying néere, they were ſone in holde: they woulde haue entred into theꝝ Caſtell, but foꝝ y^e ſwiftneſſe of the Hoꝝſes which ſtopped theꝝ way.

And when the Hoꝝſes coulde not aſcende vp vnto the fozte, *Cortes* alighted with other foure of hys men, and among the preaſſe of the Towneſmen goſte into the fozte, and baying within, they kept the doze tyll theꝝ compaꝝnye came wpyth manyꝝ friendes, vnto tohome hee deluyered the fozte and Towne, deſiring to do no hurte to the inhabitantes, but to ſuffer them to depart freely without weapon and ſtanderde. It was a newe woꝝlde to thoſe Indians, who did ſullyll *Cortes* hys commaundemente in all poyntes. Thys done, *Cortes* returned agayne to the Sea coaſt, by the ſame way whiche hee hadde come.

This was the firſte victory that *Cortes* had among the ſubiectes of *Mutezuma*, whereby all the Mountaines

R. y.

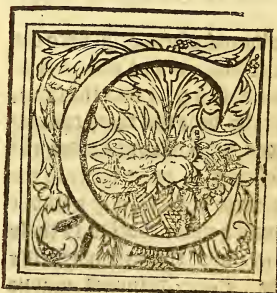
remayned

The valliant courage of *Cortes*.

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 afterwarde when any neede did happen among the *Indians*, they would immediately sende unto *Cortez* for one of his men, saying, that one man alone of the *Chrystians*, was sufficient to be their Captayne and securitie.

This was a good begynnynge for the pretence of *Cortez*. Now when he came to *Vera Cruz* with hys company triumphantly, he founde there *Francisco de Salzeda*, who was come with his caruell which he had boughte of *Alonso Canallero*, a dweller in *Saine James de Cuba*, and was left there to be grounded and dyessed at his departure from thence. He brought with him, 70. Spanyarde, and nine horses and Mares, wherewith they all marvellously reioyced.

The presents that *Cortez* sent to
the Emperour for his feste.



Cortez made greate hast in building vpon the new towne and the Castell, because the Citizens and souldiers mighte haue succoure against winde and rayne, and commoditie of householde, and lykewise to be assured of defence against enemies if neede should happen, pretending lykewise with all expedition, to enter within the land toward *Mexico*, to visit *Mutizuma*, and to leaue in that new worke all thing in good order, he finished many thinges, touching as well the peace as the warre.

He

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

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

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

This diligence done, he commaunded to bying forth into the markette place all the goodes and treasure which they had gotten, as well cloth of Cotten, Feathers, Golde, and Plate, whiche mought amount vnto in valew the summe of, 27000. Ducates: The same he caused to be delpyered vnto the newe elected treasozers by account, requestyng the whole counsell of the Cittie that they shoulde make deuision thereof. The counsellours and communalitie replyed, saying: Sir here is nothing to deuide, for deductyng the fiftte parte whiche appertayneth to the King, all the reste shall be to make payment for the furniture whiche you prepared for this voyage, and you beyng satisfied, then the shippes, munition and furniture

P. iij.

shall

shall serue in common for vs all, beseeching him with one assent to take all the treasure, and to sende vnto the kings maiestie his portion or fiftte parte, euen as shoulde same most conuenient vnto him.

Liberalitie
of Cortez.

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

And where I haue appoynted certayne things to send to the King, of moze value than his fiftte parte, if mighte please them, for as muche as they were suche things as coulde not be well deuised, and likewyse the firste fruite of that Conquest, freely to giue him libertie to vse his discretion in that onely poynt. They al in generall graunted to his request, wherbypon he toke out of the stocks, these things followyng.

Inuentary.



Firste the two wheeles of Golde and silver, whiche *Hendilli* presented vnto him on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*.

A collar of golde of eight peces, wherewith hanged a hūdyeth and four scoze and thre little *Emeraldes*, and two and thirtie little

the redde stones, lyke vnto Rubies, of small value: there hanged at the same coller seauen and twentie little belles of Golde, and certayne heads of pearle.

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

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

A Casket of graynes of golde of the same sozte.

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

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

A bracelet of golde of small weight.

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

Foure sozkes with thre shephokes at ech, couered with feathers of sundry colours.

Many payres of shoes made of Dære skynnes, solued with golde threde, and in the soales were sette certayne stones of colour white and blewe whiche theyned sayre.

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

A Targatte of woodde couered with leather, beset round about with belles of Latton, and the bolle in the midd was

was planced with gold, and there was engraue by
 on the same *Vifilopuchli*, God of the warres, and also
 foure heads set crossewise, whiche heades were of a
 Lion, a Tigre, an Eagle, and an Owle, verye litle
 made with feathers.

Many skinnes of beast and foule, corried and dyessed in
 their feathers and in haire.

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

Five Targets of feathers and siluer.

Four fishes of gold wel wrought.

Two birdes called Auades, and other birdes of gold.

Certaine Hatchets and a rod of latten.

Diuerse loking glasses garnished with gold.

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

Many faire feathers of sundy colours.

Many tuffes of feathers adozned with siluer and gold.

A garment like a coape of cotten, wouen of sundy col-
 ours, and in the middelt a blacke whele made of fea-
 thers.

Many surplises, vestments, palles, frontals and orna-
 ments of Idols alters and temples.

Many coverlets of cotten of diuerse colours, whyche
 shewed like vnto vnshorne beluet.

Manye shirtes, Jackettes, headclothes and other nape-
 ric.

Many Carpets and hangings of cotten.

All these things wer more beautiful than rich, although
 the wherles were very rich, the workmanship of al the
 rest, was more worth than the thing it selfe. The colours
 of the cloth of cotten wool was exceeding fine, and the fea-
 thers natural.

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

goldsmithes, of whiche things we will wytte in an other place. They toynd with this present certaine Indian bookes of figures which serue to their vse for letters: these bookes are folden like vnto clothes, and written on both sides. Some of these bookes were made of cotten & glewe, and others were made of leaues of a certaine tree called Spelt, whyche serue for theyr paper, a thynge straunge to behold.

Straunge
Paper.

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

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

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

Letters from the army and magistrats of

the new towne directed to the Emperour.



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

D.

giue

giue vnto them his full power, and letter of authori-
nepe, with also one of his beste Shippes for that voy-
age.

The Counsell of the newe towne chose *Alonso
Fernandez Portocarero*, and *Francisco de Monteio* for that
iournepe: whereof *Cortez* was verve glad, and gaue
them *Antonio de Alominos* for their pilot, with golde
and plate sufficiente for tourne and retourne of the
voyage. *Cortez* gaue them instructions, what they
shoulde doe particularpe for hym, in the Courte of
Spaine as also in Ciuil, and the towne where he was
bozne. Hee sente to his Father and Mother certaine
money, with newes of his prosperitie: hee sente
also with them the ordinaunces and aetes instituted,
and wrote by them a large letter to the Emperour,
in the whiche hee gaue full aduertisements of all
things whyche hadde passed from the time of his de-
parture from the Ilande of *Cuba* vntil that day, and of
the discozd betwæne hym and *James Palasques*, and of
their greate traueyle and paynes, with the greate
good will whiche they all bare vnto hys royall ser-
uice: hee certified likewise of the riches of that coun-
trepe, with the maiestie and power of *Mutezuma*.
Hee offered to bring in subiection vnto his royall
Crown and state of Castil, al that Empire, to winne
also the greate Citie of *Mexico*, and to bring that
mightie king *Mutezuma* to his handes quicke or deade.

Beseeching the Emperours maiestie to haue hym in
remembraunce when offices and prouissions shoulde bee
sente vnto that newe Spayne lately discovered at
hys great costes, and in recompence of hys paynes and
trauell.

The Counsell and magistrates of *Pera Cruz* wrote
also

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

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

A good
protestatiō

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

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

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

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

D. G.

They

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

The cause why the generalltye had written these letters was, suspecting *James Velasques*, who had friends and great fauour in the Court and counsel of *Indias*, and also some secrete friends in *Cortez* his campe. For *Francisco salzedra* brought newes that *James Velasques* had already obteyned a graunt of the Emperoz for the gouernment of that land by the meanes of one *Bonito Martinez* going into *Spayne*. And although they knew not the certainty thereof, yet it was most true, as thal appears in another place.

An vproare among the souldiers against

Cortez, and the punishment for the

same.



Here wer some in the host y murmured against the election of *Cortez*, for thereby was excluded *James Velasques*, vnto who they bare god wil.

Some were *Velasques* friends, and othher some hts kinessfolkes, who letted not to say openly, that *Cortez* by flattery, sutteltie and giftes had gotten and obtayned his purpose.

And that the dissimulation in making hym selfe to bee entreated and prayed to accepte that charge and office, was a thing craftily fayned, whereby suche election coude not bee of anye value, and cheslye without any such authoryty of the *Jerome* Frriers daun,
who

who ruled and governed the *Indians* as chiefe presidents: how muche more they hadde newes that *James Velasques* had already obteyned the gouernement of that land, and *Yucatan*. Then *Cortez* began to vnderstande in those matters, and made informatiō who had rayled by this rumoure, and being knowen, he apprehended the chiefe, and sent them prisoners aboarde his Ship: and to mollifye their wrath, he shortly releaseth them agayne, the which afterwards was cause of moze mischief, for these his enemies woulde haue fledde with a Tergantine and killed the maister, pretending to flye vnto the Ilande of *Cuba*, for to aduertise *James Velasques* of the great present sent vnto the Emperour, to the intent it shoulde be taken from their attorners passing nere the porte of *Hauana*, with all the letters and relations of their businesse, by cause the Emperoure shoulde not see it, to conceyue 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 bypon according to the processe, hee condemned those that were most culpable, and caused forthwith two of them to be hanged, who were *John Escudero*, and *James Cermenio* pilot, and condemned *Gonsalo de Vmbria* and *Alonso Penate* to be whipped, and incontinent execution was done, all the rest being pardoned.

With this correction *Cortez* was moze seared, and also esteemed, than befoze he was, for certainly if he hadde vsed gentlenesse, he shoulde neuer haue tamed them, yea and if he had not loked to them in time, he had bin spoiled: for their pretence was, to haue aduertised *James Velasques*, who would haue prevented them of their Shypps and present, and yet afterwarde he sente a *Caruell* after the sayd Ship, although it were to late.

Dijij.

Cortez

Mischeffe.

Two hand
ged, and
two vwhip
ped.

Cortez caused all his Shippes to be

sunke, and broken vpon the shore, a
most worthy facte.



Ortez purposed to goe vnto *Mexico*, and would not giue his Souldyers to vnderstand it, by cause they shoulde not refuse the iourney, although the talke of *Tendilli*, especially bearing that the Citie of *Mexico* was situated vpon water, whyche they imagined to be exceeding strong, as in effect it was: and to the intent that they should all follow hym, although againste their willes, he determined to spoyle all his Shyppes, which was a strange case, perillous, and a great losse. His intent througely weyed, he little esteemed the losse of his Shyppes to withstand his men from disturbance of his enterpryse, for doubtlesse they would haue stayed him, yea and rebelled, if they hadde knowen his minde and pretended purpose. He did secretly accord with one of the Maisters of hys flete in the night season to boze holes in them, that thereby they myghte synke, wythoute anye remedie to recouer them agayne.

A famous
facte.

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

According to this instruction, the Plyots and Maisters did accomplish his commaundement: for shortlye after they espyed him among a flocke of his companye, and then came they vnto him, saying: Sir, your nauie is
not

not to make any moe voyages, by reason that they are all leake, and spoyled, rotten, and wormie eaten, wherfoze according to our ductie, we do certifie you thereof, to provide therein as you shall see cause. All the Souldiers gaue credite to their tale, bycause the Shippes had but there moze than thre monethes. And after long talke aboute the matter, Cortez commaunded that they shoulde profite themselues of them the best that they myght, and as for the Hulles, let them sunke or runne a shoze, sayning great sorow for so great a losse, and want of each provision. And in this manner they lette runne a shoze syue of the best Shyppes, sayng theyz Ordinance, vittayles, sayles, Cables, Ankers, ropes, and all other tackle: and shortly after they spoyled other foure vessels, but that was done wyth some difficultie, bycause they beganne to surmise the intente of Cortez, and beganne openly to saye, that Cortez meant to carrie them to the slaughter house. He then pacified them wyth gentle wordes, saying, what is he that will refuse the warres in so riche a Countrey: if there be any of you that wyll leaue my companie, hee or they may (if please them) returne to Cuba in a Shyppes that yet remayneth. And this hee spake, to knowe howe many were the cowards, meanyng in tyme of nede to haue no trust or confidence in them. Then dyuers shamelesse persons demaunded licence to returne to Cuba, but they were suche as loued no warres. There wer also others that said nothing, who woulde gladly haue returned, sayng the greatnesse of the Countrey, and the multitude of the people, but yet they were ashamed to shewe cowardise openly.

Cortez knowing his souldyers mindes, commaunded the other Ship to be sunke, so that then they were all without hope to gos out of that Countrey at y time, exalting
and

and praying the noble minde of Cortes shewed in that worthy fate. Certaynely it was a dēbe necessary for the present time, and done by the iudgement of a stout Captayne, although he lost much by his Shyppes, and abode without succour of the sea. There are few of these examples, which are not of valiant personages, as was *O-miez Barbaroz* with the cut arme, who a few yeares past brake seauen Galleys and Foystes, to winne thereby *Bugia*, as largely I do wyte thereof in battayles of y sea in our dayes.

Howv the inhabitants of Zempoallan

brake downe their Idolles.



Very day seemed long to Cortes, with the desire to see *Mutezuma*. He nowe began to publishe openly his journey and departure, and chose out of the body of his host a hundred and fiftie men, which he thought sufficient to leaue for safegard of the new towne and fort, which was almost finished, and appointed *Pedro de Hircio* their Captaine, leaving with them two Horses, and two small peeces of Ordinance, wyth many *Indians* to serue them, and fiftie Townes round about them in faithfull friendship and league, out of the which Townes they might alwayes haue at their neede fiftie thousande men of warre: and he departed with the residue of his Spanyarden towarde *Zempoallan*, whyche mighte be foure leagues from thence, and was scarcely come to the Towne, when newes was broughte hym that foure Shyppes of *Francisco Garray* sayled along bys coast, and were in sight of *Vera Crux*. With this newes he returned incontinent with a hundred of his men, suspecting euill of those Shyppes. At his comming to *Vera*

Crux.

Newes
for Cortez.

Cruſ, his Captaine there enſozmed him how he had gone himſelfe to know what they were, and from whence they came, and what they would, but coulde ſpeake with none of them. *Cortes* beyng infozmed how they roade at anker, toke Captaine *Hircio* and certaine of his company to expect their commyng aſhoze, ſuſpectyng them muche, becauſe they roade ſo farre off, being by ſignes and tokens willed to come into the Harboꝝ. *Cortes* hauing wandered neare thꝛee miles, mette with thꝛee Spaniardes whiche came from the ſhippes, the one of them ſayde that he was a ſpotary, and the other two were to ſerue foꝝ witneſſes in their affayzes, whiche was, to aſcite and notiſſie certaine woꝝptings, whiche they ſhewed not: and alſo to require *Cortes* by vertue of the ſame, to come and make repartitiõ of that countrey with captayne *Garay* their generall, foꝝ they ſayd Captaine pretended that conqueſt (as firſt diſcouerer of the ſame,) certifying moꝝeouer that hee was determind to inhabite twentie leagues diſtãt from that place Weſtwarde neare vnto *Nahutlan*, whiche nowe is called *Armeria*. *Cortes* answered, that they ſhould returne vnto their ſhippes, and to will theyꝝ Captayne to come to *Vera Cruſ* with his nauie, and there they woulde commune together aboute his comming, and if he ſtoode in neede of any thing it ſhoulde be pꝛouided. And if it were (as they repoꝛted) that he was comen on the Kings affaires, he woulde gladly fauour his proceedings, conſidering that he and all his were there in ſeruiſe of his highneſſe, how muche moꝝe beyng all of one nation.

They answered, that in no wiſe their captaine noꝝ none of his army would come aſhoze, noꝝ yet come where as *Cortes* was. With this anſwere *Cortes* vnderſtood the matter, and layde holde of them, and went and placed himſelf in ambuſhe behinde a little hill of ſande, whiche ſtoode right ouer agaynſt the ſhippes, beyng neare ſunne ſette, &

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ſlepte

stepte there that night till daye approched, and the morning farre spent, hopping that *Garay* his Pilote or some of his company woulde come ashore, meanyng likewise to apprehende them for to be certified what course they had made, and what hurte they had done, and findyng them guiltie. to sende them pyloners into Spayne, likewise he desired to knowe whether they had spoken with any vassals of *Mutezuma*, and seying they came not a lande his suspicion was the greater.

A vyffe
practise.

Cortes commaunded thre of his men to chaunge apparell with the thre messengers that came from *Garay*, and this one, caused them to goe to the Sea side, waung with theyr clokes, and calling for the shippe boate, nowe those of the shippes thought by theyr apparell that they were their owne menne, and came with a dozen persons in the skiffe with Crossebowes and Handgunnes. Then *Cortes* his men whiche were clothed in other mens garments hidde themselves among bushes, as who woulde say, they were gone into the shadowe, for to flee from the great heate of the Sunne, being at that time highe none, and bicause they should not be knowen.

The Mariners of the skiffe set a lande two men with Hargabushes, and other two me with Crossebowes, and an Indian who went straight way to the bushes, thinkyng to finde their fellows. Then stept forth *Cortes* and caught them befoze they coulde gette aborde the skiffe, although they meant to haue defended themselves, so that one of them who was a Pilote, hauing his Hargabushe ready charged, & woulde haue shot at captaine *Hircio*, & assuredly if his match and powder had bene good he had slayne him. When the general aborde the ships perceiued this deceit, would abide no longer, & commaunded to make saile, not tarryng for his skiffe. By these seuen me taken at two times *Cortes* was satisfied, & also certified how captaine *Garay* had sayled

sailed along the coast seeking *Florida*, and arrived in a river, the King of that province was called *Panuco*, where they founde little golde, barterring aborde their shippes, all they golde passed not thre thousande Castellins, but in exchange of things of small value, nothing contented *Garay* on that voyage, bycause the quantitie of golde was small and not fine.

With this newes *Cortes* returned to *Zempoallan* with his men which he brought in his company: and there concluded and fully agreed with those *Indians* to pull downe theyr Idols & sepulchres of their *Casiks*, whiche 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 adioynning against *Mutezuma*. Those *Indians* gaue vnto him gages to be alwayes faithfull of worde & promise, and offered vnto him as many men fitte for warre & seruice as he would require. *Cortes* receiued the gages which were of the principallest persons of the townes, as *Maemexi Teuch*, and *Tamalli*, he toke also a thousand *Tamemes*, that is to say, men that are carriers, who ordinarily faeth his burden vpon his backe which is halfe a hundred waight, and those fellows followe the campe with their bagge & baggage: These men serued for horses to draw the ordnance, and to carrie other munition and victuals.

Howv Olintec exalted the mightie

power of *Mutezuma*

Cortes departed frō *Zempoallan*, leauing that towne named *Suilla*, towarde *Mexico* the sixtene day of August of the same yere, with 400. Spaniards and sixtene horses, & six peeces of ordnance, and 1300. *Indians* to the carriers & me of *Cuba*. And whē *Cortes* departed frō

P.ij.

Zempoallan

Zempoallan he had not one ballall of *Mutezuma* in his campe to leade them the way towarde *Mexico*, for al were fledde, seing the new league, or else by commaundement of their Lord, and the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* knew not well the way.

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

Cortes gaue great thanks to the Lord for his curtesie and good entertaynement, muche esteeming the good will of his Lord *Mutezuma*, and so departed from thence, and wente to passe ouer a mountayne very high, the passage whereof he named *Nombre de dios*, bycause it was the first that he had passed, beyng so asperous and highe, that there is none suche in all *Spainne*, for it conteyned directly vpright thre leagues, and hath in many places grapes and trees with hony. And discendyng downe on the other side of that hill, they came to a towne called *Thehuixtucan*, whiche is a fozte and friende to *Mutezuma*, where our army was receyued and entertayned as in the other towne behinde.

And from thence he traueled threē dayes in a countrey inhabitable, and passed some necessitie of hunger, & much moze of thirst, because all the water that they founde was saltishe, and many of his men for wante of other dranke thereof, whereof they fell into sickenesse: and sodainely fel a meruaylous Hayle with great colde, whiche increased their griefe, yea and the *Indians* of their company thought there to ende theyr liues, & some of the *Indians* of *Cuba* died there thzough nakednesse, not being accustomed to so cold a countrey. After the fourth iourney of euill way they ascended by an other hil, and vpon the toppe thereof, (to their iudgement) they founde a thousande carte loades of wood ready cut, neare to a little towne of idolles: they named that place the porze of wood: & hauing passed two leagues from the porze of wood, they founde the countrey barren and porze, but some after the army came to a place whiche they named white Castell, because the Lozdes house was of stone very white and newe, and the beste that they had seene in all that countrey, and so curiously wrought, that they meruayled thereat: that towne in their language is called *Zacotan*, and the valley neare vnto it is named *Zacatami*, and the Lozdes name is *olintec*, who receyued *Cortes* honozably, and prouided for him and his company abundantly, being so commaunded by *Mutezuma*, as hee reported afterwarde.

And in token that he had receyued that comission from his Lozde, he commaunded fiftie men to be sacrificed for toy, whose bloud they saue newe and freshe. The townesmen of that towne caried the Spanyardes on their shoulders, on suche beares as we carry dead men to Church. *Cortes* enforced them (by his enterpreters) of the cause of his comming into that countrey, as he had vsed in other places, & demaunded whether he the Lozde of this towne were tributary to *Mutezuma*. This *Carike* being amazed

at his question, answered, saying: What is he that is not
 eyther slaue or vassall to the great *Mutezuma*. Then *Cortes*
 certified him, who and what the Emperour king of
 Spayne was, willing him to be his friend and seruitour,
 & further enquired if he had any golde to sende him some.
 This *Cazike* answered that he would do nothing without
 the commaundement of his Lozde, nor yet sende his king
 any golde although he had inough. *Cortes* dissimuled the
 matter, and helde his peace, yet by and by he desired to
 knowe the State and mightie power of *Mutezuma*,
 the *Cazike* answered, that *Mutezuma* was Lozde of the
 whole woꝛlde, 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 perely to his
 Goddess: And also his dwellyng was in the most beauti-
 fullest and strongest cittie of al that euer was enhabited,
 likewise (quoth he) his house and courte is mosse greate,
 noble, and replenished with Gentlemen, his riches incre-
 dible, and his charges exccellue. And truely therein he
 sayde the very troth, excepte in the sacrifice wherein he
 somethyng 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 conuersation, came two Gentilmen of
 that valley to see the Spanyarden, and eche of them pre-
 sented vnto *Cortes* foure women slaues, & certayne collers
 of golde of small price. *Olinslec* although he was vassall
 to *Mutezuma*, was a greate Lozde, and had. 20000. vas-
 sals, and thirtie wiuces altogether in his house, beside a
 hundꝛeth other women that attended vpon them. And had
 for his garde and household. 2000. persons, his towne was
 great, & had. 12. temples in it, & eche temple many idoles of
 stone of diuers fashions, befoze whom they sacrificed men,
 dones, quayles, & other things wth perfumies & great vene-
 ration.

ratiō. In this place and territorie, *Mutezuma* had, 5000. souldiers in garrison, and ordinarie postes from thence to *Mexico*. Untill this time, *Cortez* had not so amply vnderstande the mighte and power of *Mutezuma*, yea and though many inconueniences, difficulties, feare, and such like, did represent it selte vnto him in his iourney to *Mexico*, whiche perhaps would haue amazed some valiant persons, yet he shewed not one iote of cowardise, haung heard such a repute of that mightie Prince, but rather his desire was so much the moze to see hym.

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

He toke his leaue of *olintec*, leauing him wel pleased, & went to a towin two leagues fro thēce along y^e riuer side, where

whereof was *Lozde Itzcmixilitan*, one of the Gentle-
men who had giuen him the slaues and collers of golde.

This towne standeth in a playne grounde of two lea-
gues compasse, which is replenished with so many houses
as doth seeme to touche one an other, in that way that
our army passed: and the towne it selfe doth contayne five
thousande householdes, standing on a hill, and on the one
side thereof is the *Lozdes* house with a strong forte, be-
ing the beste yet sene in those parties, walled with good
stone with barbucaun and deepe ditche. There *Cortes* re-
sted himselfe thre daves, abiding the foure messengers
whiche he sent from *Zaclotan*, to knowe the answer that
should be brought.

The first encounter that Cortez had

with the men of Tlaxcallan.



A fraunge
vwall

Cortes seying the long taryng of the messen-
gers he departed from *Zaclotan* without
any intelligence from *Tlaxcallan*. Our cap-
tain had not marched much after their depar-
ture from that place, but they came to
a great circuite of stone made without lyme or moztar,
being of a fadome and a half high, and twentie fote bode
with loupe holes, to shote at: that wall crossed ouer all
the valley from one mountayne to another, and but one
onely entraunce or gate, in the whiche the one wall dou-
bled against the other, and the way there was fourtie
paces bode, in such fort, that it was an euill and perilous
passage, if any had bene there to defend it. *Cortes* deman-
ded the cause of that circuite, and who had buylt it,
Itzcmixilitan that wente to beare him company, tolde
him that it was but a deuision from their countrey and
Tlaxcallan, and that their antecessors had made the same

to

to disturbe the entrance of the *Tlaxcaltecas* in time of warre, who came to robbe and murther them, bycause of the friendship betwixte them and *Mutezuma*, whose vassals they were.

What strange and costly wall, seemed a thing of great maiestie to our Spaniards, and moze superfluous than profitable, yet they suspected that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were valiant warriors, who had such defense made agaynst them. And as *Cortes* and his army stode beholding thys worke, *Iztacmixtilian* thought he had bin afrayde to procede forwarde, and prayed him (for so much as he was his Lordes friend) not to passe that way, nor yet through the Countrey of *Tlaxcallan*, for so muche as he wente to visite his maister, for (quoth he) if they knowe you to be my Lordes friende, they will seeke youre displeasure, as they haue done to others, and I will prouide you of guides to leade you continually through the dominion of *Mutezuma*, where you shall be well receyued and prouided, until you come to *Mexico*.

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

Cortes for a space was amazed at hys talke of hys one and the other, but in conclusion he accepted the counsell of *Mamexi*, for that he hadde conceived a better opinion of the *Zempoallanexes* his allyed friendes, than of the o-

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thers. And setting all feare asyde, he toke the way to *Tlaxcallan*, bydding *Iztaacmixtli* farewell, and with thre hundred Souldyers on a ranke, he entred the way in the wall, and proceeded in god order all the way forwarde, carrying the Ordnance ready charged, and he himselte the leader of all his army, yea and sometimes he woulde be halfe a league before them, to discour and make the way playne.

And hauing gone the space of thre leagues from that circuite, he commaunded his sötemen to make hast, by cause it was somewhat late, and he with his Hozsemen went to descrye the way forwarde, who ascendyng by a hyl, two of the sozmest hozsemenne mette with fiftene *Indians* armed with swozdes and Targets and tuffes of feathers, whiche they vse to weare in the warres. These fiftene were spyes, and when they sawe the Hozsemen, they beganne to flye with feare, or else to gyue aduise.

Then approched *Cortez* with other thre hozsemen, calling to them to stay, but by no meanes they woulde abyde: then fyre Hozsemen ranne after them, and ouer toke them, & ioyned all togither, with determination rather to dye than to yelde, shewing them signes to stande still: yet the Hozsemen comming to lay handes on them, they prepared themselues to battayle, and foughte, desending themselues for a whyle. In thys syghte the *Indians* slewe two of theyz Hozses, and as the *spanyarde* doe witnesse, at two blowes they cutte off a Hozse head, byble and all. Then came the rest of the Hozsemenne, and the army approched, for there were in syghte nere fyue thousande *Indians* in god order, to succoure theyz fiftene syghting menne, but they came too late for that purpose, for they were all slayne wyth the anger that was taken for the kylling of the two Hozses,

Hozes, and woulde not render themselves in tyme : yet notwithstanding theyr fellows foughte, vntill they chpyed oure armye commyng, and the Ordinance, then they returned, leauyng the fielde to oure menne, but oure Hozsemenne followed them, and slewe a houte 70. persons of them, withoute receyuing anye hurte.

Thys done, the *Indians* sente vnto *Cortes* two of the foure messengers whiche hadde bin sente thither befoze wyth other *Indians*, sayyng, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* kneiwe nothyng of the thynges that were happened, certifyinge ykewyse that those with whome hee hadde fought were of other communities, and not of their iurisdiction, be- yng sozowfull for that whyche hadde passed : and soz so muche as it happened in theyr Countrey, they woulde willingly pay for the two Hozes whyche were slayne, praying them to come in good tyme to theyr Towne, who woulde glæly receyue them, and enter into theyr league of friendshippe, bycause they seemed to be val- ante menne : but all was a fayned and a false mes- sage :

A subtile
message.

Yet *Cortes* belæued them, and gaue them thanks for theyr curtesse and god will, and that accoꝝdyng to theyr request he woulde goe vnto theyr Towne, and accepte their friendshippe. And touchyng the deathe of his Hoz- ses, he required nothyng, for within shorte space he expect- ed many moe : but yet God knoweth how sozowfull he was for the want of them, and not only so muche for the, as that the *Indians* shoulde thinke that Hozes could dye, or be slayne.

Cortes proceded forwarde aboute two leagues where the Hozes were kylled, although it was almost Sunnefette, and his men wæried, hauing trauelled farre that day.

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

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

THe next morning at Sunne rising, Cortez departed with his army in god order, and in the middelt of them wente the sardage and artillerie, and as sone as they were come to a little Village there nere at hande, they mette with the other two messengers of *Zempoallan*, who departed from them at *Zaclotan*: they came with pittifull chæere, exclayming of the Captaynes of the powder of *Tlaxcallan*, who had bounde them, and deteyned them from returning: but with god fortune, that nighte they hadde broken lose, and escaped, for otherwise in the morning following, they had bin sacrificed to the God of Victory, and after the sacrifice, to be eaten, for a god beginning of their wartes, protesting the like to be done with the berded men, and with as many as came with them.

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

Cortez

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 hastie and earnest were they, thinkyng either to haue ouercome them, or else to holde them play, to the entet that the Spanyardes should haue folowed them to a certaine ambush that was prepared for them, of moze then 80000 men, whiche they had planted in a crake of a riuer which abutted vpo the high way. Then our men began to cease from woordes, and to lay hande vpon their weapons, for that company of a thousande were as many, as on our side were fighting men, they were well practised in the warres, very baliat, and also pitched in a better place for fight. This battell endured certaine houres, and at the ende the Indians being epyther wearied, or else meanyng to take our men in the snare appointed, began to flie toward theyr maine battell, not as ouercome, but to ioyne with their owne folke. And our men being hote in the fight and slaughter whiche was not litle, followed them with all their sardage, and vntwares fell into the ambush among an infinite number of Indians armed, they stayde not bycause they would not put themselues out of order, and passed throught their campe with great haste & feare. The enimies began to sette vpon the hozemen, thinkyng to haue taken their lances from them, their courage was so skoute: many of the Spanyardes had there perished, had it not bin for the Indian friends. Likewise the courage of Cortes did much animate them, for although he ledde his army making way yet, diuers times, he turned him backe to place his men in order and to comfozte them, and at length came out of that daungerous way into the playne fielde, where the hozes mought helpe, and the ordinaunce stande in skede, whiche two things did greatly annoy the enimie to their great wonder and maruell, and

First batt
taylor.

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Seconde
battayle.

at the sight thereof began to flie.

In bothe encounters remainned many *Indians* slayne and wounded, and of the *Spaniardes* some were hurt, but none killed, giuing mosse hartie thankes vnto God for their deliuey from so great a multitude of *Indians* their enimies with muche ioye and pleasure of the victoꝝ. Then they wente to pitche their campe in a billage called *Teoacazinto*, where was a little Tower and a Temple, and there fortified themselues, and buylte cotages of bowes and strawe. The *Indians* of *Zeampoallan*, and those of *Izacmixelitan* did play the valiant men that day, where *Cortes* honoured them with hartie thankes.

The care
of good
souldiers.

This day was the first of September. The night following our men slepte not quietly with feare of inuasion of their enimies, but they came not, for they neuer vse to fighte in the nighte season. And as soone as it was day *Cortes* sente to the Captaynes of *Tlaxcallan*, to requyre them of peace and friendship, willng them quietly to suffer the passage through their countrey to *Mexico*, for that they meant them no hurte but rather good will. This done, he lefte two hundꝛeth *Spaniardes* and the *Careirs* in the campe. And toke with him other two hundꝛeth, with seuen hundꝛeth *Indians*, and wente with them abzode to skirmishe in the face of their enimies, and at that tyme burned five or sixe billages, and returned with foure hundꝛeth pꝛysoners, without recepyng any hurte, although they followed him to his campe. At his returne he founde the answer of the Captaynes his enimies, whiche was, that the next day they would come and talke with him and declare theyꝛ mindes.

Cortes was well pꝛeuented that night, for the answer liked him not, but rather seemed bꝛaue, and a matter determined to be done as they had sayde: lykwise those whiche were taken pꝛysoners, certified that his enimies

were

Were loyned together to the nūber of a. 150000. mē to giue
him battaile the next day following, & to swallow the aline
whom so mortally they did hate, thinking the to be friends
to *Mutezuma*, vnto whom they wished all euil & mischief:
150000.
men.

It was mosse true that the *Tlaxcaltecas* had gathered
all their whole power to appzehende the bearded menne,
and to make of them a moze solemne sacrifice vnto their
Goddess, than at any time heretofoze they had done, with
a generall banquet of their flesh, which they called *Cele-
stia*. The Captaines of *Tlaxcallan* deuided their souldiers
into foure battayles, the one to *Tepeticpac*, another to *O-
cotelulco*, the third to *Tizatlan*, and the fourth to *Quiahui-
ctlan*, that is to say, the men of the Spoutaynes, the men
of the Lymepittes, the men of the Pinetrees, and the wa-
ter men, euery of these had their Lardes and Captaynes
whome they shoulde repayze vnto and obey, and all these
foure sortes of men dothe make the body of the common
weale and cittie, and also commaunde both in tyme of
warre and peace. So that euery of these Captaynes had
his iust portioꝛ number of warrriers, but the general of
all the whole army was called *Xicotencatl*, who was of the
Limepits: and he had the standart of the cittie, which is a
Crane of gold with his wings spzed, adozned with Eme-
rals & siluer worke, which standart is according to their
vse, either caried befoze the whole host or else behinde the
all. The second Captaine or Lieutenant was *Maxicax-
zin*, & the number of the whole army was. 150000. men.
Such a great number they had ready against. 400. Spa-
niardes & yet at length ouercome: neuerthelesse after all
this byople, they were most greatest friends. These foure
captains came to their cōpany that the fields where they
were sēmed a forest. They were trimme felowes & well
armed according to their vse, although they were paynted
so that their faces shewed like diuels with great tuftes of
feathers,

Indian ar-
mour.

feathers and triumphed gallantly. They had also stinges, staves, speares, swordes, bowes and arrowes, skulles, splintes, gantletttes all of wood, gilte or else couered with feathers or leather, their cozselets were made of cotten wolle, their targettes and bucklers gallant and strong, made of woodde couered with leather, and trimmed with laton and feathers, theyr swordes were staves with an edge of flint stone cunningly ioynd into the staffe, which woulde cutte very well and make a sore wounde.

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

The threatning of the Indian campe agaynst the Spanyardes.



These *Indians* were great braggers, and sayde among themselues, what made people are these that threatneth vs and yet knoweth vs not. But if they will be so bolde to inuade our countrey without our licence, let vs not sette vpon them so

soone, it is mete they haue a litle restte, for we haue tyme inough to take & binde them, let vs also sende them meate for they are commen with empty stomackes: And againe they shall not say that we do apprehende them with wearinesse and hunger. Wherevpon they sent vnto the *Christians* thre hundzeth *Gynnea* cockes, and two hundzeth baskets of bread called *Centli*. The whiche present was a great sucker for the nede that they stood in. And soone after (quoth they) now we let vs goe and sette vpon them, for
by

A present.

by this time they haue eaten their meate, and nowe we will eate them, and so shall they pay vs the victuals that we sent: likewise we wil know if *Mutezuma* commaunded them to come into our countrey, or who else. And if he sente them, then let him come and deliuer them: and if it be their owne enterpryse, they shall receyue theyr reward accordingly. These and such like bragges they vsed, seing so fewe Spaniardes befoze them, and not knowyng their strength. Then the foure Captaynes sente two thousande 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, meanyng not to sette their whole army vpon them, saying that they shoulde gette but small honour for so great a multitude, to fight agaynst so fewe. The two thousande Souldiers passed the trench that was betwixt the two campes, and came boldly to the Tower where the Christians were. Then came forth the Hoysmen, and after them the footemen, and at the first encounter they made the *Indians* feele howe the yron swordes would cutte: and at the seconde, they shewed of what force those fewe in number were, of whome a little befoze they had so iested: But at the thirde brunte they made those lusty Souldiers fly, who were come to apprehende them, for none of them escaped, but onely suche as knewe the passage of the trenches or ditch.

Then the mayne battell and whole army sette forth with a terrible and maruellous noyse, and came so fierce vpon our menne, till they entred into our campe without any resistance, and there were at handye strokes and wastling with the Spaniardes, and in a good space coulde not gette them out, killyng many of them whiche were so bolde to enter: and in this sorte they fought some howers, befoze they coulde make way among
K. their

A reckning
made be-
fore the
hoite.

Battayle.

their enemies. And then the *Indians* began to saynt, seying so many dead on theyr side, and the greafe woundes they had, and that they coulde kill none of the *Christians*: yet the battayle ceased not till it dyewe neare night and then they retyred. Whereof *Cortes* and his *Souldiers* were exceedingly gladd, for they were fully weryed with killyng of *Indians*, so that all that night our men triumphed with moze ioy than feare, considering that the *Indians* fought not by night, they slepte and toke their reste at pleasure, whiche they had not done til that tyme, but alwayes kept bothe wathe and warde.

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

Cortes
vvas a pain
full man.

The nexte day in the morning *Cortes* wente south to runne the fieldes as he had done before, leauing halfe his menne to keepe the campe, and bicause he shoulde not be espied he departed before day, & burned aboute .x. towines, and sacked one towne, whiche was of thre thousande houses, in the whiche were founde but fewe folke of sight, bycause the moste of them were gone to their campe. After the spoyle, he set fire on the towne and came his way to his campe with a great pray by none tyme. The enemies persued thinkyng to take away their pray, and folloved them into the camp, where they fought fve houres and could not kill one *Spaniarde*, although many of their side were slaine: for euery as they were many and stode on a thzong together, the ordinaunce made a wonderfull spoyle among them, so that they leste off fighting, and the victozy remayned for our men. The *Indians* thought that the *Spanyarden* were enchanted bycause their arrowes coulde not hurte them.

The nexte day followyng, the foure Captaynes sente thre

thee severall things in present to Cortes, and the messengers that brought them say: Sir behold here five slaves, and if thou be that rigorous God that eatest mans flesh and blood, eate these whiche we bring unto thee, and we will bring thee more. And if thou be the gentle and make God, beholde here fraunchinense and feathers. And if thou be a mortal man, take here foule, bread, & Cherries.

A strange
presente.

Cortes answered, that both he and his were mortal men even as they were. And because that alwayes he had used to tell them truth, wherfore did they use to tell him lies, and likewise to flatter him, for he desired to be their friende, advising them not to be madde and stubborne in their opinion, for if they so did, assuredly they shoulde receive great hurte and dammage. Likewise (quoth he) it is apparant unto you how many of your side are slayne without the losse of one of mine, and with this answer sent them away. Notwithstanding the answer sent, there came aboute, 30000. of them even to Cortes his campe to prove their Cozseletes, as they had done the day before, but they returned with broke pates. Here is to be noted, that although the first day the whole host of Indians came to combat with our men, & finally all they came to fight, yet the next day they did not so, but every severall captaine by himselfe, for to devide the better the travaile & paynes equally among them: & because that one should not disturbe another through y^e multitude, considering that they should fight but with a few, & in a narrow place, & for this consideration, their battayles were more fresh & stronger, for eche captaine did contend who should do most valiantly, for to get honour, & especially in killng one Spaniarde, for they thought that all their hurtes shoulde be satisfied with the death of one Spaniarde, or taking one prisoner.

Likewise is to be considered, the strangeness of their battayle, for not withstanding their contrarie

Indian p^{os}
flete.

all those fiftene dayes that they were there, whether they fought or no. The Indians sente vnto the Spanyarden cakes of bzeade, Gynnea cockes and Cherries. But this polycie was not to glue them that meate for good will, but onely to espie and see what hurte was done amongst them, and also to see what feare or stomacke they had to procede: but the Spanyarden fell not into that reckonyng, for the espies of *Tlaxcallan* sayde, that none had fought with them but certayne outlawes and knaues called *Otomies*, who lyued as vagaboundes without a Lorde or other ruler: And that they were theues, who had theyr abyding behinde a hill, whiche they poynted vnto with theyr hande.

How Cortez cut off the handes

of fiftie Indian espies.



The next day after these presentes were sente vnto them as Goddes, whiche was the firste of September, there came to the Campe fiftie Indians of *Tlaxcallan*, whiche seemed after theyr sorte honest menne, and gaue vnto Cortez bzead, cherries, & Gynnea cockes, as they ordinarily vsed to do, enquiring how all his Spaniardes did and what they meant to doe, and whether they stood in necessitie of any thing. And after this communication they went by and downe the camp, gasing and beholding the horses, armour and artillery, and seemed amased to see such things. But the effect of their coming was the offence of espies.

Teuche of *Zempoallan* marking these things, who being of a childe brought vp in wars, by reason wherof he was expert and wise, came vnto Cortez, saying, sir it semeth not well, y these *Tlaxcaltecas* wander by & downe your campe behol

beholding the entrance and going out of the same, to behold likewise the fortitude and weakenesse of youre power, I like it not: It may please you to make enquirie whether they be espyes or no. Cortez hauing heard his tale, gaue him hartie thankses for his good aduice, yea and marvelled, that neyther he himselte, 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
aduise of
a friende.

Howe the originall cause was not bycause Teuch was more wise than the Christians, but by reason that hee had seene and heard those Indians commune with the subtiles of *Iztacmixtiltan* to seele their mindes, and wyth craft and subtiltie to obteyne their desire: whereby Cortez vnderstode that those fellows came not to any good purpose: he apprehended that Indian whiche stode next vnto him, and hauing him alone from his fellows, by his interpreters examined him effectually, who incontinent confessed that he was a spye, and that his coming thither was to viewe the way how to enter their Campe for to spoyle and burne their Tentes: and for so much as they hadde proued fortune all the houres of the day, and all happened contrary to their desire, against their ancient fame and glozy which they hadde obteyned by noble exploitcs in warres, they now meant to proue their successe by nighte, hoping of better fortune: and also bycause their souldiers shoulde not feare the Horses, with the darkenesse of the nighte, nor the blowes or stripes of the bright swozdes, nor yet the fire and terrible noyse of the Ordnance: and that Captayne *Xicotencatl* was alreadye appointed for that enterpryse, with prouision of manye thousand souldiers which lay in ambush in a vale behind certayne hilles, right ouer against their Campe.

Confessiō.

After this confession taken, Cortez full prudently com-
maun-

maun-

maun-

A good
correction.

maunded to take also the federall confessions of other foure or fyue, who likewise confessed that they were all espies, vppon whose confessions they were al fittie taken prisoners, and iudgemente giuen, that their ene hande should be cut off, which was forthwith executed, and then were returned to their Camp, signifying vnto them that the like iustice should be executed vpon as many espies as they might take. And also they were charged to shew vnto their Generall whs had sente them, that both daye and night he would be ready for them.

When the *Tlaxcaltecas* sawe their espies come in thys pickle, they were in a marvellous feare, and it seemed a newe world vnto them: they also beleued that oure men hadde some familiar spirites that did instructe them of their thoughtes, and with feare of cutting off hãds, there went no mœ espies with viduals.

An embassage that Mutezuma sente

to Hernando Cortez.



A carefull
Captayne.

When these espies were gone, oure men espyed out of our Campe a great multitude of men goe crossing ouer a hill, and it seemed that they were those that the Captayne *Xicotencatl* hadde in ambush: and although it was nere night, Cortes determined to followe them, and not to abide their comming, fearing that at the first bzunt they mighte set fire among his cottages, as was pretended among them, whiche pretence hauing taken effecte, myght haue bin the destruction of all his men, eyther by the fier or otherwise: wherefore he put all his men in good order, and commaunded the Horsemenne to decke the best plates of hys Horses with belles, and then proceeded towarde their enemies,

who

who durst not abide their comming, hauing intelligence of the cutting of their espyes hands, and likewise hearing the new noyse of belles: yet our men followed them tyll two houres within night, through many sowed fieldes of *Centli*, and slew many of the, 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 wayt vpon them. They brought vnto *Cortez* a present, whiche was a hundred garments of cotten, and some of feathers, and a thousand peeces of golde.

Ambassage
from *Mutezuma*.

These ambassadors on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, declared, that their Lord would be friende with the Emperoure, and also with him, and his company, requestyng to knowe what tribute he would yearely demaunde, in golde, plate, pearles, slaues, or garments, or of any other thing that was within his kingdome, and the same tribute he would well and truly pay without delay, wyth such condition, that neyther he nor his company shoulde come vnto *Mexico*. And this request (quoth they) is not only because you should bee disturbed to come into hys countrey, but chiefly because the waye is euill, barren, and full of euill rockes, whyche lette dothe graue *Mutezuma*, that suche valiant meene as ye be shoulde suffer in his Countrey, lying not in hys power to remedie it.

Excuses.

Cortez dyd thankefully receiue the present and gentle offer for the Emperoure King of *Castile*, but (quoth hee) my earnest desire is, that you depart not til ye see the end of these warres whyche I haue nowe in hande, because ye shall carrie newes thereof to *Mexico*, what I pretende to doe againste these moztall enimies of *Mutezuma*.

Then *Cortez* fel into an ague, for which cause he went
not

not but to skirmish as he was wonte to do, but only provided to make his Camp strong against certaine flockes of *Indians*, whiche came dayly to skirmish, for that was as ordinarie, as the meate that was wont to be brought to the: but yet these skirmishes nor furie of *Indians* were not like to their fierce beginning.

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

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

A valiant
Captayne.

Cortez being aduertised of this newes, withoute anye more respect to his purgation taken, toke his horse, and with his menne came to the encounter, and foughte with his enemies all day till it was nighte, and gave them a god way off, to their great hurt, and then returned to his Camp, and the next day following, he purged as fresh, as though it had bin newly taken. I doe not rehearse this for a miracle, but to declare what he passed: for *Hernando Cortez* was a greate sufferer of trauell and paynes, and one of the firste that alway was at any assay or bzunt of enemies, and he was not onely a good man of his handes, but also graue in counsell. And hauing thus purged hym selfe, and taken rest those dayes, he watched euery night that fell to his lotte, as well as any other souldier, and so continually he used to do. He was not for this the lesse esteemed, but rather muche the more beloued among his men.

How

Howv Cortez vvan a great Citie
called Zimpanzino.



¶ An evening Cortez went by to the toppes of his Towler, and looking rounde aboute hym, he espyed aboute foure leagues distant in the Mountaynes among rocks and proceeding out of a wodde dyuers smokes, whereby he ymagined people to

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

An euill
Sprite appeared.

A courageous
Capitaine.

It was determined that the Horses which were falle,
S. shoulde

should be returned to the Campe, and that of the residue, eache Horseman should leade his Horse by the bydle, and so procede on their way, and shortly after the Horses were well agayne, but they neuer knewe of what motion they hadde fallen: with the darkenesse of the nyghte they lost their way to the Mountaynes, and chanced into a cragged rockie waye, that they thoughte neuer to haue come out thereof.

And after a while that they had gone this euill waye, with their heare standing with very feare, they espyed a litle lyghte, and toke the way thither, where they founde a litle house, wherein were two Women, and those Women, with other two women that afterwards they mette, conducted them to the Wildernesse, where they had espyed the smoke, and befoze day they sette vpon certayne Villages, and slew many, yet they burned not those Villages, bycause they should not be perceyued through the lyght thereof. They receyued there aduyls, that nere at hand were great populations, and sone after he came to *Zimpanzico*, a towne of twenty thousand houses, as after dyd appeare by the visitation of Cortes. These inhabitantes being vnaduised of this suddayne happe, were taken in their beddes, and came out all naked through the Streets to knowe what the great mourning and lamentation meante: at the first entrance many were slayne, but bycause they made no resistance, Cortes commaunded to ceasse from killyng, nor yet to take any of their goddes, or women.

A famous
Cortez.

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

Cortes commaunded signes of peace to be made vnto them, and with that they stayed, and befoze the Sonne rising,

rising, the Towne was pacified.

Cortez went by into a Towne to descry the Country, and there espyed a moste greate population: he then demaunded what it was: aunswere was made that it was called *Tlaxcallan*, and the Tolones thereunto apperteyning. Then he called hys Spaniards, and sayd vnto them: beholde, what woulde it haue preuayled vs to kyll these poore soules, hauyng yonder so manye enemies: and wythoute doyng anye moze hurte in that Towne, hee wente to a fayre Fountayne there at hande, and thither came the Rulers of that Towne, and other foure hundred menne withoute weapon, and broughte wyth them muche vituall, most humbly they besought Cortes to doe them no moze hurte, gyuing hym likewise greate thanks, that hee hadde so fauourably used them, offering both to serue and obey hym, and from that daye forwarde they woulde not onely keepe hys friendshippe, but also trauell wyth the Loydes of *Tlaxcallan* and others, that they shoulde doe the same. Cortes replied, that sure he was, howe they had foughte agaynst hym before that time, although that nowe they broughte hym meate, yet notwithstanding hee pardoned them, and also receyued them into hys seruice and friendshippe, to the vse of the Emperoure.

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

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

S. J.

From

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

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



When Cortez was returned so ioyfull to his Camp, he founde some of his men discouraged with the suddayne mishappe of the Horses, fearing that likewise some misfortune hadde happened to Cortes, but when they sawe him come well and with victorie, their ioy was great, although true it is that manye of his men were not well pleased, but desired muche to leaue the warres, and to returne to the coast, as they had often requested, but nowe chiefly seeing such a great Countrey, and full of people, who woulde not permitte theyr abiding there, and they being so fewe in number in the middelt among them without hope of succoure, certaynely things to be feared. With this murmuration they thought it good to talke with Cortes, & also to require him to procede no further, but returne backe againe to *Vera Cruz*, from whence by little and little they mighte haue intelligence with the *Indians*, and thereupon procede according to tyme, and that he mighte provide moze Horses and men, which was the chiefest provision of the warre.

Murmuration.

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

was: and the matter was, that certaine souldiers sayde these woordes: If our Captayne be madde, and go where he may be slayne, let him goe alone, what neede we to follow him. Cortez hearyng this talke, called two of his friendes for witnesse, willing them to harken his souldiers talke, for he that durst speake suche woordes would be ready to doe it. Also he hearde others say, what shall our journey be as Pedro Carbonerotes was: who went into *Barbaria* to take *Spozes*, and he and all his were there slayne, wherefoze sayde they let vs not follow him but turne in time. It grieued Cortez muche to heare this talke, who would sayne haue corrected them but it was not then tyme, wherefoze he determined to leade them with sufferaunce, and spake vnto them as followeth.

The Oration made by Cortez

to his souldiers.



Differs and louyng friendes, I did chose you for my fellowes, and ye chose me for your captaine, and all was for the seruice of God, and the augmenting of his holy faith, & also the seruice of our soueraigne Lord the King now Emperour: and next for our owne commoditie, I (as ye haue seene) haue not sayled nor yet displeas'd ye, nor ye likewise haue otherwise done to me vnto this day. But now I do seele faintnesse in some, yea and an euill will to goe forwarde in the warres whiche we haue in hande: but (God be prayd) if is now finished, at the least the ende is vnderstood, what it may be, and also the wealth that may follow, as partely you haue seene, but much without comparison of that you haue not seene, whiche is a thing that doth excede the greatnesse of our woordes or thoughts.

¶.ij.

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feare not my louyng fellowes to goe and abide with me, God forbide that I should thynke, yea or that any shoulde repozte, that feare bereth my company, or else disobedience to their Captayne, whiche is a perpetuall infamic, if we shoulde leaue this Lande, this Warre, this way already made, and returne as some doe desire, shall we then lyue at rest, loytring as well and losse folke: God forbide, that euer oure nation shoulde haue suche a name, hauyng warres of honour. And whether (I pray) shall the Dre goe where he shall not helpe to ploughe the grounde: doe yē thinke peradventure that yē shall finde lesse people, worse armed, and not farre from the sea? I doe assure you, that in so thynkyng yē seeke after sine sēte for a Catte, yea and you shall trauell no way, but that you shall mēte some euill passage (as the Prouerbe sayth) yea and farre worse than this that we haue in hande. For why (God be thanked) since we came into this Countrey, we neuer wanted meate, friends, neyther money nor honour. For nowe yē see that yē are esteemed more than menne, yea as persons immortall, and Goddes, if it mighte be spoken, for these *Indians* beyng so many and without number, and so armed as ye your selues affirme, yet can they not kyll one of vs: and as touchyng theyr weapons, you see that they are not poysoned, as the *Indians* of *Cartagena*, *Veragana*, and the *Caribez* doe vse, whiche haue killed many of our nation therewith, dying as madde menne ragyng.

And if there were no other cause than this onely, you shoulde not seeke others with whome to warre: I doe confesse that the Sea is somewhat farre froin vs, and neuer Spaniarde travelled so farre into the mayne lande of *India*, as we haue done: for why: nowe we leaue the Sea a hundredeth and fiftie myles behinde vs, nor yet euer
any

any hath come so neare *Mexico* where *Mutezuma* doth reside, from whence such messages and Treasure we haue receyued. It is now but thre scoze myles thither, and the worlde is passe, as you doe see, if we come thither, as I truste in *Iesus* we shall, then shall we not onely gette and winne for the Emperoure oure naturall Lozde a riche Lande, greate Kingdomes, infinite *Tassalles*, but lykewyse for oure selues muche riches, as *Golde*, *Siluer*, *Precious stones*, *Pearles*, and other commoditie, and besides thys, the greatest honour that euer any nation did obtayne. For loke howe great a King this is, howe large his countrey is, and what greate multitude of people he hath, so muche the moze is our gloze.

Besides all this, we are bounde as *Christians* to exalte and enlarge oure *Catholyke* sayth, as we haue begonne, abolishing *Idolatrie* and blasphemie agaynst our *Sauour Christe*, taking away the bloudy Sacrifice and eatyng of mannes flesh, so horrible and agaynst nature, and many other grieuous sinnes so muche here vled, for the fouleneesse whereof I name them not.

And therefore (I saye) feare you not yet doubt you the victorie, considering that the worlde is passe. Of late we ouercame the *Indians* of *Tabasco*, and also an hundzeth and fiftie thousande this other daye of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, who haue the onely name of breakers of *Lys* ons iawes: so with *Gods* helpe you shall be *Conquerers* of the reste, if ye saynt not and folowe me.

All hys company was pleased and contente with this comforytable exhortation, and those that were saynt harted recouered strength. And hys valiaunt *Souldiers* recouered double courage, & those who hated him began to honour him: and in conclusion he departed from thence
 exceding

exceeding welbeloued of all his company. But all his former talke was very needefull as time then requyred: for why: some of his (as you haue heard) were desirous to returne: likewise vpon dissention, rebellion mought haue growen, and he forced to returne to the sea coaste, where all his toyle and trauell taken had bene lost.

Hovv Xicotencatl came for Embas

sadour to Cortez his Campe.



Cortez had not so sone made an ende of his talke, when *Xicotencatl* came entryng into the campe, who was chiefe and generall captayne in *Tlaxcallan*, & of all the warres: he brought in his company fiftie persons of auctoritie to keepe him company. They approached neare where *Cortez* was, and saluted eche other according to the vse of their countrey. Their salutations ended and the parties setten downe, *Xicotencatl* began the talke, sayinge Sir I am come on mine owne behalfe and also of my fellow Captaine, and Licutenant *Maxitca*, and in the name of many other noble personages, and finally in the name of the whole state and common weale of *Tlaxcallan*, to beseeche and pray you to admitte vs into your friends shippe, and to yelde our selues and countrey vnto your King, crauyng also at your hande pardon for our attempt in taking armes agaynst you, wee not knowing what you were, nor what you sought for in our countrey. And where we presumed to resiste and defende your entrance, we did it as agaynst straungers whome we knewe not, and suche menne as we had neuer before sene: and fearyng also that you had bene friendes to *Mutezuma*, who is and alwayes hath bene our moztall enemy. And these things wee suspected, sayng *Mutezuma* his seruants

in your company, or else we imagined that you were comen to vsurpe our libertie, the whiche of tyme with out memozy we haue possessed, as our forefathers did with the shedyng of their bloud. And of our owne naturall pꝛouision we wante cotten wolle to clothe vs, where fore in tyme passe we wente as naked as we were bozne, but some of vs vsed other clothe to couer our nakednesse, made of the leaues of the tree called *Mel:* and Salte also we wanted, of which two things so necessarie to humayne lyfe, *Mutezuma* had greate store, and other our enemies, with whome we are rounde aboute enuironed. And lyke wise where we haue no golde. stones of value, or any riche thng to barter with them, of very pure necessitie many times we are forced to sell our owne bodies to buy these wantes. And this extremitie (sayde he) we needed not, if that we woulde be subiectes and vassalles to *Mutezuma*. But yet had we rather all in generall to ende our lyues, than we woulde puite oure selues in suche subiection, for we thynke our selues as valiaunt menne in courage as our forefathers were, who alwayes haue resisted agaynst him and his grandfather, who was as mightie as nowe is he: we woulde also haue withstode you and your force, but we coulde not, although we pꝛoued all our possibilitie by night and day, and found your strength inuincible, and we no lucke agaynst you. Therefore sithence our fate is such, we had rather be subiect vnto you than vnto any others. For we haue knowen and hearde by the *Zempallanezes*, that you doe no euill, nor came not to here any, but were mosse balliaunt and happie, as they had sene in the warres, beyng in your company. For whiche consideration, we truste that our libertie shall not be diminished, but rather our owne persons, wyues, and familie better pꝛeserued, and our houses and husbandry not destroyed.

destroyed. And in time of all his falke, the teares trickling downe his chækes, he besought Cortes to woe that *Tlaxcallan* did neuer at any tyme reknowlege any superiour King or Lorde, nor at any time had commen any person among them to commaunde, but onely he, whome they did voluntarily electe and chose as their superiour and ruler.

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

Cortes with a mercie and louing countenance answered, laying to their charge the hurte and damage whiche he had recepued in their countrey, bycause they refused at the firste to harken vnto him, and quietly to suffer him to enter into their countrey, euen as he had required and desired by his Messengers of *Zeampoallan* sente vnto them from *Zaclotan*. Yet al this notwithstanding, he did both pardon the kylling of his two hoxses, the assaultyng of him in the highe way, and the greate lies whiche they had moſte craftily vsed with hym, (for where as they themselves fought agaynst him, yet they layde the faulte to others) likewise their pretence to murder him in the ambush prepared for him, (enticing him to come to their Cittie,) without makyng firste defiance accordyng to the law of armes.

These causes notwithstanding, he did louingly recepuere their offer made in subiection to the Emperour, and in this sorte departed, saying, that shortly hee would be with him in *Tlaxcallan*, and presently he coule not goe
with

with him for the dispatche of the Ambassadors of *Mutezuma*.

The receyuing and entertaynement
of Cortez in *Tlaxcallan*.



Tgrieved muche the Embassadors of *Mutezuma*, to see *Xicotencates* in the Spanishe Campe, and the offer made vnto Cortez in the behalfe of his King, of their persons, Cittie and godes, aduising Cortez to gyue no credite vnto them, for all

their saying (quoth they) is treason and lies, and to the effect to locke you vp in their Cittie.

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

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

The sixth day the *Mexican* came, accordyng to promise, and brought vnto Cortez tenne Jewelles of Golde, bothe
A riche
present.

rich and well wrought, and a fiftene thousand garments of Cotten exceeding gallant, and mosse earnestly besought
him

his,

hym on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, that he shoulde not daunger himselfe in trustyng to the wordes of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, who were so poze y^e with necessitie they would robbe him of the thyngs whiche his mayster had sente him, yea and lykewise murder him, knowyng of the friendshippe betwæne his mayster and him: likewise all the chiefest Lordes of *Tlaxcallan*, came to intreate hym to goe with them to *Tlaxcallan* where he shoulde be cherished, lodged, and well provided. For it was a greate dishonour and shame for them to permitte suche personages to abyde in suche vile cotages as they were in. And if (quoth they) you truste vs not, that then we are ready to gyue you for your securitie what soeuer gages you shall demaunde: notwithstanding they dyd bothe sweare and faithfully promise, that they might safely goe with them, saying also that the Othe and fayth of theyr common weale should neuer be broken for all the goddes in the worlde.

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

He was lodged in the greatest temple, which had many great and fayre lodgyngs, sufficient for hym and all his companie, except the *Indians* hys friendes which were lodged

Entrance
into Tlax-
callan.

lodged in other Temples. He set certayne limittes, out of the whiche he commaunded straightely that none of hys company should passe, vpon payne of deathe, and also commaunded that they shoulde take nothing, but what shoulde be given them. His commaundement was well obserued, for none presumed to goe a hoanes cast without his licence. The Indian Gentlemen shewed greate pleasure and curtesie to the strangers, and provided the of all things necessarie, and manye of them gaue theyr daughters vnto them, in token of true friendshippe, and likewise to haue fruite of their bodyes, to be brought by for the warres, beyng such valiant men.

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

The description of Tlaxcallan.

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

In times past the Citie was called *Tlaxcallan*, that is to say, a valley betwixt two hilles. It is a greate Citie, and planted by a riuer side, whiche springeth out of *Atlancatepec*, and watreth the most parte of that prouince, and from thence issueth out into the South sea, by *Zacatullan*. This Citie hath foure godly *Arétes*, whiche are called *Tepeticpac*, *Ocoreulco*, *Tizatlan*, *Quiahuitlan*. The firste *Aréte* standeth on bygh vpon a hyl, farre from the riuer, whiche maye be abouth

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

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

In their warres (as I haue sayde before) they haue foure Captaynes, whiche gouerneth eache one stræte, of the whiche foure, they do elect a Captayne generall. Also there are other Gentlemen that are vndercaptaynes, but a small number. In the warres they vse their standerde to be carried behynde the army, but when the battayle is to be fought, they place the standerde where all the hoste may see it, and he that commeth not incontinent to hys auntient, payeth a penaltie. Their standerd hath the two crossebowe arrowes set thereon, whiche they esteeme as

the reliques of their auncetoꝝ. Thys stander two olde souldiers and valiant menne, being of the chiefeſt Cap- taynes, haue the charge to carrie, in the which standerde an abusion of southſaying, eyther of losse oz victoꝝy is no- ted. In this order they shote one of these arrowes againſt the ſuſt enimies that they méete, and if with that arrow they doe eyther kill oz hurte, it is a token that they shall haue the victoꝝie, and if it neyther kill noꝝ hurt, then they assuredly beléue that they shall lose the field.

This pꝛouince oz Lordſhip of *Tlaxcallan*, hath, 28. Vil- lages and totones, wherein is conteyned 15 0000. house- holdes. They are men well made, and good warriozs, the lyke are not among the *Indians*. They are very poꝝe, and haue no other riches, but only the grayne oz coꝝne called *Centi*, and with the gayne and pꝛofite thereof, they doe both cloth themſelues, and paye their tributes, and pꝛo- uide all other necessaries. They haue many market pla- ces, but the greateſt and moſt vſed dayly, standeth in the ſtꝛete of *Ocotelulco*, whiche is ſo famous, that 30000. per- sons come thither in one day to buy and sell, whyche is to ſay, changing one thing foꝝ another, foꝝ they know not what money meaneth.

A ſtrange
contraſta-
tion.

They sell ſuch things in that market, as héere we vſe, eal thing vnto them nédeſul to eate, and cloth foꝝ them- ſelues, and necessaries foꝝ building.

They haue all kinde of god policie in the Citie: there are Goldſmithes, ſetherdzellers, Warboꝝs, hotehouſes, and potters, who make as god earthen veſſel, as is made in *ſpayne*. The earth is fat and fruitfull foꝝ coꝝne, fruites, and paſture, foꝝ among the pine trées groweth ſo muche graſſe, that our men ſéede their cattell there, whiche in *ſpayne* they can not do.

Within two leagues of that Citie standeth a rounde hill of ſixe miles of heigth, and ſiue and foꝝtie myles in compaſſe,

compasse, and is now called Saint Bartholmewes hill, where the snow fræseth. In times past they called that hill *Matealcucie*, who was their God for water. They had also a God for wyne, who was named *Ometochli*, for the great dronkenesse whiche they vsed. Their chiefest God was called *Camaxtlo*, and by another name *Mixcoatl*, whose Temple stode in the stræte of *Ocotelulco*; in the whiche temple there was sacrificed some yeares a boue eyght hundreded persons. In *Tlaxcallan* they spake thre languages, that is to saye, *Nahuatl*, whiche is the courtly speech, and chiefest in all the land of *Mexico*: another is called *Oromir*, which is most commonly vsed in the Villages: There is one onely stræte that spake *Pinomer*, which is the grofeste speache. There was also in that Cētie a common Playe, where fellows lye in prons, and all things which they held for sinne, was there corrected.

Corre. 415.

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

The

The aunsvvere of the Tlaxcaltecas

touching the leauing of their Idolles.



When Cortez saw that these people erected Justice, and liued in Religion after theyr manner, although abhominable and diu-
lith: and alwayes when he desired them to leaue off from their Idolatrye and that cruell vanitie, in killing and eating men sacrificed, considering that none among them how holly soeuer he were, would willingly be slayne & eaten, requir-
ed them to beleue in the most true God of the Chrysti-
ans, who was the maker of Heauen and earth, the giuer of rayne, and creatoꝝ of all things that the earthe produ-
ceth only for the vse and profite of mortall man.

A godly
persvvasiō

Some of them aunswered, that they woulde gladly do it, onely to pleasure hīm, but they feared that the commons would arise and stone them. Others sayde, that it was an hard matter to vnbelaue that which their forefa-
thers had so long beleued, and that it should be a cause to condemne their forefathers and themselues.

Others sayde, that it mighte be in time they woulde conuert, seeing the order of the Chyistian Religion, and vnderstanding the reasons and causes to turne Chyristi-
ans, and likewise percepuing thoroughly the manner and life of the Chyristiāns, with their lawes and customs: and as for warlike seates, they were satisfied, & had seene suche tryall, that they helde them for men invincible in that poynte, and that their God did help them.

Cortez promised them, that shortlye he woulde bring them suche men, as should instruct and teache them, and then they should see which way was best, with the greate
joy and fruite that they should see. They accepting

¶

that

that councell which he like a friende had giuen them, and soz as much as presently it could not be brought to passe by reason of his iourney to *Mexico*.

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

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

The discord betweene the

Mexicans and Tlaxcaltecas.



Cortes being thoroughly satisfied of they hartie god wylles, he demaunded of them the estate and riches of *Mutezuma*. They exalted him greatly, as men that had proued his force. And as they affirmed, it was nere a hundred yeares that they mainteyned 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 powder and dominion ouer all the lande, and his people innumerable: soz (quoth they) he ioyneth sometime two hundreth thousand men, yea and thre hundred thousande for one battayle. And if it pleased hym, he woulde make as manye men double, and thereof they were good witnesse, by cause they had manye times fought with the.

Maxixca desired that *Cortes* should not aduventure themselves into the power of the men of *Culbua*, wherat some of the *Spanyarden* feared and suspected euill of the matter.

Cortes

Cortes tolde him, that notwithstanding all those things whiche they had tolde him, he was fully minded to goe to Mexico, to visit *Mutezuma*, wishing him to aduise hym what he mought do, or bying to passe for them with *Mutezuma*, for he woulde willingly do it, for the curtesie shewed vnto him, and that he beleued *Mutezuma* woulde 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 (sayd they) in time of the warres we stode in great neede thereof, and that they had none but suche as they boughte by stealth of the Comercans verpe dare, in change of golde: for *Mutezuma* had made a straight lawe, whereby all suche as carried anye of those commodities to them shoulde be slayne. Then *Cortes* enquired the cause of their disorder and euill neyborhood. They answered, that their griefes were olde, and cause of libertie: but as the Ambassadors did asseyne, and *Mutezuma* after ward declare, it was not so, but for other matter farre differente. So that eache partye alleadging their causes, they reasons were, that the yong memie of Mexico and *Culhua* dyd exercise and bying them vpp in warlike seates nere vnto them, and vnder theyr noses, to theyr greate annoyntice, whereas they moughte haue gone to *Panuco* and *Teocantepec*, hys frontiers a farre off.

Whewyse theyr pretence was, to haue warre wyth them beeing theyr neyghboys, onely to haue of them to sacrifice to their Gods: so that when they would make any solemnne 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 certayne if *Mutezuma* woulde, in one daye hee moughte haue broughte them in subiection, and slayne them

A.ij. all,

all, toyning his whole power in effecte; but his purpose was, to keepe them for a pray to hunt withall, for men to be sacrificed to his Goddes, and to eate, so that he woulde neuer sende but a small armye againste them: whereby it did chance that sometimes those of *Tlaxcallan* did ouercome.

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

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

The solemne receyuing of the

Spanyarde: into *Chololla*.



The Ambassadors of *Cortez* sayng the determination of *Cortez* to procede on his iourney towarde *Mexico*, they besought him to goe by *Chololla*, whiche stode five leagues from thence, certifying that *Chololla* was a Citie in their friendship, and that there he might at his pleasure abide the resolution of their Lord *Mutezuma*, whether it were his pleasure that he should enter into *Mexico* or no. This request was onely to haue him from thence, for truly it grieved much *Mutezuma* of theyr newe friendshippe and league, fearng

fearng that thereof woulde some great displeasure hap-
pen towarde him, and therefore procured all that was
possible to haue him from thence, sending him alwayes
presents to allure him to come fro thence the sooner. But
when the *Tlaxcaltecas* saw that he would goe to *Chololla*, it
griued them muche, saying vnto *Cortes*, that *Mutezuma*
was a liar and fraudulent person, and that *Chololla* was a
cittie his friends but not constant, and it mighte happen
that they woulde displease him, haung him within their
Cittie, wishng him to loke wel to himself: And if néedes
he would goe thither, yet they woulde prouide, 20000. men
to kéepe him company,

A gentle
offer.

The women that were giuen to the *Spaniards* at
their firste entraunce, had vnderstandng of a snare that
was layde to murder them at their commng to *Chololla*,
by meanes of one of the foure Captaynes, who had a fl-
ster which discovered the thing to *Pedro de Aluaro* who
kepte hir. *Cortes* incontinent called that Captayne out
of his house, and caused him to be choked, and so was the
matter kepte close that his death was neuer knowen,
whereby the snare was vndone without any rumour. It
was a wonder that all *Tlaxcallan* had not made an vpyre
sepg one of their greatest Captaynes dead. There was
inquire made of that snare, and the truth being knowen,
it was approued that *Mutezuma* had prepared, 30000.
Souldiers who were in campe so; that purpose within
two leagues of the Citie, and that the streets in *Chololla*
were stopped vp with timber and raples, and the toppes
of their houses prouided with stones, whiche houses are
made with playne roffes o; sotties, and the highe way
stopped vp, & other false bywayes made with deepe holes
pitched ful of stakes very sharpe, to spoyle and lame both
hoyle and man: these engines were finely couered with
sande, and coulde not be espied, although the skoute had

Correction
of treasons.

gone befoze on foote to discover. The matter also was be-
ry suspitious, for these Citizens of *Chololla* had not at any
time come to visite hym, or sente any presente vnto him
as others had done.

Wherevpon *Cortez* consulted with the *Tlaxcaltecas* to
sende certayne messengers to *Chololla*, to request their Ca-
ptaynes and rulers to come vnto him, who did their mes-
sage accordingly, and the *Cholollans* woulde not come, but
yet they sent thze or foure persons to excuse them, saying
that they were not well at ease, praying to signifie vnto
them what he woulde haue: the *Tlaxcaltecas* enformed *Cor-
tes* that those messengers were menne of small credite and
of loue degre, wishyng hym not to departe till they
Captayne came. In this sorte *Cortes* returned theyz mes-
sengers backe agayne, with commaundement wzitten,
declaring that if they came not wthin thze dayes, hez
woulde proclayme them rebelles and his vtter enimies,
and as suche would be chasten with all rigour.

When this commaundement came vnto them, the next
day followyng came many Lordes and Captaynes to
make their excuse, saying, that the *Tlaxcaltecas* were their
enimies, and that througth them they could not lide in
safette, lykewise they knelwe of the euill repozte whiche
they had made agaynst them: wherefoze they besought
him to giue no credite vnto them, for why, they were both
falle and cruell menne: besechyng him also to goe with
them to their Citie, and then he shoulde see that all was
but a mockery that had bene tolde him, and they his good
and saythfull friends: and laste of all they offered to serue
him as tributary subiectes.

Cortes commaunded that all this talke should be sette
downe in wytyng befoze the Notary and his interpre-
ters, and so toke his leaue of the Citizens of *Tlaxcallan*.
Maxica wepte at his departure, but there wente in his

pany a hundredth thouſande men of warre: there were a^d among them many Marchantes that wente to barter for Salte and Mantels.

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

The nexte day in the morning the Spaniards came to *Chololla*, and there came out nere 10000. *Indians* to receiue him with their Captaynes in god order: many of them preſented vnto him bread, ſoule, & roſes, and euery Captayne as he approched welcomed Cortes, and then ſtoode aſide that the reſte in order mighte come vnto him. And when he came entring into the Citie, all the other Citizens receiued him, marueling to ſee ſuch men & hozes.

After all this came out all the religious menne, as Biſhops, and Miniſters to the idols (who were many and ſtraunge to beholde,) and all were clothed in white lyke vnto ſurplices and hemmed with Cotten threde: ſome brought instrumentes of muſicke like vnto Coznettes, other brought inſtrumets made of bones, other an inſtrumet like a ketel couered with ſkin, ſome brought chaſing diſhes of coales with perfumes, others brought idols couered, and finally they al came ſinging in their language, which was a terrible noyſe, and drew nere Cortes and his copany, ſenſing them with ſweete ſmelles in their ſenſers.

With

With this pompe and solemnitie (whiche truely was great) they brought him into the Cittie, and lodged him in a house where was rounge inough for him and his, and gaue vnto eche of them a Gynnea cocke, and his Indians of *Tlaxcallan*, *Zempoallan* and *Iztacmixtilitan*, were prouided by themselves.

The conspiracie of the Cholollans

to kill Cortes and his men.



At that night following Cortes was vigilant with all his company, for bothe in the way and in the towne, they had found some of the things wherof they had bene advised befoze in *Tlaxcallan*, and although their firste present was a Gynnea cocke to eche mans allowance, other thre dapes following they gaue them nothing almost to eate, and very seldome the Captaynes came to visite them, whereof Cortes had great suspicion.

And in this meane while the Embassadours of *Mutezuma* entreated him to leaue of his iourney to *Mexico*, alleging that their great King would die in beholding their beardes & gesture: other times they sayde that there was no passage, other times they would say that they wanted wherewith to sustayne them. And seying them fully and in euery respect answered to all these poyntes, they caused the Townes menne to enforce them, that where *Mutezuma* his abiding was, were monstrous *Lions*, *Tigers*, *Lions*, and many other fierce beastes, the whiche when *Mutezuma* commaunded to be losed, were sufficient to placke in peeces, and to destroy those selue straungers: and seying that all these pollicies auayled not, they consulted with the Captaynes and chiefe Cittizens to

murder

murder the Christians. And because they shoulde to
 bying it to passe, the Embassadors promised the Ci-
 tizens greate rewardes on the behalfe of *Mutezuma*, and
 presented to theyr generall a drumme of Golde, and pro-
 mised to bying the thirtie thousande souldiers whiche lay
 aboute two leagues from thence: the *Cholollans* promys-
 sed to deliuer them bounde hande and foote. But yet they
 woulde not consente that those Soldiers of *Culhua* shoulde
 come into their Cittie, fearyng that they (under colour
 of friendship) woulde remaine with the towne, for
 why, the *Mexicans* had used the lyke sleight. And in this
 sorte they with one bolte meante to kill two byrdes at a
 shot, for they thought to take the Spaniardes slepyng,
 and then to remaine with the Towne of *Chololla*. Also it
 was determined, that if all these pretences coulde not be
 brought to passe, that then they shoulde be conducted a con-
 trary way to *Mexico* vpon the left hande, in the whiche
 were many dangerous places, because the way was all
 sandy, with many sluces, ditches, and holes of thre fadome
 deepe, meanyng there to mate them and to carry them
 bounde to *Mutezuma*: this matter being fully agreed, they
 beganne to take away theyr household stuffe, and to carry
 it with their wines and chyldren vpon into the moun-
 taynes.

Many pe-
 rils.

And our men being also ready to departe from thence
 for theyr small chere with euill countenance, it hap-
 pened, an *Indian* woman (being wise to one of the principa-
 lest Cittizens,) hauing some affection to the bearded men,
 sayde vnto *Marina*, that she shoulde abide there with byr,
 for that she loued hir well, and that it woulde grieue hir
 that she should be slayne with hir mayster. *Marina* dissi-
 mulyng the matter, procured to knowe what they were
 that had conspired the thing, and hauing knowledg ther-
 of, she ranne to seeke *Aguiilar* hir fellow interpreter, and

Helpe from
 God.

Æ.

bothe

both together enformed Cortes of the whole matter.

Cortes hearyng this newes, slepte not, but incontinent examined two of the Citizens, who confessed the thyng even as it passed, and as the Gentlewoman had declared: whereupon Cortes stayed his iourney two dayes, to mollifie the matter and to disapoynt them of that euill pretended purpose, and also to correate their offences, he commaunded their rulers to be called, saying that he had to talke with them, and when they were comen he requyred them neyther to vse lies nor deceytes with hym, but rather lyke menne to desie him to the fælde and battayle, for (quoth he) honest menne vse rather to fighte than to lie. They all answered that they were his friendes and scruitours, and no liars, and that it mighte please him to shewe them when he woulde departe, for they woulde goe armed to keape hym company. He answered that he woulde departe the nexte day followyng, and that he requyred but onely some of their slaues to carry his baggage, bycause his owne *Tamemez* or Carriars were wearid: lykewise he requyred some prouision of victuall.

At this laste requeste they smiled, saying among themselves, to what purpose will these men haue victualls, for shortly they themselves shalbe boyled and eaten with the sause called *Axi*, pea, and if *Mutezuma* had not pretended their bodics for his owne dishe, they had bene eaten here befoze this tyme.

The

The punishment that Cortez executed for conspiracie.



The next day in the morning the *Cholulans* thinking that they had their determine purpose in god readinesse, they came and brought many to carry their sardage, & other some to carry the Spaniards vpon their backes, hoping to

apprehed them in the same order. Where came also many armed men of the most valiantest, to kill him that should disorder himselfe. Likewise that day their Priests sacrificed ten children of thre yeares of age to their God *Quezalcoatl*, five of these children were menne, and the other five women, whiche was their custome when they began their warres: the Captaynes placed themselues at the foure doores of Cortes his house with some armed men. Cortes earlye in the morning had secretlye in a readinesse the *Indians* of *Zempoallan* and *Tlaxcallan*, and other friends: he commaunded his horsemen to take their horses, giuing them this watche woorde, that when they hearde the noyse of the shotte of a handgun, that then they should play the mē, for it imported all their liues. And he seing the townes men approach nere his lodging, commaunded y captaynes & chiefest of them to come vnto him, saying, y he would take his leaue of them: there came many, but he would not suffer aboute thirtie persons to come in, who were the principallest, and declared vnto thē, that alwayes he had dealte truly with them, & they with him nothing but treason and lies. Likewise they had vnder colour requested that his friends the *Tlaxcaltecas* shuld not come vnto their towne, & that he fulfilled there in their desire, & also commaunded his own men in no wise to be hurtful vnto thē, yea & although they had not provided him of victuals

Overthy
Cortes.

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 mosse wickedly procured the death of him and all his companie. And because they coulde not perforce it in their owne towne, they had prepared the slaughter in the high way, at those dangerous places whiche they had determiued to leade them vnto, pretending also the helpe of thirtie thousand men, Souldiers of *Mutezuma*, whiche army stode not fully twa leagues from thence. And for this horrible and detestable wickednesse yee shall all die, and in memozy of traytozs I will destroy this cittie, and turne the foundations vpwordes, so that there shall remaine no remembzaunce of you.

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

Then sayd *Cortes* to the Embassadours, you do see that we should haue bene slaine by the *Cholollans*, and through the procurement of *Mutezuma*, but yet I belue it not, considering that he is my friende and a mightie Prince, saying also that Noble men vsed neyther treason nor lyes, wherefore feare not you, but these dissembling Traytozs shall be punished, for you are persons inuioable and messengers of a Prince, whome he meante to serue and not offende, 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 sawe himselfe within the Cittie of *Mexico*.

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

Cortez commaunded that they ſhoulde kill neyther wo- man noz childe: they foughte welnere ſpue houres: they ſette fire on all the houſes and Towers that made reſi- ſtance, and dzaue all the inhabitantes out of the Towne. The dead carcaſes lay ſo thicke, that of ſozce they muſt treade vpon them.

There were twentie Gentlemen, and many Priettes, who aſcended by to the high towler of the temple, whiche hathe a hundred and twenty ſteppes, from whence wyth arrowes and ſtones they did muche hurt, and woulde not yelde, wherevpon oure men ſet fier to the Tower, and burned them all. Then they erclaymed on their Goddes, who woulde neyther helpe them noz their Citie and holy ſanctuary.

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

Cortez commaunded to ceaſe the ſpoyle. The other Captaynes that lay bounde, hearing of ſuche a greate de- ſtruction and puniſhment, moſt pitifully beſought Cortez to loafe ſome of them, ſoz to ſee what was become of their Gods and comon people. Likewise they humbly be- ſought him to pardon them, who had not ſo muche faulte as *Mitexuma*, who perſwaded and enticed them to that pretended treaſon.

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

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

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

The Sanctuary or holy place among
the Indians was Chololla.



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

The women are Goldsmithes and also Caruers, the men are warriors, and light fellowes, and god maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparelled than anye other

ther *Indias* yet saene. They weare for their bitter garnēt clokes like vnto *Mozcos*, but after an other sort. Al the Countrey rounde aboute them is fruitefull and carcable grounde, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no wast grounde, in respect whereof, there are some poore, whiche begge from doze to doze. The *spanyarden* hadde not saene any beggers in that Countrey befoze they came thither.

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

Their Cathed^rall Temple was the best and hyghest of all the new *spayne*, with a hundred and twenty steppes vnto it.

The greatest Idoll of all their Gods was called *Quezalcoanately*, God of the ayre, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy lyfe, and great penance. He instituted fasting and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongs, and leste a pzecepte, that they shoulde sacrifice but onely *Quayles*, *Doues*, and other soule.

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

They haue certayne græne stones whiche were hys, and those they kæpe for relikes. One of them is lyke an Apes head. Hère they abode twentye dayes, and in thys meane whyle there came so manye to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to seë. And one of the things that was to be seene in those sayes, was the earthen vessell, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The

The hill called Popocatepec.



Here is a hill eyght leagues from *Chelolla*, called *Popocatepec*, whiche is to say, a hill of smoke, for manye tymes it casteth oute smoke and fier. *Cortez* sente thither tenne *Spanyarden*, with manye *Indians*, to carrie their victuall, and to guide them in the way. The ascending by was very troublefome, and full of craggie rockes. They appoched so nigh the toppre, that they heard such a terrible noyse which proceeded fro thence, that they durst not goe vnto it, for the ground dyd tremble and shake, and great quantitie of *Ashes* whych disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see straunge things, went by to the toppre, bicause they would not returne with a sleuelle answer, and that they myghte not be accompted cowardes, leauing their fellowes behinde them, proceeded forwarde. The *Indians* sayd, what meane these men? for as yet neuer mortall man toke suche a iourney in hande.

These two valiant fellowes passed through y^e desert of *Ashes*, and at length came vnder a greate smoke verpe thicke, and standing there a while, the darkenesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concauetie, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the whiche the ayre came rebounding, with a greate noyse, very shrill, and whistling, in sozt that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an oven where glasse is made. The smoke and heate was so greate, that they coulde not abide it, and of foze were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they wer not gone farre, whē the vulcan began to lash out flames of

of fier, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last stones of burning fire: and if they had not chanced to finde a rocke, where vnder they shadowed themselues, vndoubtedly they had there bin burned.

When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellows, the other *Indians* kissed their garments as an honoz due vnto Gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondzed much at their fate.

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

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

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

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

The ashes that proceeded from thence came to *Huexozinco*, *Quelaxcopan*, *Tepiacac*, *Quauhquecholla*, *Chololla*, and *Tlaxcallan*, whiche standeth tenne leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fiftene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their gardens, their fieldes of cozne, trees, and clothes that lay a dyping.

Y.

The

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



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

Cortes graunted vnto the request, the one of them went, and returned agayne within five dayes in company of another messenger that hadde gone thither befoze, who broughte tenne platters of golde, and a thousande five hundred mantels of cotten, with much viquall, and Cacao whiche is a kinde of fruite that serueth for currant monney among them. Likewise they brought a certaine kind of wine or licoure made of Cacao and Centli. They excused Cortes, that Mutezuma was innocente of the consultation in Chololla, nor by anye meanes priuie to their dealings, affirming mozeouer that the garrison of soldiers did appertaine to Acaxinco, and Acaxan, who were neyghboz to Chololla, who by inducement of some naughty persons, had procured that thing, saying that he shuld both see and vnderstand him to be his faithfull and louing friend,

friend, praying him to come forwarde on his iourney, for he would abide his comming in *Mexico*.

This ambassage pleased well *Cortez*, but *Mutezuma* feared, when he hearde of the slaughter, and burning of *Chololla*, and sayde to his friends, these are the people that our Gods said should come and inherite this land.

Prophecie
of the Di-
uel.

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

The voyce of the Diuell spake vnto him, bidding him not to feare the Christians, saying they were but fewe, and when they were come, he shoulde doe what he lysted with them, willing him in no wise to cease from the bloody sacrifice, least some mischance might happen vnto him. And assured hym that he should haue the Goddess *Vitzipucheli*, and *Tescatlipuca* to preferue and keepe hym. And bycause *Quezalcoatl* was agréued for wante of bloody sacrifice, he permitted the Strangers to punish the them of *Chololla*. And *Mutezuma* hearing this dyuelishe *Dzacle*, and likewise *Cortez* having warned him that hee would visite hym as an enimie, he was by this perswasion of *Sathan*, the better willing to receyue hym into *Mexico*.

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

Mutezuma at the beginning, pretended to feare *Cortez*
P. y. with

An euill
counsellor.

with the fearefull passages and other perils and danger, as the fortitude of *Mexico*, with his greate multitude of subiectes, and the great number of Princes that vvd both serue and obey him: and seeing that all these things profited not, he thoughte to haue overcome him with gyftes and treasure, knowing that he hadde required goide: yet he sawe that nothing woulde preuaile, for that Cortez woulde needes come to see hym, wherevpon, he toke counsell of the Diuell what he shoulde doe in that case, vpon which counsell he was satisfi'd by hys Priests and Captaynes, that he ought not to warre against so fewe straungers, for if he so did, the dishonour would be his, and chiefly, bycause Cortez certifi'd that he was an Ambassador, and vsing hym otherwise, it myghte so fall out, that hys owne subiectes would rebell againste him theyr Kozde and Prince, saying likewise that it was manifest that the *Otomies* and *Tlaxcaltecas* woulde fauour his syde, and also manye others, for to destroy and spoyle *Mexico*, vpon which consultation it was openly proclaymed, that his will was that the straungers shoulde enter into *Mexico* freely, thinking that if at anye time they shoulde displease hym, to make a breakefast of them the nexte day.

Things that happened to Cortez in his iourney to *Mexico*.



Cortez hauing so good an answer of the Ambassadors, he gaue licence to as manye of the Indians hys frindes, as list'd to departe home to their houses, and he likewise departed from *Chololla* with some borderers that would needes follow him.

He leste the way that the *Mexicans* had perswaded him to come, for it was bothe euill and daungerous, as the Spaniards whiche went to the vulcan had sene, he went another playner way and moze nearer. That day he traueled but foure leagues, bicause he meant to lodge in the villages of *Huezoztico*, where he was friendly receyued, and they presented vnto him slaues, garments, and golde, although but little, for they are poore by reason that *Mt. Tezuma* hath enuironed them aboute, bicause they were of the parcialtie of *Tlaxcallan*. The next day in the morning he ascended by a hill couered with snowe, which was fiftie myles of heigth, where if the 30000. Souldiers had wayted for them, they might easily haue taken them, by reason of the great colde: and from the toppes of that hill, they discovered the land of *Mexico*, and the great lake with his villages rounde about, whiche is an excēdyng goodly 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 muche, 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 Captayne at all assaies was the first himselfe, they feared the lesse the things that they imagined. And descending downe into the playn, they found a great large house, sufficient for him and all his company, with fiftie thousande *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huezoztico*, and *Cholula*. And the seruants of *Montezuma* made cottages of straw for the *Tamemes* or carriers, who were ladē with the fardage, and victuals: there was a good supper prepared for them, and great fires to warme them, and all things necessary. Thither came many principall persons from *Mexico* to visse him, among whome was a kinsman of *Mt.*

Oh wise
Cortes.

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

But yet for all this talke, if they had sounde him carelesse, they would haue pinched him as some doth say, for he gaue them to vnderstand that he nor his men slept not by night, nor yet vnarmed themselues, yea and also if it chanced the to finde in the night season any that were not of their company, they slew them out of had, desiring him to aduise his men thercof, 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 two leagues from thence, & standeth in the prouince of *Chalco*, a towne that containeth 20000. householders. The Lozde of that towne presented to

to Cortes fourtie women slaues, and, 3000. Ducats in gold, with meate abundantly for two dayes, and secretly made complaynt vnto him of *Mutezuma*. And from thence he went to another towne foure leagues from thence, the one half therof was builte vpon the lake, and the other halfe vpon the lande at the fote of a ragged hill. There went in his company many subiectes of *Mutezuma* for purueyers, but yet both they and the townes men would fayne haue layde hand vpon the Spaniardes, and euery night would sende their spies to see what the Christians did, but the watch slew about twentie of them, wher vpon the matter stayed and their pretence toke no effect: sure it is a thing to laugh at, for at euery fancie they woulde pꝛoue to kill them, and yet they were not for the purpose. The next day in the morning came twelue Lordes from *Mexico*, among whom was *Cacama* pꝛeue to *Mutezuma*, who was Lord of *Texcoco* a yong man of, xv. yeares of age, whom the Indians did much honour: he was carried vpon the ir shoulders, & when they set him downe one went before with a bꝛome to sweep the dust out of his way. These Gentlemen came to accompany Cortes excusing *Mutezuma*, saying that he was not well at ease & therfore he came not personally to receiue him. And yet they entreated Cortes to returne backe againe, & not to come vnto *Mexico*, pꝛyuing him to vnderstand by signes, y they would there displeaso him, yea & also defend the passage & entrance, a thing easie to be done, but they were either blinded or else they durst not bꝛeake the Calley. Cortes entertayned the like noble men, & gaue vnto the of his haberdashe, & departed from y towne w many graue personages who carried with the a great trayne, whiche filled by the way well nigh as they should passe. wooꝝing at their beardes, harneys, apparell, hozles & ordinaunce, saying to themselues, these be Gods. Cortes gaue them warning not to come among the hozles,

nor among his men, for feare they would kil them. This he made them beleue bicause he would not haue his way stopped, for y^e the number of the was so great. They then came to a towne buylte vpon the water of two thousand houses, and befoze they came thither they had gone moze than halfe a league vpon a sayze Calley, whiche was twentie foote brode: the towne had sayze houses and many towers: the Lord of the towne did receyue them worshipfully, and prouided all things plentifully, desiring him to abide there that night, and secretly made complayntes against *Mutezuma*, of many wrongs and exactions done by him, and certified him, that from thence the way was very sayze to *Mexico*, and al the like calley as he had passed. With this newes *Cortes* was very glad, for he meant to haue stayed there for to haue buylte, barkes, and foystes, & yet he feared least they woulde bzeake the calley, where for he had alwayes a care ouer *Cacama*, who with the other Lordes desired him not to abide there, but to procede forward to *Izcacpalapan*, which was but two leagues off, and that the Lord thereof was another Rerely 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 goe at pleasure, and comtinely into the Citie, & in this order came to *Izcacpalapan*.

Euery two houres came messengers, betwixte *Cortes* and *Mutezuma*: then came *Cuelanae* Lord of that towne, with the Lord *Culhuacan* his kinlman, to receyue him, who presented vnto him, slaues, garments, and feathers, and to the value of foure thousande Ducates in golde. *Cuelanae* receyued al the Spaniards, into his own house, whiche hath very sayze lodgings all of stone, and Carpenters worke exceeding well wrought, with high & lowe rouines, with all kinde of seruice: The chambers were hanged with cloth of Cotten, very rich, after their maner.

There were fayre gardes replenished with many swete floures, and swete trees garnished with networke, made of Canes, and couered with roses and other fine hearbes, with sundry pondes of swete water. There was an other garden very beautifull of all sortes of fruytes and hearbes, with a great ponde walled with lyme and stone, and was foure hundred paces square, made with fayre steppes to discende vnto the bottome in many places, and was full of diuers kindes of fishes, and many kinde of water birds, which somtimes couered pond, as Gullcs, Pelues, and such like. *Iztacpallapan* is a towne of 10000 households, & is plated in a lake of salt water, the one half of the towne buylt on the water, & the other on the lande.

The Solemne pompe vwherevich

Cortez was receyued into Mexico.



From *Iztacpallapan* to *Mexico* is two leagues all vpon a fayre calsey, vpon the which eight horseme may passe on rake, and so directly straight as though it had bene made by line. And who seuer hath god eiesight might discerne the gates of

Mexico from thence. *Coyoacan* is a towne of sire thousande dwellers, *Vizilopucheli* is of siue thousand. These towne are planted in the lake, and are adozned with many temples, whiche haue many fayre towers, that doe beautifie exceedingly the lake. There is great contractatio of *Salte*, which is made there, and from thence is carried abrode to fayres and markets, whiche thing was a greate rente to *Autezuma*. Upon this Calsey are many drawe bridges buylt vpon fayre arches that the water passeth through.

Cortez passed this calsey with 400 Spaniardes, & 6000 Indians his friends: theyr passage was with much ado, by

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reason

reason of the great multitude of *Indians* which came to see him, & coming neare the citie, there adioyned another calsep with a broader passage, where standeth a strong bulwark of stone of the height of .ij. fadom, with two towers on eche side, and two gates very strong. Here at this fozte came thye thousande Courtiers and Citizens to receyue him, & euery of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed fozwards in the order as they came. These salutations endured an houre & more. From the bulwark the calsep lieth directly, and befoze the entraunce into the streete there is an other braue brydge made of timber ten paces broad, vnder the which the water passeth to and fro. At this brydge came *Mutezuma* to receyue *Cortes* vnder a Canapie of greene feathers & golde with much argentery hangyng thereat, whiche Canapie foure noble men did carry. And the two princes *Cuiclanac*, and *Cacama* his newewes, did leade him by eache arme: all thye were riche appareled & al of one fashion, except *Mutezuma*, whiche had a payze of shoes of golde besette with pretious stones, and the soles were tied to the vpper part with lachets, as i paynted of the Antikes. His Gentlemen wente by two and two laying downe and taking by mantels and coverlets vpon the ground, because his fete should not touche the same: then folloved him as in procession. 200. noble men barefooted, with garments of a richer livery then the first thye thousand. *Mutezuma* came in the middell of the streete, and the others came behinde him as nigh the wal as they mought, their faces towards the ground, foz it was a great offence to loke him in the face. *Cortes* alighted from his horse, and according to our vse went to embrace him, but the Princes who led him by the armes would not suffer him to come so nigh, foz they held it foz sin to touch him, but yet saluted ech one p other. *Cortes* put about *Mutezuma* his necke a collar of *Paragaites*.

garites, Diamonds, & other stones al of glasse. *Mutezuma* receyued it thankfully, & wente befoze with one of the pzinces his spuewes, & comāunded the other to lead *Cortes* by the hand next after him in the middelt of the streat: and proceeding forwarde in this order, then came the Gentlemen in the richest liucry to welcome him one by one, touchyng the ground with their handes, & after returned to their standyng. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all y day would not haue serued for salutiōs. The coller of glasse pleased well *Mutezuma*, and bycause he woulde not take without giuyng a better thing as a great pzince, he commaunded to be brougt two collers of redde pzaones, which there are muche esteēmed, and at euery one of them hanged eight shrimps of gold of excellent woorkemanship, & of a finger length euery one, he put these collers with his otone hands about *Cortes* his necke, the which was esteēmed a most great fauour, yea and the *Indians* marued at it. At this time they were come to the streate ende, whiche was almost a mile long, broade, straight and very fayre and full of houses on eche side, in whose dozes, windowes and tops was such a multitude of *Indians* to beholoe the strangers, that I knowe not who wondered most, our men to see such a number of them, or else they to see our men, their ordinaunce & horses, a thing so straunge vnto them. They were brougt vnto a great court or house of idols, which was y lodging of *Axaiaca*, at the doze where of *Mutezuma* take *Cortes* by the hande and brougt him into a fayre hall, and placed him vpon a ricke carpet, sayyng vnto him, Sir nowe are you in your otone house, eate and take your rest & pleasure, for I wil shortly come and visite you againe. Such (as you heare) was the receiuyng of *Hernando Cortes* by *Mutezuma* a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of *Mexico*, the eight day of *November*, 1519.

The Oration of Mutezuma to
the Spaniards.

The house where the Spaniards were lodged was great and large, with many fayre chambers sufficient for them all: it was nete, cleane matted, and hanged with cloth of Cotten, and feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When *Mutezuma* was departed from *Cortes*, he began to sette his house in order, and placed the ordinaunce at his doze, and hauing all his things in good sozte, he went to a sumptuous dinner that was prepared for him. As soone as *Mutezuma* had made an ende of his dinner hearyng that the straungers were ryfen from the table, and reposed a while, then came he to *Cortes*, salutyng him, and satte downe by him. He gaue vnto him diuers iewels of gold plate, feathers, and many garmets of Cotten, both riche, well wouen, & wrought of straunge colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also confirme their imagination. This gifte was deliuered honozably, and then began his talkie as foloweth: Lozde and Gentlemen, I doe much reioyce to haue in my house such valiant men as ye are, for to vse you with curtesie, and entreate you with honour, according to your deserte and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you shoulde not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a greate feare to see you, for your gesture & grimme boards did terrifie them, yea, they reported that ye had such beastes as swallowed men, and that your coming was from heauen, bying with you lightning, thunder & thuderbolts, wherewith you made the earth to treble & to shake, and that ye slew therewith whom ye pleased. But now I do see & know that you are mortall men, & that ye are quiet & hurt no man: also I haue seene your horses, which

Which are but your ſeruauntes, and your Sunnes lyke vnto ſhotpynge Trunkes. I do now hold all for fables and lyes which hath bin reported of you, and I do alſo accept you for my more kinſmen. My father tolde me that hee had heard his forefathers ſay, of whome I doe deſcende, that they helde opinion holwe they were not naturals of thys lande, but come hither by chance, in companye of a mighty Lorde, who after a while that they hadde abode here, they returned to their natie ſoyle: After manye yeares erpyzed, they came agayne for thoſe whome they had left here behind them, but they would not goe wyth them, bycauſe they had here inhabited, and hadde wyues and chyldren, and great gouernement in the land. Howe theſe myghtie Lords ſeeyng that they were ſo ſtubbozne, and woulde not returne wyth them, departed from them ſore displeaſed, ſaying, that he woulde ſende his chyldren that ſhould both rule and gouerne them, in iuſtice, peace, and aunteient Religion, and for this conſideration, wee haue alwayes expected and beleued, that ſuche 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 greate Emperour Charles had of vs, who hath now ſent you hither. Therefore Lorde and Captayne, be well aſſured, that we wyll obey you, if there be no fayned or deceptefull matter in your dealings, and will alſo deuide wyth you and yours all that we haue. And although this which I haue ſayde were not only for your vertue, fame, and debtes of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet do it for your worthineſſe in the battayles of *Tanaſco*, *Teocaxinco*, and *Cholulla*, beeyng ſo few, to overcome ſo many.

How agayne, if ye ymagine that I am a God, and the walles and roufes of my houſes, and all my veſſell of ſeruice to be of pure golde, as the men of *Zempoallan*, *Tlax-*

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callan, and *Huexozincó* hath enformed you, it is not so, and I iudge you to be so wise, that you giue no credit to such fables. You shall also note, that through your commyng hither, manye of my subiectes haue rebelled, and are become my mortall enimies, but yet I purpose to breake their wings. Come seele you my body, I am of fleshe 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 preheminece than others. My houses you do also see, which are of tymber and earthe, and the principallest of *Spaines* worke, therefore nolde you do both knowe and see what odious lyars those talebearers were. But troth it is, that golde plate, feathers, armour, iewels, and other riches, I haue in the treasury of my forefathers a long time preserved, as the vse of Kings is, all the which you & yours shal enioy at all times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are weery of your iourney. *Cortez* with ioyfull countenance humbled himselfe, saying some teares fall from *Mutezuma* his eyes, saying vnto him, vppon the trust I haue hadde in youre clemencie, I insisted to come both to see and talke wyth your highnesse, and now I know that all are lyes which hath bin tolde me. The like youre highnesse hath hearde reported of vs, assure youre selfe, that the Emperoure King of *Spainy* is your naturall Lorde, whome yee haue expected for, he is the onely heyre from whence youre lynage dothe procede, and as touching the offer of youre highnesse treasure, I do most hartly thanke you.

After all this communication, *Mutezuma* demaunded whether the bearded men whiche came with him, were eyther his vassals or his slaues, bycause he would enterayne each one accordyng to his estate. *Cortez* answered, that they were all his breethren, friends, and seloues, except some that were his seruauntes.

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

The Maiestie and order, vvherevvith

Mutezuma was serued.



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

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

He changed his owne apparell foure times euery day, and he neuer clothed himselfe agayne with the garments whiche he hadde once woene, but all suche were kepte

kept in his Guardrobe, so; to giue in presents to his seruantes and Ambassadors, and vnto valiante souldyers which had take any enimie prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priuiledge.

The costly matels wherof had bin diuers sent to Cortes, were of the same Guardrobe.

Mutezuma went alwayes very net and fine in hys attire. He bathed him in his hotehouse foure times euery day. He went seldome out of his Chamber, but when hee went to his meate. He eate alwayes alone, but solemnely and with great abundance. His table was a pillowe, or else a couple of coulloured skynnes. His Chayre was a fourefoted stole made of one peece, and hollowe in the middelt, well wroughte and paynted. His table clothes, napkins and towels were made of Cotten woll, verpe white and newe, so; he was neuer serued but once wyth that naperie. Foure hundred Pages broughte in hys meate, all sonnes of greate Lordes, and placed it vppon a table in his greate Hall. The meate beeing broughte in, then came *Mutezuma* to beholde the dishes, and appoynted 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 Stewards or Controller should highly commende any other dish. Before he sate downe, came twentie of his wines of the sayjest and best esteemed, or else those that serued wekely by turne, broughte in the bason and ewer, wyth greate humblenesse. This done, he sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and drewe a wooden nette before him, bycause none shoulde come nigh his table. And this noble man alone placed the dishes, and also toke them away, so; the Pages who broughte in the meate came not nere the table, nor yet spake any word, nor no man else.

While the *Woz Aztec* *Quin* was at his meate, excepte some Jester, they al serued him bareheaded. There assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, five aunciente and noble men, vnto whome he vsed to giue of the dish that best lyked him, who receyued the same at his hande with greate reuerence, and eate it incontinent, without looking in his face, whiche was the greates humilitie that they coulde vse befoze him. He had muske of spidle, flite, and of a Snayle shell, and a Canopon couered with a skinne, and suche other strange instrumentes. They hadde very euill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crockebackes, and other deformed counterfets, all for maicstie and to laugh at, who hadde their meate in the Hall among the Jestes and Jopots, whiche were fedde with parte of the meate that came from *Mutezuma* hys table, all the rest of the meate was giuen to thre thousand of the Guard, who attended ordinarily in the parke or court, and therefore they say that there was broughte for his table thre thousande dishes, and as manye pottes of wine, suche as they vse, and that continually the butrey and Pantrey stode open, whiche was a wonder to see what was in them. The platters, dishes, and cuppes, were al of earth, whereof the King was serued but once, and so frō meale to meale now. He had likewise his seruite of golde and plate, verye riche, but he vsed not to be serued with it, (they say) because he woulde not be serued twice therewith, the whiche he thoughte a base thing. Some affirme, that yong childezen were slayne and dzed in diuers kind of dishes for *Mutezuma* his table, but if it was not so, only of mans fleshy sacrificed he fedde no lve and then the table being taken by, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reuerce 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 played
before *Mutezuma*.



When his table was taken vp, and his scr-
uifors gone to meate, *Mutezuma* late stil:
then came in the suiters that hadde any
affayres to deale with him, barefoted, for
all the persons did vse that reuerence, ex-
cepte some Princes his kinsmen, as the
Lords of *Tescuco*, and *Tlacopan*, and a fewe others: and
beeing colde weather, they vsed to weare olde ragged
clothes vppon theyr riche garmentes. Al suiters vsed to
make thre or foure curtesses, not loking toward his face,
and speaking vnto him their heads downewardes, and in
that order retyzed backe agayne. *Mutezuma* aunswered
his suiters very grauely, with lowe voyce, and in fewe
wordes, and not to al suiters, for others his secretaries or
counsellors that stode by, answered for him, and hauyng
their aunswere, they returned backwardes, not turning
their tayles to the prince. After these busineses done, he
vsed some recreation, hearing Iesters or songs, wherein
he delighted much, or else to loke vpon the players, who
play with their fete, as we doe with oure handes. These
haue a cudgell like vnto a pastlers rowler, whiche they
tosse high and lowe, as it were a bal in the ayre, straunge
to beholde: They vse other playes to passe the tyme, in
such an order, that it seemed maruellous to the lookers on.
Cortez broughte into *spayne* some of these players. Also
they vse *Matachines*, in suche sorte they do play, that they
stand each vppon others shoulders, and he that standeth
highest, sheweth many seates. Sometime *Mutezuma*
did beholde the players, who played at a game called *Pa-
solizli*,

colizli, whiche is muche like our Tables, and they play with beanes, squared like dice, which they call *Paroli*, and throw them out of both their hands vpon a matte, or else vpon the ground, where are made certaine strikes, vpon which they set downe the chance that is throwen: and at this game they play all that they haue, and many tymes they valew theyr owne bodies, and play that into captiuitie, and to remayne a slaue, I meane such as are common gamesters of small estate.

The Tennis play in Mexico.

Sometimes *Mutezuma* went to the Tennis Courte. Their ball is called *Villamalizeli*, and is made of the gumme which commeth from a tree called *Vli*. This tree groweth in a hote Countrey. The gumme being knoed 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 wind-balles. They play not at chases, but at *badie*, or at check, that is, if the ball touch the wall it loseth. They maye strike the ball with any part of their body, but there is alwayes a penaltie if they only strike not with the buttoke or side, whiche is the finest play: wherefoze they vse a skynne 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 *Paroli*, which is there permitted & lawfull. The Tennis Court is called *Tlacho*, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wider vpwards, than downewardes, and higher on the sides than at the ends, which is an industrie for their play. The house is alwayes white and smooth in the side walles: they haue certain Stones like vnto mylstones, wth a little hole in

the middelt that passeth through the Stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball maye passe through, but hee that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, whiche hee sometime happeneth, winneth the game, and by an anciente lawe and custome among Tennis playes, he ought to haue the clothes of all those that stande and beholde the play, on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courtes, the halfe of the garments of them that stande looking on. The winner is then bounde to make certayne sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the Stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play woulde saye, that suche a wyner should be a theefe and an adulterer, or else that he should dye quickly.

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

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

Motzuma broughte the Spanyardes to beholde this pastime, and gaue the to vnderstande, he delighted much in thys game, and also to see our men play at Cardes and Dice.

The

The number of viues that Mutezuma
had in his house.

Mutezuma had many houses as wel in Mexico as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinary dwelling. To write of al it should be tedious, but where his continual abiding was, he named *Tepecac*, that is to say, *Wallace*. And that Wallace had twenty dozes of gates which had their outcomming into the common streets.

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

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

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

The saying was that he had at one tyme a hundreth & fiftie women hys wiues with childe, who through the perswasion of the Demil toke Medicines to taste theyz creatures, bycause they knewe that they shoulde not inherite the state: these hys wiues had many olde women for their Guarde, for no man was permitted to loke vpon them.

The shield of armes that is sette in his pallasce, and likewise carried to the warres, is an Eagle sozving vpon a Tiger hys talents bente as takyng pray. Some thinke it is a Gryphon and not an Eagle. The Gryphons in tyme passe, say they, did cause the vale of *Auscatlan* to be depopled, for they were greate deuourers of menne, and that theyz abidyng was in the Mountaynes of *Teoacan*: they approue that these Mountaynes were called *Cuirlach-tepelt*, of *Cuirlachili*, which is a Gryphon bigger than a Lion: but the Spaniards byd neuer see any of them.

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

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

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



Prezuma had another house, with
very good lodgings and fayre gal-
laries, buylt vpo pillars of Jasper,
whiche extendeth towarde a good-
ly garden, in the whiche there are
ten pondes or moe, some of salte
water for sea foule, & other some
of fresh water for riuer foule and

lake foule, which pondes are deuised wth slypes to emptye
& to fill at their pleasure for the cleannesse of the feathers.
There is such a number of foule, that scarcely the pondes
may holde them, and of suche diuers kindes bothe in fea-
thers and making, as sure it was an admiration for the
Spaniards to beholde, for the mosse of them they knew
not, nor yet had at any tyme sene the lyke. And to euery
kynde of foule they gaue suche bayte as they were wont
to fede of in the fieldes or Riuers. There did belong to
that house thre hundred persons of seruice: some were to
clesen the pondes: other some did fishe for bayte: other
some serued them with meate: other did lose them and
trimme theyr feathers: others had care to looke to their
egges: others to sette them abrode: others cured them
when they were sicke: and the p^rincipallest office was
to plucke the feathers: for of them was made riche Man-
tels, Capillarie, Margattes, Tuffes of feathers, and ma-
ny other things wrought with Golde and Siluer: a most
pretye worke.

*A*nd the house was so called because the
house was built upon the water
and the house was so called because
the house was built upon the water
and the house was so called because
the house was built upon the water

A house of foule for hayvking and other
strange things.



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

There are in this house many high halles, in the whiche are kept men, women and Children: in some of them are kept suche as are boyme white of colour, which doth very selbome happen: in other some are dwarfes, crockebackes, burfemmen, counterfaites, and monstrous persons, in greate number: they say that they used to despoyme them when they were children, 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 Tymber: in some of them were Lyons, in other Tygres, in other Downes, in others Colours: in conclusion, there was no foure footed beaste that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie *Motexuma* might say that hee had such things in his house.

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

There was also in other halles great Earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherin were snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Vipcers, Crocodylles, whiche they cal *Caymanes*, or *Lizarts* of twenty foote long, wyth suche Scales and head as a Dragon hath: Also other little *Lisarts*, and other venemous beastes and
 Serpents

Serpentes as well of the water as of the land, a terrible sight for the lookers on:

There were also other Cages for foule of rappine of all sortes, as Hawkes, Hyghtes, Hopters, and at the least nine or ten kind of Haukes. This house of foule had of dayly allowaunce five hundred Opica 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 knowe not, which seemed by their beake and talents good to Hauke withal.

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

It was straunge to see the officers in this house howe every one was occupied. Our men toke greate pleasure in beholding suche straunge thyngs, but they coule not awaye wyth the roaring of the Lyons, the fearefull biting of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolves, the sorrowfull yelling of the Downes & Tigres, when they would haue meate.

Bothe certaine, in the nighte season it seemed a Dongeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Deuill, and euen so it was in dede; for neare at hande was a Hall of a hundred & fiftie fote long, and thirtie fote broad, where was a Chappel with the Roose of siluer and gold in leafe Wainecotted, and decked with greate stozes of pearle and stone, as Agattes, Cojnerines, Emeraldes, Rubies, and diuerse other sortes, and thys was the Dyafory where *Mutezuma* prayed in the nighte season,

and in that chappell the Diuell did appeare vnto hym, and gaue him answere accoꝝdyng to his pꝛayers.

He had other houses lyke vnto Barnes, onely foꝝ the feathers of foules, and foꝝ mantels whiche pꝛocēded of his rentes and tributes, a thing muche to be ſene: vpon the doꝛes was ſette his armes, whiche was a Comtie.

Here dwelled the chiefe officers of his houſe, as Treſoꝛer, Controller, Receyuers and other officers appertaynyng to the Kinges reuēnewes. *Mutezuma* had no houſe wherein was not an oꝛatoꝛy foꝝ the Deuill, whome they worſhipped foꝝ the Jewels there. And therefore thoſe houſes were great and large.

The Armory of Mutezuma.



Mutezuma had ſome houſes of Armour, vpon the doꝛes where of ſtoode a bow and arrowes. In theſe houſes was greate ſtoꝛe of all kinde of munition whiche they uſe in their wars; as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Launces, Dartes, Clubbes, Swords and Bucklers, and gallant Targettes moꝛe trimme than ſtrong, Skulles and Splintes, but not many, and al made of woodde, giſte oꝛ couered with leather. The woodde whereof they make their Armour and Targettes, is very harde and ſtrong, foꝝ they uſe to toaſte it at the fire, and at their arrowe endes they incloſe a litle pēce of ſainte ſtone, oꝛ a pēce of a fiſhe bone called *Libiſa*, and that is venemous, foꝝ if any be hurte therewith and the head

head remaine in the wounde, it so festereth, that it is al-
most incurable.

Theyr swordes are of wodde, and the edge thereof is
flint stone, inclosed or ioynd into a staffe, with a certaine
kynde of glew whiche is made of a rote called *Zacole*
and *Tencalls*, whiche is a kinde of strong sande, whereof
they make a mixture, and after kneade it with blood of
Wattes or Kearemicke and other soule, which doth glewe
maruelous strong, and lightly neuer vncleaueth: of this
stuffe they make nayles, pearcers, & ogars, wherwith they
boze timber & stone: with theyr swordes they cut speares,
yea and a horse necke at a blowe, and make dentes into
iron, whiche seemeth a thing vnpoffible and incredible.
In the Citie no man may weare weapon, but onely in
warres, huntynge, and among the kings Guarde,

The Gardens of Mutezuma.

Besides the layde houses hee had ma-
ny others for hys onely recreation and
passetyme, with excellent fayre gardens
of medicinall hearbes, swæte floures, and
trées of delectable sauour, whiche were
many, and a thing to gyue prayse to God the maker and
creator of all.

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

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

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

The court and Guarde of *Mutezuma.*



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

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

It is to be thought that his Guard was the greater, bycause the straungers were there, although in effecte of troth it is most certayne, that all the Lordes 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 Lordes of Townes, who haue many vassals.

These noble menne did abide in *Mexico* certayne tyme of the yeare, in the Court of *Mutezuma*, and could not departe from thence without especiall licence of the Emperoure, leaving each of them a sonne or brother behinde 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 noblemen paye theyr tribute in personall seruike. The husbandmen called *Maceualtin*, with body & goods. In this sort they are eyther tenants, or else heyres to their possessions. Those which are heyres, do pay one third part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bring by, as Dogges, Hennes, Foule, Conyes, Gold, Siluer, Stones, Salt, Ware, Honey, Mantels, feathers, Cotten, and a certayne fruite called *Cacao*, that serueth for money, and also to eate. Also all kinde of grayne, and garden Herbes and frutes, whereof they do mainteyne themselves.

The Tenantes doe paye monethly or yearely as they can agree, and bycause their tribute is greate, they are

called

called

called slaues, for when they maye haue licence to eate egges, they thinke it a greate fauour. It was repozted that they were tared what they shoulde eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went very poorly clothed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthe pottle, wherein they boyled theyr herbes, a couple of Spilstones to grinde their Cozne, and a maite to lye bypon. They did not onely pay this rente and tribute, but also serued with their bodyes at all times when the great King should commaunde. They were in such great subiectiō to their pynce, that they durst not speake one word, although their daughters shoulde be taken from them to be vsed at their pleasure. It was repozted, that of euerye thre sonnes, they deliuered one to be sacrificed, but y report was false, for if it had bin true, the Tolones had not bin so replenished with people as they were: and also the noble men did not eate mans flesh, but only of those whiche were sacrificed, and they were slaues or prisoners taken in the warres. Assuredly they were cruell butchers, and siewe yearely for that bloody sacrifice many menne, and some children, but not so many as was repozted. All the aforesayde rentes they brought to *Mexico* vpon theyr backs and in boates, I meane so much as was necessary for the prouision of the house and Courte of *Mutezuma*, all the residue was spent among souldyers, and bartred for golde, plate, precious stones, and other riche Jewels, esteemed of Pynces, all the whiche was brought to the treasozy. In *Mexico* was large and greate barnes and houses to receyue and keepe the Cozne for prouision of the Citie, with officers and vnderofficers, who did receyue the same, and kepte accompte thereof in bookes of paynted figures. Also in euerye Tolone was a receyuer, who bare in his hand a rodde or a bushe of feathers, and those gaue by their accomptes in *Mexico*. If any such had

had bin taken with deceypt and falſchode, death was his reward, yea and his kined puniſhed with penalties, as of a lignage of a Traytoꝝ, to his Prince. The Huſbandmenne, if they payd not well their tribute, were apprehended foꝝ the ſame, and if they were founde to be poore thꝛough ſickneſſe and infirmitie, then they were borne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and ſlothfull, they ſhould be beſed accordingly: but in concluſion, if they payde it not at a daye appoynted, then they ſhould be ſolde foꝝ ſlaues to pay their dette, oꝛ elle be ſacrificed.

There were many other prouinces, whiche paid a certayne portion, and reknewledged ſeruiſe, but this tribute was moze of honoꝝ than proſite. In this ſort *Mutezuma* had moze than ſufficiente to pꝛouide his houſe & warres, and to heape vp great ſtoze in his treaſozy. Hoꝛeouer, he ſpente nothing in the buildings of his houſes, foꝝ of long time he had certayne towneſ that payd no other tribute, but only to woꝝke and repayꝛe continually his houſes at their owne proper coſt, and payde all kind of woꝝkemen, carrying vpon their backes, oꝛ dzawing in ſleddeſ, ſtone, lyme, timber, water, and all other neceſſaries foꝝ the woꝝke. Likewiſe they were bounde to pꝛouide all the ſierwood that ſhould be ſpente in the Court, whiche was a great thing, and did amount to 230. hundꝛed waight a day, which was ſiue hundꝛed mens burthens, and ſome dayes in the winter much moze. And foꝝ the Kings Chimneyes they bzought the barke of *Oke tráx*, whiche was beſt eſteemed foꝝ the light thereof, foꝝ they were greate ſoꝛcerers. *Mutezuma* had 100. citieſ, with their prouinces, of whome he receiued rentes, tributes, & vaſſalage, where he maintained gariſon of ſouldiers, & had treaſozers in each of theſe. His dominio did extend from the North ſea to the South ſea, & 600. miles in lógitude within the maine lãd, although in very deed ther were ſome towneſ, as *Tlaxcalló*,

Atetchnacan,

Mechuacan, *Panuco*, and *Teocantepec*, whiche were his enemies, and payde him neyther tribute nor seruice: but yet the ranfome was muche, when any of them were taken.

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

The scituation of Mexico.



Exico at the time when *Cortes* entred, was a Citie of sixty thousande houses. The Kings house and other noble mens houses were great, large, and beautifull, the others were small and roynish, without eyther doores or windowes: and although they were small, yet

there dwelled in some of them two, thre, yea and fenne persons, by reason wherof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built vpon the water, euen in the same order as *Venice* is. All the body of the Citie standeth in a greate large lake of water. There is thre sortes of strætes very bzoade and fayre, the one sorte are onely of wafer, with many b;idges, an other sort of onely earth, and the thirde of earth and wafer, that is to saye, the one halfe earth to walke vpon, and the other halfe for boates to bying prouission of all sortes. These strætes are kepte alwayes cleane, and the mosse parte of the houses haue two doores, the one towarde the calley, and the other towarde the wafer, at the whiche they take boate to goe
where

where they lift. And although this Citie is founded vpon water, yet the same water is not good to drinke, wherefore there is brought by conduit water from a place called *Chapulpec*, three miles distant from the Citie, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foote whereof standeth two Statues or covered Images wrought in stone, with their Targets and Launces, the one is of *Mutezuma*, and the other of *Axaiaca* his father.

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

This Citie is deuided into two streetes, the one was called *Platelulco*, that is to say, a litle Iland, and the other *Mexico*, where *Mutezuma* his dwelling and courte was, & is to be interpreted a spring. This streete is the fayrest and most principall, and bycause of the Kings pallace there, the Citie was named *Mexico*, although the old and first name of the Citie was *Tenuchtlan*, whiche doth signifie fruite out of stone, for the name is compounded of *Tetl*, which is, stone, and *Nuchli*, which is fruite, called in *Cuba*, *Tunas*. The tree that beareth this fruite, is named *Nopal*, and is nothing almost but leaues of a softe broad and round, and three ynches thicke, some more, and some lesse, according to the growth, full of thornes whiche are venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thorne or picke russet. After that it is planted, it encreaseth, growing leafe into leafe, and the softe thereof commeth to be as the body of a tree, and one leafe dothe not onely produce another at the poynt, but at the sides of the same leaues proceedeth other leaues: And bycause here in *spayne* is

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

In some prouinces where water is scante, they vse to drynke the iuice of these leaues. The fruite thereof called *Nuchli*, is lyke vnto pygges, and euen so haue hys little kernels or graynes within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned lyke vnto a peder. There are of them of sundrye coloures, some are greene without, and Carnationlike within, which haue a good tast. Others are yellowe, 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 beate of Sommer. The *spanyardes* doe moze esteeme them than 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 bycause it dothe coloure and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea and maketh his vyne loke like pure blond. Many *spanyardes* at their first comming into *India*, and eating this fruite, were in a maze, and at their wittes ende, thinking that all the blond in their bodies came out in vyne: yea and manye Phisitions at theyr first comming were of the same beliefe: so; it haue happened, when they haue bin sent so; vnto such as haue eaten this fruite, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the vyne, by and by they ministred medicine to staunch blond: surely a thing to laugh at, to see the Phisitions so deceyued. Of this fruite *Nuchli* and *Tetl*, which is a stone, is compounded *Tennuchilitan*. When this Citie was begonne to be founded, it was placed nere vnto a great stone that stode in the middell of the lake, at the

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

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

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

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

Others doe affirme, that *Mexico* hath his name of a moze aunciente time, whose firffe founders were called *Mexiti*, foꝛ vnto this day the *Indian* dwellers in one strete of this *Citie* are called of *Mexica*. The *Mexiti* toke name of their principallest *Idoll* called *Mexitli*, who was in as greate veneration as *Vitzilopuchtl*, *God* of the warre.

Mexico is enuironed with swete water, and hath thre wayes to come vnto it by calley, the one is from the West, and that calley is a mile and a halfe long. Another from the North, and conteyneth thre myles in length. Eastwarde the *Citie* hath no entrie. But Southwarde the Calley is fyre myles long, whyche was the waye that *Cortez* entred into the *Citie*.

The lake that *Mexico* is planted in, although it seemeth one, yet it is two, foꝛ the one is of water saltishe, bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fysh lyueth in it. And the other water is wholesome, good and swete, and bringeth foꝛth small fishe.

The salte water ebbeth and floweth, according

to the winde that bloweth. The swete water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the cull, and reuerteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt lake conteyneth fiftene miles in breadth and fiftene in length, and moze than five and forty in circuite, and the lake of swete water conteyneth even as much, in such sort, that the whole lake conteyneth moze than thre-tye leagues, and hath about fiftie towncs scituated round about it, many of whych Townes doe conteyne five thousand houtholdes, and some tenne thousande, yea and one Towne called *Texcuco*, is as bigge as *Mexico*. At this lake of water springeth out of a Mountayne that standeth within sight of *Mexico*. The cause that the one part of the lake is byackishe or saltishe, is, that the bottome of ground is all salte, and of that water greate quantitie of salt is dayly made.

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

The Market place of Mexico.



The Market is called in the *Indian* tongue *Tlan-quiztli*. every parish hath his Market place to buy and sel in: but *Mexico*, and *Tlacululco* only, which are y^e chiefest cities, haue great fayres

and

and places fitte for the same, and especiallye *Mexico* hath one place where most dayes in the yeare is buying and selling, but euery fourth day is the greate Market ordinarly: and the like custome is vsed thzoughout the dominions of *Mutezuma*.

This place is wide and large, compassed round about with dozes, and is so great, that a hundered thousand persons come thither to choppe and change, as a Cittie most principall in all that region. Wherefoze the resort is frō farre parties vnto that place. Euery occupatio and kinde of Marchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any means occupy or disturbe. Likewise precious wares haue their place accordinglye, (that is to say) Stone, timber, lyme, brycke, and all kinde of stufte brought, being necessarie to buylde withall. Also mattes both fine and course of sundry workmanship, also coles, woodde, and all sorts of Earthen besell glazed and painted very curiously: Deare skinned both rawe and tanned in haire and without haire, of many colours, for shomahers, for bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lpying of wooden Cozselets: also skinned of other beastes and soule in feathers ready dyed of all sortes, the colours and fraungnesse thereof was a thing to behold. The richest Marchandise was salte, and mantels of Cotten wolle of diuers colours, both great and small, some for beddes, others for garments and clothing, other for Tapissarie to hang houses; other cotten clothe for linnen breeches, shirtes, table clothes, towels, napkins, and suche like things.

There were also Mantels made of the leaues of the tree called *Meel*, and of *Palme tree*, & *Connie heare*, which are wel esteemed, being very warm, but Couerlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threede made of *Connie heare*, peeces of linnen clothe made of cotten wolle, also

shaynes of thꝛeede of all colours; also it is straunge to see
 the great stoꝛe of poultrie that is bzought to that mar-
 ket, and although they eate the fleshe of the foule, yet the
 feathers serue foꝛ clothing, mixyng one soꝛte with ano-
 ther. There are of these foule so many soꝛtes and scuerall
 colours, that I can not number them: some wilde, some
 tame, some water foule, and other some of rapine. All the
 bzauery of the market, is the place where golde and fea-
 thers soꝛtly woꝛought is solde, foꝛ any thyng that is in
 request is there liuely woꝛought in golde and feathers and
 gallant colours. The *Indians* are so expert and perfite in
 this science, that they will woꝛke oꝛ make a Butter flie,
 any wilde beaste, trees, roses, floures, hearbes, rotes oꝛ a-
 ny other thyng so liuely, that it is a thyng maruelous to
 behold. It hapneth many tymes that one of these woꝛke-
 men in a whole day will eate nothyng, onely to place one
 feather in his dew perfection, turnyng and tossing the fea-
 ther to the lighte of the Sunne, into the shade oꝛ darke
 place, to see where is his moste naturall perfection, and
 till his woꝛke be finished he will neyther eate noꝛ dꝛinke.
 There are few nations of so muche scame oꝛ sufferance.
 The Arte oꝛ Science of Goldsmiths among them is the
 moste curious, and very good woꝛkemanship engracit
 with toles made of stinte, oꝛ in moule. They will caste a
 platter in moule with eight coꝛners, and eueꝛy coꝛner of
 seuerall mettall, that is to say, the one of golde, and the o-
 ther of siluer, without any kinde of powder: they will also
 sounde oꝛ cast a litle caudzen with lose handles hangyng
 thereat, as we vse to caste a Bell: they will also caste in
 mould a fish of mettall with one scale of siluer on his back
 and another of gold: they will make a Parret oꝛ Poppin-
 gay of mettall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head
 moue, & his wings flutter: they will caste an Ape in mold,
 that both hands & feete shall stirre, & holde a spindle in his
 bande

hande seeming to spaine, yea and an apple in his hande as though he would eate it. Our Spaniards were not a litle amazed at the sight of these things, for our Goldsmithes are not to be compared vnto them. They haue skil also of Amell worke, and to sette any pretious stone. But now as touchyng the markette, there is to sell Golde, Silver, Copper, Leadde, Latton, and Tinne, although there is but little of the thre laste mettals mentioned. There are Pearles, Pretious stones, diuers and sundry sortes of Shelles, and Bones, Sponges, and other pedlers ware, whiche certainly are many and straunge sortes, yea and a thing to laughe at their Haberdashe toys and triffles. There are also many kinde of hearbes, rotes, and seedes, as well to be eaten as for Medicine, for bothe men, women and chyldren haue great knowledge in hearbes, for though pouertie and necessitie, they seke them for theyr sustenance and helpe of theyr infirmities and diseases. They spende little among Physitions, although there are some of that Arte, and many Poticaries, who doe byyng into the markette, oymtments, Siroppes, waters, and other drugges fitte for sicke Persons: they cure all diseases almost, with hearbes, yea as muche as for to kill ylse they haue a proper hearbe for the purpose.

The severall kyndes of meates to be solde is without number, as Snakes without head & tayle, little Dogges gelte, Moules, Rattes, Long wormes, Lysle, yea and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yere they haue Pettes of mayle with the which they rake vp a certayn duste that is bredde vpon the water of the lake of Mexico, and that is kneded together like vnto oas of the sea: they gather much of this vittuall, & keepe it in heapes, & make therof cakes like vnto bycbeats: they sell not only this ware in y market, but also send it abroad to other sayres & markets a far of: they eat this meate w as god stomaks

as we eat these, yea and they holde opinion that this skūne or fatnesse of the water, is y^e cause that such great number of soule cometh to the lake, which in the winter season is infinite.

They sel in this market venison by quarters or whole, as Does, Hares, Connies, and Dogges, and many other beastes, whiche they bring vp for the purpose, and take in huntynge. There are a great number of shoppes that sell all kinde of orfall and tripes. It is a wonder to see how so much meate ready dressed coulde be spent. There is also fleshe and fish roasted, boyled and baked, Pies and Custardes made of diuers sortes of egges; the great quantitie of bread is without number. Also corne of all sortes thershed, and vntershed. The greate stoze of sundry kyndes of fruytes is maruellous whiche are there solde, bothe greene and ripe: there is one sorte as bigge as Almondes called *Cacao*, whiche is bothe meate and currant money. There are diuers kind of colours to be solde, whiche they make of Koscs, floures, fruites, barks of trees, and other things very excellent: they sell there Honie of sundry kindes, oyle of *Chian*, made of a seede like vnto mustarde seede, and oynting any paynted clothe therewith, the water can not hurte it, they also dresse therewith their meate, although they haue both butter and larde. They sundry sortes of wines shalbe declared in an other place: it woulde be a p^{ro}lixious thing to rehearse all the things that are to be solde in that markette. There are in this sayre many Artificers, as Barkers, Barbars, Cutlers, & 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 solde in euery market of *Mexico*; all the sellers paye a certaine summe for theyr shoppes or standings to the King, as a custome, & they to be p^{ro}serued and defended from thēues: and for that cause there

there goe certayne Sergeants or officers by & downe the market to espye out malefactours. In the middelt of the market standeth a house whiche may be sene throughtout the sayze, & there sitteth twelue auncient men for iudges to dispatch laue matters: their buying and selling is to change one waire for another, as thus, one giueth a hen for a bundell of Maiz, other giue mantels for salte, or money whiche is *Cacao*, and this is theyr order to choppe and 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 bzeake their measures.

The great Temple of Mexico.

The Temple is called *Tencalli*, that is to say, Gods house, *Tenr* signifieth God, & *Calli* is a house, a bolwell 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*. There are in *Mexico* many parishe churches, with towres, wherein are chappels and Altares where the images & idols do stande, & those chappels do serue for burial places of their founders, and the Parishioners are buried in the Churchyarde. All their temples are of one fashion, therefore it shal be nowe sufficient to speake of the cathedral church. And euen as those temples are al in generall of one making in that cittie. I doe belueue that the lyke was neuer sene nor heard off. This temple is square, & doth containe euery way as much ground as a crossebow can reach leuell: it is made of stone, with foure dozes that abutteth vpon the thre calleys, and vpon an other parte of the Cittie, that hath no calsey but a sayze street.

Ed.

In

In the midst of this Quatern standeth a mount of earth and stone square likewise, and fiftie fadom long e-
 uery way, buylte vpward like vnto a pyramide of Egypt, saung the toppe is not sharpe, but playne and flatte, and
 tenne fadom square: vpon the weast side, were stappes
 by to the toppe, in number an hundzeth and fourtene,
 whiche beyng so many, high, and made of good stone dyd
 seeme a beautifull thing. It was a straunge sight to be-
 holde the Priestes, some goyng vp, and some downe with
 ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Vpon the toppe
 of this Temple are two great Alters, a good space distant
 the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or bynne of
 the wall, that scarcely a man mought go behind them at
 pleasure. The one Alter standeth on the right hande, & the
 other on the left, they were but of fise foote highe, eche of
 them had the backe part made of stone, paynted with mo-
 strous and foule figures, the Chappell was fayre & well
 wrought of Palons woꝝke & timber, euery Chappell had
 thre loftes one aboue another, susceyned vpon pillers, &
 with y height thereof it shewed like vnto a fayre towre,
 and beautified the Cittie a farre of: from thence a man
 mought see all the cittie and towne rounde aboute the
 lake, whiche was vndoubtedly a goodly prospect. And by
 cause Cortes & his company should see the beautie thereof,
Mutezuma brought him thither, and shewed hym all the
 order of the Temple, euen from the foote to the toppe.
 There was a certaine plot or space for the idoll priests to
 celebrate their seruice without disturbance of any. Their
 general prayers were made toward y rising of the sunne.
 Vpon ech alter standeth a great idoll. Beside this towre
 that standeth vpon the pyramide, there are fourtie towres
 great & small belonging to other little temples which stand
 in the same circuite, the which although they were of the
 same making, yet they prospect was not westwarde, but
 other

other wayes, because there should be a difference betwixte the great temple & them. Some of these Temples were bigger than others, and every one of a severall God, among the whiche there was one rounde temple dedicated to the God of the ayre called *Quecalcouatl*, for even as the ayre goeth rounde about the heauens, euen for that consideration they made his temple rounde. The entraunce of that Temple had a doze made lyke vnto the mouth of a Serpent, and was paynted with foule and Diuelish gestures, with great tæth & gummes wrought, whiche was a thing to feare those that should enter in thereat, & especially the Chzistians vnto whom it represented very Hel with that ougly face and monstrous tæth.

A strange
dore.

There were other *Tencalles* in the citie, that had the ascending by by steps in thze places: all these temples had houses by theselues with all seruice & priests & particular Gods. At every doze of the great temple standeth a large Hall & godly lodgings, both high and lowe round about, which houses were comon armozies for the Citie, for the force and strength of every towne is the temple, and therefore they haue there placed their storehouse of munition. They had other darke houses full of idols, greate & small, wrought of sundry mettals, they are all bathed and washed with blood, and do thewe very blacke though they dayly sprinklyng and anoynting the with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea & the walles are an inche thicke with blood, and the grounde is a fote thicke of blood, so that there is a diuelish stench. The Priests or Ministers goe daylye into those Oratories, and suffer none others but great personages to enter in. Yea and when any such goeth in, they are bounde to offer some man to be sacrificed, that those bloody hanginen and ministers of the Diuell may washe their handes in blond of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

Id. ij.

For

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

The Idols of Mexico.



The Gods of *Mexico*, were two thousand in number, as the *Indians* repozed, the chiefest were *Vicilopuchli* and *Texcatlipuca*, whose images stode highest in the Temple bypon the Altars: they were made of stone in ful propozition as bigge as a Gyant: They were couered with a lawne called *Nacar*. These images were besette with pearles, precious stones, & peeces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and

and flowers, adozned with Emeralds, Turquies, Calcedons, and other litle fine stones, so that when the layne *Nacar* was taken away, the Images seemed very beautifull to beholde.

The Image had foz a girdle great snakes of gold, and foz collozys or chaynes about their neckes, ten hartes of men, made of golde, and each of those Idolles had a counterfalte visoꝝ with eies of glasse, and in their neckes death painted: eache of these things hadde their considerations and meanings. These two Goddesses were byethzen, foz *Tezcatlipuca* was the God of Providence, and *Tucilopuchli* God of the warres, who was woꝝshipped and feared moze than all the rest.

A vicked
attire.

There was another God, who hadde a greate Image placed vpon the toppe of the Chappell of Idols, and hee was esteemed foz a speciall and singular God about all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seedes that groweth in that Countrey, and being ground, they made a certayne past, tempered with childzens bloud, and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with their razures in the bzeastes, and their heartes taken out, to offer as firff fruites vnto the Idoll. The Priestes and Minstres doe consecrate this Idoll with great pomp and many Ceremonies. All the Comarcans and Citizens are presente at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible deuotion. After the consecration, many deuoute persons came and sticked in the dowy Image pꝛecious stones, wedges of golde, and other Jewels. After all this pomp ended, no secular man mought touche that holpe Image, no noꝝ yet come into his Chappell, nay scarcely religious persons, except they were *Tlamicaztli*, who are Priestes of order. They doe renue this Image many times wyth new dough, taking away the olde, but then blessed is hee that can get one pꝛece of the olde ragges foz relikes, and

A madde
offering.

chiefly for souldyers, who thought themselves sure there with in the warres. Also at the consecration of thys Idol, a certayne vessel of water was blessed with manye wordes and ceremonyes, and that water was p̄serued very religiously at the foote of the altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to blesse any Captayne generall, when he 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 againste the p̄ncipall doze thereof, a stoness cast distant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads prisoners in warres and sacrificed with the knife.

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

At the foote and head of this Theatre, were two Towers, made onely of lime and skulles, the tēth outwarde, and this wall hauing no other stufke, seemed a straunge sight. At and vpon the toppe of the Theatre, were 70. polles, standing the one from the other foure or fīue foote distant, and eache of them was full of stauces from the foote to the toppe. Each of these stauces had others made fast vnto them, so that euery of them had fīue skulles broched through the temples. *Andrēwe de Tapia* did certifie me, that he and *Gonsalo de Ymbria* dyd reckon them in one daye, and founde a hundred thirtie and six thousande skulles on the polles, stauces, and steppes. The other To
wers

wers were replenished out of number, a most cruell custom, being only mens heads slaine in sacrifice, although it hath a shewe of humanitie for the remembzance there placed of death. There are also men appoynted, that when one skull falleth, to set by another in his place, so that the number may neuer want.

Hovv Cortez tooke Mutezuma prisoner.

 *Ernando Cortez* and his companie, were five dayes in beholding and perusing the situation of the Citie, and secretes of the same, with the notable things befoze rehearsed: they were often visited by *Mutezuma*, & the Gentlemen of hys Courte, and abundantly provided of things necessarye for his vse, and the *Indians* of his company.

Likewise his Horses were cherished and serued with greene barley and grasse, whereof there is plentie all the yeare: Likewise of cozne, meale, roses, and of all thynges that their owners would request, in so much that beddes of floures were made for them in place of litter. But yet notwithstanding, although they were in this sozte cherished, and also lodged in so riche a Countrey, where they mighte fyll their purses, they were not yet all contente and merrie, but rather with great feare and care, especially *Cortez*, who hadde the onely care as head and chiefe Captayne for the defence of hys fellowes, hee (I saye) was pensive, noting the scituation of the Citie, the infinite number of people, the state and maiestie of *Mexico*, yea and some disquietnesse of hys owne companye, who would come and laye vnto hys charge the snare and nette that they were in, thynkyng it a thyng vnpossible that anye of them coulde escape.

A syyccete
bedde.

if

Determin
nation of
Cortez.

if *Mutezuma* were thereunto determined, or else with the least muteny in the worlde, that mought be rayed in the Citie, although that euery inhabitant shoulde throw but one stone at them, or else to breake by the drawbridges, or withdrawing their victuals, things verie easie to be done. With this greate care that he had of the preferuation of his fellowes, and to remedie the perill and daunger that he stood in, he determined to apprehend *Mutezuma*, and to builde foure foysses to haue the lake in subiection, which he hadde tofoze ymagined, and without the apprehension of the King, he coulde not come by the Kingdome: he would very gladly haue buylt the foysses out of hand, but he left off that pretence, only by cause he would not delay the emprisonment of *Mutezuma*, where in consisted the effect of all his businesse, so that forthwith he minded to put in execution his intent, without gyuing any of his company to vnderstand thereof.

The quarrell wherewith he had armed himselfe for that purpose, was, that the Lorde *Qualpopoca* hadde slayne nine *spanyarden*: likewise encouraged him the greate presumption of his letters witten to the Emperour *Charles* his king, wherein he wrote that he would take *Mutezuma* prisoner, and dispossesse him of his Empyre. These causes considered, he toke the letters of *Pedro Hircio*, wherein was witten, howe *Qualpopoca* was the cause of the death of nine *spanyarden*, and put those letters into his pocket, and walking by and downe his lodging, tossing to and fro these ymaginations in his brayne, full of care of the great enterpryse that he had in hande, yea he hymselfe iudging the matter doubtfull, and his head beying in this sort occupied, he chanced to espye one wall more whiter than the rest, and beholding the same, he sawe that it was a doze lately dammed by, & calling vnto him two of his seruants (for all the residue were asleepe) by
cause

cause it was late in the nighte, he opened that doze, and went in, and there found sundry halles, some with Idols, 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 thys doze agayne as well as he thoughte, withoute touching any part of that treasure, because he wolde not make any bydoze therabout, noz yet to delay the imprisonment of *Mutezuma*, soz that treasure was alwayes there to be had.

Treasury
of Mutez
zuma.

The nexte daye in the morning came certayne *Spanyards* vnto hym, and many *Indians* of *Tlaxcallon*, saying that the *Citizens* did goe about to conspire their death, and to breake downe the byldges of the calseys, to byng their purpose the better to passe. So that with this newes, being true or false, *Cortes* left the one halfe of his men to defende and keepe his lodging, and at every crosse steele he planted me, and the residue he sent to the Court by two and two, and thre and thre, and he hymselfe came to the pallaice, saying that he must talke wyth *Mutezuma* of matters that did impozt their liues. *Cortes* was secretly iatned. *Mutezuma* hearinge howe *Cortes* attended for hym, came forth and receyued him, taking him by the hand, and placed him in his seate. Whittle *Spanyards* wayted vpon *Cortes*, and the residue abode without at the doze.

Cortes saluted *Mutezuma* according to his accustomed manner, and began to tell and talke merly as he was wont to do. *Mutezuma* beinge carelesse of the thing that fortune hadde prepared agaynst him, was also very merrie, and pleased with that conuersation. He gaue vnto *Cortes* Jewels of golde, and one of his daughters, and other noble mens daughters, to others of his company. *Cortes* receyued the gift, soz otherwise it hadde bin

a frent vnto *Mutezuma*. But yet he enforced him, that he was a married man, and that he coulde not marrie with his daughter, for the Christian law did not permitte the same, no; yet that any Christian might haue more than one wife, vppon payne of infamy, and to be marked in the forehead,

After all this talke ended, *Cortez* took the letters of *Pedro Hircio*, and caused them to be interpreted vnto *Mutezuma*, making his grieuous complaynte agaynst *Qualpopoca*, who hadde slayne so many *Spanyarden* through his commaundement, yea and that his subiectes had published, that they would kill the *Spanyarden*, and bryake downe the brydges,

Mutezuma excused himselfe earnestly, as well of the one as of the other, saying, the report giuen out agaynst his subiectes was false and vntue, and as for *Qualpopoca* who had slayne the *Spanyarden*, he was innocent thereof: and bycause that he shoulde see the troth, he called incontinent certayne of his seruauntes, commaunding the to goe for *Qualpopoca*, and gaue vnto them his seale, which was a stone that he ware at his weelt, engraued with the figure of the God *Xiczilopuchili*, and the messengers departed therewith incontinent.

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

according to duetie. Wherefore command your house-
holde seruantes to repose themselves without alterati-
on, for be you assured, that if any hurte come vnto me, or
vnto anye of mine, youre person shall pay the same with
life, considering that it lyeth in youre hand to goe quietly
with me.

Mutezuma was soze amazed, saying, Sir, my person is
not fytte to be a pziisoner, yea, and though I woulde per-
mitte the same, my subiectes would not suffer.

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

When it was blownen abroade in the Citie that Mu-
tezuma was carried pziisoner to the Spanyards lodging, all
the Citie was on an vproze: but yet Mutezuma did com-
fort the Gentlemen that carried and followed him wee-
ping, praying them to cease their lamentation, saying
that he was not pziisoner, nor yet went with the Chyfti-
ans againste his will, but for his onely pleasure. Cortes
appointed a *spanish* garde for him, with a Captayne, the
whiche he dayly changed, and had *spaniards* always in his
cōpany to make him pastime. Also waze Mutezuma was
cōtented with their conuersation, & gaue the full rewards.
He was serued with his owne seruants *Indiās*, as at home
in his pallace. Cortes always intreated him to put off sad-
nes, & to be merrie, permitting him to dispatch luters, & to
deale in all affayres of his estate, & to comune and talke
openly or secretly with his noble mē as he was wont to

A forovv
ful pastime

do, and that was but onely a bayte to bring them to the booke. There was neuer Greeke nor Romagne, nor any other nation since the name of Kings was ordeyned, vnder greue y^e lyke enterpryse, as *Herpando Cortez* did, in taking *Mutezuma* prisoner in his owne house, beeing a most mighty King, & in a most strong fort among infinite people, he hauyng but only 450. companions.

The recreation of Hunting, vyliche

Mutezuma vsed during his stay



Mutezuma had not only al the libertie that he desired in the Citie, beeing prisoner among the *Spanyarde*s, but also *Cortez* permitted him to hunt and haunke, or to go to the temple, for he was very deuoute, and a great hunter.

When he went a hunting, he was carried vpon mens shoulders with eyght or ten *Spanyarde*s in his guard, and thre thousande *Mexicans*, who were Gentlemen, his seruants, and hunters, of whoine he hadde a great number, some to seeke the game, others to beate the couertes, and others to marke. Some of those Hunters were only for hares and connyes, other for all sortes of *Dere*, *Wolues*, *foyes*, and such like. They were very perfitte with theyr bowes, and good markemē, for he that missed his marke at fourescore pases distant was punished. It was strange to see the number of people that wente with him on hunting, and to see the slaughter of beasts killed, with handes, *flaues*, *nettes*, and bowes, some of those beastes were faine, and other byaue and fearefull, as *Lions*, *Tigers*, and *Dunces*. It is a harde thing to take a fierce *Lion* in hunting as they do, beeing in manner a naked people, and the beast couragious and strong, but yet the *Proverbe* saith, *sight and cunning is better than strength*.

It is a more strange thing to take any foule that lieth in the ayre as their Faulconers doe, for after they haue once marked and set eye vpon any foule, the Faulconers of *Mutezuma* will vnder take to catch him, although the foule be neuer so swifte of wing, being at the least so commaunded by the King. It happened one day that *Mutezuma* stode in his gallerie with his Guarde of Spaniards, who had espied a fayre Hauke soying in the ayre, oh quoth they what a fayre Hauke lieth yonder, *Mutezuma* hearyng their talke, called vnto him certayne of his Faulconers, commaunding them to followe that Hauke & to bring him vnto him. The Faulconers wente to fulfill his request, and followed that foule with such diligence, that in thoyte space they brought the Hauke vnto him, who presented the same vnto the Spaniards, a thing truely almoste incredible, but yet certified by worde and wytyngs of the present witnesses. Their chiefest and most pleasant pastime of Hauking was, of lightes, Ravens, Crows, Pies, and other birdes of hardie stomake and slowe in flight, greate and small of all sortes, for the which he had Eagles, Buyters, and other foule of rappne marneplous swifte of wing, and suche as would mounte very high in the ayre, with the whiche they murdered Hares, Wolves, and (as some say) Hartes.

He had other fowlers, that vsed pettes, Snares, and sundry engins, *Mutezuma* vsed much to shote in a tronke, and with his bow killed many wilde beastes. His houses of pleasure as I haue before declared, stode sixe myles from the Citie in pleasant wooddes: and alwayes when he went a huntynge after the tyme that he was prysoner, the same day he would retorne agayne to *Corres* his lodgynge, although he banketed & feasted with the Spaniards at his places of sporting and pastime, and would alwayes at his retorne to his lodgynge giue some present vnto the

that had accompanied him that day.

Cortes seying the liberalitie of *Mutezuma*, sayde vnto him : sir, my company are vnruly fellowes, and as I vnderstand, they haue founde out some of your treasure, and haue made spoyle thereof: wherfoze I would knowe your pleasure what shal be done with the. And in effect it was the treasure that *Cortes* himselfe had founde out. *Mutezuma* answered, saying, sir that treasure which they haue founde, did appertayne vnto the Goddes: But yet notwithstanding, let them leaue the feathers, and all suche things as are neyther golde 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.



Then *Mutezuma* went vnto the temple, he went learing vpon a noble mans arme, or else was leade betwene two, and a noble personage wente alwayes befoze him with thre small wandes in his hande, signifying thereby that the King in person was there at hand, and in token also of iustice and correction. If he had bene carried vpon mens shoulders then at his alighting downe he toke one of those roddes into his owne hand. He was a Prince ful of ceremonies in al his doings, but the substaunce of his estate is already declared, from the time that *Cortes* entred into Mexico vntil this present. Those first dayes that the Spaniards came to the Citty, & as often as *Mutezuma* went to the temple, *Indian* men were slayne in sacrifice. And to prohibite suche abhominable crueltie & sinne, committed in the presence of the *Christians* who wet in company of *Mutezuma*, *Cortes* required

required *Mutezuma*, to commaunde that no mans ſeſhe ſhould be any moze ſpoyled, or bloud ſhedde in ſacrifice, and in not fulfilling his requeſt, he would deſt. oy bothe the temple and Cittie. Alſo he ſignified vnto him, that he himſelſe woulde throwe downe the idols, befoze his preſence and all the Cittizens.

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

The exhortation that *Cortez* made

to *Mutezuma* and to the Cittizens of Mexico,
concerning their Idols.



All creatures in the world (mightie prince, and yee Gentlemen and religious perſons whether it be yee here or we in Spayne, or whatſoever other nation that it may be) haue I ſay, all one begynnynge and ending

ending of mortall life, whiche is had from God: we are all formed and made of one mettall, and haue all soules and senses, euen so doubtlesse as we are like in propoztion of body and soule, yea and kinsfolke in blond, although that by the prouidence of the same our God; some are bozne fayre and beautifull, and other some fowle and disfigured: some of one colour, and some of another: some prudent and wise, and other some sonde and foolish, without eyther iudgement or vertue: in the which his maruelles woorks God sheweth himselfe iuste, holy and almightie, giuyng those severall giftes, to the entent that the wise and learned mought teache the rude and ignozant, and to guyde the blinde into the right way of saluation, by the steppes of true and vnfayned religion.

Therefore I and my fellowes, as your gesses and kinsmen, according to equitie doe procure and wish the same vnto you. A man and his life consisteth in three things as y^e shal vnderstande, that is body, soule, and goddes: as for your goddes and riches, whiche is the least that wee desire, for y^e know well that we haue taken nothing sozurable from you, but onely those things whiche y^e haue freely and liberally giuen vs. Likewise we haue not hurt, misused or molested your persons, wiues or chyldren, nor yet do meane any such thing, your soules health onely is the thing we seeke, for your saluation, and that we nolwe pretende to shewe, and to giue vnto you y^erite notice of the true and eueralting God. There is none of naturall iudgement can denie, but that there is one God, but yet through ignozance and deceypte 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 towhome we Christians doe serue, adoze, and worshippe, the which is one eternall, without beginnyng and without ende,

the

the onely creator & governour of things created: he alone made the Heavens, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres, the whiche his creatures ye doo worship: he (I say) founded and made the Sea, and the sundry and maruelous fishes therein: he planted and made the lande with all the monstrous beastes therein, foules likewise in the ayre, Plantes, Hearbes, Stones and suche like. Al the whiche creatures ye as blinde and ignorant doo hold for Goddes.

Our almighty God after he had finished and made all the former workes with his own blessed hands, made one man & one woman, and being so formed and wrought, he put a soule and breath into each body, and then deliuered the worlde vnto them, shewing them Paradise and glory. So that of that manne and woman, we all mortall menne proceeded in generation, and in this sorte are the handy worke of God, kinsmen and brethren. Nowe if we will come vnto God our father, it is needefull and necessary that we be good, vertuous, pitifull, innocent and vnder obedience, the whiche ye can not be if you worshippe statues, images, idols and vse bloody sacrifice of mans flethe. Is there any of you that woulde willingly be slayne: no truely: why then doe you seea other so cruelly, and where you can put no soules, why doe you take them from thence: there is none of you, nor your false Gods, that can make soules, nor can forge mens bodies of flethe and bone, for if ye coulde, there is none of you woulde be without children, according to your owne appetite and desire, in fashion, beautie and workmanship. But where our God of heaven dothe make al creatures, he useth therein his owne discretion, and gieth children to whome he pleaseth: and therefore is he GOD alone, and for these causes shoulde ye haue esteeme, and worshippe him for suche a mightie God, desiring of him by prayers to giue rayne and temperature, that the earth

may bying towth Cozne, Fruite, Herbes, Flethe, Kone,
and all other necessaries for the sustentation of lyfe. All
these thyngs the harde stonnes giueth not vnto you, no noz
yet your drye wooden images & colde mettall, neyther yet
the small seedes wherewith your seruants and slaues,
with theyr filthy handes doe make these images and
soule statues, the whiche ye doe worshippinge. What
sonde people and made religious persons, who worshippinge
theyr owne workemanshippe, doe ye thinke that they
are Gods that rotte and moldye away, and haue no lyfe,
and can neyther helpe noz kill? Therefore I say vnto
you, that nowe and hereafter there is no cause that ye
shoulde haue any moe idolles, noz yet any moe slaugh-
ters for sacrifice, no noz yet to make any moe prayers
oz supplications vnto them, beying bothe Blinde, Deafe,
and Dumme.

It was
maimed that
Cortes
was not
taken for
an here-
like.

Will ye knowe who is God, and where he is: lifte
vp your eyes vnto Heauen, and then shall you vnder-
stande that aboue is a Godhead oz Dettie that moueth
the heauens, and gouerneth the course of the Sunne, ru-
leth the Lande 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 worshippinge, not with death of menne oz blood-
dy sacrifice abominable, but with deuotion and humble
prayer as we Christians doe. And consider well, that to
teach and instrua you these things, was the cause of our
comming hither.

With this exhortation, Cortes aplaked the yre of the
Priettes and Citizens: theyr idols beying throwen downe,
Mutezuma toke order that no moe shoulde be sette vp,
commaundynge to sweepe and make cleane the Chappels
of the stinking blood that was in the, forbidding sacrifice
of mans flesh. Mutezuma and his officers made a solempne
bolwe

boiue and promise to permitt no more slaughter of men, and to set by a Crosse for remembrance of the death and passion of Iesu Christe borne of the virgin Marie. The whiche their promise was well fulfilled, for after that day the Spanyardes could neuer heare nor finde of any more sacrifice: But yet there abode in their hartes a most fall rancor, the whiche could not long be dissimuled.

Truely in this worthy facte Cortes gotte more honour than though he had ouercomen them in battayle.

The burning of the Lorde Qual-

popoca and other Gentlemen



fter twentie dayes that *Mutezuma* had bene prysoner, returned the messengers who had gone with the scale for *Qualpopoca* and brought him, his Sonne, and other fiftene principall persons, with them, the

whiche by inquirie made, were culpable and partakers in the counsell and death of the nine Spanyardes. *Qualpopoca* entred into *Mexico* accompanied like a greate Lorde as he was, beyng borne vpon his seruants shoulders in rich furniture. As sone as he had saluted *Mutezuma*, hee his Sonne were deliuered into Cortes, with the other fiftene Gentlemen. Cortes placed them asunder, and commaunded them to be put in Irons, and they examinati-ous taken, they confessed that they had slayne those Spanyardes in battayle.

Cortes demaunded of *Qualpopoca* if he were subiect to *Mutezuma*, why (quoth he) is there any other Prince, to whome I might be in subiection, giuing almost to vnderstand that he was a Lorde absolute. Cortes answered that a farre greater Prince was the King of Spayne, whose subiects vnder colour of friendship and salter conduct he

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had

had slayne. But (quoth he) nowe shalte thou make payment thereof. And beyng agayne moze straighter examined, they confessed that they had slaine two Spaniards by the aduice and inducement of the greate prince *Mutezuma*, and the residue were slayne in the warres, and had assaulted their houses, and entred their countrey, wherefoze they helde it lawfull to kill them.

Through the confession pronounced by their owne mouthes, sentence was giuen against them, and they condemned to be burned, whiche sentence was openly executed in the market place in sight of all the people, without any mutine or slaunder, and with great silence, terrour & feare of the newe maner of iustice which they sawe there executed vpon so noble a man, in the chiefe seate and kyngdome of *Mutezuma*, beyng gettes and straungers.

The cause of the burnyng of

Qualpopoca.



At the time that *Cortes* departed from *Vera Cruz*, he left in comission to *Pedro Hircio*, to procure to inhabite in that place which is called *Almeria*, & not to permit *Francisco de Garray* to sojourn there, for so much as once he was diuened fro that coast. *Pedro Hircio* to fulfill his comission, sente to requyze those *Indians* with peace and friendship, and to yeld themselves for vassals of the Emperour. *Qualpopoca* Lord of *Nahuatlan*, which is now called as aforesaid *Almeria*, sent to aduertise *Pedro Hircio*, that he could not come to yelde his obedience, for the enimies that were in the way, but if it would please him to sende some of his men, for the securitie of the way, he would willyngly come vnto him. *Hircio* hearing this answer, sent foure of his men, giuing credit

credite to his message, and soz the desire he hadde to inhabite there.

When the foure *spanyarden* came into the pzoince of *Nabuitlan*, there mette with them many armed men, who slew two of them, and made thereof a great triumph: the other two escaped soze wounded, and returned with that newes to the Towne of *Vera Cruz*. *Pedro Hircio* beleüing that *Qualpopoca* had done that iniurie, armed out agaynst hym fiftie *spanyarden*, and ten thousand *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, with two horses, and two peeces of Ordnance.

Qualpopoca hearing this newes, came with a mightie power to drive them out of his Countrey, and in that encounter, seauen *spanyarden* were slayne, and many *Zempoallanes*, but at the ende he was overcome, his Countrey spoiled, and Towne sacked, and many of his army slaine and taken captiues. The pisoners declared, that by the commaundement of the greate *Lozde Mutezuma*, all this byzoze was attempted by *Qualpopoca*: it mighte well be, soz at the houre of death they confessed the same. But some affirme, they saye so, but to excuse themselves, and to lay the fault to the *Mexicans*. *Hircio* wrote these newes to *Cortez* beüing in *Chololla*, and thzough these letters *Cortez* apprehended *Mutezuma* (as is afoze declared.)

Howv Cortez put a payre of giues

on *Mutezuma* his legges.



Before the execution of *Qualpopoca* and his fellows, *Cortez* declared vnto *Mutezuma*, that *Qualpopoca* and his company had confessed, that by his aduice and commaundement, the nine *spanyarden* were slayne, wherein he had done very euill, they being his friends and guesstes: but (quoth he) if it were not in respect of the

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loue

loue I beare vnto you, this matter shoulde not in this
sozt be shut vp, and then knocked a payze of giues on his
legges, saying, he that killeth ought to be killed, according
to the lawes of God. These things did Cortes, bycause
he shoulde occuppe himselfe in his owne griefe and soz
row, and to let other mens passe.

Mutezuma wared pale w countenance of death, throug
the great feare that he was in, seepng himselfe in Irons,
a new and strange thing for suche a great King, excusing
himselfe that he was innocent of the facte. And as sone
as the execution of burning was done, Cortes commaun
ded to put away the Irons that *Mutezuma* ware, offering
him libertie, and willing him to goe vnto his owne pal
lace, who reioyced much to see himselfe out of the Irons,
and gaue Cortes most hartie thankes, and refused to goe
home to his owne pallace, surmising that the offer was
but wordes, or else fearing least his subiects woulde kyll
him, seeing him out of the *Spanyardes* power, for permit
ting himselfe to be taken prisoner, and so to be kept. He
sayd also, that if he went from them, his subiectes woulde
rebell, and compell him to kill the *Spanyardes*.

Truly the poze simple soule was of small hearte and
courage, to suffer himselfe to be taken prisoner, and after
his imprisonment woulde neuer procure libertie, Cortes
offering it vnto him, and many of his noble men desiring
him. And remayning in that order, there was none in
Mexico durst offende any *Spanyard* for feare of displeasing
him, for *Qualpopoca* came 70. leagues with only warning
him that the great Lozde had sent for him, shewing hym
the figure of his seale: yea and al the pceres of his realme
that dwelte farthest off, were ready to obey hys com
maundementes.

How

How Cortez sent to seeke for Mines

of golde into diuers places.

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

Malinal-

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

Tenich standeth vp towarde the head of the same riuer of *Malinaltepec*, who are people of another language, and would not permitte our men to haue relation of the thing that they sought. The Lozde of that place is called *Coatlicamatl*, who is not subiecte to *Mutezuma*, noz yet is his friende, thinking that his men hadde bin espyes: but when he was enformed who they were, he gaue the *Spanyarden* licence to be resolued of their affayres, but straitly commaunded, that the *Indians* of *Mexico* should not presume to come into his dominion. When the *Mexicans* hearde these newes, they required the *Spanyarden* not to credite that *Cazike*, saying, that he was an euill and a cruell man, and would surly kill them. Our men were somewhat amazed, fearing to talke with *Coatlicamatl*, although they hadde his licence, seying the people of the countrey armed with Launces of five and twenty fote lōg: but yet at lēgth leauing cowardise aside, they proceeded forwards. *Coatlicamatl* receyued thē courteously, and shewed them sixe or seauen riuers with golde, out of the which grappes of golde were taken in his presence, who gaue the same moster vnto them, and sente also his Embassadors to *Cortez*, offering his lande and person vnto him, with certayne mantels, and Jewels of golde.

Cortez moze reioyced of the Embassage, than of the gold and presents, knowing thereby that *Mutezuma* hys enimies desired his friendship: but *Mutezuma* and hys counsell liked not the matter, for although *Coatlicamatl* is no great Lord, yet his people are god soulerers, and his countrey full of wildernesse, of Rockes and Mountaynes. The other that wente to *Tutepec*, which standeth nere the sea coast, and twelue leagues frō *Malinaltepec*, returned

returned likewise with mosser of golde of two Riuer, and brought newes that the Countrey was fit to buyde vppon, with hope to reape muche golde, finding once an arte to get it out of the riuer.

Cortez hearing these newes, prayed *Mutezuma* to build a house there in the name of the Emperoure *Charles*, who incontinente sente thither workemen and labourers, whiche within two monethes hadde built a greate house, and other thre 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 householde stuffe, so that the gifte was worth twentie thousand Castlins of golde. He gaue vnto hym also twenty bushels of the grayne called *Centli*, readye sowed, and two thousand stockes of trees called *Cacaual*, whiche bringeth forth the fruite *Cacao*, that serueth for monney and meate. *Cortes* began this husbandrye, but yet made not an ende thereof, with the comming of *Pamfilo de Naruaiz*, and the vproze in *Mexico*, whiche shortly followed. He also besoughte *Mutezuma* to certifie him if there were any sure porte or harbor on the Sea coast, where the Spanishe nauie mought 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 wolle, with all the riuers, bayes, crækes and capes that were within his deminion. In all the same portrayture did not appeare anye porte, skale, or sure roade, sauyng a gulfe that falleth out of the Mountaynes, which place is now called the harbor of *Saint Martine*, and *Saint Anthonie* in the prouince of *Coazacoalco*. The *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 belæued the thing that they desired.

¶ Gg:

Cortes

Cortes for this purpose sent tenne Spanyardes, all good marriners and Plots, in companye of the Indians that *Mutezuma* sent on that voyage at his owne cost.

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

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

They apozted at *Coazacoalco*, the Lorde where of was eniurie to *Mutezuma*, hys name was *Tuchintlec*, who friendly receyued the Spanyardes, for he hadde intelligence of them, at their lying at *Potonchan*. He gaue vnto them boates, to sounde and seeke the Riuer, where they found sire sadome in deapth, and wente vppe that Riuer twelue leagues, wher they descryped many great towne, and it seemed a fruitfull soyle. This *Cazyke Tuchintlec*, sente vnto *Cortes* with the Spanyards certayne gold, precious stones, and cloth of cotten, with apparrell made of skynnes, and tygers, requesting his friendship, and to admitte him tributarie to the Emperour, paying yearly a certayne portion of his riches, with suche condition, that the Indians of *Culhua* should not enter into his iurisdiction.

Cortes muche reioysed with these messages, and was glad of the finding of the saire riuer, for the Marriners hadde enformed him, that from the riuer of *Grijalua* vnto *Panuco*, was no riuer to be found, but he belæue they were deceyued. *Cortes* returned backe agayne some of those messengers, with a present of Spanissh ware for *Tuchintlec*, and to be better enformed of all his meaning, with a special charge to knowe the comoditie of that pozte and Countrey, who went, and in shorte time returned wel satisfied of their demaund: wherevpon *Cortes* sente thither *Iohn Velasques de Leon*, for Captayne of a hundred and fifty Spanyards,

Spanyards, with commission to build a fort.

The imprisonment of Cacama, King
of Texcuco.



He weake courage and stomake of *Mutezuma*, caused his subiectes not onely to murmure, but also to sake meanes of rebellion, especially his nephew *Cacamazin*, Lozde of *Texcuco*, who was a stoute yong man and an honozable, and one y received grea.e grieſe of his Uncles impziſonment: and ſeing that y matter ſeemed long, he beſought his Uncle to procure his libertie, and to ſhew himſelfe a Lozde, and not a ſlave: but ſeing at length that he could not accepte and follow his counsell, he began to ſtirre in the matter, thzeatning the death and deſtruction of the Spanyards. Some ſaid, that *Cacama* did begin that matter, to reuenge the iniurie and diſhonoꝝ done vnto his Uncle. Others ſaide, that his meaning was to make himſelfe Kyng of *Mexico*. Others held opinion, that his pretence was only to make an ende of y Spanyards. But let it be foꝝ what ſoeuer purpoſe. Once he gathered a great army, which he coulde not want, although *Mutezuma* was pziſoner, eſpecially againſt y Spanyards. He publiſhed that he would redẽme his Uncle out of Captiuitie, and expulle the ſtraungers, oz elſe kill and eate them.

This was a terrible newes foꝝ the Chziſtians, but yet foꝝ all thoſe bragges *Cortes* diſwayde not, rather hẽe determined foꝝthwith to prepare himſelfe foꝝ the warres, and to beſiege him in his olone houſe and Towne, ſa- uing that *Mutezuma* diſturbed him, ſaying that *Texcuco* was a place very ſtrong, and ſituated in water, and that *Cacama* was a man of bolde and ſtoute courage,

¶ Gg. ij.

and

and had at commaundement the *Indians* of *Culhua*, and was also *Lorde* of *Culhuacan* and *Orumpa*, whiche were *fortes* of great strength, thinking to bring the matter to a better passe another way: so that *Cortez* ruled himselfe by the counsell of *Mutezuma*, and sent vnto *Cacama*, prayeing him to haue in remembrance the friendshippe that hadde bin betwixt them two, from the time that he came and broughte hym into *Mexico*, and that alwayes peace was better than warre, and especially for a noble man of *vassals*, for the begynnynge of warres was pleasant to hym that knowe not what warres meante: and in so doynge, he shoulde do both pleasure and seruice to the *Kyng* of *Spayne*.

Cacama
was viiic.

Cacama answered, that he had no friendship with him that wolde take away hys honoz and kingdome, and that the warres whych he pretended, was profitable for his *vassals*, and in defence of their Countrey and Religion, yea and befoze he determined peace, he meante to reuenge hys *Uncles* wrongs and his *goddess*.

Also (quoth he) what haue I to doe wyth the *Kyng* of *Spayne*, who is a man that I knowe not, no no; yet would gladly heare of hym.

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

Whereupon *Mutezuma* sente vnto hym, desirynge him to come vnto *Mexico*, to take some order in those *controuersies* and *discozdes* betwixt hym and the *Spaniards*.

Cacama answered very sharply vnto his *Uncles* request, saying, if you had bloud in your eye, or the hearte of a *Prince*, you woulde not permit your selfe to bee prisoner, and captiue of foure poze *strangers*, who
with

with their fayre speache and flatteryng talke haue bewitched you, and vsurped your kingdome, no noz yet, suffer the Goddess of *Culhua* to be thzowen downe and spoiled, yea and the *Mexican* religion and holy places, violated and troden with thēues false and deceyuers: likewise the honour, gloz, and fame of your predecessozs blotted and abased, thzough your saynt stomacke and colwardize. But notwithstanding, accozdyng to your request, and to repayre our religio, to restoze the Goddess to their Temples, to preserve the kingdome, and to procure libertie for you and the Cittie, I will obey your commaundement: But how: not with my handes in my bosome, but lyke a warrior, to kill those Spaniardes who haue so affronted the nation of *Culhua*. Our men stode in great perill, as well of the losing of *Mexico* as of their owne liues, if this warre and mutinie 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 Cittizens of *Mexico*, were desirous of the same, for to redēme *Mutezuma* their prince, and to kill the Spaniardes, or else to expulke them out of the Cittie.

But poze *Mutezuma* remedied the matter, knowyng or foreseeing, that warres would not preuaile, yea and beleued, that at the ende all shoulde fall vpon his backe. He dealt with certayne Captaynes & Gentlemen that dwelt in *Tezcuc* with *Cacama*, to apprehend him, and byyng him prysoner, cōsidering that he was their king and yet aliue. But whether it were, that those Captaynes had serued *Mutezuma* in the warres, or whether it were for giftes & rewardes, they apprehended *Cacama* being in counsell among them, treatyng of his warres pretended, and embarked him in a boate armed for the purpose, and so brought him to *Mexico* without any further slander or stryfe, and when he was comen to *Mexico*, they put him

Cacama
prysoner.

on a riche seate, as the Kings of *Tezcuco* were wonte to sitte vpon, beyng the greatest Prince in all that lande next vnto *Mutezuma*: and in this sorte brought him befoze his vncke, who would not loke vpon him, but commaunded him to be deliuered vnto *Cortes*, who incontinent clapped a payze of giues on his legges, and a payze of manacles on his handes, and put hym into sure Guarde and custodie.

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

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

The Oration that Mutezuma made

vnto his Noble men, yeelding himselfe to the
King of Castile.



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

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

Ye shall nowe doe me seruice and pleasure, that ye yeelde your selues vnto this Captayne for bassals of the Emperoure King of Spayne our soueraygne, I my self haue already yeilded me for his seruitour and friend, praying you that from hence forwarde ye obey him as ye haue obeyed mee. And that ye yeelde and pay vnto him the tributes, customes and seruice that ye were wont to pay vnto me, and in so dayng, ye can doe me no greater pleasure. Hys harte then woulde not suffer hym to speake any more, with the sobbes, sighes, and teares, that fell from hys eyes. All his subiectes there presente fell into a crie, weeping and mournyng, that for a good space they had no power to speake: they gaue thyrikes, and sighings,

A fonde
beliefe.

Poore Mus
tezuma,

fighings, uttering with their mouthes many dolefull, and sorrowfull speeches, yea that it pitied our owne men at the hartes. But in conclusion, they answered that they would obey his commaundement. Then *Mutezuma* and the Burgesses of Parliament in order yelded themselves for vassalls of the king of *Castile*, promising loyaltie. This acte was set downe by the *Notarie*, and with witnesses autozized. Then the *Indians* departed home to their houses with sorrowfull hartes, God knoweth, as you may imagine. It was a straunge thing to see *Mutezuma* weepe with so many noble men and Gentlemen, yea and with what griefe they became subiects to an vnknowe Prince, but they coulde not otherwise doe, seying that *Mutezuma* did commaunde the same.

A true prophetic.

Also they had a certaine Prognostication and forwar-
ning by their Priestes of the comming from the east par-
ties a strange people, white of colour and bearded men,
who should winne and rule that countrey. Likewise there
was a secrete talke amōg them, that in *Mutezuma* should
ende and finishe, not alone the lynage of *Culhua*, but also
the Emppye and kingdome: therefore some were of opi-
nion, not to name him *Mutezuma* whiche signifieth, grie-
ued with misfortune. They say also that *Mutezuma* him-
self had many times answer of the Oracle of the Gods,
that in him shoulde finishe the *Mexican* Emperours, and
that no childe of his shoulde succede in his kyngdome,
and that he should lose his seate in the eyght yeare of his
raigne: & for these causes he would neuer procure warre
to withstande the *Spaniards*, beleuyng that they should
be his successors. Yet on the other side he thought his o-
pinion would take no place, for that he had raygned se-
uentene yeares: But this should seme to come from the
providence of God, whiche giueth kingdomes and taketh
them away,

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 alwayes he should be kyng and Lozde, & commaunde as heretofore he had done, and better, yea and also he should be chief ruler of all the other landes and countreys, that he shoulde gette and byng to the seruice of the Emperour.

The Golde and Ieuvels that Mute-

zuma gaue vnto Cortes for tribute.



After certaine dayes that *Mutezuma* and his counsell had yielded their obedience, Cortes sayde vnto him, how that the Emperour was at great costes & charges in his warres, wherfoze it should be necessary that his newe ballals shoulde begin to serue in some thing, and to pay their tribute, willyng him to sende throughtout 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 so to doe, willyng that some of his men shoulde goe vnto the house of soule for the same. There went many, and there saue golde in planches like bycke battes, Jewels, and peeces wrought in a hall, and two chambers which were opened vnto the. The Spaniardes wodering 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 lodgng: besides this treasure *Mutezuma* gaue vnto him rich clothes of cotten and feathers maruelously woven in figures & colours, it seemed without coparison, for the Spaniardes had neuer sene the like: he gaue vnto him moze, twelve shooting tronkes, wherewith he himself

th. was

was wont to passetime: some of them were paynted with birdes, beastes, flowers & trees very perfitte, a worke surely much to be commended: and some of them were engraued 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 pzoouinces, fourescore, and a hundred leagues frō Mexico, to gather in golde for the accustomed tributes, and newe seruice to the Emperour. Euey Lorde and Seignior payde the quantitie appointed & taxed by *Mus tezuma*, in golde, plate, iewels, stones and pearles.

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

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

There came to the kings parte, 32000. Castlins and a hundred markes of plate, the whiche was wrought there in platters, saucers, cuppes, ewers and other pēces, accordyng to the *Indian* fashion, to be sent to the Emperour. Besides this, the present that Cortes layde aside, and take out of the stocke to send to y^e Emperour, was worth, 100000. Ducates, in pearles, precious stones, golde, and feathers, feathers and siluer, and many other iewels, as the gallant tronkes, whiche beside their value were straunge to behold, wrought with the branery aforesayde. This present appointed, was not sent, so that and al the rest was

after

afterwarde losse at the troubles in *Mexico*, as hereafter shall moze playnly appeare.

Hovv Mutezuma required Cortez

to departe from *Mexico*.

Cortez seying himselfe riche and mightie, he occupied hymselfe 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 to fewe for so greate a countrey. The other was, to take fully and wholly the state of *Mutezuma*, hauing him prisoner, and also at his commaundement *Tlaxcallan*, *Coatlicamath*, and *Tuchintlee*, knowyng also that the *Indians* of *Panuco*, *Tecoantepec*, and *Mechuacan*, were moztall enimtes to the *Mexicans*, who woulde ayde and assist him hauing neede of their helpe, his thirde presence was, to procure all the *Indians* to be Chyistened, the which purpose he toke first in hand, as a thing most nedes full. On the other side, *Mutezuma* repented himselfe, hauyng newes that *Pansilo de Naruaiz* was arriued, who came as enemy to *Cortez*, yea and after all this he was at length driuen out of *Mexico*. These notable things shalbe reherfed in their order. But now *Mutezuma* came, and desired *Cortez* to departe out of his countrey, aduising hym that otherwise bothe he and his menne were in perill of killyng, saying also, that thre especiall causes moued him to this requeste: the one was, the dayly sute of his subiectes, who enpoztuned him to come out of captiuitie, and to murder the *Spanyardes*, saying, that it was a great shame for them to suffer theyr Prince to bee in pypson in the power of so fewe straungers, whom they might vse as a foetebal: hauing dishonored the

H. Ij.

and

and robbed them of their goodes, gatherynge and heaping
 vp their gold for themselves, & for their king, who as sa-
 med by their doings, was but a poore fellowe, and if hee
 would not accept their offer and sute, that then of thepp
 olone auctoritie they would take the thyng in hande, for
 so much as he refusing to be thepp king they would also
 refuse to be his vassals, giuyng warnyng and aduice that
 he should looke for no better rewarde at the Spaniardes
 handes, than *Qualpocca* and *Cacama* his *Peuelwe* had re-
 ceiued, although they shoulde flatter him neuer so muche.

An other cause was that the Diuell had appeared vnto
 to him, and willed him to kill those Christians, or dꝛyue
 them out of the lande, thꝛeatnyng him that if he did not
 so, that then he would goe from him and neuer talke a-
 ny moze with him, for (quoth he) with their gospels, bap-
 tisme and deuotion, they doe muche displease me. *Mute-
 zuma* answered him, that there was no reason to kill the
 being his friendes and honest men, but he would entreate
 them to departe, (vnto this) the Diuell answered that hee
 should do so, and therein he would receyue great pleasure,
 for epyther he would goe his way and leaue him, or else
 that Christian fellowes should departe, for they sow here
 (quoth he) a Christian sayth y which is much against our
 Religio, and can not dwell both together. Another cause
 was, that *Mutezuma* was not well pleased with the im-
 pysonment of *Cacama*, who once he loued exccdyng well
 so in fine, secretely hee repented him of all that was past
 in the Spaniardes fauour, and chiefly by the persuation
 of the Diuell, who sayde that he coulde not doe vnto him
 a more acceptable seruice, and of greater pleasure to the
 Goddes, than to erpell the Spaniardes and abolishe the
 name of Christians, and in so doyng, the seate of Kings
 should not finish in the linage of *Culhua*, but rather be en-
 larged, & his childꝛ should raigne after him, wishing him

not to believe in prophecies, sithence the eight yeare was past, and was nowe in the eyghenth yeare of his raigne. For these causes, or possible for other whiche we knowe not off, *Mutezuma* prepared an army of a hundred thousand men so secretly, that *Cortes* knew not thereof, to the effecte, that if the Spanyarden woulde not departe, being once moze required, that then he meant not to leaue one of them aliae. With this determination, he came for the one day into the yard or courte, and had long conference and consultation with his Gentlemen aboute this matter. This done, he sente for *Cortes*, who liked not this newes, saying to him selfe, I pray God this message be to godd purpose, and taking twelue of his men whych were readiest at hand, went to know wherfoze hee had sente for him. *Mutezuma* arose from the place where hee sate, and toke *Cortes* by the hande, commanding a stole to be brought for him, and so sate them downe both togither, and beganne his talke as followeth. Sir, I beseeche you to departe from this Citie and Countrey, for my Gods are soze offended with me, bycause I doe, and haue permitted you here so long: demaunde of me what you please, and it shall be giuen you, bycause I loue you well: and thinke you not, that I giue you this warning in iest, but rather in godd earnest, therefore it is conuenient, that you depart. It seemed strange vnto *Cortes* this talke. Also he saw by the countenance of *Mutezuma*, that some thing was a working, and befoze the interpryter of *Mutezuma* had made an end of his talke, *Cortes* willed one of his men to goe forthwith, and to aduise all his fellowes, saying, by the waight of their liues was in questio. Then our men called to remembzaunce what was tolde them in *Tlaxcalton*, considering that it was needeful of courage and help from God to bying them out of that dainger. When *Mutezuma* had ended his tale, I haue (quoth *Cortes*) vnderstood
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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 moete, and against that time will I prepare a hundred waighte of gold for you, and fiftie pound waight to each of your men.

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

Mutezuma receyued great pleasure at this aunswere, and sayd, your request shall be fulfilled: and incontinent he sent for many Carpenters. Likewise *Cortes* prepared certayne of his Barriners for Shipwrightes. All the which workemen went vnto great wooddes of *Pinetrees*, and there cut downe the timber necessarye for the purpose. *Mutezuma* being a simple man, gaue credite to all *Cortes* his talke: *Cortes* likewise aduertised his men of his proceedings, and sayd vnto them, *Mutezuma* would haue vs departe out of his Countrey, bycause his vassals and the Diuell haue entised him therevnto: wherefoze it is needefull that we build shipping, and therefore I praye you goe with these *Indians*, and procure to cut downe the best timber fit for oure purpose, and in the meane season God will prouide for vs, whose affayres we haue now in hand, of remedie and succour in suche sort that we lose not this frutefull countrey. It is also necessary, that when you come vnto the woodde, that you make all the delay possible,

possible, giving a shew that you are busse occupied, and with great desire to make an ende, that those *Indians* may suspect nothing of oure pretence. Depart in Gods name, and aduise me alwayes what doth passe in your affaires.

The feare that our men stooode in to

be sacrificed.



Eight dayes after their departure to ward the wooddes, arriued fiftene saile of Ships at the coast of *Chalchicoeca*. The *Indians* of that coast aduised *Mutezuma* therof, who was not a little afraide with the newes, & called *Cortes* vnto him, who feared as much

some bypore there, and when they shewed *Cortes* & *Mutezuma* was come forth into the yarde, he suspected that if *Mutezuma* pleased, they shoulde be all destroyed. Wherefoze he said vnto his men, maisters and friends, *Mutezuma* hath sent me, considering what passed this other day, I hold it foze no good token. I nowe goe to knowe his wyll: wherefoze, whatsoeuer happen, be you alwayes vigilant and ready, commending your selues to God. Remember also whome ye are, and who are these *Znfidels*, abhorred of God, and friends vnto the *Diuel*, without weapon, and experience in warre: if we chance to fight, the handes of each of vs shal shew by deede with sword, the valloz and courage of our heartes: yea, and although we all die, yet shall we remaine with victozy, foze that we haue fulfilled the thing we toke in hand, and the seruice which we owe vnto God as faithfull *Christians*, with our ductie as true subiects to our prince. They all answered, saying, we wil do all our possibilitie while life lasteth, withoute feare of perill or daunger, foze we lesse esteeme death than honoz. With this aunswere *Cortes* wente to *Mutezuma*, who sayde vnto him, *Senior Captayne*, you shall vnderstande that

that now you haue Shippes wherein you may departe, therefore now at your pleasure make you ready.

Cortez answered, not knowing of that shipping, saying, Rightie Sir, when my Shippes are finished I will depart, nay (quoth *Mutezuma*) I meane not those Shippes, for there are arriued eieuen other Shippes at the coast nere vnto *Zempoallan*, and shortly I shall be certified, whether the people that are come in them, are come a shore, and then shall we know what people, and how many they are in number. Blessed is Iesu Christe (quoth *Cortez*) vnto whome I giue most hartie thanks for his great mercies shewed vnto me, and to the Gentlemen of my company. One of *Cortez* his men went to shewe the glad tidings to their fellowes, who then receyued double strength, praying God, and embraced one another with great pleasure and ioy. And *Cortez* with *Mutezuma* being in communication together, came another poast, who broughte newes of fourescore Hoysmen that were landed, with eyght hundred footemen, and twelue peeces of Ordnance, and shewed painted in a cloth the whole relation both of men, hoyses, shippes, and ordnance.

At the time
of neede
prouideth
God.

Mutezuma hearing the newes that this poast hadde broughte, arose from his seate, and toke *Cortez* in hys armes, saying, now do I more loue you, than I haue done heretofore, and will this day dyne with you. *Cortez* gaue him thanks for the one and the other, and in this sorte wente hande in hand to *Cortez* his Chamber, who willed his Spaniards not to make any extraordinary ioy, or alteration, but that they shoulde keepe all together with vigilant watche, and to giue hartie thanks vnto God for the comfortable newes. *Mutezuma* and *Cortez* dyned together with greate content and pleasure, the one thinking to abide and to enioy the kings state and Countrey, the other thinking that then they woulde auoyd the land.

But

But notwithstanding all these ymaginations, a certaine Indian Captaine impoynted *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 knowe 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, whych beynge among them thoghly hearde, there were many of sundrye opinions, but the conclusion was, to permitte the other Spaniards to come, saying, the moze enimies, the moze gaine, and if we kill but those whiche 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 noble men and Gentlemen dayly, and according to determination, they commaunded to cherish and serue *Cortes* and his company moze than ordinary, saying their joy was at an ende.

A drunken
reckoning.

Hov James Velasques sent Pam- filo de Narvaiz against Cortes.



James Velasques beynge soze agræved, with desire of reuenge against *Cortes*, not only for his expences at the time of preparation of *Cortes* his flôte, whiche was but small, but of méere hatred of the present honoz & prosperitie of *Cortes*. Whereupon he inuented greate causes and quarrels against him, saying and alleaging, that *Cortes* hadde not giuen accompt

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¶

account of his proceedings vnto him, being Governour of *Cuba*, and *Cortez* his Deputie, but rather without his consent and knowledge, had sente to *Spayne* that was the King, aduise of his discouery, as who would say, that was treason, or an euill facte: but chiefly his fury was, knowing how *Cortez* had sent an honorable present, with the Kings parte or portion of treasure vnto *Spayne*, yea and whole relation of the discouery, with *Francisco de Montein*, and *Alonso Fernandez Portocarrero*, the whiche proceedings *James Velasques* meant to disturbe, so that he hadde layde in ambushe a coupell of caruels, to haue taken *Cortez*: hys presente, and messengers, the whiche his pretence and purpose toke no place, so that with the prosperous newes of *Cortez*, his furie and madnesse the more encreased, ymagining still his destruction.

And being occupped in these fonde ymaginations, 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 discovered, inhabited, and conquered in the land and coast of *Yucatan*. With this newes, *Velasques* began to triumph, not only so much for the honor, as also to driue *Cortez* from *Mexico*. Whereupon, he incontinent prepared this fléte or shauie of eleuen Shyppes, and seauen *Mergantines*, with nine hundred men, and fourescore Hozles, and appoynted one *Pansilo de Naruaez* for Captayne Generall, and his Deputie in the regiment of the Countrey: and for his more quicker dispatch, he himselfe wente with him throughout that *Ilande*, till they came to *Guaniguanico*, whiche is the Westermost harbor of the *Ilande*, and being there *Naruaez* ready to departe for *Mexico*, and *Velasques* to returne to *Cuba*, came the *hensenciat Lucas Vasques de Aillon*, a chiefe Judge of *Santo Domingo*, in name of the whole Chancery, to require *Velasques*

lasques vpon great penalties, that he should not permitte
 or suffer *Pamfilo de Naruaez* to proceede on that voyage
 agaynst *Cortes*, whiche woulde bee cause of further, ci-
 uil warres, and other mischiefes among the Spanyards,
 yea and that *Mexico* should be in daunger of losing, wyth
 all the rest that was conquered, and in quiet to the Kings
 vse, saying vnto him mozeouer, that if there were any
 discorde betwene them for goodes, or poyntes of honoz,
 that then it did apperteyne to the Emperoure to iudge,
 and determine the cause, and not that he himselfe should
 be iudge in his owne cause, vsing force against the other
 partie, praying them for the seruice of God and the
 King, that if they would goe to conquere, that then they
 shoulde seeke other Countreys, hauing so good an armye
 and flecte, and Countreys ynough to seeke. This diligēce,
 request and authoritie of the Licenciate *Aillon*, to *Velas-
 ques* and *Naruaez* preuayled not: he sayng their obstina-
 cie and little regarde to him being a chiefe Iudge, deter-
 mined to goe with *Naruaez* in his Shippe, to lette and di-
 sturbe the great hurte that might follow, thinking there
 in the newe *spayne* to perswade *Naruaez*, better than in
 the presence of *Velasques*, yea and also if neede should be,
 to be a meane of quietnesse betwixt them.

A nobla
Iudge.

Pamfilo de Naruaez tooke shipping in *Guaniguanico*, and
 sailed till he came nere vnto *Vera Cruz* with al his flecte,
 and hauing intelligence that there were a hundred and
 fiftie Spanyards of *Cortes* his band, he sente vnto them a
 Priest, with one *Iohn Ruiz de Gueuara*, and *Alonse de Ver-
 gara*, to require them to receyue him for their Captayne
 and gouernoure. But the newe Citizens would giue no
 eare to their talke, but rather apprehended them, & sente
 them prisoners to *Mexico* to *Cortez*, to aduertise hym of
 their embassage, wherebys *Naruaez* vnshipped his men,
 hozes, armor, & artillery, & wēt to the directly to *Zepoallā*.

It. y.

The

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

The substance of a letter that Correz

wrote vnto Naruaez.

Before Cortez knew the effect of the coming of this new flæte, his head was soze troubled, for, on the one side he was glad of the comming of his owne nation, on the other side he liked not so great an armye. Likewise he ymaged, that if they came to succour him, he helde the Countrey for conquered: also if that they were come againste him, he iudged the Countrey to be lost. He iudged also, that if they were come from *spayne*, that then they hadde brought to him the thing looked for, but if they were come from *Cuba*, he feared ciuil warres. He also thought, that from *spayne* could not come so many folke in so shozte space. Finally, he deemed, that his olde enemye *James Velasques* was come personally, but when he knew the whole truth, then was he muche moze pensie, thinking that the thred of his prosperitie was cut asunder, yea and that they would be meane to stoppe the gappes of the whole discouery, both of the secretes of the land, mines and treasure, as also, in the knowledge of the friends or enemies of *Mutezuma*. It shoulde be also a let to inhabite the places which he had begunne, yea and also to Chyristen the *Indians*, whiche was the principall thing that he pretended, yea & a let or stop of many other things begun in hys seruice of God & the prince, fearing also by flying from one inconuenience, to fall into many, and also if he should permit *Pamphilo de Naruaez* to come vnto *Mexico*, it shoulde be a meane of hys perdition:

if

If likewise he should encounter him, he feared some rebellion in the Citie, and the setting at libertie of *Muezuma*, putting in perill his owne honour, life, and traugale: and to auoyde all these daungers and inconueniences, he determined reinedy. First, he dispatched two men, the one vnto *John Velasques de Leon*, who was gone to inhabite at *Coazacoaleo*, willing him at the sight of his letter to repaire vnto *Mexico*, giuing him aduise of the comming of *Naruaez* and of the great neede that he stood in, of him & his company. The other messenger he sent to *Vera Cruz*, to bring full relation of the arriual of *Naruaez*, and what was his pretence.

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

From the *Vera Cruz* came twentie of the towne men with certificat what *Naruaez* had published, and brought with them a priest, with *Alonso Gueuara* and *John Ruiz de Vergara*, who had comen to *Vera Cruz* to amotie the towne, vnder colour that they had brought the commissiō from the king. *Cortes* on the other side, sent vnto *Naruaez* seignior *Bartholome de Olmedo*, with other two Spaniards, to offer vnto him his friendship, & otherwile to require & commaunde him on the behalfe of the kyng & of his owne, as chiefe iustice of the land, and in the name of the rulers and Aldermen of the towne of *Vera Cruz*, who were then in *Mexico*, that he shoulde enter peaceably, without making any alteration vntill his auctoritie and commissiō were seene and allowed, and to make no slander or vproze to the hinderace of the king his maisters proceedings.

But at this diligence and letters of *Cortes* and the other

rulers prevailed not, he seeing this, set at libertie the priest that was brought prisoner, and sente him vnto *Naruaez*, with certaine riche collers of gold, and other iewels with a letter, wherein he wrote, that he was moze gladder of his comming in that fléete than any other, for the friendship and olde acquaintaunce that had bene betwixt them, desiring him that they mought talke and cōferre together, alone, for to take order to prohibite wars, sedition, bloudshedde and disquietnesse among them, be yng of one natiō and bze thye, requesting him to shew his cōmission from the king vnto him, or vnto the counsell of *Vera Cruz*, and he would willingly obey it as reason did require: and if he had not brought any such commission, yet he would make some honest agreement with him. *Pamfilo de Naruaez* seeing himselfe strong and mightie, did little regarde *Cortes* his letters, offers, nor requestes, and chieflie by cause *James Velasques* was soze displeasēd with *Cortes*.

The talke of Naruaez to the Indians,

and his answer to *Cortes*.



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

The *Indians* gaue credite to his talke saying so many bearded men and hostes, and therevpon began to attende and serue him, leauyng their olde friends in *Vera Cruz*.

Alfo

A foule
bragge.

Also *Naruaez* began to flatter *Mutezuma*, and sente him worde that *Cortes* aboade in that countrey againſt the will of his Prince, & that he was a couetous rebell, who robbed his countrey, and that he pretended to kill *Mutezuma*, and to make himſelf king. Also that his comming was to ſet him at libertie, and to reſtoze vnto him all that thoſe wicked fellowes had taken from him. And bicauſe that others ſhould take example of their factes, he would commaunde them all to be ſlaine, willing him to take no care, for in ſhozt ſpace they would ſee ech other. And that when he had ſet him at libertie with reſtitution of his godes, he would incontinent departe his countrey. Theſe treaties were ſo foule & abhominable, with the iniurious wordes which *Pamſilo de Naruaez* ſpake openly againſt *Cortes* and his men, yea they ſeemed odious vnto all his owne hoſte & army, and ſome of his owne me checked him for the ſame, eſpecially *Barnardino de Santa Clara*, who ſeyng the countrey ſo peaceable and ſo well pleaſed with *Cortes*, he could not let but repprehende *Naruaez* in his wordes. Also the licenciat *Aillon* required him diuers times to ceaſe fro his ſlanderous talke, vpon paine of death & loſſe of his godes, & alſo not to procede towarde *Mexico*, for the great hurte that might enſue, with ſlander among the *Indians*, diſquietneſſe among the *Spaniards*, and offence to the Emperour his Maieſtie. *Pamſilo de Naruaez* being moued with his talke layde hand vpon *Aillon*, being a chiefe iudge for the King, and apprehended alſo his Secretary & an other officer, and forthwith ſhipped them, and ſente the to *James Velasquez* gouernour of *Cuba*. But when *Aillon* ſaw himſelfe at ſea, and free from *Naruaez*, he began to threaten the *Spaniards*, commanding the not to preſume to carrie him to *Cuba* to *Velasquez* his power, but onely to *Santo Domingo*, where he was one of the kings counſell in chancery: the *Spaniards* fearing the Kings iuſtice, obeyed his comandemēt

And

A cruell
proclama-
tion.

Amadde
reckenyng.

A good ca-
ptayne and
a yvll.

and when he was apoynted at *Santo Domingo*, he wholly en-
faymed the Counsell there, of *Naruaez* and his wicked
dealyng, whose testimonie and information did much ble-
mythe the credits of *Velasques*, & craite the trauels of *Cortes*.
After that *Naruaez* had shipped away *Aillon*, he proclay-
med warre with fire and sworde agaynst *Cortes*, and pro-
mised certayne markes of Golde to him that shoulde ap-
prehende or kill him, or *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Gonsalo de*
Sandoual, with other principall persons of his company.
Also he made diuision of his goodes among his mē befoze
they came to possesse it. Surely these thye popntes were
of a man without wisdomē or discretion.

Many of *Naruaez* his company did amotine them-
selues, thzough the commaundement of the Licenciat
Aillon, and thzough the fame and liberalitie of *Cortes*.
Wherbypon incontinent one *Pedro de Villalobos* a *Portu-
gal*, and fire or seuē moze fledde vnto *Cortes*, yea and o-
thers wrote vnto him, offeryng themselues to his seruice,
if by chance they should encounter.

Cortes receyued the letters, but kept in silence from his
company the firmes of those whiche had written to hym.
Some doe thinke that *Cortes* had subozned them with let-
ters, sayze promyses, yea and a hoise loade of chaynes and
planches of golde, whiche he sente secretly to *Naruaez* his
campe with a seruaunt of his, publishing likewise, that he
had an army of two hundredeth Spaniardes in *Zempoallan*,
where he had none at all: these policies mought well be,
for he was prudent, carefull and quicke in his businesse,
and *Pamfilo de Naruaez* was slouthfull and carelesse.


Naruaez made answerē to *Cortes* his letter by seignior
Bartholome de Olmedo, the substance of his message was,
that forthwith he shoulde repayze to the place where he
was abiding, and there he should see the Emperours com-
mission & order, wherein was autozitie giuen to hym to
take

take and képe that countrey for *James Velasques*, yea and that already he had made a towne of men onely, with all officers therevnto appertayning.

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

The talke that Cortez had vwith

his owne Souldiers.

 Cortez perceyuing the small fruyte that his letters (presentes) and messengers, obtayned at the handes of *Naruaez*, and that in no case, he woulde shewe his commission whiche came from the kyng, he determined to goe vnto him, and according to the olde *Wouerbe*, Face to face doth get respect, and likewise if it were possible, to agree vpon some good order and quietnesse: wherevpon he sent *Rodrigo Aluarez* his surueyor, with *John Velasques*, and *John del Rio*, to treat with *Naruaez* of many matters, whereof threë things were the principalest. The first was, that they two might méete alone, or else so many, for so many, and that *Naruaez* should permit *Cortes* to abyde in *Mexico*, and he withall his company shoulde conquere *Panuco* or other kingdomes, also that *Cortes* would pay the charges, and haue consideration to gratifie his souldiers, or else that *Naruaez* should abide in *Mexico*, and deliuer vnto *Cortes*. 400. of his men, to the intent that with them, and his owne men he myght procéde to seeke other countreys to conquere. Laste of all, he required to see the

kk. kings

kings commission, for that he would obey the same. *Naruaez* liked none of these offers, only he accepted that they should meete together with eche of them ten Gentlemen for securitie, bound with solemne othe, and firm'd this agreement with their names. But it toke no effect, for *Rodrigo Alvarez* advised *Cortes* that *Naruaez* 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 before 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 & friendly ye haue dealt for me: Ye shall now vnderstand that *James Velasques*, in stead of thanks giuing vs, hath sent to murder vs, *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, who is a stubborn & an vnreasonable man, one ready to execute our good desertes done in the seruice of God & our Prince, with an euill reward. And the cause is only, for doying our duetie in the sending of the Kings parte & portio to his Royall person & not vnto him. Also this *Naruaez* hath already confiscated our goodes, and giuen them to other men, and our bodies condemned to the Gallows, yea and our fame and honour plaide at tables, with great iniurious & slanderous wordes proclaymed agaynst vs, which things truly are not of a Christian, no nor yet we with Gods helpe will let the matter so to slippe: yea and though we ought to leaue the reuengment vnto God, yet we will not suffer them to enioy our trauayles & paynes, who are now comen white fingered to spoile the blood of their neighbours, yea & like madde men to strike agaynst their owne nation, sowing slander among those *Indians* which serued vs as our friends, yea & procuring more truck warres, than the ciuill warre betwene *Ataric* & *Sila*, or of

Cesar

Cesar & Pompeio, who turned vpsidowne the Romaine Empire. Therfore I do determine to meete him by y way, & not to suffer him to come vnto Mexico, for it is better to say, God saue you, than they to come & say who is there: yea & though they are many, a god hart both bzeake euil fortune, as it hath appered by vs, who haue passed throow the pikes since our coming hither: mozeouer, I doubt not but that many of Naruaez his cōpany will come vnto vs. Therfore my dēre friends doe I giue you aduise of my pretence, to the entent y those which wil go with me, may them prepare theselues, & those that will not, let them remaine to kēpe Mexico & Mutezuma, whiche is as much in effect. At the end of his talke he promised great rewards if y with victoꝝ he returned. His mē answered al w one voyce, y they were al at his cōmandemēt, & ready to fulfil his wil, yet some feared the pride & blindnesse of Pansilo de Naruaez: on the other side the Indians began to be lusty, to see dissention among the Spanyardes, & that the Indians of the coast were ioyned in league with the new come mē.

The requests of Cortez to Mutezuma.



After al his talk & answer of his souldiers, he wēt to visite & to comune w Mutezuma for to departe on his iourney, w somewhat y lesser care, & also to pꝛoue the minde & wil of Mutezuma, vnto whome he vttered his mind as foloweth. Sir, you know y loue y I haue, & desire to serue you, & chiefly the trust againe, that you will haue to my cōpanions whē I am gone frō this citie. Therfore I pray you, that it may please you to remaine here in this lodgyng, & to haue regard vnto these strangers, which I leaue with you: also I cōmend vnto you, the gold & iewels whiche is in their custodie, and gyuen vnto vs of your owne liberalitie. For I doe now goe to signifie vnto those

Chapke
Cortez,

lik. ij.

which

which of late are comen in the new flæte, how your highnesse doth commaunde that I departe from this land, and that they doe not agrauate oz molest your subiectes, noz yet presume to enter into your countrey, but that they remaine on your coast, vntill we be ready to departe with them, accoꝝding to your will and pleasure. And if in the meane season, any of your subiects be so vnaduised, as to molest my men, whiche now remaine in your power and Guard, that then it may please you to be their shielde, succour, and onely defence. *Mutezuma* promised to fulfill his request, wishing him moꝝeouer, that if any in his iourney should offend him, then immediatly to aduise him, and that he would sende his men of warre to chassen the, yea and also (if it pleased him,) he would giue vnto hym gypdes to salse conduct him thꝛough his owne dominion to the Sea coast, who should pꝛouide him of all necessaries by the way. *Cortes* kissed his handes foꝝ his curtesie, with mosse hartie thankes foꝝ the same, and gaue vnto him certayne Spanishe apparell, and other glaser 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 pꝛetended to doe, noz yet the newes of *Pamfilo de Naruaez* his pꝛocedings was not come to his eare, oz else, it may be that *Mutezuma* dissimuled the matter with inwarde pleasure, that one Chꝛistian should kill the other, thinkingyng thereby to haue most sure his libertie, and the Goddes pleased.

The imprisonment of Pamfilo

de Naruaez.



Cortes was so wel beloued among hys companie, that they offered willingly to goe with him, by reason whereof he chose, 250. men fitte foꝝ his iourney, & lefte other, 200. in garde of

Mute-

Mutezuma and the Citie, with Pedro de Aluarado for their Captayne. He lefte also with them the artillerie and soure foylles readye made, to haue the lake in subjection, beseeching them onely to haue speciall regard that Mutezuma fled not from them to Naruaez, and not to permitte him to goe out of their fozt or strong house.

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

Passing through Cholulla and Tlaxcallan, he was honorably receyued and lodged, and aboute fiftene leagues from Zempoallan where Naruaez was abiding, he mette with two Priestes, and his old especial friend Andres de Duero, who had lente him money for the setting forthe of that voyage. These thre persons came to require him to obey the Generall lately come as Lieutenant to the Gouernour Velasques, and to deliuer vnto him the Countrey, with all the foztes or Castels therein, aduising him, that if he would not accomplish the same, that then he woulde procede againste him, euen as an enemy and Rebel, to the execution of death. Likewise, if he would fulfill the request made vnto him, that then he shoulde haue libertie, and conueniente shipping to depart, both for him, and as many as would goe with him. Cortes answered, that hee would rather suffer death, than to leaue the Countrey whiche he had conquered and pacified with his handes and industrie, without anye commaundemente from the Emperour: and (quoth he) if againste all equitie and iustice, he will contend with me in warre, I will defend me as well as I may, and if I haue the victory (as I trust in God and the righte that I haue on my side,) I shall not stand in neede of shipping, and if I be slaine, muche lesse. Wherefore I doe require him to shew vnto me his commission and authozitie had from the Emperour, for vntil

A stout
man.

I doe both see and reade the same, I will accepte no a-
 grémente : and if (quoth he) that he refuse the same, that
 then I dare warne, admonish, and require him to returne
 to *Cuba*, the place from whence he came, and if he wil not
 obey my precept, I will then apprehende him, and sende
 him prisoner in yrons to the Emperoure : and with thys
 aunswere dispatched the thre messengers, sending also a
 notarie of his owne, to commaund him to take his ship-
 ping, and to departe without making any alteration in
 the Countrey, or y ensuing of further murders and strife,
 and if not, that vppon *Whitsonday*, whiche was within
 thre dayes following, he meante to be with him at sup-
 per. *Pansilo de Naruaez* made a mockery and iest at
 his commaundement, and toke Prisoner the Notarie
 whiche came from *Cortes* with that order, holding *Cortes*
 for madde, who made so manye bragges with so small a
 company. And befoze *John Velasques de Leon*, and *John de*
Rio, *Cortes* his friendes, he mustered his men, who were
 in number fourescore Hargabushers, a hundred and twen-
 tie Crossebowes, sixe hundred men, with other weapon,
 and fourescore Hozemen, saying, how will *Cortes* defend
 himselfe againste vs, nay at length he will know his du-
 tie : he promised money to him that shoulde eyther kyll,
 or take *Cortes* prisoner. And the same offer made *Cortes*
 against *Pansilo*, who made a rounde of his footemen, and
 skirmished with his Hozemen, shooting off his artillerie,
 to put in feare the poze Indians.

An vncers-
 tayne rec-
 koning.

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

All *Naruaez* his Hozes were readye saddled and brid-
 led, and his men armed. *Cortes* entred so close and secret,
 that

that no man almost hearde him, and the firrke worde hee spake, hauyng all hys men within with him, was, shut the gates, and strike, downe with them. There were at that time many shining woymes, whiche with their glittering seemed matches of Hargabulge, so that if one peece at that time had bin discharged, they woulde haue bin in a great feare.

Naruaez beeing about to put on his priuie coate, came one vnto him, saying: Sir, Cortes is nere your lodgyng, let him come in (quoth he) for he commeth to talke with me. Naruaez had his men in foure Towers of his lodgyng, and he himselfe was in the one, with a hundred Spanyardes, and at his doze thirtene peeces of Ordnance ready charged. Cortes commanded his chiefe Sheriffe Gofalo de Sadoal, with fortie or fittie of his fellowes, to goe by into Naruaez his Chamber, and he himselfe with other twentie men abode at the doze to defende and keepe that none might enter thereat, vntil he had finished his businelle. The residue of his men besieged the other Towers, so that they might not succoure one another.

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

This combat endured but a while, for within one hour

Pamfilo

A darke
night for
Naruaez.

Pamfilo de Naruaez and the chiefest of his company were taken prisoners, and their weapons & armour taken from all the rest. There were slayne of *Naruaez* his men fiftene, and of *Cortes* his side were killed only two persons with a peece of Ordnance. They had no leysure to giue fire to their Ordnance, with the great diligence and hast of *Cortes*, sauing vnto one peece that killed the two men. The tutch holes were stopped with ware, though the great raine that had fallen. By this meane those that were ouercome, did take occasion to ymagine that *Cortes* had suborned the maister gunner, and others.

Cortes vsed great sobrietie and discretion, for he would not permitte anye of the prisoners to be reuiled or misused with any iniurious wordes, no no; yet *Naruaez*, who hadde spoken so much euill of him, although many of hys men desired reuengement. *Pedro de Maluenda* seruaunt to *James Velasques*, who was chiefe Steward to *Naruaez*, fledde to the Shippes with all the stufte that he coulde gette, without any leste of *Cortes*. Here may you see what difference and aduantage is betwixt man and man, what did each of these Captiues say, thinke, and doe, seldome time dothe happen that so fewe of one nation dothe ouercome so many of the same nation, especially the greater number beýng fresh, lustie, and in a strong holde.

The Rebellion of Mexico against

Cortes.



After that *Cortes* had obteyned victoꝛye against *Naruaez*, he knew very well the most part of his company, vnto whom he spake curteously, praying them to forget the things past, and so would hee also. And also likewise, that it mighte please

please them to goe with him to *Mexico*, whiche was the richest Citie of all that *India*. He also restozed to euery man his armour and weapons, whiche were taken from them in their overthrowe. He also left very few of them prisoners with *Naruacx*. The Horsemen toke the fielde with stomacke to fight, but after they had hearde of hys offer, they submitted themselues. In conclusion, all those that were come, hoping of spoyle, were glad to accepte his offer, and to goe with him with faithfull promise truly to serue him.

He renewed his power in *Vera Cruz*, and brought thither the nauie of *Naruacx*. He also dispatched two hundred Spanyarde to the riuer of *Garay*, and sent also *Iohn Velasques de Leon* with other two hundred men. To inhabit of *Coazacoalco*. He dispatched also a Spanyarde by post to *Mexico*, with newes of the victozy, and hee himselve followed towarde *Mexico*, with the great care that he had of those whome he had lefte there in guard of *Mutezuma* and the Citie.

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

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

hast to succoure his friendes and fellowes, for if he hadde delayed hys coming but a small whyle, he had founde them eyther slayne, or else their bodyes ready to sacrifice: but his greatest comforte was, that *Mutezuma* remained still prisoner. He mustered his men in *Tlaxcallan*, and founde of his Spanishe nation a thousand footemen, and nere a hundred Horsemen. He proceeded forwardes towardes *Tezcuco*, where he founde none of the Gentlemen of his acquaintance, nor yet he there was receyued, as in time past he had bin, but rather he found a great alteration in the Countrey, and also many towines without people, or else rebelled. In *Tezcuco* met with him a Spanyarde, whome *Ahuarado* had sente to desire him to come vnto them, and to certifie hym of all the premises, saying mozeouer, that with his coming their furye woulde be pacified.


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

With thys message, *Cortes* and hys companie reposed all that nyghte, and the nexte days, beinge Midsummer daye, he entred into *Mexico* at dynner tyme, with hys hundred Horsemen, and the thousande footemen, with a greafe companie of theyr friendes of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexotzinco*, and *Cholulla*, but he saw but few folke in the streets, and small entertaynement, with manye bridges broken, and other euill tokens.

He came to hys lodgyng, and all those of his companie

nye whyche coulde not well bee lodged there, hee sente them to the greate Temple. *Mutezuma* came forth into the yarde to receyue hym, full heaue and sozrowfull, as it seemed, of that offence whiche his subiectes had done, excusing hymselfe: and then euery one entred into hys lodgyng and Chamber: but the ioy and pleasure of *Pedro de Aluarado* was incomparable, saluting the one the other, with demaundes and questions holwe they feared, yea and how much the one company declared of prosperitie and pleasure, the other againe replied as muche of sozrow and trouble.

The causes of the Rebellion.

 Cortes procured to knowe the principall cause of the insurrection of the *Mexican* Indians, and hauing a generall daye of hearyng, the charge beeing layde against them, some sayd, that it was through the letters and perswasion of *Narnuez*: Others answered, their desire and meaning was, to expell the straungers, according to agremente made, for in theyr skirmishes they cryed nothing but gette you hence, get you hence: Other sayde, that they pretended the libertie of *Mutezuma*, for in theyr Combates they woulde saye, lette goe oure God: and King, if you list not to bee slayne. Others sayde, that they were *Théues*, and hadde robbed theyr golde and plate from them, whyche was in valewe more than seauen hundred thousande duckettes: Others cryed, heree shall you leaue the golde that you haue taken from vs. Others sayde, that they coulde not abyde the syghte of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and other theyr mortall enemies. Manye beleued that the mutinye was for thzowlyng downe theyr Goddess and Idolles:

ll.ij.

Cache

each of these causes were sufficient to rebell, how muche moze altogether.

But the chiefest and most principall cause was, that after the departure of Cortes towarde Naruaez, happened a solemne holiday, whiche the *Mexicans* were wont to celebrate, and desiring to obserue the same, as they were wont to do, they came and besoughte Captayne *Alvarado* to graunt them licence, & not to ymagine that they were toynd together to kill the Spaniards. *Alvarado* gaue them licence, with such conditions, that in their Sacrifice should no mans bloude be spilde, noz yet to weare anye weapon.

At this feast, five hundred Gentlemen and principall persons loyned together in the greate temple: some doo saye, that they were moze than a thousande persons of greate estate, but that nighte they made a maruellous great noyse, with coznets, shels, clauen bones, where with they made a straunge musicke: they celebrated the feast, their naked bodyes covered with teles, made and wrought with precious stones, collers, girdels, bracelettes, and many other iewels of golde, siluer, and aliofar, with gallant suffes of feathers on their heads. They daunced a daunce called *Mazauahzels*, which is to say, deserte wyth payne, and so they call *Mazauahzels* a husbandman. This daunce is like *Nezualizels*, which is another daunce. The manner is, that they lay matters in the Temple yerde, and with the sounde of their Drummes, called *Atabals*, they daunce a round, hande in hande, some singing, and others answer, which songs were in y honore and prayse of the God or *Samae*, whose feast it is, hoping for thys seruice to haue rayne, cozne, health, victes, y, yea, or children, or anye other thing that they maye wishe for, or desire.

These Indian Gentlemen being occupied in their dauncing and ceremonies, it fortun'd that *Pedro de Aluárado* went to the Temple of *Vuzilopuchili* to beholde theyr doings, and whether his goyng was of his owne accorde, or by the consent of his cōpany I am not certaine, although some saye that he was aduised howe the mutinie was there conspired, as after did follow: others holde opinion, that their onely goyng to the Temple was to beholde the maruapulous and straunge daunce. And then scyng them so richely attyzed, they coucted their Golde and Jewels whiche they were, and besieged the Temple with tenne Spaniardes at each doze, & the Captayne entred in, with fiftie men, and without any Chyistian respect slewe and murdered them al, and toke from them all their treasure. Although this facte seemed odious vnto *Cortes*, yet he dissimuled the mater, for feare least he shoulde hurte his owne proceedings, as time did then require knowyng not, what neede he might haue of them, but especially to auoyde contention among his company.

A covetous desire
and a vice.

The threatenings of the Mexicans

agaynst the Spaniardes.



The cause of this rebellion, beyng well known, *Cortes* demaunded how theyr enemies fought, many (quoth they) after they had taken weapōn agaynst vs for the space of ten dayes arow, they neuer ceased with great fury to assaulte and combat our house, and we with feare lead *Mutezuma* shoulde escape and fle into *Nauatla*, durst not goe out of doyes to fight in the ffeate, but onely to defende the house with especiall care of *Mutezuma*, accordyng to your charge geyven vnto vs. Also we being but few and the Indians many,

Al. tis.

who

who still refreshed their men, they did not onely weary vs, but also put vs in great feare and cleane out of courage, yea and if at the greatest bzunt, *Mutezuma* personally had not ascended to the toppe of our wal, commaunding them if euer they meant to see him alive, to stay and cease from their enterpryce.

At the sight of *Mutezuma* they were all amazed, and incontinent ceased the combat and assault. They sayde also that with the newes of the victoꝝ had agaynst *Pamfilo de Narvaez*, *Mutezuma* requyred his men to leaue off from theyꝝ pretence: not withstanding, the *Indians* calling to remembraunce, that *Cortes* was coming with a greater company, at whose returne they should haue the more to doe, began afreshe to assaulte the house, where vpon some doe thinke, that it was agaynst the will of *Mutezuma*. But it followed, that one day the Spaniards standing in greate perill, charged their greatest peece of ordinaunce, and gyuing fire, the peece discharged not: the *Indians* seeing the same, beganne a freshe with a marvellous terrible noyse, vsing stauies, Bowes, lances, & stones that came as thicke as Hayle, saying, nowe will wee redeme our King, sette our houses at libertie, and reuenge our iniuries. But in the middest of theyꝝ fury the peece wente of, without any more pꝛymyng or touche, with a greate and fearefull thunderyng, the peece being great and ful of hayle shotte, with the mayne pellotte, made a straunge spoyle among them, and with feare they retyred. But yet they beganne to say, well, well, hostely shall your fleshe be boyled, although wee meane not to eate it, soꝝ truly it is very rarrayne and good foꝝ nothing. But yet wee will bestowe the same vpon the Eagles, Lions, Tigres and Snakes, who shall be the graues foꝝ your filthy carcaises.

But if soꝝ with ye let not *Mutezuma* departe, and re-

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

The great extremitie and daunger that

our men were put in by the *Mexicans*.



By hearyng the former talke in defense of the house, and prouiding of things necessary, the night passed away. And in the mornyng to proue the *Mexicans* intent, *Cortes* commaunded the market to be vsed as in time past. *Aluaro* wished *Cortes* to

shew himself toward him as agriened & not well pleased, making as though he would apprehend & correct him for the things passed, thinking that *Mutezuma* and his men would

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

But he commaunded a certaine pꝛincipal Gentleman of *Mexico*, who stode there presente, that out of hande he shoulde commaunde the market to be furnished as in time past. This *Indian* vnderstanding that Cortes had spoken euill of them, made as though he went to fulfill his commandement: but he wente to pꝛoclayme libertie, publishing the heynous and iniurious wordes whiche he had harde, so that in shorthe space the matter beganne to ware hoate, for some went and brake downe the bꝛidges, others went to call all the Citizens, who ioynded themselues together, and besieged the Spaniardes house, with suche straunge noyse that one coulde not heare another: the stones stowe lyke hayle, Dartes and arrowes filled the Spaniardes yarde, which troubled them much. Cortes seing this boyle, he with certaine of his men went out at one doore, and another Captayne at another, with eache of them two hundred men. They fought with the *Indians*, who stowe foure Spaniardes, and wounded many moe, and of them were slayne very fewe with their succoz and defence at hande. If our men sought with them in the streates, then would they stoppe their passage at the bꝛidges: if they assaulted their houses, then they were beaten with stones from the toppe of their houses whiche were flatte ruffed, and at their retire they persecuted them terribly.

They sette fire vpon the Spaniardes house in sundry places, but chiefly in one place they coulde not aplane the fire a great whyle, vntill they threwoe downe certayne chambers and walles, whereas they had entered at pleasure, had it not bene for the Artillerie, Crossebowes and handgunnes, whiche 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 handes full: our men had little leasure to sleepe, but rather spent the night in mending the walles and doores, and curing the wounded men who were more than foure score, & likewise to set their men in order & readinesse for the fight of the next day following.

It was no sooner day, but the *Indians* beganne they assault a fresh, with more courage and furie than the day before, so that our men were fayne to trust to their artillery, the whiche the *Indians* feared not a whitte: for if a shotte carried ten, fiftene or twentie *Indians* at a clappe, they would close againe as though one man had not bene missing. Cortes came out with other two hundred men, and gate some byldges, burned some houses, and slew many that defended them. But the *Indians* were so many in number, that no hurte appeared, yea and our men were so fewe in comparison of them, that although they fought all the day, yet had they much a doe to defend themselves, how much more to offende. That day neuer a Spaniarde was slayne outright, but three score of them were wounded and hurte, whereby they had inough to do to cure them for that night, and to procure remedy and defence against the hurtes whiche they receyued from the house toppes. They inuented Engines of timber made vpon wheeles, and foure square, couered on the toppe, and with Arte to passe through the Streets: there were placed on each of them twentie men with Pikes, Hargabully, Crossbowes and ene double Base. Behinde the Engines wente men with shoules and Mattookes, to throwe downe houses, bulwookes, and to rule and gouerne the Engines.

A strange
invention

Pm. The



At the while that the Engines were a making, our men came not out to fight, being occupied in the worke, but onely to defende their lodgyng. The enimies thinking that they were all soze hurte and wounded, beganne their warres agayne, reuilyng them with many iniurious wordes, thyeatnyng them, that if they woulde not deliuer *Mutezuma*, that they woulde giue them the mosse cruelllest death that cuer man suffered, and came with great force to haue entred the house.

Cortes desired *Mutezuma* to goe by into the sotte, which is the toppe of the flatte rouse of the house, and to commaunde his subiects to ceasse from their heate and furie. At *Cortes* his request he wente by, and leaned ouer the wall to talke with them, who beginning to speake vnto them, they threwo so many stoness out of the streete, houses and windowes, that one happened to hitte *Mutezuma* on the temples of his head, with whiche blowe he fell downe to the ground: this was his ende, euen at the handes of his owne subiectes and bassalles agaynst theyr willes: for the truth is that a Spaniarde helde a Target ouer his head, wherby they knew him not, noz yet would belæue that he was there, soz all the signes and tokens whiche were made vnto them. *Cortes* forthwith published the hurte and daunger of life of *Mutezuma*: some haue treditte to his fate, and other some woulde not, but rather sought very stoutly. *Chys* vapes *Mutezuma* remayned in extreme payne, and at the ende departed his life.

And bicause it shoulde appeare that his death was of the stripe that they had giuen, and not by any hurte receyued at their hands, he caused two gentlemē of *Mexico*, who were ppysoners, to carry him out vpon their backs,

who

who certified the Citizens of the certentie of his death, that at that presente time were giuyng battery to the house: But yet for all this they woulde not leaue off the combat, no: yet the warres, as some of our men thought they woulde, but rather proceeded on their purpose, with greater courage and desire of reuenge. And when they retyred, they made a pityfull lamentation, with preparation to bury their king in *Chapultepec*. On this soyte died *Mutezuma*, who was holden for a God among the *Indians*. Some say that he desired to be Baptised at the Shroue tide befoze his death, and they prolonged the matter, thin- king at Easter following to haue chrystened him with honour and triumph. But as it happened, it had bene bet- ter to haue done it at that time according to his request. But with the comming of *Pamfilo de Naruaez* the thyng was also delayed, and after hee was wounded it was likewise forgotten, with the troubles that they were in. It was credibly enformed, that *Mutezuma* was neuer consentyng to the death of any Spaniarde, no: yet in cons- piracie agaynst *Cortes*, but rather loued him entierly: yet some are of an other opinion, and bothe giue good reasons to approue their arguments, but the truth could not wel be knowen, for at that tyme our men vnderstode not the language, and agayne *Mutezuma* after his death, leste none to open that secreete.

The *Indians* affirme that he was of the greatest blood of all his lineage, and the greatest kyng in estate, that e- uer was in *Mexico*. It is also to be noted, that when the kingdomes do most flourish, then are they niest to a chage, or else to change their Lorde, as doth appeare in this hi- story of *Mutezuma*. Our men lost moze by h death of *Mu- tezuma* than the natural *Indians*, if we cōsider the murder and destruction that incontinent did follow. *Mutezuma* was a man very moderate in his diet, and not so vicious

as other *Indias*, although he had many wiues. He was also liberal and free harted: he was esteemed for a very wise man, in my iudgement he was epyther wise in lettynge things passe after that sorte, or else a very foole, that did not vnderstande their doings: he was as deuoute as warlyke, for he had bene presente in many battayles: it is reported that he wanne and had victorie in nine battayles, & also other nine times victorie man for man in the fieldes, he reigned seuentene yeares and certayne moneths.

The combat betweene the Spaniards and the Indians.



After the death of *Mutezuma*, Cortes sente vnto his speewes, and to the other noblemen who mainteyned the warres, desiring the to come and speake with him, and they came, vnto whome Cortes spake from the wall where *Mutezuma* was slayne, saying, that it were mieste that they should cease from warre, and to chose another king, and also to burie the dead, and that he woulde come to his burfall as his friende: likewise he signified vnto them, that for the loue he bare vnto *Mutezuma* who had intreated for them, he had staped from the finall spoyle of the cittie, & correction of them for their rebellion and obffinacie. But now that he had not vnto whome to haue respect, he woulde bothe burne their houses, and chassen them, if that they submitted not themselues to his friendship.

They answered, that they woulde neyther leaue the warres, nor yet esteeme his friendship, vntill they saw the selues in their libertie, and their wrongs wholly reuenged, yea, and that without his counsell they coulde elect the king vnto whom of right y^e kingdome did apertaine. And

And sithens the Gods hath taken our welbeloued *Mutezuma*, we will giue his body a Sepulchre, as vnto such a King doth appertoyne: yea and if he would goe and beare his friend *Mutezuma* company to the Gods, that then he should come forth, and they would quickly dispatch him: and as for the residue, they would haue rather warre thã peace, yea and that they were not menne that did yeelde with wordes. Also seeing their King was dead, so; whose respecte they ceased to burne their houses, rost their bodies, and ate their fleshe, but nowe (quoth they) if ye depart not, we will not sally long time with you.

Cortez finding them stout and stubbozne, liked not the bargain. Againe, he kneiue 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 gouernement consisted in strength of hand and god courage, he came forth in a morning with the thre engines, foure pãces of Ordnance, and fve 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 stode nere vnto a bridge, casting they scaling ladders on the walles, and so gotte vp to the toppe where manye people were, and there combated awhile, but shortly turned to their fozte againe, without doing any greate hurte, with one Spanyarde slayne, and manye wounded, and also the engines broken and spoyled, yea the multitude of *Indians* were so thicke, and selue 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 engines were sone at an ende. And the Citizens hauing houled them againe in the fozte and lodging, began to amende the hurt done in their houses, and to recouer the streets that were lost: also y great

Ap.iiij. Temple,

Temple, in the Tower whereof, five hundred principall men hadde fortifyed themselues wyth vittayles, stones, and long Launces, piked with yron and flint stone verpe sharp, but truly they did most hurt with stones. This Tower was high and strong, as I haue befoze declared, and stode nere vnto the Spanyardes forte, whiche from that tower receiued muche hurt. Although Cortes was somewhat sadde and heauie, yet he ceassed not like a good Captayne to comfort and encourage his menne, and alwayes was the firme man at any byunt or assay, and hys heart coule not permitte him to remaine penned vp in that fort, wherefoze he toke thre hundred Spanyardes, and went to assiege the high tower. Thre or foure dayes he ceassed not that enterpryse, but coule not come to the toppe, being so high a thing, and manye persons in defence of the same, well prouided, with fitte munition for the purpose, so that our men came dayly tumbling downe the stappes, flying to their house with broken pates, so that our Spanyardes dysmayed moze and moze, and many murmured at the matter: you may well iudge howe Cortes his heart was afflighted, for the Indians encreased still in courage, hauing the better hand, and dayly victozy from the high Tower. But now Cortes determined to leaue his house, and not to returne therevnto agayne, vntill he had wonne the Tower. He bounde his Target to his arme whiche had bin hurt befoze, and besieged the Tower againe with many of his men, *Tlaxcaltecas* and other friends, and many times, although they were beaten dolone, arose agayne, succozing one another, tyll at length they gote to the toppe, and there foughte with the Indians, till some of them lept out of the Tower, and stood hanging vpon the liffes of the wall, which were thre in number, the one higher than the other, and a loute broad. Some fell downe to the ground, who besides their falles,
were

A valiant
 man;

were receyued vpon the Swozdes poynt, and in this sorte they left none aliae. Thre houres they fought on the top of the Tower, bycause y^e multitude of *Indians* wer great. In conclusion, the whole five hundred men there dyed very valiantly, and if their weapon and knowledge had bin equall, the victozy had bin doubtfull. Cortes set fire on all the Chappels, and other thre Chappels, where infinite Idols were, yet those sely *Indians* lost no poynte of courage with the losse of their Temple and Gods, which touched them at the hearte, but rather began with moze furie to assault the Spanish house.

How the Mexicans refused the offer

of peace made by Corcez.



Cortez considering the great multitude of *Indians* his enimies, and also the greates courage, with desire of reuengement: and waying also how his men were weake and weryed with fight, yet (I may say) with great desire to goe fro thence, if that the Citizens would haue suffered them: he began againe to require them with peace, and to desire them of truce, saying vnto them also, that they should consider, how that many of their side were slayne, and yet they coulde kill none of them. They being moze hard harted than befoze, answered that they vtterly refused his offer, saying, that they neuer woulde haue peace with those who had slained their men and burned their Gods: yea (quoth they) and although some of vs are killed, yet wee also do both kill and hurt, for ye are mortall men, and not immortall, as we are: beholde ye also the number of vs, vpon *Zories*, in windowes and strates: assure youre selues there are thre tymes as manye within the houses. So wee shall sooner make an ende of you by kyllyng one and one, than you shall doe of vs by killing

killing a thousande by thousande, or ten thousand by ten thousand: for ending all these whome you see, there will come so many moze, and after them so manye moze: but if ye were once killed, there woulde come no moze Spanyardes, yea and when oure weapons can not througibly destroy you, that then we will sterue you to deathe with hunger and famine, yea and though nowe you would depart, it is to late, bycause þe brydges are throwen downe, and the calleys broken, and succoure by water you haue none. In this communications the daye was spent, and night at hand, their heads occupied, and heartes full heauie, for hunger alone hadde bin ynough to finish theye dayes, without any further warre. That nighte, the one halfe of the number of Spanyardes armed themselves, and late in the euening came forth into the Citie. The *Indias* now being not accustomed to fight at such houres, the Spanyardes burned aboue thre hundred houses in one stræte, and in some of them found many Citizens, of whom they left not one aliue. They burned and spoiled thre *Zoties* nere vnto their owne lodging, whiche hadde greatly annoyed them befoze. The residue of the Spanyardes whiche abode at home, amended the engins, and repaired their houses. As this iourney hapned well vnto them, earely in the morning they proceeded out againe, and wente to the brydge where their engins hadde bin broken, and although they founde there greate resistance, yet the matter imported their liues. They foughte with noble courage, and gotte manye towers, houses and *Zoties*. They wanne also four of the eyght brydges which were in the Citie, leauing gard in those places whyche were wonne, returning to their Campe with manye woundes, being both weery and full of care and sorrow.

The next daye they came forth againe, and wanne the other foure brydges, and dammed them by with earth, in
such

such sorte, that the *Hoſemen* that way followed the enimies to the firme lande. *Cortez* being occupied in damming vp the ditches, and making plaine way of the bridges, there came certayne meſſengers vnto him, ſaying, that nere at hand, abode many noblemen and Captaines to treat of peace, requiring him to come vnto them, praying him to bring *Tlamacazque* his priſoner, who was one of the principalleſt of the *Diuels* Cleargie there, to heare the treatie of the matter.

Cortez wente, and carried the *Prieſt* with him, whome he appointed to require them to ceaſe from contention, and to remooue their ſiege, but he came not backe wth anſwere. All thys was a fayned fetch, to ſee the ſtate of the *Chyſtian Campe*, or elſe to recouer their religious *Tlamacazque*. *Cortez* ſaying they deceypte, wente hys way to dinner, and was no ſoner ſette at hys meate, but certayne *Tlaxcaltecas* came running in with an open crye, ſaying, that theyz enimies hadde recouered agayne the bridges, and wente armed vp and downe the ſtreets, and hadde alſo ſlayne the moſt of the *Spanyardeſ* that were leſſe in garde of the bridges. Incontinent *Cortez* wente out with the *Hoſeime*, who were readyeſt at that tyme, and made way throughe the troupe of enimies, following them euen vnto the firme lande, but at theyz retourne, the ſoldiers that were hurt and worried in keeping of the ſtrete, coulde not ſuſteyne the force and furie of the infinite number of *Indians*, whyche came vpon them, yea with muche adoe they coulde eſcape home to their ſorte. The multitude was not ſo greate of *Indians* in the ſtrete, but alſo by water in *Canoes*, ſo that ſtones ſewe on both ſydes, and galled our men cruelly. *Cortez* was hurte in one of hys knees very ſore, wherevpon it was blowen abroade throughe the Citie, that *Cortez* was ſlayne, whiche newes byd greatly diſcourage our men,

and much animate the *Indians*. But yet Cortes for all his payne and hurt, ceased not to embolden & encourage his Souldyers, who set afreshe vpon the enimies. At the farthest bridge fel two Hoyses, which troubled muche our men that followed. Cortes made suche way among the *Indians*, that the Hoysmen hadde reasonable passage, and beeing y hindmost man himselfe, he was in great peril of taking. It was a maruell to see what a spyring he gaue with his Hoise, and thereby escaped, but in conclusion, with stones they were forced to returne to their hold, beeing very late.

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

Hovve Cortez fledde from

Mexico.

B

Ut Cortes waying the substance of the matter, sawe in effecte that his syde wente to wacke, wherefoze he requested his menne to departe from thence, who were not a little ioyfull to heare their Capayne pronounce that saying, for few or none of them escaped unhurt and wounded. They feared death, but yet wanted not stomacke and hearte to dye. The *Indians* were so many, that if the *Chyistians* shoulde but onely haue cutte their throttes without resistance, yet they had bin too few for that purpose.

They were also in suche necessitie of bread, that pinched them sore. Their powder and shotte was spent, and almost all other prouision. Their house was welnigh beaten

beaten downe about their eares. All these causes were sufficient to leaue *Mexico*, and to seeke to saue their liues: yet on the other side, they iudged it an euill case, to turne their backs to their enimies, for (quoth they) the very stones riseth vp against hym that flyeth. They feared to gayne the passage of the arches where the brydges hadde bin, so that now they were full beset with sorrow, care, and misery: but in fyne, they all agreed to departe that night, for many dayes befoze, one of their companie called *Borello*, who presumed to haue god skyll in the Arte of spigromacie, did declare vnto them, that if they would depart from *Mexico* at a certayne houre appoynted, that then they shuld escape, or else not: but whether they gaue credite to his sayings or no, they fully determined to departe that night, and like vnto politike and god Souldyers, they prepared a brydge of timber to carrie wyth them, to passe ouer the arches where brydges hadde bin. This is most certayne, they were all priuite and agreede to the departure, and not as some report, that *Cortes* fledde away, leauing aboue two hundred Spaniardes in the house, who knewe nothyng of hys departure, and were afterwarde all slayne, sacrificed, and eaten in *Mexico*, for out of the Citie he coulde not haue departed so secretly, but it shoulde haue come to their eares: howe muche moze out of one house, where they were all togither.

Cortes called *John de Guzman* hys Chamberlayne, commaunding him to open the hall where the treasure was, and called all the officers and others, to see the distribution of the same. First the kings portion was deducted, and he gaue a Horse of his owne, and men to carrie it: and for the remainder, he willed euery man to take what he liked, for he gaue it frankly vnto them. The souldiers which had come with *Narvaez*, & now serued *Cortes*, were

Reuarde
of a coue-
teus mind.

some what hungry of treasure, so that they toke as much golde and other riches, as they myghte possible carrie, but it cost them deere, for at their going out of the Citie, with the waight of their heauie burthens, they coulde neyther fighte, nor yet make hast on their way, vppon whiche occasion, the *Indians* caught many of them; and drewe them by the heeles to the slaughterhouse of Sacrifice, where they were slayne and eaten: yet those that escaped, had eache of them some profyte, for that pray was well worth seauen hundred thousand Ducketes: but beeyng things wrought in greate p[er]ces, they were trouble some to carrie, so that he whiche carried least, escaped best. Yet some doe thinke, that there remayned in that house a great parte of the treasure, but it was not so, for after our men had taken what they would, then came in the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and made spoyle of all the rest.

Cortes gaue charge to certayne of his meime, to garde with much respect, a sonne and two daughters of *Autezuma*, *Cacama*, and his bzother, and manye other greate Gentlemen his prisoners.

He also appoynted other soztie me to carrie the bridge of timber, and other *Indians* to carrie the Ordnance, and a little grayne of *Cenils* that remayned.

The vantage he committed to *Gonsalo de Sandoval*, and *Ansonio de Quinones*: and the reuegarde he committed to *Pedro de Aluaredo*, and he hymselfe remayned with a hundred men, to vse his discretion: In this order, and with good deliberation, at midnight he departed from *Mexico* in a darke myst, and so quietly, that none of the *Indians* knewe thereof, commending themselves vnto *G. D.* beseechynge hym in theyr prayers, to deliuer them from that present danger, and toke the way of *Tlacopan*, beeyng the same way that he came into the Citie.

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

In this meane time the watche and espies which war-
ded in the hiest temples, had descried their flight, and be-
gan to sounde their instruments of warre with a marve-
lous crie, saying, they die, they die: And sodenly with
this noyle, they having no armour to put on, nor other
impedimet, toynd an infinite company of them together,
and followed with greate celeritie, yea and with suche a
heavy and terrible noyle, that all the lake pronounced the
Echo, saying, let the cursed and wicked be slayne, who
hath done unto vs such great hurte.

But when Cortes came to plante his bidge vpon the
second arche of the Cittie, there mette him a greate com-
pany of *Indians* to defende the same, yet with much adoe
he planted his bidge and passed therevpon with five horse-
men and a hundred Spaniards, and with them proceeded
through the Calley to the mayne lande passing many pe-
rillous places, wherein swamine both man and horse, for
the bidge of timber was broken: this done, he lefte his
foote meine on the firme lande, vnder the gouernement
of *John Xaramillo*, and returned backe with the five horse-
men for to succour and helpe the residue of his company
whiche were behinde. But when he came vnto them, he
found some fighting with great courage, but many slaine.
He lost also his golde and fardage, his ordinance and pro-
solners, yea in fine he founde a marvellous change and a
teracion of the estate he lefte them in, wherevpon lyke a
good Captayne he shewed his wisdom and valour, hel-
ping and recoverying as many of his men, as he myght,
and brought them into safetie. He lefte also Captayne
Aluaredo to succour the reste.

But *Aluaredo* with all his powder and strength could

not resist the fury of the enimies, wherefore with the Lance in his hande he beganne to die, seyng the greates slaughter of his company, so that hee was forced to passe ouer the dead carcases, yea and vpon some that were not thzoughly dead, who made a lamentable, pyttfull, and dolefull moone. And commyng to the next arche, whose byrge was broken downe, of necessitie he toke hys Lance, and therewith leaped suche a space, that the *Indians* were amased to see, soz none of his fellowes could doe the like, although they approued the enterpryse, and were drownded soz their labour.

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

This sorrowfull night, which was the tenth of July in *An. 1520.* were slaine aboute 450. Spaniards, 4000. *Indian* friends, and 46. horse, yea & (as I iudge) all the prisoners which were in his company. If this mishap had soztuned in the day tyme, possible so many and so greate a number had not perished. But where it soztuned by night, the noyle of the wounded was sorrowfull, & of the vltors horrible and feareful. The *Indians* cried victory, calling vpon their

their diuelliſh and filthy Goddes with ioy & pleaſure, our men being ouercome, curſed their vnfortunate lot, yea the howler, and he that brought them thither, others cried vnto God for ſuccour, others ſayd helpe, helpe, for I ſtande in danger of dyotoning. I know not certainly whether moe perished in the water or the lande, hoppyng to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming and leapyng ouer the ſluces and broken places; for they ſay, that a Spaniarde was no ſoner in the water, but an *Indian* was vppon his backe. They haue great dexteritie & ſkill in ſwimming, ſo that catching any Spaniarde in the water, they would take him by the one arme, and carrie him whither they pleaſed, yea & would vnparch him in the water. If theſe *Indians* had not occupied themſelues in taking the ſpoyle of thoſe that were fallen and ſlaine, certainly one Chriſtian had not eſcaped that day: but in fine, the greateſt number of Spaniardes that were killed, were thoſe that went moſte laden with golde plate and other iewels, & thoſe whiche eſcaped, were they that carried leaſt burdens, & the firſt that with noble courage made way to paſſe through the troupe of *Indians*,

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

The

The battayle of Otumpan, a notable
victory.



The Inhabitants of *Tlacopan*, knewe not how our men came (spoiled, hurt, and durt) throwen, and againe our men stode in a maze, and knewe not what to doe nor whither to goe. *Cortez* came vnto them, & comforted them & placed them in order before him, requiring them to make hast, vntill they might come into the broad field, before such tyme, as the men of *Tlacopan* should heare of the newes passed, & so to arme themselves and to ioyne with fourtie thousande *Mexicans*, who after the mourning for their friends, came marchyng after them. He placed in the vanguard the *Indians*, his friends, and passed through certayne falled grounde, and continually fought as they went, vntill they came to a high hill, where was a towre and a Temple, whiche is called our *Lady* churche at this day.

The *Indians* slew some of the *Spaniards* whiche came in the reuerge, and many of their *Indian* friends, before they could get vp to the toppes of the hill. They losse muche of the golde, that had remayned, and with greates hazarde escaped through the multitude of *Indians* with life, their hozes whiche remayned aliue, were foure and twentie, who were tyed both with trauell and hunger, & the *Spaniards* their maisters, with the residue coulde scarcely stirre hande or foote with wearinesse of fighting, and penurie of hunger, for al that day and night they ceased not from fight, eating nothing at all.

In this Temple were reasonable lodgings, where they fortified themselves as well as they myght, and dranke one to an other, but they supper was very slender. After their simple feast was ended, they went and beheld

A very
journey.

an infinite number of *Indians*, whiche had beset them almost round about, making a marvellous shout and crye, knowing that they were without victuals, whiche onely is a warre worse than to fight with the enimie. They made many fires with the woodde of sacrifice, rounde about the tower and Temple, & 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. Cortes placed his wounded men and sardage in the middelt of his company, the souldiours that were whole and in health, he deuised into the vanguard & reregarde: he could not passe so secretly, but y they were espied by the *Indian* scoute, whiche was neare at hand, who gaue aduise therof incōtinent. Five hozen which went befoze to discover, fell among certayne companies of *Indians*, which attended their coming to robbe the, & seing the hozenmen, they suspected that the whole army was at hand, wherupon they fled, but yet seing them few in number stode and ioynd with the other *Mexicans* that followed & pursued our men thre leagues vntil they came to a hill where was an other temple with a god tower & lodgyng, where they lodged that night without supper. They departed in the moorning from thence, and wente through a cragged & naughty way, to a great towne the inhabitants whereof were fledde for feare, so that they abode there two daies to rest theselues, to cure their me, & hozen: also they somewhat eased their hūgery stomakes and carried frō thence prouision, although not much, for they had none to carrie it. And being departed frō thence, many enimies pursued them & persecuted them very sore. Like wise y guide erred out of his way, & at length came to a little billage of few houses, where they reposed y night. In the morning they proceeded vpon their way, and the

Alpaynesq
man.

Do,

enimies

Cortes
wounded
with a
sling.

Oh noble
Cortes.

enimies still pursuing and troubled them soze all the day.
Cortes was wounded with the stripe of a sling, and there-
with was in greate daunger of life, for his head so ranc-
bled, that of necessitie they were forced to take out cer-
taine p[er]ces of his skull, wherbyon he was d[iv]iden to s[er]ke
a solitarie place in the wildernesse to cure him, and in
goyng thitherwardes, the enimies wounded five Spa-
niardes and foure hozies, whercof one died, and that was
eaten among them for a sumptuous supper, and yet not
sufficient for them all, for there was none of them whiche
were not vexed with hunger. I speake not of their
woundes and wearinesse, things sufficient to haue made
an ende of lyfe. But certainly the Spanishe nation can
abide moze hunger than any other, and especially these
with Cortes dyd shewe the p[ro]ofe. The nexte day in the
mornynge departing from a litle Village, and fearyng the
multitude of enimies, Cortes commaunded eche hozleman
to take a sicke manne behinde him, and those that were
somewhat stronger, to holde by the horse tayles and fir-
ropes: he likewise made cruches for other some to ease
them, and woulde not leaue one of his men behinde him
to be a pray and supper for the Indian enimies. This ad-
uise was very profitable as things fell out, yea also there
were some of them that carried upon their backe their
fellowes, & thereby were saued. They had not iourneyed
a full league into a playne fielde, when there mette them
an infinite number of Indians who compassed them round
about, and assaulted our men in such sozte, that they ve-
rily belaued that day to ende generally their liues, for
there were many Indians that durst w[as]tall with our
men, man to man, yea and layd some of them in the dust,
and d[re]we them by the h[er]les, whether it were with the
great courage whiche they had, or whether it were with
the traouale, hunger and hurtes of our men I know not,
but

but great pittie it was to see, how they were drawn by the *Indian* enemies, and what grieuous mone they made.

Cortes that went with vigilant 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 greatest troupe of *Indians*, and came vnto the captayne generall who bare the Royall standart of *Mexico*, and passed him through with his Lance, whereof he incontinent died. But when the *Indians* sawe the standart fallen, they threwe their auncient on the grounde and fled, scattering them here and there like men amazed, knowing not whither to fly, for such is their custome in warre, that when they see the generall slayne, they forthwith leaue the fiede. Then our wery soules began to recover hart and strength, and the horsemen followed the to their great anoyance and slaughter. It was credibly reported, that there were that day in fiede, 200000. *Indians*. And the fiede where this battayle was fought is called *Otumpam*: there was neuer a more notable facte done in *India*, nor greater victorie since the first discouery of the same. And as manye *Spaniardes* as saue *Hernando Cortes* fighte that day, did holde opinion, that neuer one man did more greater feates in armes, and that he only was the meane in his owne person to saue and deliuer them all.

Oh vallant Cortez.

200000
Indians.

The entertaynement vvhiche the

Spaniardes had in *Tlaxcallan*.



After this victorie obtayned, *Cortes* with his company went to lodge in a house planted alone, in a playne grounde, from whence appeared the *Spountaynes* of *Tlaxcallan*, whereof our menne muche reioyced: yet

Do. 11.

51

on the other side they stood in doubt whether they should finde them their friends in such a dangerous season, for because the vnsfortunate man that sleeth, findeth nothing in his fauour, for all thing that he pretendeth, happeneth cleane contrary. That night Cortes himselfe was scoute, not because he was moze whole than his fellows, but like a good Captayne, he deuised the trauayle & paynes equally, euen as their hurte and damage was come.

Being day, they iourneyed in plaine and straight way, directly to the Mountaynes and Prouince of *Tlaxcallan*, they passed by a sweete fountaine of water, where they wel refreshed themselves, and after they came to *Huazilipan*, a towne of *Tlaxcallan*, of 4000. householdes, where they were louingly receiued & abundantly provided for three dayes, whiche they abode there refreshing & curing their weary bodies. Some of the townes men would giue them nothing without payment, but the mooste parte did vse them very gently: Unto this towne came *Maxisca*, *Xicotlath*, *Axotcalth*, and many other principall persons of *Tlaxcallan*, and *Huexotzinca* with 50000. men of warre, who were going to *Mexico* to succour the Spaniards, knowyng of their troubles, but not of their hurte and spoyle, yet some holde opinion that they hauyng certayne knowledge of all theyz misshappes and sight from *Mexico*, came only to comfote them; and in the name of all theyz comunalltie and state, to offer them their towne, in conclusion, they seyned sorrowfull for their misshappes, and a gayne ioyfull to see them there: But some of them with anguyshe of harte wepte, and sayde, we did aduise and warne y^e, that the *Mexicans* were Traytors and wicked persons; and yet y^e would 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 *Christians*, and our *Citizens*; and if no we

Faythfull
Friends.

will

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 woundes,

Cortez did cozdi ally reioyce, to heare and finde ſuch ſuccour and friendſhip, in ſuch good men of warre, whereof he ſtoode in doubt as he came thitherward. He gaue them moſt hartie thankes for their louing offer, curteſie, and good will. He gaue vnto them of ſuch Jewels as remained, and ſayd vnto them, the time will come, that I ſhall deſire your helpe againſt the *Mexicans*, but now preſently it is needefull, to cure my ſicke and wounded men.

The noble men that were there preſent, beſought him to giue them leaue to ſkirmiſh with the *Indians* of *Culhua*, for as yet many of them wandered there aboute. *Cortez* graunted their requeſt, and ſente with them ſome of his men which were luſtie, and in good health, who proceeded forth all together, and in that iourney ſlew many *Indian* enimies, ſo that after this time, the enimies appeared no moze. When with triumph, pleaſure, and victory, they departed toward the Citie, and our men followed. It is credibly repozed, that twenty thouſande men and women met them by the way with ſundry kindes of meate: I do beleue that the moſt of them came to ſee them, for the great loue whiche they bare vnto them, and like wiſe to enquire of their friends which had gone with them to *Mexico*, of whom few returned. In *Tlaxcallan* they were honozably recepued, and well bled. *Maxicca* gaue his houſe to *Cortez*, and the reſidue of his company were hoſted at Gentlemens houſes, who cheriſhed them exceedingly, whereby they forgoate the paynes, ſorrowes, and frauels paſt, for in ſittene dayes befoze, they lay on the bare ground.

Certainely the *Spaniards* were much indebted to the *Tlaxcaltecas*, for their loyalty and faithfull friendſhip,

Do. ij.

eſpecially

especially vnto that god and vertuous Gentleman *Maxisca*, who thylwe *Xicotencatl* downe the stappes and steppes of the chiefe Temple, for giuing his counsell to kyll the Spanyarden, meaning to reconcilo hymselfe with the *Mexicans*.

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

The protestation and request

of the Souldyers to *Cortes*.



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

The Captaine of *Vera Cruz* sente fiftie Spaniards and fine Horsesmen for the same, who at their returne, were slayne and taken prisoners with all that treasure, by 5 men of *Culhua* who had rebelled through the coming of *Pamfilo de Naruaez*, robbing and spoiling sundrye dayes. But when *Cortez* vnderstode this newes, his loy was turned to sorroive, not onely for the golde and treasure so muche, as for the losse of his menne, fearyng also some other warre or vppoze to haue bin in the riche Towne of *Vera Cruz*, whereupon hee sente a messenger thither, who returned in shoyte time, certifying that all the inhabitantes there were in god health, and also all the *Comarcans* quiet, and without any token of alteration. This newes and answer pleased *Cortez* and all his company, whiche desired to goe thither, but he woulde not permitte them, wherefoze they began to murmur and to exclaime, saying, what thinketh *Cortez*, what meaneth he to doe with vs: why, will he keepe vs heere to dye an euill death: what haue we offended him, that he will not let vs goe: we are alreadye full of wearinesse, our bodies are yet full of fresh woundes, we haue spent our bloude, and are nowe withoute strenght and apparell: we see oure selues in a strange Countrey, and full of miserie, surrounded with enimies, yea and without hope to come to that hygh place from whence we fell, yea then mighte wee hee accounted for worse than madde men, to come into the perils from whence wee escaped: wee meane not now to ende oure lyues so desperately, as he would haue vs, for wyth the insatiable thirste of honoure and gloyre, hee esteemeth not his life, neyther oures. He wold not lyke to see consider, that he wanteth menne, horses, artillerie, and armour, things so necessarye for the warres, yea he also wanteth victuall, whyche is a thing most principall: what shall wee saye,

Exclamation.

but

but that, he erreth, and is deceyued, in giuing credite to these *Tlaxcaltecas*, who are, like vnto the other nations of *India*, which are light, changeable, and louers of newe things, yea and rather, in effecte of troth, they better loue the *Culhuacans*, than the Spanishe nation, yea and although they nowe dissemble, yet when they shall see a greate army of *Mexicans* come vpon them, they will then deliuer vs aliuie, to be eaten, and sacrificed, for it is an olde rule, that friendship dothe not long endure betwixte them that are of sundry religion, apparell, and speech.

After all these complayntes and murmurations amog themselves, they made a protestation and request, in forme as it were in the name of the King and all the company, praying him incontinent to departe fro thence, and to goe with them to the Towne of *Vera Cruz*, before the enemies mighte disturbe their way and passage, and then they to remaine both bought and solde, and shutte vp as it were in a prison: also they declared, that in *Vera Cruz* they should haue better oportunitie to make themselves strong, if that he meante to returne agayne vpon *Mexico*, or else to take shipping, if so it shoulde seme conuenient.

Cortes hearing this request, and determination of hys Souldyers, was at his wits ende, ymagining 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 contray to his pretended purpose, he answered them as followeth:

The

The Oration made by Cortez in an

swere to his Souldyers demaunde.



Masters, I would do and fulfill your request, if it were a thing meete and conueniente for you, for there is not one alone of you, how much more all in general, for whome I shoulde not willingly aduenture my goodes and life, if he shoulde neede the same: for why: your deedes haue bin such, that I stand bound neuer to forget the, or else to shewe my selfe an ingratefull man. And thinke you not good friendes, although I do not fulfill the thing whiche you so earnestly desire, that therefore I esteeme not your authoritie: but in not graunting to the same, I do exalt and esteeme you in greater reputation: for why: in oure departing nowe from hence, oure honoz is blotted and stayned for euermore, and in abiding here, we shall like valiant menne preserue the same. What nation is there, that had rule, dominion, and Empire in this world, that hath not bin ouercome at some tyme: What famous Captayne returned home to his house, for the losse of one battayle: none truly, for he that dothe not perseuer, shall neuer triumph with Lady Victoz: he that retyzeth, sheweth that he feareth, and remaineth a mockingstocke for all men: but he that sheweth nobly his face, dothe offer the courage of his heart, yea and is both feared, and also beloued.

If we now shoulde depart from hence, these our friends would accept and iudge vs for cowardes, and refuse perpetually our friendship: Like wise oure enemies would iudge the same, and neuer hereafter stande in feare of vs, which shoulde be a greate shame vnto oure estimation.

pp.

affrented.

affrented, if it should be sayde, that he turned his backe and fledde, how much moze would it be a dishonoz for vs all to haue the same report :

I doe muche maruell at the greatenesse of your inuincible heartes in battell: you were wont to be desirous of warres, and nowe that suche iust and laudable warre both offer it selfe, you doe feare and refuse the same: sure it is a thing cleane contrary to oure nature. What is hee that will pzeate of harness, and neuer ware none ? It was neuer yet sene in all this *India* and new world, that any of our nation retired with feare. And woulde you nowe that it should be said, that *Cortes* and his company fledde, being in securitie, and without perill or daunger ? I beseech God not to permitte any suche thing. The warres doe muche consist in fame: why then ? what better thyng would you desire, than to be here in *Tlaxcallan* in despite of all youre eniemies, yea proclayming open warres against them, and they not dare to annoy vs: Wherefoze you may well consider, that here you are more sure than if you were from hence, so that here in *Tlaxcallan* you are honozed with securitie and strength, and besides this, you haue al things necessary for physick and medicine to cure youre woundes and obteyne your health: yea, and I am bolde to saye, that if you were in youre owne naturall Countrey, 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 *Cocacaco* and *Almeria*, and so we shall haue a reasonable army: yea and although they come not, wee are sufficient, for we were fewe in number when first we entred into this Countrey, haying no friendes: and likewise you knowe well, it is not the number that doth fighte, but the couragious hearte and minde. I haue sene one of you discomfite a whole army, as *Ionathas* did, yea and many
among

among you haue had victory against a thousand, yea ten thousand *Indians*, as King *David* had againste the *Philistines*. I looke dayly for Voyces from the *Ilandes*, and other armour and artillerie we shall haue from *Vera Cruz*. And as for vittayles, take you no care, for I will prouide you abundantly, for they are thinges that alwayes followe the Conqueroures: and as for these Citizens of *Tlaxcallan*, I binde my selfe that you shall finde them trustie, loyall, and perpetuall friends, for so they haue promised me vpon their solemne othes, yea, and if they had meante otherwise, what better oportunitie of time could they haue wished, thā these latter dayes, where as we lay sicke in their owne beddes and houses, yea some of vs lame, wounded, and in manner rotten, and they like louing friends haue not only holpen you, but also serued you with diligence of seruantes, for they woulde rather chose to be your slaues, than subiectes to the *Mexicans*: theyr hatred is suche to them, and their loue so great to you. And bycause you shall see the troth, I will now prouice them and you, againste these of *Tepeacac*, who slewe of late dayes twelue Spanyardes. And if this iourney happen euill, then will I followe youre request, and if it please God that it happen well, then will I entreate and pray you to followe my counsell.

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

Pp. ij.

The

The vvarres of Tepeacac.

Cortez found himsef at hearts ease with this answer, for it was a thing y had much troubled him: & vndoubtedly if he had followed his fellowes demaund, he shoulde neuer haue recovered *Mexico* agayne, & they likewise had bin slayne in the way towards *Vera Cruz*, for they hadde manye perillous places to passe. Each one of them wared whole of his wounds, sauing some which dyed for wat of looking to in time, leauing their wounds filthy & vnbound, as *Surgions* doe affirme, with also their great trauell & weakensse. And likewise other some remayned lame and halt, which was no small grieue and loss: but the most parte recouered healt, as I haue declared. After twenty dayes fully past, whiche they had abode in *Tlaxcallan*, Cortes determined to make warre with the *Indians* of *Tepeacac*, which is a great Towne, and not farre from thence, for they hadde slayne twelue *Spaniards*, whiche came from *Vera Cruz* towarde *Mexico*. Likewise they were of the league of *Culhua*, and therfore were holpen by the *Mexicans*, and did many times great hurt to the inhabitantes of *Tlaxcallan*, as *Xicotencatl* did testifie. Cortes desired hys louing friende *Maxicca*, and diuers other Gentlemen, to goe with him, who forthwith entred into counsell wyth the states and communitie of the Citie, and there determined with generall consente to gyue vnto him fortie thousand fighting men, besides many *Tamemoz*, who are foote carriers, to beare the baggage, victuall, and other things. With this number of *Tlaxcaltecas*, his owne men and horses, he wente to *Tepeacac*, requyring them in satisfaction of the death of y twelue *Christians*, that they shuld now yelde themselues to the obedience of the Emperoz, and that hereafter neuer moze to receiue any *Mexican* into

into theyꝝ towne or houses, neyther yet any of the pꝛo-
uince of *Culhua*.

The *Tepeacacs* answered, that they had slaine the *Spani-
ardes* for good and iuste cause, whiche was, that being
tyme of warre they presumed to passe through their coun-
treꝝ by force, without their will and licence. And also
that the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* were their friendes and
Lozdes, whom alwayes they would friendly entertayne
within their towne and houses, refusing vtterly their of-
fer and request, protestyng to giue no obedience to whom
they knew not, wishyng them theretofore, to returne incon-
sistent to *Tlaxcallans*, excepte they had desire to ende their
werie dayes.

Cortes innuited them diuers times with peace, and se-
ing it preuailed not, he begā his warres in earnest. Their
enimies lykewise with the fauour of the *Culhuacans* were
bꝛaue and lustie, and began to stoppe and defend their pꝛe-
tended entraunce. And they beyng many in number, with
diuers valiant men among them, began to skirmishe sun-
dry times, but at the end, they were ouerthꝛowen, and ma-
ny slayne, without killing any *Spaniarde*, although many
Tlaxcaltecas were killed that day.

The *Lozdes* and principall persons of *Tepeacac* seꝝyng
theyꝝ ouerthꝛow, and that their strength coulde not pꝛe-
uaile, yelded themselues vnto *Cortes* for vassalles of the
Emperour, with condition to banish for ever their allied
friendes of *Culhua*. And that he should punishe and correct
at his will and pleasure, all those whiche were occasion
of the death of the twelue *Spaniardes*. For which causes
and obstinacie, at the firste *Cortes* iudged by his sentence,
that all the townes whiche had bene pꝛiue to the mur-
der, should for ever remaine captiues and slaves: others as-
sɛrme that he ouercame them without any condition, and
corrected them for their disobedience, being *Sodomites*,

idolaters and eaters of mans flesh, and chiefly for cräpe of all others. And in conclusion, they were condemned for slaues, and within twenty daies that these warres lasted, he pacified all that prouince, which is very great: he dräue from thence the *Culhuacans*: he threiw downe the idols, and the chiefest persons obeyed him. And for moze assurauncē he builte there a towne, naming it *Segura de la Frontera*: he appoynted all officers for the purpose, being a towne situated in the high way from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, where by the Christians and straungers mighte passe without daunger. In these warres serued lyke faithfull friends the Indians of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco* and *Cholalla*, promysing the lyke seruice and succour agaynst *Mexico*, yea and rather better than worse. With this victoꝝy the Spaniards recouered great fame, for they were thought to haue bene slayne.

The great auctoritie that Cortez
had among the Indians.



After all these things were finish'd, Cortez commaunded & gaue licence to al the Indian friends, to returne home vnto their houses, except his assured friends of *Tlaxcallan*, who he kept in his company for the warres of *Mexico*: he nowe dispatched a posse to *Vera Cruz*, commaunding that foure of the shippes which *Naruaez* had brought, should be sent with al speede to the *Iland of Santo Domingo*, for men, hozles, armour, powder & other munitiō, also for wollen cloth, linnen, shoes, and many other things: and wzote his letters for the same to the licenciat *Rodrigo de Figueroa*, and to the whole magistrates of Chancery, certifying them of all their proceedings in that countrey, beseeching them of helpe and succour, and that

that forthwith to be ſent by the meſſenger.

This done, he ſente twentieth hoſemen, two hundred Spaniards, and many Indians, vnto *Zacatami* and *Xalaxino* co, whiche were towneſ ſubiect to the *Mexicans*, and placed in the high way to *Vera Cruz*, who had ſlayne certaine Spaniards paſſyng that way. This company wente thither, with their accuſtomed proteſtations, whiche prevailed not, wherevpon followed fire and ſpoyle: many Gentlemen and other principall perſons came to yeelde themſelues to *Cortes*, moze ſoz feare than ſoz godd will, crauyng pardon ſoz theyr offence, promiſing alſo not to offende agayne, noz yet at any tyme to take armour againſt the Spaniards. *Cortes* pardoned them, & then hys armie returned, with determination to keepe his Chriſtmaſſe in *Tlaxcallan*, whiche was within twelue dayes ſolowpyng. He left a Captaine with thre ſcoze Spaniards in the newe towne of *Segura*, to keepe that paſſage, and alſo to put in feare the *Comarcans* that dwelled thereabout: he ſente befoze him his whole armie, and he himſelf went with twentieth hoſemen from thence to *Coliman* to lodge there that night, being a cittie of his allied friendes, and there to ordaine and make by hys auctozitie, bothe ſoble men and Captaynes in lue of them whiche died with the diſeaſe of ſmall pockes. He aboade there thre dayes, in the whiche the newe Loydes were ordeyned, who after wardes remayned his eſpectall friendes. The next day he came to *Tlaxcallan*, beyng ſixe leagues diſtant from thence, where he was triumphantly receyued. And truly at that time he made a iourney moſt woorthie of renowne and glozy.

At this ſeaſon his deere friende *Maxica* was departed this tranſitozie lyfe, ſoz whome he mourned clothed in blacke, after the Spaniſhe faſhion: he lefte behinde him certaine ſonnes, of whom the eldeſt was .xij. yeeres of age, whom

whome Cortes named and appoynted for Lozde of his fathers estate, and the commons did certifie it to appertaine vnto him. This was no small glozpy for Cortes to giue estates, and also to take them away at his pleasure, yea and that those *Indians* should haue him in suchē feare and respect, that none durste doe any thyng in acceptyng the inheritance of their fathers without his god will and licence.

How Cortes procured that every man shoulde make his harneys, weapons and prouision readie and in god order: he made also great haste in building Vergantines, for his timber was already cutte and seasoned: he sente vnto *Vera Cruz* for sayles, tacle, nayles, roapes and other necessarie things, whereof theie was stoze remainnyng of the furniture of the shippes that were sunke. And hauyng wante of pitche, for in that countrey the *Indians* knewe not what it meant, he commaunded certayne of his *Spaniards* to make the same in the highe Mountaynes where was stoze of Pine trees, and not farre from the cittie.

The Vergantines that Cortez commaunded to be built, and the *Spaniards* which he had ioyned together to besiege *Mexico*.



The same of prosperitie whiche Cortes enjoyed, was wonderfully blowen abroade with the newes of the imprisonment of *Mutezuma*, and the victozy against *Panfilo de Narvaez*, wherevppon there came many *Spaniards* by twenty and twentie in a company from *Cuba*, *Santo Domingo*, and other *Ilandes*. Although that iourney coste some their liues, for in the way they were murdered by those of *Tepeacac* and *Xalacimco*, as is before declared, yet notwithstanding there came

came many to *Tlaxcallan*, whereby his hoste was muche increased, beseechynge him to make haste towarde the warres.

It was not possible for *Cortes* to haue espies in *Mexico*, for the *Tlaxcaltecos* were knowne by their lippes, eares, and other tokens, and also they had in *Mexico* garde and great enquirie for that purpose, by reason wherof he could not certainly knowe what passed in those parties, according as he desired, for to haue prouided himself of things needefull: yet a Captayne whiche was taken prisoner in *Huacacholla*, certified that *Cuetlauac* Lozde of *Iztacpalapan*, p̄uene to *Mutexuma*, was elected Emperour after his Uncles death, who was a wise and valiant man, and hee it was that had dyuen *Cortes* out of *Mexico*, who now had fortified *Mexico* with many bulwookes and caues, and with many and sundry sortes of weapon, but chiefly very long Lances, yea and planted them in the grounde to resiste and molest the horsemen. He proclaimed pardon and free libertie, without paying any tribute for the space of one whole yeere, yea and further as long as the warres should laste, he promysed also great rewardes to all them that should kill any Christian, or expulse them from that countrey. This was a policie whereby he gatte muche credite among his vassals, yea and gaue them greate courage to play the valiant men. All this newes was founde to be true, sayng onely *Cuetlauac* was dead. And that *Quahurimocim*, p̄uene also, as some doe say, of *Mutexuma*, raygned at that tyme, who was a valiant man and a good warrior, as hereafter shall be declared, who sente his messengers through out his Emppre, proclaimyng as great rewardes as *Cuetlauac* had done before, declaring vnto them that it was moze reason to serue him than straungers, and also to defende theyr olde auncient Religion, and not to credite suche Christians as woulde make
 ¶ them

themselues Lordes of other mens goodes, yea and make them slaues and captiues as they had done in other places. *Quahutimoc* encouraged muche his subiectes, and kindled with his talke their wraath agaynst the Spaniards; yet there were some prouinces that gaue no eare to his in'ormation, but rather leaned to our side, or else medled with neyther side. *Cortes* sepyng the effect of the matter, determined fozthwith to begimme the warres: he mustered his men on *Saint Steuens day*, and founde fourtic horsemen, and five hundred & fourtie footemen, wherof foure scoze were *Hargabuthiers*, and crossebow men, niene peces of ordinaunce, and little powder: his horsemen he diuided into foure squares, and his footemen into nine: he named & appointed captaynes, and other officers for the host, vnto whom in general he spake as followeth.

The exhortation of Cortez to

his souldiers.



My louyng brethren, I gyue molle hartie thankes vnto *Iesu Christ*, to see you now whole of your woundes and free from diseases: likewise I muche reioyce to see you in god order trunly arined, yea and with such desire to sette agayne vpon *Mexico*, to reuenge the death of our fellowes, and to winne that greate Citie, the whiche I truste in God shalbe brought to passe in shortlye time, hauing the friendship of *Tlaxcallan* and other prouinces, who haue as great desire to see the ouerthrowe of the *Mexicans*, as we our selues, for therein they gette both honour, libertie & safegarde of life. Also it is to be considered, that if the victory should not be ours, they wozd soules should be destroyed and remaine in perpetuall captiuitie. Also the *Calhuacans* do abhorre them worse than vs, for

recey

receiving vs into their houses and country: therefore
 sure I am that they will strike vnto vs vnfaignedly. I
 muste needs confesse their vnfaigned friendship, for pre-
 sente workes doe testifie the same. They will not onely
 be a meane to byng others their neyghbours to our ser-
 uice, but also haue now in readinesse. 100000. mē of warre,
 to sence with vs, besides a great nūber of *Tamemez* or car-
 riers to carrie al our prouision. Ye also, are now the same
 which alwaies heretofore ye haue bene, for I as witnesse
 key ig your captayne, haue had the victory of many bat-
 tyles fighting with a. 100. yea & 200000. enemies: we got
 also by strength of arme many strōg cities, yea & brought
 in subiection many prouinces, not beyng so many in num-
 ber as we are now, for when we came firste into this
 country we were not so many as now presently we are,
 Agayne in *Mexico* they feare our coming: it should also be
 a blot vnto our honour that *Quahutimoc* should inherite
 kingdom that cost our friēd *Mutezuma* his life. Likewise
 I esteeme al that we haue done is nothing, if we winne not
Mexico, our victories shoulde also be sozowfull, if we re-
 uenge not the death of our deere fellows. The chiefe and
 principall cause of our coming into this country, was to
 set forth the faith of Iesu Christ, & therewithal doth solow
 honour & profite which seildome times do dwell together.
 In those fewe dayes that we were in *Mexico*, we put
 downe the idols, we caused sacrifice and eatyng of mans
 fleshe to be layde aside, and also in those dayes we be-
 ganne to conuerte some to the sayth. It is not therefore
 now reason to leaue of so laudable an enterpyse, so
 well begonne. Lette vs now goe whither holy sayth doth
 call vs, and where the sinnes of our enemies deserueth
 so great a punishment, and if yē well remember, the Ci-
 tizens of that citie were not cōsent. to murder such an in-
 finite number of men, women & children befoze the idols,

in their filthy sacrifice, for honour of their Diuelische Goddesses, but also to eat their flesh, a thyng inhumayne, and much abhorred of God, and al good men doth procure, and especially Christians, to defende and punish such odious customes.

Besides all this, they committe that horrible crime for the whiche the five cities with *Sodom* were burned by fire from heauen: Why then what greater occasion should any man wishe for in earth, than to abolish such wickednesse, and to plant among these bloody tyrants the sayth of Iesu Christ, publishing his holy gospel? Therefore now, with ioyfull hartes let vs procede to serue God, honour our nation, to enlarge our Princes dominions, and to enriche our selues with the goodly pray of *Mexico*, to morrow God willing we will beginne the same.

All his men answered with cherefull countenance, that they were ready to departe when it pleased him, promising their faithful seruice vnto him. It should seme the rather with the desire of that pleasure and greate treasure whiche they had eyght moneths enioyed before.

Cortes commaunded to proclayme throughout his army, certaine ordinaunces of warre for the good gouernement of his hoste, whiche he had wrytten among others: and were these that followeth:

That none should blasfeme the holy name of Iesus.

That no Souldier should fight with his fellowe.

That none should play at any game, his horse nor armour.

That none should force any woman.

That none should robbe or take any *Indian* captiue without his speciall licence and counsellors.

That none should w^og or iniurie any *Indian* their friends: he also tared yron worke and apparell, for cause of the excessive prices that they were there solde for.

The

The exhortation made by Cortez to
the Indians of Tlaxcallan.

The next day following, Cortez called be-
foze him all the Lordes, Captaynes, and
principall persons of Tlaxcallan, Huexocin-
co, Chololla, Chalco, and of other towines,
who were there presente at that time, say-
ing as followeth. My Lords and friends,
you knowe the iourney which I haue nowe in hande, to
morrowe God willing I will departe to the warre and
siege of Mexico, and enter into the land of youre enemies
and mine: And the thing that now I do require, and also
pray, is, that you remayne faithfull and constant in your
promise made, as hitherunto you haue done, and so I
trust you will continue. And bycause I can not bring so
soone my purpose to passe according to youre desire and
mine, without the *Negatives* which are now a making,
and to be placed in the lake of Mexico, therefore I pray
you to fauoure these workemen whiche I leaue here,
with suche loue and friendship, as heretofore you haue
done, and to giue them all things necessary for their pro-
uision, and I do faithfully promise to take away the yoke
of bondage, which the inhabitantes of *Culhua* haue layde
vpon you, and also will obteyne of the Emperoure great
libertie and prouidedges for you.

All the Indians thewed countenance of obedience, and
the chiefest Gentlemen answered in fewe words, saying,
we will not onely fulfill youre request, but also when
your vessels are finished, we will bring them to Mexico,
and we all in generall will goe with you, and truly serue
you in your warres.

Ag. 16.

How Cortez tooke Tezcucoc.



Cortez departed from *Tlaxcallan* wth hys
 Souldiers in good order; wherhe was a
 goodly sight to beholde; for at that time he
 had eyghtie thousand men in his host, and
 the most of them armed after their man-
 ner, which made a gallant shew; but Cortez for diuers cau-
 ses would not haue them all wth him, vntill the *Vergan-
 tines* were finished, and *Alexis* beleaged, fearing wante of
 vittayle for so greate an armye; yet notwithstanding he
 toke twentie thousand of them, besides the Carriers, and
 that night came to *Texcala*, which standeth fire leagues
 from *Tlaxcallan*, and is a Village apperteyning to *Hue-
 xotzinco*, wherhe was by the principall of the Towne wel
 receyued. The next day he iourneyed foure leagues, into
 the territorie of *Mexico*; and there was lodged on the side
 of a hill, where many had perished with colde, had it not
 bin for the store of wodde which they found there. In the
 morning he ascended v^pwards on this hill, and sente hys
 fronte of foure footemen and foure horsemen to discouer,
 who found the way stopped with great trees newly cutte
 downe, and placed crossewise in the way; but they thin-
 king that yet forwards it was not so proceeded forthe as
 well as they might; till at length the let with great hugie
 trees was such, that they could passe no further, and with
 this newes were forced to returne, certifying Cortez that
 the Horsemenne coulde not passe that way in any wyse,
 wherby he demaunded of them whether they hadde seene any
 people, they answered no, wherby he proceeded for-
 warde with all the Horsemen, and a thousande footmen,
 commaunding all the residue of hys armye to followe
 hym wth as muche speede as myght be, so that wth
 that

that companie whyche he carried with him, he made waye, taking away the trees that were cutte downe to disturbe his passage: and in this order, in short time passed his host, without any hurt or daunger, but with great payne and trauell, for certaynly if the enimies had bin there to defende that passage, oure menne hadde not passed, for it was a verye euill way; and the enimies also thoughte the same to be sure with the trees whiche were crossed the way, wherebpon they were carelesse of that place, and attended their comming in playne grounde: for from *Tlaxcallan* to *Mexico* are thre wayes, of the whiche *Cortes* chose the worst, ymagining the thing that afterwards fell out, or else some hadde aduised him howe that way was clere from the enimies. And being past this crooked passage, they espyed the lake of *Mexico*, and gaue vnto God mosse hartie thankes for the same, and there made a solemne 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 armye were come together, to descende downe into the playne, for nowe they myghte descrye the fires and beacons of theyr enimies in sundrye places, and all those whyche hadde attended theyr comming by the sither two wayes, were now gathered together, thynkyng to sette vpon them betwixte certayne bridges, where a greate company abode, expecting theyr coming: but *Cortes* sente twenty horsemen, who made way among them, and then followed the whole armye, who slew manye of them, without receyving anye hurte. And in thys order they came to *Quahuhtpec*, whiche is of the iurisdiction of *Texcoco*, where they abode that night, and in that place founde neither manne nor woman: but not farre off was pitched the Campe of the *Indians* of *Culhuacan*, which

which myght be nare a hundred thousand men of warre, who were sent by the Seniors of Mexico, and Tezcuco, to encounter ourve armye, in consideration whereof, Cortes kept good watch with tenne Hoysmen, and all his Shoulders were warned to be in readynesse at a call, if nede should happen.

The next day in the morning he departed from thence towarde Tezcuco, whiche standeth thre leagues distant, and proceeding on their iourney, foure p[ri]ncipal persons, inhabitantes of Tezcuco, mette with them, bearing a rod of golde, with a little flagge, in token of peace, saying, that Coacahucoyozin their Lord had sent them to desire him not to make any spoyle in his Countrey, and likewise, to offer his friendship, praying also, that it might please him with his whole army to take his lodging in the Towne of Tezcuco, where he should be well receyued. Cortes receyued with this message, although he suspected that it was a sayned matter, but one of them he knewe very well, whome he saluted, saying: My cunning is not to offend any, but rather to do you good. I will also receyue and hold your Lord for a friende, with condition that hee doe make vnto me restitution of the treasure whiche hee toke from five and forty Spaniards, and three hundred *Malacotecas*, all the which were by his commaundement also slayne of late dayes. They aunswered that *Mutezuma* caused them to be murthered, who had likewise taken the spoyle, and that the Citizens of Tezcuco were not culpable in that fact, and with this aunswere they returned. Cortes went forward on his way, and came to *Quauhtitlan* and *Huachita*, which are suburbs of Tezcuco, where he and all his host were plentifully provided of all things necessary, and theye downe the Idoles. This done, hee entred into the Citie, to here his lodging was prepared in a great house, sufficient for him and all the Spaniards, with

with many other the *Indian* friends. And by cause that at his first entry, he sawe neyther women nor children, hee suspected some treason, and forthwith proclaymed, vpon payne of death, that none of his men should go out. The Spaniards began to triumph in their lodgings and chambers, placing euery thing in good order. In the euening they went by into the *Zories* and galleries, to beholde the Citie, which is as bigge as *Mexico*, and there they sawe the greate number of Citizens that fledde from thence with their stuffe, some towarde the mountaines, and others to the water side to take boate, a thing straunge, to see the great hast and stirre to prouide for themselves, at the least ther were twentie thousand litle boates (called *Canoes*) occupied, in carying household stuffe and passengers. Cortes would sayne haue remedied it, but that night was so nygh at hand, that he coulde not. He would gladly also haue appzehended the Lord, but he was one of the first that fledde vnto *Mexico*. Cortes caused many of the Citizens, to be called befoze him, and hauing in hys company a yong gentleman of a noble house in that countrey, who was also last chrystened, & had to name *Hernando*, Cortes being his godfather, who loued him well, sayde vnto the citizens, that this new Chryistian lord, *Don Hernando*, was sonne vnto *Nezahuapincinli* their louing Lord, wherfoze 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 *Cacuzac* his own brother, only to put him from his inheritance & kingdome, throughe the enticement of *Quahutimocin*, a mortal enemy to the Spaniards. In this sort was *Don Hernando* elected king, and the same thereof being blowne abroade, manye citizens repayed home againe to visite their newe Prince, so that in short space the citie was as wel replenished with people, as it was befoze, and being

Rr.

also

also well used at the Spaniards hands, they serued them diligently in all thyngs that they were commanded. And *Don Hernando* aboade euer after a faithfull friende vnto the Spaniards, and in short tyme learned the Spanishe tongue: and sone after came the inhabitants of *Quahutichan*, *Huaxura* and *Auntenco*, to submitte them selues, crauing pardon, if in any thyng they had offended. *Cortez* pardoned them, and gaue them licence to departe home vnto their houses.

Quahutimac, *Coacacojo* and other magistrates of *Culhua* sente to raple vppon those townes, for yalding themselves to the Christians, but they layde held vpon the messengers, and brought them vnto *Cortez*, of whome he enformed himselfe of the state of *Mexico*, and sent them backe againe, requiring their Lords of peace and friendshippe: but it preuailed not, for they were fully armed for the warre.

A good
correction.

At this instante 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 bitterly to destroy *Cortez* his proceedings. This thing was not so secretly wrought, but that *Cortez* had knowledge, where vppon he apprehended the doers thereof, and by their confessions the matter did plainly appeare, wher vppon he condemned to death one *Antonio de Villafania*, who was natural of *Samora*, and forthwith executed the sentence, wherwith the punishment and Mutinie was ended, and ceased.

The

The Spaniardes vvhich ywere

sacrificed in Tex-
coco.

Aply increased Cortes in strength and reputation, and many towne as wel of the partes of *Culhua* as others came vnto his friendship and obedience. Within two days that *Don Hernando* was made king, came certayne gentlemen of *Huaxuta* and *Quahurichan*, to certify vnto him, how al the power of the *Mexicans* was comming towarde them, and to knowe if it were his pleasure, that they should carry their wiues, children, and other gods into the Mountaines, or els to bring them where he was, theyr feare was so great.

Cortes made vnto the this answer, saying; be ye of god courage, and feare ye not. Also I pray you to comaunde your wiues & families to make no alteration, but rather quietly to abide in your houses. And concerning the enimies, I am glad of their comming, for ye shal see how I will deale with them. But the enimies wente not to *Huaxuta*, as it was thought: neuerthelesse *Cortes* hauing intelligence where they were, wente out to encounter them, with two pieces of Ordnance, twelue horsemen and two hundred Spaniardes, with many *Indians* of *Tlaxcalla*. He fought with the enemye, and slew but few, for they fledde to the water. He burnt certayne 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 the, promising neuer to harbour nor succour, any of *Culhua*.

Ar. ii.

The

The *Mexicans* hearing what these towne men presented, with greate p^re made a soule correction among them, as dyd appere 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 greate spople among them. But *Cortes* being ready to send for his *Uergantines*, could not relieue them all, and especially wyth *Spaniards*: wherefore he remitted them to the helpe of the *Tlaxcaltecas*, and vnto the of *Huexocinco*, *Chololla*, *Huacacholla* and other friends, promising that shortly he would come himselfe. But this answer pleased him not, yet for the present nede they required his letters to be w^ritten vnto those towne. And being in this communication, there came messengers from *Tlaxcallan*, with news, that the *Uergantines* were ready, and to knowe if he stood in nede of any succour, for of late, (quoth they) we haue sene many beacons, and fiers, which are greater tokens of warre, than heretofore hath bene sene.

There came at that time, a *Spaniard* also from *Veracruz*, with certaine newes, that there had arriued a ship, whiche had brought thirtie *Souldiers* besides the mariners of the ship. With eight hozes, great stoze of powder, shotte, crossebowes, and *Harquebushes*. The pleasant newes reioyced much our men, wherevpon *Cortes* sente forthwith to *Tlaxcallan* for the *Uergantines*, *Gonzalode Sandoval*, with two hundred *Spaniards*, and fiftene hozemen, and commaunded that in their way they should burne and destroy the towne where the forty fve *Spaniards*, and thre hundred *Tlaxcaltecas* were slayn, with fve hozes moe, when *Mexico* was last besieged: and the village is in the iurisdiction of *Tezcucoc*, and bordereth vpon the territorie of *Tlaxcallan*, yea, and for that purpose hee would gladly haue corrected and punished the dwellers of

of *Texcuco*, but time then permitted not y^e same, although they had deserued moze punishment than the others. For why: in their towne they were sacrificed and eaten, yea & the walles painted with their blood, shewing mozeouer perfitt tokens, how it was Spaniards blood. They pluckt off also the hozes skinnes & tanned thē in the heare, and afterwards hung them vppē, with the hozeshoes in their great temple, & next vnto them, the Spaniards garmētes, for a perpetual memozy.

Sandoual went vnto that place with determinate entēt to follow his cōmission, & also befoze he came to y^e place, he found wyttē in a house w^o a cole, these words: here in this house was a prisoner y^e vnfortunate *John Iust*, who was a gentleman, and one of the siue hozemen that wer taken. But the people of that towne, being many, fledde when they saw the Spaniardes appoach neare vnto thē. But *Sandoual* followed them, and slewe many of them: he toke also prisoners, manye women and children, who yelded themselues vnto his mercie, and their bodies for slaues. He saring so little resistance, and beholding the pitiful mone of the wiues for their husbandes, and the children for their fathers, had compassiō on them, and wold not destroye their towne, but rather caused the dwellers to come again, and pardoned them, with othe, that hereafter they shoulde serue them truely, and be vnto them loyal friends. In this sozte was the death of the Christians reuenged, yet *Sandoual* asked them howe they slewe so manye Christians without resistance, marye (quoth they) we made an ambush in an euil and narrow way, ascending vp a hill, and there as they went vppe by one and one we spoyled them, for there, neyther hozes nor other weapon could defend o^r help thē, so y^e we toke them prisoners and sente them to *Texcuco*, where, as is befoze deblared, they were sacrificed in the reuengement

of the imprisonment of Calama.

Howv the Vergantines vvere brought frō

Tlaxcall to Texcuco.

NOwe when the enemies which murdered the Spaniards, were reduced and chastened, *Sandoual* proceeded forwarde towarde *Tlaxcallan*, and at the bozder of that prouince, he mette with the Vergantines whiche were brought in pieces, as tables, planches, and naples, with all other furniture, the whyche eight thousand men carped vpon their backs.

There came also for their safeconduite twentie thousande men of warre, and a thousande *Tamemez*, who were the carriers of victuals, and seruantes. The the Spanishe Carpenters sayde, vnto *Sandoual*, that for as muche as they were nowe come into the countrey of enimies, it might please him to haue regarde ther vnto, for daungers that myght happen: he allowed wel theyr iudgement.

Nowe *Chichimecatel*, being a pꝛincipal man and a valiant also, was captaine of a thousande men, & desired to haue the vanguard with the Tymber, and hauing had the same charge hither vnto, it should be an affront for him, to be put from it, and gaue manye reasons in bys behalfe. But notwithstanding his request, he was entreated to take the reregarde. And that *Tutipil* and *Tenecatl* captaines, very pꝛincipal gentlemen, should haue the vanguard, with ten thousand men. In the myddell were placed the *Tamemez*, and those that carryed the foyll, with all the apparell of the Vergantines. Besoze those two captaynes, went a hundreded Spaniards, and eight

eight horsemen, and behind and last came *sandoual* with all the residue, and seuen horsemen. But now although *Chichimecaterl* was offended, touching his first charge, now much more because the Spaniards were not in his company, saying (quoth he) ye take me not for valiant, or else not faithful. That matter being pacified, and euery thing in good order, they toke they way towarde *Tezcuco*, with a marueylous noise, crying, Christians, Christians, *Tlaxcallan*, *Tlaxcallan*, and Spayne.

On the fourth day they entred into *Tezcuco*, in verry good order, with the sounde of drummes, snayle-shelles, and other like instrumentes of Musicke, and againste their entry into the Citie, they put on al their brauerye of clothes, and bushes of feathers, whiche truely was a gallant sight: they were sixe houres, in entryng into the towne, keeping their array.

Cortez came forth to retepye them, and gaue greafe thanks vnto the gentlemen, and all the company, and prouided them of good lodgings and entertaynement.

Of the Docke or trench which

was made to launch, the *Ver-ganines*.



Anye prouinces of *India*, came to submitte and offer their seruice vnto *Cortes*, some for feare of destruction, and others for the hatred whyche they bare to the *Mexicans*: So that nowe *Cortes* was strong both with Spaniards and *Indians*, Also the Spanishe Captaine of *Segura*, sent a letter to *Cortez*, the which letter he had receyued of another

another Spaniard, the effect therof was as foloweth. Noble gentlemen, diuerse times I haue written vnto you, but as yet I neuer receiued answer, noz yet now doe I I thinke otherwise, notwithstanding yee shall vnderstande, that the *Culhuacans* haue done much hurte in thys countrey, but we remaine with victorie. This prouince desireth to see and knowe Captaine *Cortez*, for to render themselues vnto him, and nowe they stande in neede of our nation, wherfoze it may please you to sende vnto vs thirrie Spaniardes.

Cortez answered the letter in suche sort, that he then presently coulde not sende the thing desired, for that he was readye to the siege of *Mexico*: notwithstanding he gaue them great thanks, with hope shortlye to see the. He that writte the former letter, was one of the Spaniardes that *Cortez* hadde sente to the prouince of *Chinanta*, a yeare passe, to enquire of the secretes of that place, and to seeke for golde and other commodities. And if it so happened, that the Lozde of that place made that Spaniarde a Captayne, agaynste the *Culhuacans* theyr enemyes, for *Mutezuma* made them warre beeyng farre from *Mexico*, bycause they had entefrayned the Spaniardes. But through the industrie of that Christian, the Lozde aboadc alwayes with victorie, and hauing vnderstanding that some of hys nation were in *Tepeacac*, he wrote so often as the letter declareth, but none of them came to their handes, but only this last letter: our men reioyced muche to heare that the Spaniardes were aliue, and also the Lozde of *Chinanta* to be their friende: likewise they marueyled muche howe they had escaped, for at the time that they fledde from *Mexico*, all other Spaniardes that were abidyng in the *Pynes* and other Lozdhippes, were slaine by the *Indians*.

Cortes made his preparation for the siege of Mexico with all hast, and furnished him with scaling ladders, and other necessaries, fitte for such a purpose. His *Vergantines* being nayed, and thoroughly ended, he made a sluise or trench of halfe a league of length, twelue fote broad & more, and two fadome in depth. This worke was fittie dayes a doynge, although there were foure hundred thousand mē dayly working, truly a famous worke and worthy of memoꝝy.

The *Vergantines* were calked with Towe and cotten wooll, and for want of tallow and oyle, they were (as some reporte,) driuen to take mans grease, not that they slewe men for that effect, but of those which were slayne in the warres. The *Indians* who were cruell and bloody butchers, vsing sacrifice, would in this sort open the dead bodye, and take out the grease, The *Vergantines* being lanthred, Cortes mustered his men, and founde nine hundred Spanyarde, of the which were 86. Horsemen, and a hundred and epghtēne with Crossbowes and Bargabushes, and all the residue had sundry weapons, as swords, daggars, Targets, Launces, and Halbertes. Also they had for armour, cozclelets, coates of mayle, and Jackes. They had mozeouer thre great pēces of cast yron, fiftēne small pēces of brasse, and tenne hundred waighte of powder, with stoꝝe of horte. All that ye haue hearde, was the prouision that Cortes had for the siege of Mexico, the strongest and greatest Citie in all India and newe world. In eache *Vergantine* he placed a pēce of brasse. He proclaymed agayne all the institutions and ordinarces of the warre, praying and commaunding that they might be well and faithfully obserued, and said, *Wethis* and my fellows, now do you see our vessels readye, yea and also you do remember howe troublesome a thying it hath bin to bying them hither with the cosse and sweate

A strange
tallowe.

of our friendes, and one of the chiefest hopes that I haue shortly to winne *Mexico*, are these vessels, for with them we will burne all their *Canoes*, or else we will so locke them vp, that they shall not help them, whereby we will annoy our enimie as muche that way, as our army shall do by land. I haue also a hundred thousand men of warre my friends to beseege this Citie, who are (as you know) y^e vallantest men in all these parties. You haue also your vittailles provided abundantly, and that which now importeth, is, that you play the menne, as heretofore you haue done, and most humbly to pray vnto God for victorie, for that this warre is his.

The order of the host and army of

Cortes for to beseege *Mexico*.

The next day following, *Cortes* sente vnto the prouinces of *Tlaxcallan*, *Huexocinco*, *Cholulla*, *Chal*, and other Townes, warning the within tenne dayes to come vnto *Tezcuc*, with their armour, weapon, and other necessaries, for the siege of *Mexico*. He certified them also, how the *Yergantines* were ready with all other furniture accordingly, and the *Spanyarden* were very desirous to lose no time, wherefore they meante not to delay their pretence, farther than the day appointed.

The *Indians* hearing this newes, and because they would not come too late to the beginning of the assaulte, came incontinent, and entred into *Tezcuc* in good order of warre, aboue sixtie thousand men, gallantly trimmed after their vse and custome. *Cortes* friendly welcommed them, and provided them lodgings accordingly.

On *Whitsunday*, all the *Spanyarden* came into the felde, whereas *Cortes* made three chiefe *Captaynes*, among

among whom he deuised his whole army. Vnto *Pedro de Aluorado* the first Captayne, he appoynted thirtie hozen men, and a hundred and seauentie footemen of the Spaniards, two peeces of ordnance, and thirtie thousande *Indians*, commaunding him to campe in *Tlacopan*. Vnto *Cristoual de Olid* the seconde Captayne, he gaue thre and thirtie Hozenmen, and a hundred and epyghteene footemen of the Spanish nation, two peeces of ordnance, and thirtie thousand *Indians*, and appoynted him to pitch his camp in *Culhuacan*. To *Gonsalo de Sandoval* who was the thyrde Captayne, he gaue thre and twenty Hozenmen, and 160. footemen, two peeces of Ordnance, and 40000. *Indians*, with commission to chouse a place to pitch his Camp.

In euery *Vergantine* he planted a peece of ordnance, fire bargabushes, or crossebowes, and 23. Spaniards, more most fittest for that purpose. He appointed also Captaynes for eache, and himselfe for general, whercof some of the chiefest of his companye began to murmure that twente by lande, thinking that they had bin in greater daunger, wherfore they required him to goe with the mayne battell, and not by water. Cortes little esteemed their words, for although it is more daunger in the water than in the land, yet it did more importe to haue greater care in the warres by water, than on the land, because his men had bin in the one, and not in the other.

On the tenth of May *Aluorado*, and *Cristoual de Olid* departed, and went that night to a Towne called *Xoliman*, where was betwene them greate discorde touchyng their lodgings, yea and if Cortes had not sent to take by the matter, much mischief had ensued. The nexte daye they lodged in *Xolitepec*, whych was not inhabited. The thyrde daye they came vnto *Tlacopan*, whyche was also as all the Townes of the lake, wythout people, there they were lodged in the Lordes house of the Towne.

¶ Chap.

¶ The

The *Tlaxcaltecas* began to viewe *Mexico* by the calley, and soughte with their enimies, vntill the nighte made them to cease.

On the thirteenth of *May*, *Cristoual de Olid* came to *Chapultepec*, and brake the conduites of swete water, where vpon *Mexico* was destitute of the same, being the conduit that did prouide all the Citie. *Pedro de Aluaredo* wyth his company procured to amende all the broken places of the calley, that the horsemen might haue free passage, and haying muche to do in these affaires, he spente thre dages, and fighting with many enimies, some of his men were hurt, and many *Indian* friendes slayn. *Aluaredo* abode in *Tlacopan* with his armye, and *Cristoual de Olid* retired to *Culhuacan* with his men, according to the instruction receyued from *Cortes*, and fortifyed themselves in the Lordes houses of the Towne, and euery daye skirmished with the enimies, and some went to the Townes nere at hande, and brought *Censli*, fruite, and other provision. In this businesse they occupied theselues a whole weeke.

The Battaile and victory of the Ver-

gantines against the *Canas*.



The newe King *Quahutimac* hauing intelligence how *Cortes* hadde launched his *Vergantines* and so mightie a power to besiege *Mexico*, entred into counsell wyth the chiefest peeres of his Realme. Some were of opinion, and did prouoke hym to the warres, considering theyr greate multitude of people, and fortitude of the Citie.

Others were of opinion, who tendred muche the common weale, that no sparyarde that shoulde happen to

be taken pꝑsoner shoulde be sacrificed, but rather to be preferred for conelation of peace if nēde shoulde so requyre. And finally some sayde, that they should demaunde of their Goddes what was best to doe.

The King that inclined himselfe moze to peace than to warre, sayde 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 harte he desired to come to some honell order and agreement with Cortes, fearing the thyng that after did ensue. But seying his Counsell and subiectes so determined to warre, he commaunded foure Spaniardes whiche he had pꝑsoners 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 *Pitzilopuchli*, A Diuinish sentence. who answered him that he shoulde not feare the Spaniardes being but selue, nor yet those whiche were comen to helpe them, for that they shoulde not long abide in the siege, commaunding him to goe forth and to encounter them without feare, for he would helpe them and kill his enimies. With this answer of the diuel, *Quahatimoc* commaunded forthwith to bꝑeake downe the bꝑidges, watche the Cittie, make bulwarkes, and to arme fūe thousande boates, and sayde vnto the Spaniardes, that the Goddes would be pleased with the sacrifice of their bodies, the Snakes filled with their bloud, and the Ligres relieved with their flesh, they sayde also to the *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, ah yē Cuckold knaues, slaues and traytoꝝs to your gods and kyng, will you not repent the wickednesse whiche yē haue committed agaynst your maisters, therefore shall you now die an euill death, for either you shall die with hunger, or else vpon the knife: and then wil we eate your fleshe and make thereof solenne a banquet a sthe like hath heretofore neuer bene sēne, and in token therof hold

take these armes and legges whiche we thzowe vnto you of your owne men, which we haue now sacrificed for the obtayning of victoꝝy. And after these warres we will goe vnto your countrey and spoyle your Towne, & leaue no memoꝝy of your bloud oꝝ generation. The *Tlaxcaltecas* laughed at their madde talke, and sayd, that it should be better for them to yeelde and submitte, themselues to Cortes his mercy, and if not, yet it were moze honozable to fight than to bzagge, willyng them to come out into the field. And bad them assuredly belæue, that the ende of all their knauery was at hande: it was a woꝝld to heare and see the bzaggess and crakes on both sides. Cortes hearyng of all these matters, sent *Sandonal* to take *Iztacpalapan*, and he embarked himselfe to meete him at that place.

Sandonal combated the towne on the one side, and the townes menne and people with feare fledde vnto *Mexico*, on the other side by water: he burned the towne. Cortes came at y time to a strôg rocke lyke a tower, situated in the water, where many men of *Cullhua* were, who seyng them approche with their *Wergantines*, sette theyꝝ beacons on fire, and thzewe downe vpon them stones and shotte of theyꝝ arrowes. Cortes wente ashore with a hundred and fiftie menne, and combatted the foꝝte, till at length he waime the battlement, whiche was the *Indians* beste defence, and with muche adoe hee came to the topp, and there fought vntill he had not lefte one aliue, sauyng women and chyldzen. It was a fayre victoꝝte, although fye and twentie *Spanyarden* were hurte and wounded, yet the foꝝte was strong, and the ouerthowe a great discouragynge of the enimie.

At this instant were so many beacons and other fires made rounde aboute the lake and vpon the hills, that all seemed a lighte fire. And also the *Mexicans* hearyng that the *Wergantynes* were comynge, they came out in their boates,

boates, with fīue hundred Gentlemen whiche came to see ſuche newe kinde of veſſelles, and to proue what they were, beyng a thyng of ſo greate a fame. Cortes imbar- ked himſelfe with the ſpoyle of the ſozte, and commaun- ded his men to abide all togither for the better reſiſtance, and bycauſe the enimies ſhoulde thinke that they feared, wherupon they mighte without any good order gyue the onſette vpon the Chyiſtians, and ſo to fall ſuddenly into the ſnare. But it followed, that when they came withut ſhotte of the Spaniardes ordinaunce: they ſtayed aby- dyng moze company, but in ſhozte ſpace there came ſo many *Canoes*, that it ſeemed a wonder to beholde: They made ſuche a terrible noyle with theyr voyces, drummes, ſnayle ſhelles, and other like inſtruments of warre, that they could not heare one an other, with ſuch great crakes and byagges, as they had done in tyme paſte.

And beyng bothe parties in a readineſſe to fight, there happened ſuche a pouerwinde to the *Mergantines* which came from the ſhoze, that it ſeemed meruellous. Cortes the praying God, commaunded al his Captaines to giue the onſet altogether, & not to ceaſe vntill the enimies ſhould be dyuen to retire into *Mexico*, ſo that it was the plea- ſure of God to ſende vnto them that prosperous winde in token of victoꝝy. This talke ended, they beganne to ſette vpon the eniꝝy, who ſeyng the *Mergantines* come with ſuch lucky winde, yea & ſuch a ſight as the like vnto them had not bene ſene, they began to ſie with ſuche greate haſte, that they ſpoyled, brake, and ſunke many of them, and ſuche as ſtoode to defende themſelues were ſlayne, ſo that this battayle was ſone ended. They purſued them two leagues, vntill they had locked them by in the water Creates of *Mexico*, and toke many Lordes and Gentlemen priſoners. And the key of al theſe warres ſhitted in this victoꝝy, ſo that our me remained ſo that Lords of the

the whole lake, and the enimie with great feare and losse: they had not bene so sone spoyled, but that there were for many of them, who disturbed one an other. But when *Aluárado*, and *Cristoual de Olid* saw the fortunate successe of *Cortez* by water, they entered the calsey with their army, and toke certaine bridges and bulwarkes, and drave the *Indians* from them, with all their force and strength: But with the helpe of the *Uergantines* which came vnto them, the *Indians* were drayuen to runne a whole league vpon the calsey, and where they founde the calsey broken, they procured to leape ouer, and so fel into the middelt.

Cortez proceeded forwards, and findyng no *Canoes*, he landed vpon the calsey that commeth from *Iztacpalapan*, with thirtie men, and combatted two towers of iustles whiche were walled with wall of lyme and stone: it was the same place where *Mutezuma* receyued *Cortez*. He wau those towers in shorte time, although they were defended with all possibilitie: he vntipped thre peeces of ordnance to scoure the calsey, which was full of enimies: at the first shotte he did great hurte among the, and beyng the night at hande, they sealed on bothe sides for that day. And although *Cortez* had determined otherwise with his *Captaynes*, yet he aboade there that night, and sente to the campe of *Gonsalo de Sandoval* for powder and sicke me, with halfe the company of *Indians* of *Culhuacan*.

How Cortez besieged Mexico.



The night of *Cortez* his abiding there, was perillous, for he had not aboute a hundred men in his company, and aboute midnigh set vps him many *Mexicans* both by water and lande, although they accustomed not to fight in the night, but the *Uergantines*

times made them fone to retire.

In the morning came vnto Cortes from *Cristoual de Olid*, eight hoysmen, and foure scope footemen. The *Mexicans* combated the towers, where Cortes was lodged, who incontinent came forth & draue them along the calsey, vntill he had wonne an other brydge and a bulwarke, and made a great spoyle among them, with the ordinaunce a hoysmen, pursuyng them to the vtmostte houses of the Cittie: and bycause many of the *Canoas* whiche were on the other side of the calsey galled Cortes and his menne, he brake downe so muche of the calsey, that he mighte well passe some of his *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 remayned Lord ouer bothe the lakes.

The next day *Sandoual* departed from *Iztacpalapan* toward *Culhuacan*, and in his way he toke and spoyled a little Cittie that standeth in the lake, bycause they came out to resist him. Cortes sente vnto him two *Wergantines* to passe his men where the calsey was broken. *Sandoual* left his company with *Cristoual de Olid*, and wēt to Cortes with tenne hoysmen, and when he came he found him in fight with the enimies, and he alightyng from his horse, an *Indian* perfed him through the foote with a dart. Many *Spaniards* were hurte that day, but theyr grieue was well reuenged, for from that day forwarde the *Indians* courage was muche abated. With the paynes, labour and victoory already obtayned, Cortes might now at ease pitche his campe at his owne pleasure where he would, and also prouide his army of victuals: sixe dayes he ceassed not skirmishyng, and the *Wergantines* likewise founde out channels that they mighte goe rounde aboute the Cittie, yea and wente spoylyng and burning many houles within the *Suburbes*.

It.

Mexico

Mexico was besieged in foure places, although at the first they determined but three. Cortes was placed betwixt the two towers of the calsey; Pedro de Aluárado in Tlacopan; Cristoual de Olid in Culhuacan; Gonsalo de Sandoval in Xaltocall; they had aduise that the same way they would flie out of the Citie, seying themselves in any daunger. It would not haue grieued Cortes to haue lefte a passage for the enemy, but only because they should not profite themselves vpon the lande, and provide the Citie that way of armour & victuall, yea, he also thought to preuaile against his enemies better vpon the lande than vpon the water. And againe according to the olde prouerbe, When thine enemy lieth make him a brydge of siluer.

The first skirmishe vwithin the
cittie of Mexico.



Cortes pretended to enter the Citie, and to gette what he could, & also to see what stomache the enemy had: he sent to aduise his captaines, that eche of them should do the like, requiring them to sende vnto him some of their hozsemen and footemē. He gaue speciall commaundement to Cristoual de Olid to haue regard to the keeping of his calsey, and to forsee that the inhabitants of Xochmilco, Culhuacan, Ixtacpalapan, Vitzilopuchli, Mexicalcingo, Cuetlauac, & other cities thereaboutes come not that way behinde them and butwares. He commaunded that the Tergantines should goe along the calsey on bothe the sides, of any neede shoulde happen. Cortes early in the morning came out of his campe with 200 Spaniards and 80000 Indian friends: they had gone but a small space, when they met with their enemies well armed, keeping the gappe where the calsey was broke, 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 Towre, 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 drawe bridge was. They ceased not shotpng of arrowes and hurlyng of stones, so that our men coulde not come neare, vntill the Mergantines came, and by meanes of them they wanne that fort with lesser paynes than they imagined: for without the Mergantines it had not bene possible to haue entred the Citie.

The enimies being now fled from that holde, our men alanded there, with the Indian friends, who incontinent rained by the broken place with stones and earth. The Spaniards of the vantgarde, toke another bulwarke, which was planted in the largest and fayrest create of the Citie, and pursued the enemy to another drawe bridge, which remayned, but with one poste or beame, vpon the which many of the Indians passed ouer, and then toke y^e beame awaye and abode to defende the place: but when our men approached & sawe how the matter went, Cortez commaunded two pieces of Ordnance to be broughte, with the whiche, and with their Harquebushes, they did great hurt among the *Mexicans*, who began to fainte, and lose their courage, the which being vnderstode, certayne Spaniards swā ouer where the drawe bridge was, wth these weapons in their mouthes. But when the enemy sawe them passe ouer, they began, as well from that place as from the house toppes, zoties and bulwarke, whiche they had defended for the space of two houres, to flie. Cortez and his whole army beyng passed ouer, he commaunded to damme by that broken place of the drawe bridge,

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with

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 peece of ordinaunce wherewith they dyd great hurte, and seying them now past all the bridges, they determined to enter into the harte of the Citie. When the *Mexicans* perceyued their determination, they beganne to provide euery one for himselfe, for some fledde one way and some another, but the moste wente to the great temple of Idols. The Spaniards and theyr friends pursued after them, and among the throng gotte into the Temple, where they slewe many, and at length they wente by into the high tower, and there threwe downe the idols, among whome they made a great spoyle.

Quahutimoc beganne to reprehensive his men for their cowardie and flight, who gathered themselves together, and considering theyr oversight, and that there were no horses, began a freshe to sette vpon the Spaniards, and with force and strength draue them out of all the circuite of the Temple, and made them truste to their fate. But when Cortes sawe his menne come flying, he caused them to returne and to shewe face vnto the enemy, declaring vnto them how shamefull a thyng 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 peece of their ordinaunce: But beyng nowe in this extremitie, there came threë horsemen who played the valiant men and made way through the troupe of enemies, who at the sight of the horses began to flie, and our men to follow with suche harte and courage, that in short time they wan the great temple agayne: then came other five horsemen who ioynd with the other threë, and lay in ambushe, where they slew 30. *Mexicans*. The day being now farre

farre spent, and the nighte at hande, Cortes commaunded his army to retire, and they obeying his commandemēt, hadde not so sone turned their backs, but an infinite number of enimies were at their hōles, who if it hadde not bin for the Horsemen, had slayne many Spaniards, for they came vpon them like rauening dogges without any feare, yet with the succoure of the Horsemen, the enimie was putte agayne to flighte, and our men burned many houses, to annoyde at their next comming the daunger of stones whiche were thzowen from their toppes. The other Captaynes, who were *Sandoual* and *Aluara do*, fought valiantly on the other side of the Citie.

The great hurt and dammage in the
houses of Mexico with fire,



In this meane while, Don Hernando of Tezcuco, wente throughout his Lordship, to allure his vassall to the seruice and friendship of Cortes, according to his former promise: and whether it were seying the Spaniards prosperitie in the sēge of Mexico, or other wise, he bzought almost the whole prouince of Culhuacan, whiche is vnder the gōuernement of Tezcuco, with sire or seauen of his owne bzēthzen, for more he could not, although he had more than a hundred bzēthzen, as hereafter shall be declared. One of them named *Izlixuchilh* bēyng a valiant yong man, of the age of foure and twenty yeates, he appoynted generall Captayne ouer fiftie thousande men of warre, well armed and trimmed according to their fashion. Cortes dyd friendly receyue and welcome them, giuing them greate thanks for their ayde and good willes. Of these new come men, he toke into his owne host thirtte thousande,

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and

and deuided the residue equally among the other Cap-
taines.

This was a sorrowfull newes to the *Mexicans*, to heare of the succoure which *Don Hernando* hadde sente to serue *Cortes*, and with holden the same from them, yea and also among them were come kinsmen, brethren, and fathers to many of them which were in *Mexico* in the ser-
uice of *Quahuitimoc*.

Two dayes after that these menne were come, there came also men of *Xochmilco*, and certayne husbandmen of the *Pouitaines*, who spake the *Otomilb* speech, beseeching *Cortes* to pardon their long tarrying, offering also both men and vittayles for the siege. *Cortes* was pleased wyth their coming and gentle offer, for they being his friends, he was assured of them of *Culhuacan*, and sayd vnto them, within these thre dayes (God willing) I wil combat the Citie, therefore againste that time I praye you prepare your selues accordingly, and therein shall I knowe whether you are my friendes or no: and with this aunswere they departed, promising to fulfill his request, as they did in deede. This done, he sente thre *Vergatines* to *Sandonal*, and other thre to *Aluorado*, for to disturbe any succoure that mighte come from the land to the Citie, and likewise to defende and ayde the Spaniardes at all times, when they would land vpon the calley, to combat the Citie, for he well vnderstode howe profitable those vessels would be nere vnto the byldges.

The Captaines of the *Vergatines* ceased not night and day to runne the coast and Townes of the lake, where they toke manye boates from the enimics, laden with men and victuall, and permitted none to come into the Citie, nor yet any to come out.

The daye appointed to the enimics for the combate, *Cortes* made his prayers vnto God, & then enforzmed each
Captayne

Captayne what he should do, and came forth with twentie horsemen, three hundred Spaniards, and a great number of *Indians*, with their pieces of Ordnance, and where in three or foure dayes before they had not skirmished, time serued the *Mexicans* at will to open all those places which were dammed vp before, and also to builde better bulwarkes thā those which were throwen downe, attending with that horrible noyse accustomed. But when they sawe the *Vergantines* on eache side, they joy was turned into sorrowe, and beganne to sainte, the which our men vnderstood well, and therewith alanded themselves vpon the calsey, and waime the bulwarke and the brydge. Our army procedyng forward, set vpon the enimies, vntill they came to another brydge, the which was likewise wonne in shorte time, and this pursued from brydge to brydge, alwayes fighting, vntill they had bzauen them from the Calsey and *Strætes*.

Cortes for his part lost no time, for he with tenne thousande *Indians* laboured to damme vp againe the fluses and broken places of the brydges, making the way plaine both for horsemen and footemen: it was so much to doe, that all those ten thousand *Indians* were occupied therein from the morning vntill the evening.

The other Spaniards and *Indian* friends skirmished continually, and slew many of their enimies. Likewise the horsemen so scoured the *Strætes*, that the enimies were forced to locke them vp in their houses & Temples. It was a notable thing to see how our *Indians* played the merue that daye againste the *Citizens*: sometimes they would chalenge them the fielde: other times they would conuite them to supper, and shewe vnto them legges, armes, and other pieces of māns flesh, saying behold your owne flesh which shal serue for our supper and brekefast, and to morrow we will come for more, therefore feare not,
you

you are valiant fellows, yet it were better for you to dye fighting than with hunger. And after all this speech, every one of them called vpon the name of his owne Towne with a loude voyce, sciting fire vpon their houses. The *Mexicans* were replenished with sorrow, to see themselves so afflicted with Spanyards, but yet they sorrowe was the greater, to heare their owne vassals so raille againste them, saying and crying at their owne doores, victoꝝy, victoꝝy, *Tlaxcallan*, *Chalcho*, *Tezcucos*, *Xochmilco*, and other Townes: the eating of their fleshe grieued them not, for they did the like.

Cortes seeing the *Mexicans* so stout and hard harted, with full determination eyther to defend themselves or else to dye, therevpon he bethought himselfe vpon two things, the one was, that he should not obteyne the treasure whiche he had seene in the time of *Motzuma*: the other was, that they gaue him occasion totally to destroy the Citie. Both these things grieued him much, but especially the destrucioꝝ of the citie. He ymagined with himselfe what he mighte doe, to bying them to acknowledge their erroꝝ, and the hurt that mighte fall vpon them, and for these considerations he pluckt downe their Towers, and brake their idolles. He burned also the greate house wherein he was lodged befoze, and the house of soule which was nere at had. There was not one Spanyard who had seene that magnificall building befoze, but lamented sore 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 Spanyards, should haue entred into *Mexico* in despite of them all, and to sette fire vpon their pꝛincipallest edifices within the Citie. While this house was a burning, *Cortes* gathered his men, and retired to his Campe. The *Mexicans* would sayne haue remedied the fire, but it was
to

too late, and seeing our men retire, they followed wyth their noyse accustomed, and slue some of our men, who were laden with the spoyle, and came behinde the rest. The hoisemen relieued our men, and caused the enemy to retire, in such wise, that befoze night al our men were in safetie and the enemies in their houses, the one sorte full of sorowe, and the others wearied with fight and trauel. The slaughter was great that day, but the burning, and spoyle of houses was greater, for besides those whiche wee haue spoken of, the *Uergantines* did the like where they wente, and the other Captaines also were not idle where they were appointed.

Things that happened to Pedro de

*Aluorado through his bulde
attempt.*



Pedro de Aluorado, would passe his army to y^e market place of *Tlalulco*, for he toke much payn & stode in perill in sussepyning y^e brydges which he had gotten, hauing hys sorte almost a league fro^t thence. And again, he being a man of a haughtie stomacke, thinking as

well to get hono^r as his general, and likewise being procured by his company, who sayde, that it were a shame for them if *Cortez* should winne that market place, being moze nearer vnto them, than vnto him: where vpon he determined to winne those brydges which as yet wer vntowonne, and to place himselfe in the market place. He proceeded with all his army vntill they came to another broke brydge, which was sixtie paces of length, and two

¶

fadom

ladome depe, the whiche with the helpe of the Bergantines, he wan in short space, and gaue order to certaine of his men to damme it bype substantially, and he himselfe pursued his enemies, with fittie Spaniardes. But when the Citizens sawe so few in number, and al footemen, (for the hozles coulde not passe the sluice so soone,) they came vpon them so sodainely & fiercelly, that they made our men to turne their backes, and trust to theyr legges, yea and our men fel into the water, they knewe not which way. They slew many of our *Indians*, and four Spaniards, who forthwith they sacrificed, and ate their flesh in the open sight of al the army.

Alvarado saw his owne folly, in not beleauing *Cortes*, who had alwayes forewarned him, not to procede forward, vntil he had made the way sure behinde him: but *Alvarado* his counsellors payde their counsel with life *Cortes* sorrowed for the same, for the like had happened vnto him, if he had giuen credite to their counsel. But as a prudent captain, he considered the matter better, for euery house was then an *Ilande*, the calsey broken in many places, and the zottes or house toppes beset with stones, for these; and suche like places vse *Quahuimoc*. *Cortes* went to see where *Alvarado* had pitched his campe, 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 farre within the libertie of the Citie, and the dangerous places which hadde passed, he byd highly comend his valiaunt and good seruice: he also communed with him of manye things concerning the siege, and then returned to his owne campe.

The tryumph and sacrifice vvhich the
Mexican^s made for their victorie.



Ortez delayed the time to pitch his campe in the market place of *Mexico*, although daily his men entred and skirmished with in the Citie, for the causes befoze alleaged, and like wise to see if *Quahutimoc* would yield himself. And also the entrie could not be but very daungerous, for the great multitude of enemies that filled by the streets.

At his company *Spaniards* toynly, with the kings Treasurer, seeing the determination of *Cortez*, and the hurt already receyued, besought and also required him to passe his campe vnto the market place: who answered them, that they had spoken like valiant men, but as yet (quoth he) it is not time conuenient, & we oughte to consider better of the matter: for why? the enemies are fully determined to ende their liues in defence of that place. But his men replied so muche, that hee was compelled to graunte to theyr requeste, and proclaymed the entraunce for the nexte daye following. Hee wrote also in his letters to *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, & to *Pedro de Aluarado*, the instructions of the things that they shoulde doe, whiche was in effect, to *Sandoual*, that hee shoulde remove hys campe with all hys sardage, as though he woulde retire and fye, and that vpon the case he shoulde haue tenne horsemen in ambush, behind certain houses to the intent that when the Citizens shoulde espye the fle, and would pursue after, the to passe betwixt them and home with the said horsemen, &

Ab. 15.

after

after the hurt done among them, in this sort, that then he with al his army shoulde come where *Pedro de Aluárado* aboade, with other tenne horsemen, a hundred footemen, and the *Spaue* of *Mergantines*, and leauing with hym his men, should then take thꝛe of the *Mergantines*, and to procure to winne that broken bridge, where *Aluárado* of late receiued the foyle: and if he fortun'd to wyne that place, that then he should damme it vp, and make it sure, befoze he passed anye further: and the like order he gaue vnto him for al other broken places that he should passe.

Vnto *Aluárado* he gaue commission, that he shoulde passe as farre into the Citie as he myght possible, requyring him also to send vnto him eightie *Spaniards*. He also appointed the other seauen *Mergantines*, to passe into both y^e lakes, with thꝛe thousand *Canoas*. He deuided likewise all his army into thꝛe companies, bycause they had thze ways to enter into the citie. By the one of these wayes *oꝝ* *Streates*, entred the *Treasurer* and *Auditor*, with seauentye *Spaniards*, twentie thousande *Indians*, eight horsemen, twelue labourers with pickeaxes and shouels, and many other yble felowes, to cary earth and stones, and to fill vp the broken places, and to make the way plaine.

The secende *Streate* he commended to *George de Aluárado* and *Andrés de Tapia*, with eightie *Spaniards*, tenne thousande *Indians*, two pieces of Ordnance, and eight horsemen. *Cortes* hymselfe toke the thurde way, wyth a great number of friendes, and a hundred *Spaniards* footemen, of the whiche were twentye five with *Crossebowes* and *Harquebuttes*, and commaunded his horsemen which were eight in number, to abide there behinde, and not to selow after, vntill he should sende for them. In thys order, and al at one instaut, they entred the Citie, the twi
ing

ing the harts of valiaunt men, greatly annoyng the enemy, and wan many brydges, but when they came neare vnto þ̄ towne house called *Tianquiztli*, there gathered together such a number of the *Indian* friendes, who befoze theyz eyes scaled, entred, and robbed their houses, that they thought assuredly, that þ̄ same day the citie had bin wonne. *Cortez* commaunded that they should p̄ocēde no further, saying, that they had done sufficientl̄y for that day, for also he feared afterclappes. He likewise demanded whether all the broken brydges were made sure, in the whych (quoth he) consisteth the peril and victorie. But those that went with the *Treasurer*, following victorie and spoyl, had left a brydge not well dammed vp, but verye hollowe and false, the whiche was of twelue paces broad, and two fadom in depth. When *Cortez* was aduertised hereof, he went thither to remedy the same, but he was no sōner come, when he sawe his men flōing, and leaping into the water, with feare of the cruel enemies, which followed, who leapt after them into the water, to kill them. There came also along the calsey manye *Indian* boates of enemies, who toke many of þ̄ *Indian* friendes and *Spaniards* aliue. When *Cortes* and other fiftēne persons, which were with him, serued for no other purpose but to helpe out of the water those that were fallen, some came wounded, and others halfe drowned, and without armour: yea and the multitude of enemies so beset *Cortes*, and his fiftēne companions, who wer helping their mē, and so occupied in the same, that they had no regarde to their owne peril. Wherevpon certaine *Mexicans* layd hād v̄p̄ *Cortes*, who truly they had carried away if it had not bin for one *Francisco de Olea* his seruāt, who cut off at one blowe the armes of them that had hold of him, and he by the enemies was immediatly slaine, so that he died to saue his maisters life. Then came *Antonio de Quinonez*

Ab. iij.

Captaine

A kinde
harted cag-
taine.

captaine of the guard, who caught *Cortez* by the arme, & by force pluckt him out of the throng of enemies, wyth whom valiantly he fought. But the with the same that *Cortez* was prisoner, came many Spaniards, among who was one horseman, who made some roome, but in thozte space they thrust him thzough the throte with a launce, and made him to retire. The fight ceased a little, & *Cortez* had a horse bzought vnto him, on the which he lightlye amounted, and gathering his men togither, came to the streete of *Tlacopan*, whiche was large and faire. There died *Guzman* his Chamberlayne, giuing a horse vnto his maister, whose death was much lamented among them all, for he was a man valiant, honeste, & welbeloued. There fel also into the water two horses, the one was saued, but the other was killed by the *Indians*. As the Treasurer and his company were Combatting a bulwarke, the enemies thzrew out of a window thze Spaniards heads vnto them, saying, the like they would do with their heads, if they went not from thence the soner. They seeing this sight, and likewise considered the great hurte and spoyle made among them, began to retire by little and little.

The *Mexican* Priestes went by into the Towzes of *Tlachelco*, and made their fires in chaffing dishes, and put therevnto the swete gume of *Copalli* in token of *Victorie*, and sozthwith stripped fiftie Spaniards captiues as naked as they were bozne, and with their fine razors opened them in the bzeastes, and pluckt out their hartes for an offering to the Idols, and spzinkled their blood in the ayze. Our men seing befoze their eyes the doleful sight, would fain haue gone to reuēge the cruel custome. But as time then required they had ynough to doe, to put themselues in sauetie thzough the great 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 moe of his men: they losse a piece of Ordnance, and foure horses. Also that day was slayne above two thousand Indian friends, and many Canoas lost and the Mergantines in great daunger, and the captain and maister of one of them were wounded. Whereof the captaine died within eight dayes, the same day wer also slaine foure of Aluarado his men, that daye was an vnsortunate or dismal day, and the nyght heauy, sorrowfull and replenished with lamentable grieue among the Spaniards and their friends. On the other side, the Mexicā triumphed with ioy, and made great bonefiers, blew their hornes, stroke vp their drummes, daunced, banqueted, and dranke themselues drunk: 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 Quehntimoc, sent two Chyistians heads, and two horse heads into al the comarcanes there aboute, to signifye their victorie and to require them to forsake the Chyistians friendship, promising in shozt space to make the like ende of all those that remayned, and deliuer the countrey from warre, these things encouraged some prouinces to take armour againste Cortes being his allied friends, as Malinalco and Cuixco. This newes was soone blowen abroade into many prouinces, wherebypon our men feared rebellion among their new friends, yea and mutinie in their owne campe, but it pleased god that it sel out otherwise. The next day Cortes came out againe to fight, to shewe face to the enemies, but he turned againe from the first bridge, without doing any great act.

The

The determination of Cortez to de-
stroy the citie of Mexico.



Chichimecatl, a noble man
of *Tlaxcallan*, (who hadde
brought the Timber of *Y*
Uergantines, fro whence
it was wrought, and was
placed in the companie
of *Alvarado* at the begin-
ning of the siege of *Mexi-*
co,) seeing that the Spa-
niards fought not as they
wer wont to do, he alone

with *Y* men of his owne countrey, went forth to cōbate
the Citie, being a thing which tofore he had not attē-
ted, gaue assault against those which defended a certain
bridge, and with great noise cryed and named his City
and lynage, and in short space wanne the bridge, where
he leste foure hundred archers, and followed after the
enimie, who of industrie fledde, thinking to take
him at his returne, and at length the enemy returned
bypon him, where they made a sayre skirmishe, for the
fight was equall. There were many hurt and slaine on
both sides, so that with the dead carcases they supped
at will. But they thoughte to ouerthrowe him at the
bridge, not knowing of *Y* foure hundred archers which
were there to attend *Chichimecatls* coming, by meanes
of whome, he passed at pleasure, to the greate griefe
of the *Mexicans*, yea and remayned not a little ama-
zed to see the valoz and bolde attempte of the *Tlaxcal-*
tecas.

The

The Spaniards likewise highly commended the fact, for where our men combated not as they were wont to do, the *Mexicans* imagined that the cause was cowardize, infirmitie, or want of vittayles: where vpon one daye at the sunne rising, they set vpon *Aluado* his Camp, whiche being espied by the watch, they began to crye, arme, arme, who came forth as well footemen as horsemen, and put them to flight, at whiche retire many of the *Mexicans* were drowned, and others sore hurt and wounded. When said the *Mexicans*, that they desired to talke with *Cortez*, who came vnto a stone bridge to knowe what they would haue, vnto whome sometime they sayd, that peace was their request, and other times they demanded tribute, but finally required that the Spaniards should departe from that Countrey. All this politie was but to seele what strength and courage our menne had, and to haue truce for a certayne time, for to prouide them of such necessaries as they wanted, for their determinate purpose was, to dye in the defence of their countrey and religion. *Cortez* answered, that truce was not conuenient for eyther partie, but peace was laudable at al times, the while the for his parte, although he hadde besieged the Citie, should not be denyed: therfore he willed them to tye his plentifull estate of vittayles, and their owne neede and necessitie of the same. They being in this communication with their interpreters, appeared vnto a gentill old man on the toppe of the Bulwark, who in the sight of them all, pluckt bread out of his satchell peece by peece, and began to eat, giuing them to vnderstand, that they stood in no neede of vittayles, and so made an ende of their talke.

The siege of this Citie seemed a long tyme to laste, for in nere fiftie dayes that he had begun the same, yet could not he bying his desire to passe, yea and much more

ueiled that the enimies could endure so long a season with dayly skirmishing, and also how they refused peace and concord, knowing how many thousands of them had bin slayne, and ended their miserable lines with hunger.

¶ Yet once agayne he sente this last message vnto them, that if they would not yelde themselues, then he hauing them enuironed by land and water, woulde sea the all, and not permitte anye kinde of victuall to come vnto them, so that theyr extremitie should be so greate, that they should eat one another: their aunswere was, that firste the Spanyardes should taste of the same cuppe, so that thyeatning increased their courages, and occupped themselues in carrying stones to the market place, and many other strêtes, to stoppe the way against the Hoyses and their maisters.

¶ Cortes, although it graued him to destroy totally so beautifull a Citie, yet he determined to bring all the houses of the strêtes that he should winne to be equall with the ground, and to stoppe with them the Channels of water. He consulted the matter with his Captaynes, who liked well of his intente, although it was a troublesome thing. He also aduertised the Gentlemen Indians hys friends of his determination, who highly commended his denice.

¶ Cortes seeing the towardness of all his armye, he called and prepared all his labourers, with their pikeares and shouels, so that in these affaires, and in setting hys men in good order, he spent foure dayes, and then he began to cobate the strête, which goeth directly to the market place, then faintly the Citizens desired peace. Cortes stayed, and asked for their King: they answered, that they had sent for him, whereupon Cortes taried an houre, and then they began to reuile him, and to throwe stones, and shot at him. The Spanyards seeing this, gaue the order,

and wanne a fozte, and came into the chiefe place of the Citie. They cleaned the streets of the stones whiche they had laide to disturbe their passage, and stopped so by the water strate in that place, in suche wise, that neuer after it was opened againe, and threw downe all the houses, making the entrance into the Citie an open playne high way, and then retired to their camp. Also five dayes arowe they did the like, without receyuing any hurt, saving the last day two hozles were hurt.

The nexte day Cortes laide an ambuhsy with fiftie hozsmen, and sent befoze him the Bergantines, but hee himselfe with thirtie hozsmen, abode in certaine great houses in the Market place. They foughte that day in many places of the Citie, and at the retire, one shot of a handgun, whiche was the token that those which lay in ambuhsy should come forth. The enimies folowed our men, that seemed to fle with marvellous greate courage. But they were not so sone passed the snare, when Cortes came forth with his thirtie hozsmen, saying, vpon them, vpon them: By this onely meane were slaine aboue five hundred *Mexicans*, besides the prisoners.

Our *Indian* friends had a good supper that nyght with mans fleshe, whiche as yet they would not be persuaded to leaue. Certaine Spaniards went vppe into a Tower of Idols, and there opened a sepulchre, where they found five hundred Castellins in golde: With this overthowle the *Mexicans* remayned in suche feare, that all their threathnings and triumphes were turned into mourning: and euer after whē they saw our men retire, they would not folow them, fearing the like danger, so that this was a meane, the soner to winn *Mexico*.

¶. 4.

The

The hunger and infirmitie vvhich the
Mexicans suffered with greate courage.



Who perceiued foules who were bereft wyth
 hunger, came in the night season out of
 the citie vnto Cortes his Camp, who cer-
 tified, how the Citizens were in greate
 necessitie, and so manye dead with hun-
 ger and sicknesse, that there were heapes
 of dead bodyes in the houses; only to keepe close their ex-
 treame miserie: and said also, that in the night season man-
 nye came out to fish betwene the houses with feare of
 the *Mergantines*, and others came out to seeke for wodde,
 hearbes, and rootes to eate.

Cortes hearing these newes, determined to knowe the
 troth thereof, so that the next night he commanded the
Mergantines to goe round about the Citie, and he himselve
 with fiftene Horsemen, a hundred footemen, and manye
Indian friends, placed themselues betwixt certaine hou-
 ses, with order to his espies, to aduertise him what they
 shoulde see. It was no sooner day, but manye more folke
 came out to seeke for foode, and when Cortes had intelli-
 gence thereof, he made a greate slaughter among them,
 whereas at that time of vnarmed men, women, and chyl-
 dren, were slayne to the number of eght hundred: and the
Mergantines on their side made another spoyle. The pit-
 ful noise being heard into the Citie, the Citizens were as-
 tonnyed, and knew not what to doe; fearing the like an-
 bulke that they had seene and fealt the day before, & also
 wondered, that at such an houre not accustomed, so Spa-
 nyardes were so nigh. The next day following, being
 S. James his euen, Cortes entred againe into the Citie,
 according as he had done before, and wanne the strêete
 of *Tlacopan*, where he burned the riche and faire houses

A cruell
 fact of
 Cortes.

of king *Quabtimoc*, whiche were motted round aboute: so that nowe of foure partes of the cittie, thre partes were wonne, and the Spaniardes might safely passe from *Cortes* his campe, to the campe of *Ahuarado*, by reason that all the houses were burned, and beaten downe playne with the grounde.

But yet the poore *Mexicans* would say to the *Indians* of *Tlaxcallan*, goe to, go to, make hast, burne and destroy these houses, for time will come that ye shall buylde them againe at your owne coste. For if we haue victoꝝy then shall ye buylde them for vs, and if we be ouercome then shall ye buylde them for these straungers.

Within foure dayes after, *Cortes* entred the cittie againe, and also *Ahuarado* on his side, who to shewe hys haultie stomacke, laboured all that was possible to gette two towres of the temple of *Tlatelulco*, the whiche at the length he wan, although he losse thre horses in the cobat.

The next day following, the horsemen walked by and downe in the greate market place at pleasure, the poore *Mexicans* beholding that sozrowful sight fro their houses. And as the Spaniardes wente walking in the cittie, they founde heapes of dead bodies in the houses, *Creates*, and in the water: they found also the barke of trees and rootes gnawen by the hungry creatures, and the men so leane and yellow, that it was a pitifull sighte to beholde. *Cortes* yet againe required them to yelde, and they although they were so leane of body were strong in harte, and answered that he should not speake of any friendshippe, nor yet hope of their spoyle, for when no fortune would fauour them, then they would eithor burne their treasure, or throwe it into the lake, where they should neuer profite thereby, and that they would fight while one alone should be remaine aliue. At *Cortes* his nexte entry into the cittie, he founde the *Creates* full of women, children, olde
A true pros
phec.
An ex
treme pe
nurie.
R. ij,
folke

folke, and many miserable sicke persons whiche were perishing for want of foode.

Cortes commaunded that none of his army should doe any hurte vnto such miserable creatures. The principall folke who were whole and sounde, they stode in their forties or house toppes, without weapon, and clothed in mantels. It was thought that they kepte a certaine holy day, peace was againe offered, but they answered with dissimulation. The next day following Cortes required *Ahuarado* on his side to combat a streete of .1000. houses that was not yet won, and that he would doe the like on the other side: for a little space the Citizens defended themselves, but their defence endured not, but were giuen to slie, being not able to resist the force of their contraries. So that the Spanishe army wan also that streete, and slawe 12000. Citizens, the murder was so great because the *Indian* friends would shewe no mercie 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 beat downe could scarcely hold the people who were aliue, the streetes also being so full of dead carcasses and sicke bodie, that our men coulde not passe but must needs treade vpon them. Cortes desirous to see what remayned of the cittie to win, went by into a high tower, and hauing well viewed the Cittie, he iudged that of eight parts one remained yet to win. And the next day following he assaulted the same, with speciall commaundement giuen to his army, not to kil any but only such as should resist.

The sorrowfull Citizens bewayling their vnfortunate fate & destinie, besought the Spaniards to make an ende, and to kill them all out of hande. Then certayne of the hoysenmen called Cortes in great hast, who went vnto them incontinent, hoppyng of some agreement of peace: and standing at the bypynne of the water neare vnto a brave bride

byldge, the *Mexicans* sayde, oh captayne *Cortes*, considering that thou art the childe of the Sunne, why doest thou not entreate the Sunne thy father, to make an ende of vs: oh thou Sunne that canst goe rounde about the worlde in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of vs, and take vs out of this miserable lyfe, for we desire death to go and rest with our God *Quetzauatl* who tarieth for vs. After these speaches they made a lamentable scree, calling vpon their Goddes with loude vsyces. *Cortes* answered what he thought god, but yet could not perswade them to yelde, cruely it was a pittefull sight to beholde.

A forovv-
full tale.

The imprisonment of Quahutemoc.

Qortes seeing the great extremitie that these poore wretched people were in, thinking nowe that they woulde yelde vnto him, there vppon hee spake to an vncle of *Don Hernando de Texcuco*, who was taken prisioner thre dayes befoze, whom he desired to go to the king & treat of peace: this Gentleman refused the message, knowing the determinate will of *Quahutemoc*, but through muche entreatie he graunted to his request. So the next day following *Cortes* entred into the Cittie, & sent that Gentleman & certaine Spaniards befoze him. The Indian guards of that streete receyued him with the honour which vnto such a noble man did appertayne. He proceeded forward toward the king, & being come wher he was, he declared vnto him his embassage. When *Quahutemoc* had hearde his tale, he was so moued with ire & choller, that forthwith he commaunded him to be sacrificed, and gaue the Spaniards for theyr answer blowes with stones, staves and arrowes, saying also that they desired death and no peace, and fought so stoutly that day, that they slewe many of our menne, and our boyle. *A* yketwile on their side many were slayne.

An eni-
vvard,

The

The next day Cortes entred the cittie agayne, but he sought not, hoping then that they woulde submitte themselves, but yet the Citizens had no such thought. He came nere vnto a certayne bulwarke on horsebacke, and spake vnto certayne Gentlemen with whome he was arguayned, saying that now within a shorthe space he could make an ende of their finall destruction, but yet of meare compassion he wished it not, for the loue whiche he bare vnto them, so that they woulde in time reder themselves: wherefore (quoth he) entreate ye the king to doe the same, and in so doying ye shalbe well bled, and haue victuals sufficient. The Gentlemen hearing these wordes, fell on weeping, and answered, that now they knew well their errour, and felte their losse and destruction, notwithstanding they were bounde to obey their king and Goddes. But yet (quoth they) abide a while, and we will certifie *Quahutimoc* what you haue sayde, and in shorthe space they went and returned agayne, saying that the next day without fayle their Lord woulde come and talke with him in the markette place. With this answer Cortes returned to his campe, and thought at their meeting to conclude an honorabile peace. So against the next day he caused a Canapie and chayre of estate to be sette in the markette place, accordyng to the Mexican vse, and also a dinner to be prepared. The day followyng came Cortes at the houre appoynted, with many of his men armed, but the king came not: neuertheless he sente five noble men to treat of the matter, excusing the kyng, saying he was not well at ease. Cortes welcomed those Gentlemen, and was gladd of their coming, hoping thereby to conclude and make some good end. And when they had dined and well refreshed their hungry bodies, Cortes gaue them victuals, and desired them to returne agayne to the King, and so declare vnto him that without his presence the conclusion coulde not be certaine.

certayne. They wente and returned againe within two houres, and brought vnto Cortes certayne mantels made of cotten woll, very good & well wrought, with answere that the king would not come in any wise, both for 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 coming more than foure houres: who seeing the mockerie, he forthwith sente Sandoual with his Tergantines one way, and he himself went an other, combatting the houses & fortes that yet remayned, where he founde small resistance, so that he might doe what he pleased. There was that day slayne and taken prysoners aboue .40000. persons, & then he retired to his campe. The lamentable crie and mourning of the women and children woulde haue made a stony hart relent, the stench also of the dead bodies was wonderfull noysome. That night Cortes purposed to make an end the next day of the warres, and Quahutimoc pretended to flie, and for that purpose had embarked hymselfe in a Canoe of tweticie ores. When the day appeared Cortes, with his men, and foure peces of ordinance, came to the corner where those that yet remayned were shut vp, as cattell in a pounce. He gaue order to Sandoual and Alvarado what they shold do, which was, to be ready with their Tergantines, and to watche the coming out of the Canoes whiche were hidden betwixte certayne houses, and especially to haue regard vnto the kings person, and not to hurte him, but to take him aliue. He commaunded the residue of his men to force the Mexican boates to goe out, and he himselfe wente by into a tower, inquiring for the King, and there founde Xihuacoa, gouernour and Captayne generall of the Cittie, who woulde in no wise yelde hymselfe. Then came out of the Cittie a greate multitude of olde folkes, men, women and childre to take boate. The throng

was so great with haile to enter the *Canoas*, that many by that means were drowned in the lake. Cortes required his me not to kil those miserable creatures: But yet he could not stay the *Indians* his friends, who slew and sacrificed aboue fiftene thousand. After this, there was a great rumour among the comon people, that the king would die, making a piteous moone and saying that they forsook all creatures knew not whither to goe: But yet procuring to goe into the *Canoas*, whiche were so full that there was no rounne for the, by reason thereof many were drowned. The men of warre stode in the house toppes and yotica beholding their perdition. All the nobilitie of *Mexico* were embarked with the kyng. Then Cortes gaue signe with the shotte of a handgunne, that his captaines should be in a readinesse, so that in shoote space they wanne fully and wholly the great Citie of *Mexico*. The *Alegantines* likewise brake in among the flöete of boates, without any resistance, and euery one sought where he might beste succour himselfe, the Royall Standarte was beaten downe. *Garcia Holguin*, who was captayne of a *Alegantine*, had espied a great *Canoa* of .xx. oyes deepe laden with men. And one of his pyloners sayde vnto him, that the king wente in that greate *Canoa*. *Holguin* beyng gladd of the newes, gaue chase to that *Canoa* and ouertoke him. In his foreship he had thre crossebowe men. And when *Quahutimoc* who stode on the puppe of the *Canoa* ready to fight, sawe those bowes ready bente, and many drawn wordes, he yelded himselfe, declaring that he was the king. *Garcia Holguin* being a gladd man of his pyloner, toke and carried him vnto Cortes who receiued him reuerently. When *Quahutimoc* came neare vnto him he layde his hande vpon Cortes his dagger, saying, I haue done all my possibility to defende me and mine, acco:dyng to my dutie, hoping not to haue come to this estate and place
where

where now I stand: And considering that you may doe with me what you please, I beseeche you to kill me, and that is my only request. Cortes comforted him with faire words, giuing him hope of life and leniety, and toke him by into a zotic, requiring him to commaund his subiectes to yelde and render themselues: he obeyed his request. At that time there was about thre scoze and tenne thousande persons, who in seing their Prince, threwe downe their weapons, and submitted themselues.

The taking of Mexico.



By the order before declared, wanne *Hernando Cortes* the famous cittie of *Mexico*, on tuesday being the xij. of August, *An. 1521.* in remembrance wherof, and of the great victorie, euery yeere on that day they make a sumptuous

feast & solemne procession, wherin is carried the standart royall, with the whiche the cittie was won. The siege endured thre moneths, & had therein. 200000. *Indians*. 9000. *Spaniards*. 80. hoyses. 17. peces of ordinaunce, 13. *Arsgantines*, & 6000. *Canoas*. In this siege were slayne fiftie *Spaniards* & sixe hoyses, & no great number of the *Indians* their friends. There was slaine on the contrary side a hundred thousand, and some affirme many moe: but I speake not of them that died with hunger and pestilence.

At the defence of the cittie were al the nobilitie, by reason wherof many were slayne. The multitude of people was great, who ate litle, dranke salte water, and slepte among the dead bodics, where was a horrible stench: for these causes the disease of pestilence fell among them, and thereof died an infinite number. Whereupon is to be considered, their stedfast determination, for although they were afflicted with such hunger, that they were dyed to eat bougbes, ryndes of trees, and to drinke salte

water, yet woulde they not yelde themselves. But at the laste they woulde haue submitted them, and then their kyng *Quahutimoc* woulde not, bycause at the begynnynge they refused his will and counsell, and also with their generall deaths, shoulde appeare no cowardise, for they kept the dead bodies in theyr houses to keepe that secreete from theyr enimics. Here also is to be noted, that although the *Mexicans* ate mans flesh, yet they ate none of their owne Cittie or friends, as some doe thynke: for if they had, there woulde not so many haue died with hunger. The *Mexican* women were highly commended, not onely bycause they aboade with their husbandes and Fathers, but also for the greate paynes they toke with the sick and wounded persons, yea and also they laboured in making slings, cutting stones fitte for the same, and throwyng stones from the sories, for therein they dyd as much hurte as their men. The Cittie was yeldeo to the spoyle, and the Spanyardes toke the Golde, Plate and Jewellers, the *Indian* friends had all the rest of cloth and other stufte.

Cortes commaunded greate bonfires to be made in token of victoꝝ, and also to mortifie the horrible stench of the dead bodies, whome he lykewise commaunded to be buried, and some of the ppysoners menne and women he caused to be marked in the face, for the Kings slaues, and pardoned all the residue. He commaunded the *Terciantines* to be brought ashore, and appoynted one *Villa fuerte*, with 80. men to garde the, fearyng least the *Mexicans* shold set fire or otherwise destroy them. In this busynesse he occupied himself foure dayes, & then remoned his campe to *Culhuacan*, where he rendred hartie thanks to all the Gentlemen his friends, prompyng to gratifie their god and faythfull service, desirynge them to departe home to theyr houses, considering y warre was at an end, where vpon

whereupon they departed almost all in generall, both rich and iocund with the spoyle of Mexico, and also to re- mayne in the fauour and grace of Cortes.

Maruellous signes and tokens of the
destruction of Mexico.



At long befoze *Hernando Cortes* came vnto the newe *Spayne*, did many nightes after the midnichte appeare in the aire, and in the same port and place where *Cortes* entred into that land, great lightning of fire, whiche ascended vppward, and suddaynely vaded away. The *Mexicans* at that time saw flames of fire toward the orient, where now *Vera Cruz* standeth, with a great and thicke smoke, that seemed to touche the heauen and earth: this sight was fearefull vnto them.

They also saw the figures of armed men fighte in the aire one with another, a new and strange sight for them, and a thing that filled their heads with ymaginations: for when there was a propheticke spoken of among them, how that white men with bearded should come and rule their kingdome in the time of *Mutezuma*. The Lordes of *Tezcuca* and *Tlacopan* were much amazed, saying, that the sword whiche *Mutezuma* hadde, was the armes of those folke, whose figures they had seen in the ayre, with their apparell and attyre. *Mutezuma* had muche adoe to pacifie them, saying that the weapon and apparell was of hys forefathers, and because they should see the troth thereof, he gaue them the sword, and willed them to bryake it if they coulde; and they prouing to bryake the same and could not, they maruelled thereat, and also were resolu- ed of their opinions.

It should seeme, that a little befoze these things hap-
pened,

pened, some of *Mutezuma* his subiectes founde a chest of apparell and a sword in it on the sea coast, which came floating out of some shippe that had wracked there about, and broughte it to their prince. Others affirme, that the cause of alteration among the noble men, was, when they saw the sword and apparell that *Cortes* had sent vnto *Mutezuma* by *Tendilli*, seeing it a thing so like the attire of the figures whiche they had seene in the ayre, but howsoeuer it was, they beleued with these new tokens, that their Kingdome shoulde haue an ende, when they saw those strangers come into their Countrey.

The same yeare that *Cortes* came into *Mexico*, appeared a vision vnto a certaine *Malli*, which is to say, a slaue taken in the warres to be sacrificed, who at the time of his death and Sacrifice, bewayled his sorrowfull ende, calling vppon the God of Heauen, who at that instante saue in spirite a vision, and heard a voyce, bidding hym not to feare that death, for the God whome he had called vpon, would haue mercy vpon hym, willing hym also to say vnto the priests and ministers of the Idols, that their wicked sacrifice and bloodshedding was nere at an ende, and that there was a people at hand, that shoulde take away all that wicked and abhominable religion.

This *Malli* was sacrificed in the midst of the market place of *Tlatelulco*, where at this daye is the place of execution.

They remembred, and noted well the wordes of the *Malli*, and the vision whiche they called a breath from heauen.

The earth also brake open, out of the whiche issued a marvellous greate streame of water, with many greate fishes, which they iudged and held for a strange pronostication.

The Mexicans did repozte, that when on a time *Mute-*

Cortez came triumphantly with victorie of *Xochimulco*, said vnto the Lord of *Culhuacan*: *Spow* (quoth he) *Mexico* is strong and invincible, for I haue in subiection *Xochimulco*, and other pzovinces, so that now I am without feare of any enemye. The Lord of *Culhuacan* answered, saying, trust not good King to muche, for one force forceth another, with the whiche answered, *Moteczuma* was not a little offended. But when *Cortez* hadde taken them both prisoners, then he called to remembrance the former talke, and held that saying for a prophesie.

The building vp agayne of

Mexico,



Cortez pretended to redifie againe the Citie of *Mexico*, not onely for the scituation and maiestie, but also for the name & great fame thereof, and also to builde vp that which he hadde beaten downe, by reason whereof he travelled to make this Citie greater, better, and to be more replenished with people. He named and appoynted Judges, Aldermen, Attourneys, Towne cleaerke, Notaries, Shauengers, and Seruants, with all other officers, necessarie for the common weale of a Citie. He deuised the Citie among the Conquerors, having first taken out places for Churches, market places, townehoule, and other necessarie plottes to builde houses, profitable for the common weale. He also separated the dwellings of the *Spaniards* from the *Indians*, so that the water passeth and maketh deuision betwixt them. Hee procured many *Indians* to come to the building of the Citie, for avoiding charges, although therein he had somewhat to do, by reason that many kinsmen of *Quahutimac* were not as yet come vnder obedience.

He

He made Lorde of *Texcoco*, *Don Carlos Ixlixuchil*, by the consent of the Citie, in place of *Don Hernando* his brother, who was deceased, and commaunded many of his vassals to labour in the workes, 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, freedom, and other liberties, and the like vnto all those that woude come and inhabite there, whiche was a meane to allure many thither. He sette also at libertie *Xihuaco* the generall Captaine, and made him chiefe ouer the *Indians* in the Citie, vnto whom he gaue a whole stræte. He gaue likewise another stræte to *Don Pedro Mutezuma*, who was sonne to *Mutezuma* the King. All this was done, to winne the fauour of the people. He made other Gentlemen Seniors of little Islands and strætes to builde vpon, and to inhabite, and in this order the whole situation was repaired, and the worke began with great ioy and diligence: but when the fame was blowne abroade, that *Mexico* should be built againe, it was a wonder to see the people that resorted thither, hearing of libertie & freedom, the number was so greate, 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, for they bare on their backs, and drew after them stones, earth, timber, lyme, bricke, and all other things necessary in this sort, and by little and little, *Mexico* was built againe with a hundred thousande houses, moze stronger and better than the olde building was. The Spaniards also built their houses after the Spaniard fashion. Cortes built his house vpon the plote where *Mutezuma* his house stode, whiche renteth now yearly four thousand ducates a yeare. *Pamfilo de*

Narvaez accused him for the same, saying, that he hadde spoyled the wooddes and mountaynes, and spente seauen thousand beames of Ceder trees in the woꝝke of his owne house. The number seemeth moze here than there, for where all the Mountaynes are replenished with Ceder trees, it is a small matter. There are Gardines in *Texcoco*, that haue a thousand Ceder trees for walles and circuite, yea and there are Ceder trees of a hundred & twety foote long, and twelue foote in compasse from ende to end. They built faire dockes couered ouer with arches for 8 Bergantines, whereas for a perpetuall memoꝛie all the thirtene Bergantines do remayne vntil this day. They damned by the strates of water, where now faire houses stand, so that *Mexico* is not as it was wont to be, yea and since the yeare of 1524. the lake decreaseth, and sometime casteth out a vapour of stench, but otherwise it is a wholesome and temperate dwelling, by reason of the Mountaynes that standeth round about it, and well prouided thꝛough the fertilitie of the Countrey, and commodity of the lake, so that now is *Mexico* one of the greatest Cities in the woꝛld, and the most noble in all *India*, as well in armes as politic. There are at the least two thousande Citizens, that haue each of them his horse in his stable, with riche furniture for them. There is also great contractation, and all sortes of occupations. Also a money house, where money is dayly coyned: a fayre schole, whiche the *Emperoyr 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 honoꝛ, and hath landes and rentes, and the inhabitante do onely dweller payeth rente for his house. When this Citty was a building, & not thꝛoughly furnished, *Cortes* came from *Culhuacan* to dwell there. The name of *Cortes*, and maistrie of *Mexico*, was blowen

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abroade into farre prouinces, by meanes whereof, it is now so replenished, as I haue befoze declared, yea e bath so many *Spaniards*, who haue conquered aboue 400. leagues of land, being all gouerned by the princely seate of *Mexico*.

Howe the Emperour sent to take account of Cortes of his gouernement in the newe Spayne.



In these dayes Cortes was the man of the greatest name of all the Spanish nation, although many had defamed him, and especially *Pansilo de Naruaez*, who was in the Court of Spaine accusing him. And where, of long time the Counsell of *India* had receyued no letters from him, they susceaded, yea and belæued, whatsoeuer euil was spoken of him. Wherevpon they provided the Admirall *Don Diego Colon*, for Governour of *Mexico*, who at that tunc went to lawe with the king, pretending the said office and many others, with condition to carrie at his owne coast a thousand men to apprehend Cortes, They provided also for Governour of *Panuco*, one *Nonia de Gusman*, and *Simon de Alcazama* portingall, for governour of *Honduras*. To kinde moze thys mischief, and to set this businesse forward, one *John de Ribera*, the Attourney of Cortes, was a fitte and an earnest instrument againste his maister, and the cause was; for falling out with *Martin Cortes*, father vnto *Hernando Cortes*, about foure thousand Duckates which Cortes had sent by him to his father, which money the said *Ribera* his Attourney kept to his owne vse, and therefore raised many slanders againste his maister, yea and credite was giuen to his tales, but on a night he had a morsell of bacon gyven him vppon a staffolde, wherewith he was choked in the

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the chiefe time of his businesse: These newe officers, and their provisions, were not so secretly obteyned, but the matter was as secretly talked in the Courte, whiche at that time was abiding in the Citie of Toledo, and the proceedings seeme not ill vnto the friends of Cortes: The Commendadoz *Pedro de Pina* opened the matter to the *Licenciat Nouez*, and vnto father *Melgareto*, where bypon they reclarmed of the Counsels determination, beseeching them to stay for a season, to see what newes should come from *Mexico*. Also the Duke of *Bejar* tended the cause of *Hernando Cortez*, for that *Cortez* by promise of faith and troth, was assured in marriage to his brothers daughter, named the Lady *Jane de Zuniga*, who apleaked the Emperoure his anger, and the saide Duke became suretie to aunswere in all causes for him.

The matter standing in this estate, there arriued in *Spayne* *Diego de Zoro*, with a whole Coluerin made of silver, and 79000. castlins in golde, the newes whereof was blowen ouer all *Spayne*. And to say the troth, this presente was y cause, that *Cortes* was not put out of his office, but a Judge of residence was sent thither to take an accompt of him. Now a wise and a learned man was sought for that purpose, yea suche a one as could rule the matter, for some souldiers are oftentimes vnnanerly: wher vpo they thought the *Licenciat*, *Leues ponce de Leon* a fitte mā, who had bin Lieutenante to *Don Martin de Cordona*, Earle of *Aleaudere*, chiefe gouernour of the citie of *Tolledo*. This *Licenciate* with power sufficient, was sent vnto the new *Spaine*, who carried in his company as assistant, the bachelor *Marcus de Aguillar*, who hadde ruled in time past, in a worshipfull office of Justice in the Ilande of *Santo Domingo*.

With prosperous weather they departed from *Spayne*, and in shoote tyme arriued at *Vera Cruz*,

Cortez hauing newes of their arriuall by foote postes within two dayes. And vppon *Quilomer* day came letters to Cortez from the Licenciate *Ponce*, with another letter from the Emperour, whereby he vnderstood y^e cause of their comming. He returned backe incontinent an answer, and desired to know which way he would come to *Mexico*, epyther by y^e way inhabited, or else the oth^r way which is neuer. The Licenciate replied, that he would for a while abide in *Vera Cruz*, to refresh himselfe, being sick, and a man y^e had not heretofore at any time passed the seas, thinking that Cortez meante to haue done justice on certain offenders, yea & also to haue take hym by the way: wherefoze he suspected, that Cortez had sent, by cause he would knowe whiche way he meante to come, wherevpon he secretly tooke post horse, with certaine Gentlemē, and other religious persons that came in hys company, & passed throughe the *Tolones*, although it was the farther way, and made suche hast, that in five dayes he came to *Izacapallapan*, refusing the entertaynement and prouision of meate and lodging that Cortez had prepared by his Gentlemē, that wēt both the wayes to meete him.

In *Izacapallapa* they receyued him with great feare and maiestie, but after dinner, the Licenciate fell a vomiting, and the most of hys companie, and after the vomite, they fell into a fire. They thoughte that certayne hearbes was the cause thereof, whiche were in a dishe of curdes. The Licenciate was somewhat g^racie of the curdes, and toke the dishe, and offered it to father *Thomas Ortiz*, no (quoth the Steward) hys reverence shall haue another dishe, no (quoth father *Ortiz*) I will none of these, noz yet of anye other, of whyche wordes there were afterwardees *Merles* made, suspecting some thyng of the curdes: but truely there was no hurte, or anye euill thyng putte in them, (as hereafter shall

shalbe declared) for the *Comendador, Prano*, who was then chiefe Sheriffe, did eate of all those dishes, yea in the same dish that the *Licenciat* eate of, who neyther vomited nor yet receyued any hurte or alteration. But I thinke, that they comyng hoate, wery and hungry, did eate too muche, and dranke also coide water, wherby their stomackes revolted, and thereof followed the sike with vomite. On the behalfe of *Cortes* there was presented to the *Licenciat* a riche present, but he refused it.

Cortes with all the flower of Gentlemen in *Mexico*, came to receyue him, and giuyng him the right hand, they went together vntill they came to *Saint Frances* abbay, where after their prayes made, *Cortes* demaunded to see the kings provisions, who answered, that the next day he woulde shew them vnto him; then they accompanied him to his house, where he was well lodged.

The next day followyng, all the magistrates of the Cittie mette the *Licenciat* in the cathedrall Church, and by acce. before the notary, he presented his auctoritie from the Emperour. He toke the Scales of Justice from the Judges and Sargeants, and incontinent restozed them againe, and saide with gentle speach, this rodde of the *Senior* gouernour, I will haue for my selfe. *Cortes* with all the other Magistrates kissed the Emperours letters, and put them vpon the crowne of their heads, in toke of great obedience, sayyng, that they woulde obserue and obey all that was therein contayned, as the commaundement of their king and Lorde, requyryng the same to be set downe by acce and testimony.

After these things done, they proclaymed the residence and account of iustice, of *Hernando Cortes*, to the intent that all persons who coulde accuse him of any vnrighful dealing, should come and make their complaint, and to haue remedy for the same. There should you then see the sike

and talke among them, euery officer fearing his owne
cause, with desire to see the ende of their businesse.

The death of the Licenciat

Luis Ponce.



He Licenciat comming one day from *Saine*
Francis abbay from seruite, fell into an ex-
treme 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 til encreasing, so that on the
seuenth day he yelded vp the ghost. In the time of his
sickenesse he receiued the communion, and made his laste
will & testament. He left for substitute in his office, the ba-
cheleer *Marcus de Aguillar*. *Cortes* made as greate sorrow
for his death, as if he had bene his owne father, his lunc-
falles were celebrated with great pompe.

The enimies of *Cortes* published, that he died of popson.
But the Licenciat *Pero Lopez*, and Doctoz *Hoieda*, who
were his Whistions, swore that he died of a burning fe-
uer, and shewed a further consequence, that the euenyng
befoze he deceased, he desired them to play the measures
vpon a lute, and as he lay in his bedde, shewed with stir-
ryng his feete the compasses and pointes of the daunce.
It was a thing which diuers persons saw, and forthwith
he lost his speach, and that night towarde the dawning of
the day he yelded by his spirite. I thinke that fewe men
do die daüsing, as this Lawier did. The number of a hun-
dred persons came out of *Spayne* with the Licenciat,
whereof the mosse parte died by sea and on the lande. It
was suspected to be a pestilence, so; one of them infected
another. There were in his company many Gentlemen
e ech of them had an office. There was a Frier who was

A madd
daunce.

a very slanderous fellow, & reported that Cortes had poisoned the Licenciat, and also that the Licenciat had an express order from the Emperour to cut of Cortes his head, as soon as he had taken the Oare of Justice from him. The subtle frier, had thought to haue gotten money of the one, and thankes of the other, and at the ende had nothing.

How Cortez came into

Spainne.



Here one Alonso de Estrada governed the State of Mexico, as substitute of Marcus de Aguilar, according to the Emperours commaundement, Cortes considered with himselfe that it was not possible for him to haue agayne his office, except he went 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 Spainne, as well for businesse of importance of his owne, as also matters touching the Emperour and his new kingdoms whereof I will reherse particularly some.

As touching his owne causes, first he being a man of god pæres, went to marry, hoping to haue children, vnto whom he might leaue the profite of his labour and payne: also to appeare before the King his maister face to face, and to enforce his Patellie what Landes and Kingdomes hee had wonne and brought vnto his royall crowne: To signifie likewise vnto him, of the dissension among the Spanyardes hys subiectes in Mexico, and to answer for himselfe, to any false reportes which had bene made agaynst him: And finally, to receyue a conuigie reward for hys worthie and faithfull seruice. Cortes being in these imaginations, there was brought

brought a letter vnto him, from the reuerend father *Garcia de Loaysa* ghostly father vnto the Emperour, and afterwarde was ordeyned Cardinall, in the whiche letter he conuited him earnestly to come vnto Spayne, to the content that the Emperours Maietie mighte bothe see and know him, assuring him of his friendshippe. After the receypte of this letter, he made al the hast possible to departe vpon his iourney, ceasing from his voyage whiche he had in hande, soz to inhabite the riuer *De las Palmas*. Befoze his departure he dispatched two hundred Spaniards, a thre scoze and ten hozsemen, with many *Mexicans* soz the countrey of *Chichimeca*, to inhabite there, finding the lande riche of siluer mines, as it was reported, giyng vnto those men expresse order, that if the people of that prouince did not entertayne them with friendship, that then they should accept the as enimies, and forthwith to make warre, and to take them soz slaues, soz that they are a barbarous people. He wrote his letter to *Pera Cruz*, to prepare with all speede two good shippes, and soz that purpose he sent *Pera ruz de Esquivel*, who was a Gentleman of *Seuill*: But he wente not on the iourney, soz a moneth after, they founde him buried in a little Iland of the lake, with one hande out of the graue, whiche was eaten with dogges and foule: he was buried in his dublet and his hose: he had one onely wounde in his forehead: And a *Negro*, his slave, who wente in his company, was neuer hearde of, noz yet the *Canas* and *Indians* that wente with him, so that the truth of his death was neuer knowne.

Cortes made an Inuentary of his moueable goodes, whiche was valued at two hundred thousande Castlins of golde: he left soz gouernour of his owne estate, the *Licenciad Almirano* his kinsman, with other two friends: he furnished two shippes, and proclaymed free passage and victuals vnto all those that would goe in his company:

he shipped for his owne account a thousand five hundred markes of silver, twentie thousand Castlins in good gold, and ten thousand Castlins of base golde. He toke in his company *Gonsalo de Sandoual*, *Andres de Tapia*, and other of the chiefest of the conquerours. He brought with him a Sonne of *Matezumás*, & another Sonne of *Maxicca*, who was become a Christian, & named *Don Lorenso*, with many other Indian Gentlemen of *México*, *Tlaxcallan*, and other cities: eight players with a cudgell, twelue tennis players, with certaine men & women of that countrey, who were white of colour, and other dwarfes & deformed persons. He brought also wilde beasts, as *Tigres*, & other strange beastes called *Aiotochili*, and one *Tlaquaci*. Moreover he brought a great number of mantels made of feathers & Conny heare, Targets, bushes or tuffes of galant feathers, and looking glasses of stone. In fine, he came lyke a great Lorde, & arrived in Spayne, in the ende of the yere 1519. the Courte being then in *Toledo*. The newes of his arriual was blowen thzough out all Spayne, and euery one desirous to see him.

The honour vyhiche the Emperour

shewed vnto *Hernando Cortes*, with rewarde.



He Emperour receyued *Cortes* magnifically, and to giue him the greater honour, he went & visited him at hys owne lodging.

The Emperour beyng in a readinesse to passe into Italy, to be there crowned with the Emperiall crowne, *Cortes* went in his maiesties company vnto the Citie of *Saragoza*, whereas his *Majestie* calling to remembrance his worthy seruice, & valour of his person, made him *Marques del valle de Huaxacac*, at *Aaa.* ording

corpyng to his desire, on the. vij. of July, *An. 1528*, and Captayne generall of the newe Spayne, 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 tyme should be discovered, for a sure inheritaunce to him and his discendentes: he offered vnto him also the habite of the order of Knighthode of Saint James, the whiche offer Cortes refused, bycause there was no rent gyuen with the habite, but he besought his Maiestie to graunt vnto him the gouernment of Mexico, the whiche request the Emperour denied, bycause that no Conquerour should thinke that the office of gouernment and iustice is due vnto hym, for the like demaunde was desired of the kyng *Don Fernando*, by *Cristoual Colon* who firste discovered the India, and also the great Captaine *Gonsalo Hernandez de Cordova*, who conquered *Naples*. Cortes deserued muche, and also the Emperour gaue him much, to honour him as a most bountifull and gratefull King, who neuer taketh away that whiche once he giueth. He likewise gaue vnto Cortes all the kyngdome of *Michuacan*, but he had rather haue had diuers other tostones whiche he demaunded, many other great fauours and rewarde he receyued at the Emperours handes, but the principall are those besoze declared.

The Mariage of Cortez.



When it was knowne in Spayne, that the lady *Catherin Xuarez*, 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*: by fathers name was *Don Carolo de Arrellano*, Catle of Aguilar. This Lady was

a beuotifull Dame, and hyz byzethrene noble personages, who were highly in fauour with the Emperour. And Cortes to matche with so honozable an house and lynage he iudged himselfe foztunate and well married.

Among many Jewelles whiche Cortes broughte with him, were siue moſte riche and fine Emeraldes, whiche were valued at a hundzeth thouſande Duckets: the one was wozought lyke vnto a Roſe, an other like a Coznet, an other lyke a fiſhe with the eyes of golde, whiche was a maruellous p  ce of worke, bepng wozought among *Indians*: an other p  ce was wozought lyke vnto a bell, with a great and a riche pearle foz the clapper, garniſhed with golde, ingrauen about with letters, whiche ſayde, Blessed is he that created th  . The fiſth was made lyke a cuppe with the ſote of gold, and had foure little chaynes of gold, that were ſoynd all at the top fogither, in a great pearle, and the bynne of this cuppe was of gold, with this verſe ingrauen rounde aboute, *Inter natos mulierum non ſurrexit maior*. Foꝛ this onely p  ce the Perchantes of *Genewa* did offer fourtie thouſand Ducates, foꝛ to ſel the ſame again to the great Turke. But at that tyme Cortes woulde not giue it foꝛ any money, although afterwarde he loſt them all in the warres of *Aygel*, bepng there with the Emperour. It was told Cortes that the Emperreſſe deſired to haue thoſe p  ces, meaning to demaunde them of him, and that the Emperour ſhoulde pay foꝛ the ſame, foꝛ whiche cauſe he ſent them to the Lady his newe wiſe, with many other Jewelles befoꝛe he came at the Courte, and there, when he was enquired foꝛ them, he answered, and excuſed himſelfe, foꝛ then certaynely he gaue ſuche Jewels vnto his Spouſe, that the lyke neuer Lady had in Spayne. And after he was married to the Lady *Iane of Zuniga*, he departed with hyz to the newe Spayne, with title of *Marques*.

The riche
Emeraldes.

How the Chancery vvas first placed

in Mexico, and certayne Diuellshe pretences
wrought against Cortes.



Before Cortes his coming into Spayne, Pamfilo de Naruaez his old enemy wēt vp & down in the Court, procuring the conquest of the riuer *De Palmas & Florida*, where at the last he died, and alwayes when he saw tūne conuenient he made cōplaints against Cortes, yea and to the Emperours owne hand he deliuered a scrole of many articles, amōg the which was one, wherein he affirmed that Cortes had as many barres of gold and siluer, as in *Biscay* were barres of yron, and offered to proue the same: but although it was not true, yet it was suspicious. He also earnestly procured that he should be punished, saying that he had plucked out one of his eyes, & killed with poison the Licenciat *Luis ponce de Leon*, & *Francisco Garayo*. Through his many and importunate petitions, it was determined to send to Mexico, *Don Pedro de la Cuenca*, who was bothe fierce and seuer, and Lord steward of the Emperour his house, and afterwarde made general of the ordinance, and chiefe Comendadoz of the order and Knighthood of *Alcantara*, who finding the accusation true, should cut off Cortes his head.

But as God would, in the meane season came the famous Simonfall from the Doctoꝝ *Hoieda*, and the Licenciat *Pero Lopez*, Physicians, who had cured the persons that were reported to haue bene poisoned, wherupon that commission ceased. And when Cortes came into Spayne, *Don Pedro de la Cuenca* would many times laugh and teel with him, saying, From farre places long lies.

The Emperour and his counsell of *India* provided a Courte

Courte of Chancery in *Mexico*, as chiefe place, where as all controuersies and matters of righte throughout the new *Spain* mighte there be determined, and also to correct the mutines, and partes taking among the *Spaniards*: likewise to take residence and accompte of *Cortes*, and to be satisfi'd both of his seruice and offences. Moreover that they should visite the officers, and rovall Treasorie there. *Munio de Gusman* was appoynted president and gouernoure, with other foure Licenciates for Judges to accompany him. He departed toward *Mexico* Anno 1529, and at his comming, he began to vnderstande in his regimente and office, with the Licenciate *John Ortiz*, for the other thre Judges died by the way. *Cortes* being nowe absente, and bypon his iourney toward *Spain*, this newe Judge made a terrible residence and condemnation againste him, and commaunded all his goodes to be solde by out-thyappe, for a greate deale lesse than his goodes were worth, and in his absente they called him by proclamation: but if he hadde bin there present, his life had bin in daunger, although face to face some respect is had, and it is an ordinarie rule that the Judge sheweth rigoure against him that is absent. This hatred was not only against *Cortes*, but also against his friendes, for hee apprehended *Pedro de Aluaredo*, who was newly come from *Spain*, bycause he spake in the fauour of *Cortes*, laying to his charge the rebellion of *Mexico*, when *Naruaez* was there. He also apprehended *Alonso de Efrada*, & manye others, doing manifest wrongs vnto them.

In shoote space the Emperour had moze complayntes against *Nunio de Gusman*, and the other Judge, than had bin heretofore against any other, wherevpon he was put out of office in the yeare 1530. His wrongfull dealing in iustice was not onely proued in *Mexico*, but also in the Court of *Spain*, with many persons that were come

Before the
Iudges
came, Cortez
vvas
gone to
Spain.

from thence, so that the next president and Judges that went thither, did pronounce *Nunio de Gusman* and his fellows for partfall Judges, and eninies unto *Cortes*, and condemned him to pay all his goodes whiche were euill sold: But whē *Nunio de Gusman* vnderstode that he was put out of office, he then was afrarde, and toke his tourney against the *Techichimecas*, seeking after the Towne of *Culhuacan*, from whence the *Mexicans* descended. He carried in his company five hundred Spaniards, whercof the most were hoysmen, and many of them went as prisoners, and against their willes.

In *Mechuacan* he toke prisoner the King *Cacocin*, who was a great friende unto *Cortes*, a seruitoꝝ unto the Spaniards, and vassal to the Emperour, and as the same goeth, he toke from him tenne thousande markes of plate, and much golde, and afterward burned him, and many of the Gentlemen, and principal persons of that kingdome, bycause they shoulde not complayne, saying, that a dead dogge biteth not. He toke from thence five thousand *Indians* for the seruice of his army, and with them conquered *Xalisco*, whiche is now called the new *Gallizia*. He abode there, vntill the *Alizeroy* *Don Antonio de Mondoza*, and *Chancery* of *Mexico*, caused him to be apprehended, who sent him prisoner into *Spayne*, to giue accompte of his office. If *Nunio de Gusman* had bin so good a gouernour and 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 bin presidente in *Santo Domingo*, and the Licēciates *John de Salmeron*, *Gasco Quiraga*, *Francisco Ceynos*, and *Alonso Maldonado*, for Judges to accompany him.

These

A good
sentence.

all these
years
of the
year

Abomi-
nable fact.

These Judges gouerned well the land, and caused the Citie of *Angels* to be inhabited which the *Indians* called *Cuicilaxcoapan*, that is to say a Snake in water. The reason was, bycause they haue two fountaynes, the one of euill water, and the other of good. This Citie standeth twentie leagues from *Mexico*, in the high way to *Vera Cruz*. The Bishop set the *Indians* at libertie, and therefore many Spaniards departed from thence, who hadde inhabited there before, and wente to ſeke their liuing at *Xalixco*, *Hundurac*, *Quahusemallan*, and other places where warre was.

The returne of Cortez to Mexico.



This season arriued *Cortes* at the riche Towne of *Vera Cruz*, and when his coming was published, how he came wyth title of *Marquez*, and had broughte bys wife with him, an infinite number of *Indians* came to visite him, and almost all

the Spaniards of *Mexico*, so that in few dayes there came a thousand persons of his owne nation, who made thepp complaintes vnto him, how they were vndone, and that the Judges which had bin there, had destroyed both him and them, and asked his iudgement whether that nowe they might kill both them and theirs. *Cortes* hearing their odious request, reprehended them, and also gaue them hope shortly to relieue their necessitie with new discoveries, and in this order fearing some mutinie, he held them in pleasure and pastime.

When the president hearde howe *Cortes* was visited of the Spaniards, they commaunded forthwith euery one of them shoulde immediately returne to *Mexico*, or else where their dwelling places were vpp paine of death, yea and they were absolute to apprehende *Cortes* for a *strer*

of vprize, and to sende him backe againe prisoner into *Spainne*. But when he saw howe sone these Judges were moued, he commaunded to proclayme himselfe openly in *Vera Cruz* Captayne Generall of all the dominions of the new *Spainne*, and there caused the Emperours letters pattentes to be redde, whiche thing being knowne to the *Mexican* Judges, it caused them to wping their noses. After this diligence ended, he departed toward *Mexico* with a great company of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, among whom there a god company of horsemen: but when he came to *Texcuco*, the President sent to commaund him not to enter into *Mexico*, vpon payne of losse of his goodes, and hys body to be at the Kings pleasure.

He obeyed the commaundemente with greate wylledome, being a thing conuenient to the seruice of the Emperour, and profite of the land, which he had wonne with great toyle and labour: but yet he abode in *Texcuco* with a greater maiestie and court, than the President in *Mexico*, and wrote vnto him, that he should consider his gods will and whole intent, and not to giue occasion to the *Indians* to rebell, and for the *Spaniards* he might assure hym selfe.

The *Indians* vnderstanding y discord betwixt the President and *Cortes*, slew as many *Spaniards* as they could get at aduantage; so that in fewe dayes there wanted a bone two hundred of the *Spanish* nation, being slayne as well in *Townes*, as in the high wayes, yea and also they had communed among themselues to rebell in dede. But when the Bishop and the Judges heard this newes, they began to feare the matter, and considering that they had no better remedy, nor other sure defence, but only y name, baloz, person, and authoritie of *Cortes*, they sente to desire him to come vnto *Mexico*, where vpon he obserued they commaundement and request, & wente toward the Citty,

well

well accompanied with men of warre, so that he bestowed himselfe in estate a generall captaine. All the Cittizens came out to receive him and the lady Marques his wife: his entrie into the cittie was a day of great pleasure among them. Then the president and iudges entred into counsell for to remedie the greate hurt whiche had bene done by the *Indians*, Cortes toke the matter in hand, and apprehended many *Indians*, of whom some he burned, others wer tozned with dogges, he did such correction, that in shoote time al the countrey was quiet, and the highe ways without daunger, a thing worthy of great thanks.

The letters that the *Indians* vsed in

Mexican.



Here hath bin found letters at any time in the Weast India, onely in the newe Spaine were vsed certain figures which serued for letters, with the which they kepte in memorie, and preserved their antiquities. The figures of the *Mexicans* vsed for letters are great, by reason whereof they occupy gret volumes: they ingraue them in stone or timber, and paint them vpon walles, and also vpon a paper made of cotten wool, and leaues of the tree *Meel*. Their booke are great and folden vp like vnto our broade clothes, and written vpon both sides. There are some booke rolled vp like a piece of stamell. They pronouce not. b. g. e. f. Therfore they vse much. p. e. l. r. This is the *Mexical* speech, and *Nahual*, which is the best, plainest, and most eloquent, in al Newe Spayne. There are some in *Mexico* that do vnderstand ech other, by whistling, whiche is ordinarily vsed among louers, & thēues, a speech truely to wonder at, & none of our men could come to the knowledze thereof.

The order hovy to reckon.

Ce	One
Ome	Two
Ei	Thre
Nau	Foure
Maauil	Fiue
Chicoace	Sixe
Chicome	Seauen
Chicuei	Eight
Chiconau	Nine
Matlac	Tenne
MatlacHioce	Eleuen
MatlacHioce	Twelue
MatlacHioce	Thirtene
MatlacHioce	Fourtene
MatlacHioce	Fiftene
MatlacHioce	Sixtene
MatlacHioce	Seuentene
MatlacHioce	Eightene
MatlacHioce	Nineteene
Cempoalli	Twentie

Euery number is simple, vntil 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 counte ten and one, tenne and two, tenne and thre, tenne and foure, tenne and fiue.

When you count, ten fiue and one, tenne fiue and two, ten fiue and thre. Twentie goeth by himselfe, and al the greater numbers.

The

The Mexican yeare.

The Mexican yeare is thre hundred fiftie dayes, for they haue in their yere eightene monethes, and euery moneth contayneth twentie dayes. They haue othet sine odde dayes, whiche goeth by themfelues, in the which they vsed to celebrare greate feastes of cruell and bloody sacrifice, with much deuotion. And reconing after this sort, they could not chose but erre, for they could not make equal the punctuall course of the Sunne. For the Christian yere is not perfit, although we haue learned Astronomers. But yet these simple Indians wente neare the marke.

The names of the moneths.

Tlacaxipeualiztli.

Tozeuztli.

Huei Tozeuztli.

Toxcale.

Ecalcoaltzli.

Tocuilhuicintli.

Hueitēcailhuicintli.

Micēailhuicintli.

Veymicailhuicintli.

Pachēli.

Huei Pachēli.

Quechōlli.

Panquecaliztli.

Hacamuztli.

Tititli.

Izcaltli.

Coauilēcatli.

The Conquest of
The names of dayes.

<i>Cipactli</i>	A Spade
<i>Hecatl</i>	Ape or Winds
<i>Calls</i>	A House
<i>Cuez Palo</i>	A Lizard
<i>Coanac</i>	A Snake
<i>Mixquinals</i>	Death
<i>Macatl</i>	A wilde Hart
<i>Tochtli</i>	A Conny
<i>Acl</i>	Water
<i>Izcuyntli</i>	A Dogge
<i>Ocumacli</i>	An Ape
<i>Malinalis</i>	A Worme
<i>Acath</i>	A Cane
<i>Ocelotl</i>	A Tigre
<i>Coanac</i>	An Egge
<i>Cozacuahuel</i>	A Bussard
<i>olin</i>	A Temple
<i>Tepatl</i>	A Knife
<i>Quauitl</i>	Rayne
<i>Xuchitl</i>	A Rose

Although these twentie names serue for the whole
yeere, and are but the dayes of euery moneth, yet ther-
fore euery moneth beginneth not with *Cipactli*, which is
the first name, but as they followe in order, and the fift
odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also because they
weeke is of thirtene dayes, which changeth the names,
as by example, *Cecipactli* can go no further thā vnto *Ma-*
tlacameiacatl, which is thirtene, and then beginneth an
other weeke: and we do not say *Matlacahuauis Ocelotl*, whi-
che is the fourteenth day, but we say *Cecelotl* whiche is
one, and then reker the other Grammatices vnto twenty.

And

And when al the twentieth dayes are ended, begin againe to reckon from the first name of the twentieth, but not the one, but from viij. And because ye may better vnderstand the matter, here is the example.

Cecipactli.

Omehecatli.

Ei Calli.

Nani Cuezpali.

Macuilcoatl

Chicoacen Mixquinh.

Chicome Macatl.

Chicuei Tochli.

Chiconauatl.

Matlaciz Cuintli.

Matlacihuec Ocumatli.

Matlacihuec Malinalli.

Matlacihuec Macatl.

The next weeke following doth begin his dayes from one. And that one is the foureteenth name of the moneth and of the dayes, and saith.

Ceacelotli.

Omeoauitli.

Eicozcaqua hutli.

Nauit Olu.

Macuil Tecpatli.

Chicoacen Quiauitli.

Chicome Xuchitli.

Chicuei Cipactli.

In this second weeke, Cipactli came to fall on the eighth day, being in the first weeke the first day.

Cematatl.

Ometochli.

Ziacl.

Nauitl Oumitli.

Macuil Ocumatli.

Xbb. iij.

Ang

And so proceede on to the thirde wäke, in the which this name *Cpacalli* entred not, but *Macatl*, which was the seventh day in the first wäke, & had no place in the second, and is the first in the third. This reconing is no darker, than ours, which we haue in a. b. c. d. e. f. g. For they also change with time, and runne in such sort, that. a. which was the firste letter of this moneth, commeth to be the fift daye of the nexte moneth, and the thirde moneth becometh to be the third day, and so orderly doth the other fife letters.

The accounting of yeares.

These *Mexicans* had another order to reckon theyr yeares, which exceeded not aboue foure in number, as one, two, thre, foure, wherewith they accounte a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they lust. Those foure figures or names are, *Tochili*, *Acathl*, *Tecpatlh*, *Calli*, and do signifye, a Conny, a Caue, a Knife, and a House, saying.

<i>Ce Tochli</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Acathl</i>	Two yeares
<i>Ei Tecpatlh</i>	Thre yeares
<i>Nani Calli</i>	Foure yeares
<i>Macuil Tochli</i>	Five yeares
<i>Cicascen Acathl</i>	Sixe yeares
<i>Cicome Tecpatlh</i>	Seauen yeares
<i>Chicuei Calh</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconaui Tochli</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Matlactli Acathl</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Matlactlioc Tecpatlh</i>	Eleuen yeares
<i>Matlactliome Calli</i>	Twelue yeares
<i>Matlactliomei Tochli</i>	Thirtene yeares

So that the reconing passeth not ab one thirtene,
whiche is one weeke of the yeare, and endeth where he
began.

Another Weeke.

<i>Ce Acatlh</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Tlepatlh</i>	Two yeares
<i>Ei Calli</i>	Thre yeares
<i>Nawi Tochli</i>	Foure yeares
<i>Macuil Acatlh</i>	Five yeares
<i>Chicoacn Tecpatlh</i>	Sixe yeares
<i>Chicome Calli</i>	Seuen yeares
<i>Chicuei Tochli</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconawi Acatlh</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Matlatli Tecpatlh</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Matlatlioc Calli</i>	Eleuen yeares
<i>Matlatliome Tochli</i>	Twelue yeares
<i>Matlatliomei Acatlh</i>	Thirtene yeares

The third vyecke of yeares.

<i>Ce Tecpatlh</i>	One yeare
<i>Ome Calli</i>	Two yeres
<i>Ei Tochli</i>	Thre yeres
<i>Nawi Acatlh</i>	Foure yeres
<i>Macuil Tecpatlh</i>	Five yeres
<i>Chicoacan Calli</i>	Sixe yeares
<i>Chicome Tochli</i>	Seauen yeares
<i>Chicuei Acatlh</i>	Eight yeares
<i>Chiconawi Tecpatlh</i>	Nine yeares
<i>Matlatli Calli</i>	Tenne yeares
<i>Matlatliome Tochli</i>	Eleuen yeares
	<u>Twelue</u>

Matlactliome Acatlh Twelve yeares
 Matlactliomei Tecpatlh Thirtene yeares

The fourth Weeke.

Ce Calli	One yeare!
Ome Tochtli	Two yeares
Et Acatlh	Thre yeares
Nani Tecpatlh	Four yeares
Macuil Calli	Five yeares
Chicpacen Tochtli	Sixe yeares
Chicome Acatlh	Seauen yeares
Chicuei Tecpatlh	Eight yeares
Chiconani Calli	Nine yeares
Matlactli Tochtli	Tenne yeares
Matlactlioc Acatlh	Eleuen yeares
Matlactliome Tecpatlh	Twelue yeares
Matlactliomei Calli	Thirtene yeares

Each of these weekes, which our men call Indition, both conteyne thirtene yeares; so that all the foure weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfit number in the reconing, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeres, to fiftie two yeares, they vsed to make solemn feastes, with strange Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they beginne againe, by the same order befoze declared, vntil they come to as many moe, beginning at Ce Tochtli, and so forwarde. But alwayes they begin at the Comy figure, so that in the forme of reconing they kepe & haue in memozye, things of 830. yeares, and by this Cronicle they knowe in what yere euerye thing hapned, and how long euery king raygned: howe many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the gouernement of the lande.

The Indians beleued that five ages

were past, which they called Sunnes.



The Indians of Culhua did beleue that the Gods had made y^e woꝛld, but they knew not how, yet they beleued that since the creation of the woꝛld four Sunnes were past, and that the first and last is y^e Sunne that now giueth light to the woꝛld.

They helde opinion that the firste Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all liuing creatures perished like wise.

The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heaues, with whose fall all liuing creatures were slayne, and then (said they) were manye Giances in that Countrey, and certayne monstrous bones, which our men found in opening of graues, by proportion whereof, some shoulde seme to be men of twenty spannes high.

The third Sunne was consumed by fire, whiche burned day and night, so that then all liuing creatures were burned.

The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of ayze or winde, which blew downe houses, trees, yea and y^e mountaynes and Rockes were blowen asunder, but the lignage of mankinde perished not, sauing that they were conuerted into Apes. And touching the fifth Sunne, which now raigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the woꝛlde fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of five and twenty yeares continually, and at the fiftenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did forme one man and a woman, who brought forth childzen, and at the end of the other tenne yeares, appeared the Sunne whiche was newly boꝛne vppon the figure of the Conny day, and

¶ Ccc.

there

therfoze they begu their account of yeeres at y day, & reckoning from the yeare of oure Lozde 1552. their age of Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they haue bled many yeares their wryting in figures: and they had not onely this yle from *Cetocheli*, whiche is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day of their fifth Sunne, but also they hadde the same order and yle in the other foure Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slippe out of memozie, saying, that with the newe Sunne, all other things should be likewise newe. They held also opinion, that thre dayes after this last Sunne appeared, all the Gods did dye, and that in procelle of time the Gods whiche nowe they haue, and worshippe, were bozne. And though these false opinions, our Diuines did sone conuert them to the knowledge of the true lawes of God.

The nation of the Indians called *Chichimecas.*

In the lande nowe called newe spayne, are diuers and sundry generations of people: but they holde opinion, that the stocke of most antiquitie, is the people nowe called *Chichimecas*, whiche proceeded out of the house of *Aculhuacan*, which standeth beyond *Xalisco*, about the yeare of our Lozde. 720. Many of this Generation did inhabite aboute the lake of *Tenucheilan*, but their name ended by mixture in marriage with other people. At that time they hadde no King, noz yet did builde eyther house or Towne. Their only dwellings was in saues in y *Montaynes*. They went naked, they sowed no kind of graine, noz bled bread of any sorte. They did mainteyne themselues with rootes, hearbes, and siluester fruites: and being a people cunning in shooting with the bowe, they hyle

led deare, hares, connyes, and other beastes and soule, which they eat also, not sodden or roasted, but rawe, and dyed in the Sunne. They eat also Snakes, Lizards, and other filthy beastes, yea and at this day there are some of this generation that vse the same dyet. But although they liued vshe a bestiall life, & being a people so barbarous, yet in their diuellig religion they were verpe deuout. They woo?hipped the Sunne, vnto whome they vsed to offer Snakes, Lizards, & such other beastes. They likewise offered vnto their God all kinde of soule, from the degreé of an Eagle, to a little Butterflie. They vsed not sacrifice of máslaughter, no? had any Idolles, no not so muche as of the Sunne, whome they helde for the sole and only God. They married but with one woman, & in no degreé of kindred. They were a skoute and a warlike people, by reason whercof, they were Lozdes of the land.

The Coronation of the Kings of Mexico.



Although one brother was heire to an other among the *Mexicans*, and after their deceasse, did inherite the Sonne of the eldest byother, yet they toke no possession of the state no? name of King vntil they were annoynted and Crowned openlye.

As soone as any King of Mexico deceassed, and his successors ended, then were called to Parliamente the Lozde of *Texuco*, and the Lozde of *Tlacopan*, who were the chiefest estates, and then in order all other noble men, who owed any seruice to the Mexican Empire. And býng come together, if any doubt of the inheritáce of þe crowne happened, then the matter was decided with al hast: then the newe King being knowen, he was stripped skarke naked, except a cloth to couer his priuie partes, and in this sorte was carried among them, to the greate Temple

of *Vitzilopuchli* with greate silence, and without any ioy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie whose office it was, ledde him vpp the staires of the Temple by the armes, and befoze him wente the Princes of *Texcuco* and *Tlacopan*, who that day did weare their robes of Coronation, where vpon was paynted their armes and title. The reyse fewe of the Laytie wente by into the Chappels, but only those that were appoynted to attire the newe king, and to serue in other Ceremonies, for all the residue stode vpon the steppes and belowe, to beholde the Coronation. These Magistrates being aboute in the Chappell, came with great humilitie and reuerence, kneeling downe vpo their knees befoze the Idol of *Vitzilopuchli*, and touched the earth with one finger and then kissed the same. Then came the high prieste clothed in his pontifical vestmentes, with many others in his company, who did weare surplices: and withoute speaking any woorde, they paynted or couloured the Kings person, with ynke made for the purpose, as blacke as any cole. After thys Ceremonie done, they blessed the annoynted King, and spzynckled him foure times with a certayne holly water, that was made at the time of consecration of the God, made of dowe or paste, with a spzynckle made of boughes of Cane leaues, Ceder, & willow leaues. Then they put vpon his head, a cloth painted with the bones and skulles of dead men, and next they clothed him with a black garment, and vpon y another blew, and both were paynted with y figures of dead mens skulles & bones. Then they put about his necke certayne laces, whereat did hang the armes of y Crowne. And behind his backe they did hang certain little bottels ful of powders, by vertue wherof he was deliuered from pestilence and diseales, according to their opinit: yea & therby witches, nor witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet euill menne deceyue him. In syne,

with

The oymt.
ment.

with those reliques he was sure from all perill and daunger. Upon his lefte arme they bounde a litle bagge of incense, and then bzought vnto him a chaffing dishe of imbers made of the barke of an Oke trée. Then the king arose, and with his owne hande thze w of the same incense into the chaffing dishe, and with great reuerence bzought the same to the God *Vitzilopuchili*, and after he had smoked him therewith, he satte him downe, then came the high Priest and tooke his othe to mainteyne the religion of the Goddess, to képe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maynteyne iustice, and not to agrauiate any of his vassals or subiects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he should cause the Sunne to giue his light, the clowdes to yelde rayne, the riuers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of grayne, fruytes, and other nédefull hearbes and trées. These and many other impossible things the newe kyng did sweare to performe: and then he gaue thanks to the high priest, and commended himself to the Goddess and to the lookers on, and they who bzought him by in the same order, carieth him downe agayne. Then all the people cried, the Goddess pferue the newe kyng, and that he may raigne many yeres in health with al his people. But then some began to daunce, other to play on their instrumets, the wising outwardly their inwarde ioyes of harte. And before the king came to the foote of the steppes, all the noble men came to yelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faythfull subiectes they presented vnto him feathers, strings of snayle shelles, collours, and other Jewelles of golde and siluer; also mantels paynted with death, & bare him company vnto a great hal within the compasse of the temple, and there lefte him. The king sitteth downe vnder his cloth of estate, called *Tlacatecco*, and in foure daies departeth not out of the circuyte of the temple, the which

he spendes in prayers, sacrifice and penance, he eates then but once a day, and every day he bathes himselfe, and agayne in the night in a great ponde of water, and then lettes himselfe bloud in his eares, and senseth there with the God of Water, called *Tlaloc*: he likewise senseth the other idols, vnto whome he offereth bread, flowers, Wapers and little Canes died in the bloude of his owne tongue, nose, handes, and other partes of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Poble men to beare him company to his palayce with great triumphe and pleasure of all the Cittie, but after his consecration fewe or none dare loke him in the face.

And now with the declaring of the actes and Ceremonies that the *Mexican* Kings are crowned, I shall not neede to rehearse of other kyngs, for generally they all vse the same order, sayng that other Princes goe not vp to the toppe of the Temple, but abide at the foote of the Steppes to be crowned, and after theyr Coronation they come to *Mexico* for their confirmation, and then at theyr returne to their countrey, they made many drunkē feasts and banquets.

The opinion of the Mexicans concerning the Soule.



The *Mexicans* did beleue that the Soule was immortal, and that they receyued either toy or payne according to theyr desertes & liuyng in this worlde, vnto which opinion all their religion did attayne, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They helde for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, & the chiefest place of glozy to be neare vnto the Sunne, where the soules of those whiche were
god

god men slaine in the warres, & those which were sacrific-
 sed were placed, and that all other soztes of euill persons
 their soules aboue on the earth, & were deuised after this
 sozte, childzen that were dead bozne went to one place,
 those which died of age o2 other disease went to another,
 those which died of sodden death to another, those whiche
 died of woundes o2 contagious diseases went to an other
 place, those which were d2owned went to another, those
 which were put to death so2 offence by order of iustice, as
 so2 robbery and adulterp to another: Those which slewe
 their fathers, mothers, wiues o2 childzē, to another place
 by themselues, also those who slew their maytters o2 any
 religious person went to another place. The common
 sozte of people were buried, but Lordes and rich men had
 their bodie burned & their ashes buried. In their shzedes
 they had a greate difference, so2 many dead bodie were
 buried better, apparelled than when they were on line.
 Women were shzeded after another sozte. And he that
 suffered death so2 adulteric was shzeded like vnto the
 God of leachery, called *Tlazourentli*, he that was d2owned
 like vnto the God of water named *Tlacoe*, and he that died
 with drunkennesse was shzeded like vnto the God of
 wyne called *Omerochli*. But the Souldier had an honora-
 ble shzedde like vnto the attyre of *Vitzilopuchli*, and the
 lke order in all other soztes of deatnes.

The buriall of Kings in
 Mexico.



When any King of Mexico happened to
 fall sicke, they vled sooth with to put a
 vife, eppen the fate of *Tezcaltipuca*, o2
Vitzilopuchli, o2 some other Ibol,
 whiche vife was not taken away,
 vntill

untill they sawe whether the kyng did amend, or else die: But if he chauned to die, then woꝛde was sent through out all his dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the people menne that were his nighest kindmen, and to warne them within foure dayes to come vnto his buriall.

The dead body was layde vpon a saye matre, & was watched foure nightes, with great lamentation and mourning: then the body was washed, and a locke of heare cut from the crowne of his head, whiche was preserved as a great relicke, saying that therein remaind the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put into his mouth, and his body shewded in seuentene riche mantles, of colours, both riche and costly wrought. vpon the vpper mantle was sette the deuise or armes of *Xitzilapuchili* or *Tezcalipuca*, or of some other idoll, in whome the kyng had greate confidence in his lyfe tyme, and in his temple should the body be buried. vpon his face they put a visor, paynted with soule and diuellysh gestures, besette with many iewelless, precious stones, and pearles. Then they killed his slaue, whose office was to light the Lampes and make fire vnto the Goddes of his pallyce. These things done, they carried the dead body vnto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others song the death of the kyng by note, for so was the cu Tome.

The people men and Gentlemen of his houtholde carried Targets, Arrowes, Hales, and Ensignes to thowle into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie receyued him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after he had sayde certayne wordes, the body was thowen into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the iewels that he had aboute him, and all the other things whiche was brought

brought to honour the buriall: also a dogge newly strang-
led with an arrowe, whiche was to guyde him his way.
In the meane while that the King and dogge were
burnyng, the *Papists* sacrificed two hundred persons, how-
beit in this Ceremonie there was no ordinary taxe, for
sometymes they sacrificed many moe: they were opened
with a rasour of flinte in the breaſtes, and theyr hartes
taken out and thowen into the fire where the Kings bo-
dy was. These miserable persons beyng sacrificed, and
their bodies thowen into a hole, they beleued assuredly
that those shoulde serue for his slaues in another worlde:
some of them were dwarffes, monstrous and deformed
persons, with some women. They placed about the dead
body of the King befoze his buriall, Roles, Floures and
sundry dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durſte
touche the same, but onely *Papists*, for it seemed to be an
offeryng.

The next day followyng, all the ashes were gathered
together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his
mouth, the whiche things were put into a chest, paynted
on the inside with horrible figures of diuels, and the locke
of heare whiche was cut from his crowne, and another
locke of heare which was p̄serued from the tyme of his
birth. Then the chest was lockte, and an image of wood
made and clothed like vnto the Kings person, which was
set on the toppe of the chest. The obsequies endured foure
dayes, in the whiche the viues and daughters of the king
offered great offerings at the place where his body was
buried, and befoze the chest and his image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fiftene slaues
were sacrificed for his soule; and on the twentieth day o-
ther five persons were also sacrificed, likewise on the sixtie
thre, and fourescore, whiche was lyke vnto the yeres
minde.

The Conquest of
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 suche extremitie, that hope of life were past, according to the opinion of *Whisittons*, then would he name and appoint whiche of his *Sonnes* should inherit the estate, and being knowen, the new king or heyre, instant sent for all the governours, Captaines, and valiant souldiers, who had any office or charge to come vnto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was helde for a Traytour and so punished. When the death of the olde King was certayne, then came al degrees of *Estates* and brought presents to the newe king, for the approbation of his kyngdome, but if the King were not thoroughly dead, but at the poynt of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter, and when hys lyfe was departed, then beganne a generall crye and mournyng, and they were permitted to come where their dead kyng lay, and to touche him with their handes: this being done the carkasse was washed with swete waters, and then a fine shyte put vpon him, and a payre of shoes made of a *Dere* skinnie put on his fete, and aboute his ancles were tied certayne belles of golde, about his wyestes of his handes were put *Spanyllias* of *Turkies*, and other bracelets of golde, likewise aboute his necke they hong other collers of pious stones and golde, and rings in his eares, with a greate *Turkische* tuff his neather lippe. When his body was layde vpon a large beare, whercon 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 bignesse with a greate tuſſe of fine feathers, shoes vpon his ſaete, with bracelets and a collar of gold. Whyle this worke was a doying, others were busied in washing the men and women whiche should be slayne for to accompany him into Hell: these wretched folke that should be slaine were banqueted & filled with drinke, because they should receiue their death with lesse paine. The newe kyng did appoint those who should die for to serue the king his father, but yet many of them had rather bene without his seruice, notwithstanding some simple soules esteemed that odious death for a thyng of immortal glozy. First seuen Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appoynted to die, the one to haue the office of keeper of his tewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of cup bearer, another to giue him water with a basen and ewer, another to giue him alwayes the bynall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serue for landyes. They slewe also many women slaues, and free maydens for to attende vpon the Gentlewomen, and moreover one of euery occupation within the citie. When all these that were appoynted to die were washed & theyr bellies full with meate & drinke, then they paynted their faces yelow, and put garlandes of swete floures vpon each of their heads. Then they went in order of processio before the beare whereon the dead king was caried, some wente playing on instruments made of snayle shelles, others played vpon bones and shelles of seaturtills, others went whistling and the most part weeping: the Sonnes of the dead kyng & other noble men caried vpon their shoulders the beare where y^e cozle lay, & proceeded with an easie pace towards the Temple of the God *Curicaueri*; his kinsmen went round about the beare, singing a sorrowful song. The officers and household seruants of the Court wth other

Magistrates and rulers of iustice bare the Standartes and diuers other armies.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesayde out of the Kings palayce with great light of fire byandes and with a heauy noyse of trumpets and drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the cozse passed, attended to make cleane the streete. And when they were come to the temple, they wente foure tymes rounde about a great fire made of the wodde of Pine tree, whiche was prepared to burne y dead body: then the beare was layd vpon the fire, and in the meane while that the body was burning, they mawled with a clubbe those whiche had the garlandes, and afterwarde buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behind the Temple.

The next day in the moynyng, the ashes, bones and Jewels was gathered and layde vpon a riche mantle, the whiche was carried to the temple gate, where the priests attended to blesse those Diuelishe reliques, whereof they made a dowe by passe, and thereof an image whiche was appareled lyke a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sortes of Jewels that the dead King was wonte to weare, so that it seemed a gallant idoll. At the soote of the temple sayzes, they opened a graue ready made, whiche was square, large, & two fadome deepe, it was also haged with new mattes rounde about, and a sayze bed therein, in the whiche a religious man placed the idoll made of ashes, with his eyes towarde the east parte, and longe rounde aboute the walles Targets of golde and siluer, with bow and arrowes, & many gallant tuffes of feathers with earthen vessels, as pottes, dishes & platters, so that the graue was filled vp with household stuffe, chests couered with leather, apparell, iewels, meate, drinke, and armour. This done, the graue was shut vp & made sure with beames, bozdes, and flozcd with earth on the toppe.

All thoſe Gentlemen which had ſerued or touched any thing in the buriall, waſhed them ſelues, and wente to dinner in the Courſe or yard of the Kings houſe, without any table, and hauing dined, they wiped their hands vpon certayne lockes of Cotton wool, hanging downe their heads, and not ſpeaking any word, except it were to aſke ſoz drinke. This Ceremonie endured ſiue dayes; and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the Citie, except in the Kings houſe and Temples, noz yet any cozne was ground, or market kept, noz none durſt goe out of their houſes, ſhe wing all the ſozrow that might be poſſible ſoz the death of theyz King.

The order of Matrimony among
the Indians.



In *Tlaxcallan* and many other Cities, was vſed as a principall Ceremonie, and token of marriage, that the Bridgrome and his Bride, againſt the day of marriage, had their heads polled, which was to ſignifie, that from that day ſozward, all childiſhe orders ſhould be laide aſide, and from that tyme new heare myght grow, to declare another kind of life. The chiefſt knotte of marriage vſed in *Mexico* was, that the Bride doe looke drearily vpon hir ſpouſe, ſoz otherwiſe the Matrimony was not perſite nor ayailable.

In *Mixteopan* which is a greate prouince, they vſe to carrie the Bridgrome to be married vpon their backs, which is to be vnderſtoode, that he goeth againſt his wil, but yet they take hands, in token that the one ſhall helpe the other, and then they kniſte both their mantels together with a great knotte, ſignifying that they ought continually, while life laſteth, to dwell together.

The *Indians* called *Macatecas*, consume not their *Patrimony* in twenty dayes after their marriage, but abide in fasting and prayer all that while, sacrificing their bowes, and annoynting the mouthes of the *Idoles* wth their owne proper blood.

In *Panuco* the husbandes buy their wiues fo^r a bowe, two arrowes, and a nette, and afterwarde the father in lawe speaketh not one worde to his sonne in law fo^r the space of a whole yeare. And when the husbande hapneth to haue any child, he lyeth not any moze with his wife in two yeares after, fo^r feare least she might be with childe againe befoze the fo^rmer childe were out of daunger, although some doe sucke vntyll twelue yeares of age, and fo^r this consideration they haue many wiues. Like wise there is an order among them, that no woman may touch o^r dyesse any thing being with they^r menstruall o^r dinarie.

Diuozement was not permitted without a iust cause and a uuthoritie of Justice, among those who were openly married, but the other so^rt might be as easily fo^rsaken as taken.

In *Atehuacan* was not permitted any diuozement, excepte the partie made a solcinne othe, 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 barraine, soule, & of a naughty condition: but if they put away their wiues without order and commaundement of the Judge, then the heare of the offenders head is burned in the market place, as a shame o^r punishment of a man without reason o^r witte.

The payne of adultery was death, as well fo^r 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 body burned, and fo^r this offence was no pardon,

pardon, eyther foꝝ man oꝝ woman, but foꝝ the auoyding
of adultery they do permitte other common women, but
no oꝝdinary ſtewes,

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 only
by the rentes that properly apperteyne to
the maintenance of Iuſtice, and in anye
cauſe iudged by the, it was lawfull foꝝ the parties to ap-
peale vnto other twelue Iudges, who were of the prin-
ces bloud, and allwayes abode in the Court, and were
mainteyned at the Kings owne coſt and charge. The in-
ferioꝝ Iudges came oꝝdinarily once every moneth to co-
ſult with the higher. And in euery foureſcoze dayes came
the Iudges of euery pꝛouince within the Mexican Em-
pire, to conſult with the Iudges of *Mexico*, but all doubt-
full cauſes were reſerued to the King, onely to paſſe by
his order and determination. The Painters ſerued foꝝ
notaries, to paint al the caſes which were to be reſolued,
but no ſute paſſed aboue foureſcoze dayes without finall
ende and determination. There were in that citie twelue
Sergeants, whoſe office was to arreſt, and to cal parties
befoze the Iudges. Their garments were painted man-
tels, wherby they were knowen a farre off. The pꝛiſons
were vnder ground, moſt and darke, the cauſe whereof,
was to put the people in feare to offend. If anye witneſſe
were called to take an oth, the oꝝder was, that he ſhoulde
fouche the grounds with one of his fingers, and then to
fouche his tong with the ſame, whiche ſignified that he
had ſwoꝝne and promiſed to ſpeake the troth wꝛth hys
tong, taking witneſſe therof, of the earth which did mainteine
him. But ſome dd interpret the oth, if the partie ſwars

not true, that then he mighte come to such extremitie, as to execute it. Sometime they name and call vpon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

The Judge that taketh bribes or giftes, is forthwith put out of his office, whiche was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproch. The *Indians* did affirme, that *Necahualpincintli* did hang a Judge in *Tezcucoc*, for giuing an vnjust sentence, he himselfe knowing the contrary. The murder is executed without exception.

The woman with child that wilfully casteth hir creature, suffereth death for the same, because many women did voluntary vse that fact, knowing their children could not inherite. The punishment of adultery was death.

The Whore for the firste offence was made a slaue, and hanged for the second. The traytor to the King and common weale, was put to death with extreme tormets.

The woman taken in mans apparel dyed for the same, and likewise the man taken in womans attire. Euerie one that challenged another to fight except in the warres, was condemned to die. In *Tezcucoc* the sinne of *Zodomy* was punished with death, & that law was instituted by *Necahualpincintli*, & *Necayalcoic*, who were Judges, which at heretofore filthy sinne, & therfore they deserued great praise, for in other prouinces this abominable sin was not punished, although they haue in those places common lawes, as in *Panuco*.

The order of cruell Sacrifice
used among the *Indians*.



At the ende of euery twenty dayes, is celebrated a festiual feast called *Tonalli*, which falleth continually, the last daye of euery moneth; but the chiefest feast in the yeare, when most men are sacrificed & eaten, is at the

the ende of euerye fiftye two yeares . But the *Tlax-*
caltecas and other common weales, do celebrate this feast
euery fourth yeare.

The last day of the first moneth is called *Tlacaxipe-*
naliztli, on the which day were slaine a hundzed slaues,
which were taken in the warres, and after the sacrifice,
their flesh was eaten in this order. Al the Cittzens, ga-
thered themselues together in the high Temple, and the
the Ministers or Priestes came and bled certaine cere-
monies, the which being ended, they toke those whych
were to be sacrificed, by one and one, and layd them vpon
their backs vpon a large stone, and then the slaue be-
ing on lue, they opened him in the bzeast, with a kniffe
made of stinte stone, and toke out his hart, whiche they
threw immediately at the foote of the Altar, as an offer-
ring, and anoynted with the fresh bloude, the face of the
God *Virzilopuchtli*, or any other Idol. This done, they
pluckt of the skinnes of a certaine number of them, the
which skinnes so many auncient persons put incontinēt
vpon their naked bodies, al fresh & bloody, as they wer
seene from the deade carcasses. And being open in the
backe part and shoulders, they bled to lace them, in such
sozte 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 pinct-
pall captiue, and daunced among the other disguised
persons, to exalte and honoz the feast, and an infinite
number followed him to behold his terrible gesture, al-
though some hold opinion that they followed him to cō-
template his greate deuotion. After the sacrifice en-
ded, the owner of the slaues did carry their bodies home
to their houses, to make of their fleshe a solemne feaste
to all their friends, leauing their heades and hartes to

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the Priests, as their dutie and offering. And the skintes were filled with cotten wool, or strawe, to be hong in the temple, and kings pallayce, for a memorie.

The slaues when they went to their sacrifice, were apparelled in the habite or deuise of the Idol vnto whom each of them did commende himselfe: and mozeouer they decked them with feathers, garlands and floures. Many of these sort of people, do go to the slaughter with ioyfull countenannce, dauncing, demanding almes through the Citie for their sacrifice, all the whiche almes is due vnto the priestes. When the græne cozne was a foote above the ground, they vsed to go vnto a certain hil whiche was appointed for such deuotion, and there sacrificed two childzen, a boy, and a girle of thre yeares of age, to the honoz of *Tlaloc* god of water, beseeching him the refoze deuoutlye, to haue alwayes a care to prouide them water: these childzen were free borne, and therfoze they hartes were not taken out of their bodie, but after that their throttes were cut, their bodie were wapped in a new mantel, and then buried in a graue of stone.

The feaste of *Tozoztli* was, when the fields of *Maiz* were growen two foote high, then a certaine summe of merchandise was gathered among the dwellers in the towne, wherewith were bought foure little slaues betwixt the age of fiue and seuen, and they were likewise sacrificed to the god *Tlaloc*, for continuall houres of rayne. And those dead bodie were shut vp in a caue appointed for the same purpose. The beginning of this sacrifice of foure childzen was, at the time when in foure yeres space it rayned not, in the whiche season y^e springes were dryed vp, and al græne things perished: wherfoze they were forced to leaue the countrey, and went to inhabitte at *Nicaragua*. In the moneth and feast of *Hueit-ztli*, when the cozne fields of *Maiz* were ripe, then e-
uery

uery one in generall gathered his handfull of Maize, and brought it vnto the temple for an offering, with a certaine drinke called *Aculi*, whiche is made of the same Maize. They brought also the swete gum *Copalls* to senle the gods which do cause the corne to growe: and all that night they ceassed not dauncing without drunkennesse. At the beginning of summer they celebratē an other feast called *Tlaxuchimcaco*, with all kinde of roses and swete floures that might be gotten, and thereof they used to make garlands to set vpon the Idols heades, and so spentē all that day in dauncing. And to celebratē the feast called *Tecuilhuitl*, al the gentlemen, and principall persons of ech prouince, do come vnto the Citie, on the euening of the feast, and then they apparell a woman with the attire of the Gods of salt, who daunced among a great company of hir neighboures. But on the nexte day she was sacrificed with all the Ceremonies and solemnitie accustomed, and al that day was spent in 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 vpon the day called *Micailhuitl*, wherein they slewe many slaues in sacrifice, which they had bought, and banqueted that feast with mans flesh, dauncing al the day. The feast of *Tchpaniztli* they sacrificed a woman, and afterward byr hodye was slayne, and hir skinne put vpon an Indians backe, who daunced two days a row with al the towns-men, which were apparellled in their best attire to celebratē y^e feaste. The day of *Hatamutzli* y^e feast is kept in *Mexico*, where they enter into y^e lake wth a great nūber of Canoes, & there they drowne a boy & a girl in a litle boat, which they cause to be sonke, in such sozte, that neuer after that boat appeareth again: and they hold opinion y^e

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those children were in company with the Goddesses of the lake. So that, that daye was spent in feasting in the temples, and annoynting the Idols cheekes, with gum called *vlli*. There were some Images that had their faces two ynches thicke with that gum.

The order of certaine religious

women.



On the backe side of euerye greate Temple, in euerye Cittie was made a greate Hall or lodgyng, standing alone, where as manye women did eate, drinke, lodge, & leade their liues. And although suche houses had no orders, they aboad there sure ynough. These women which lay in the houses of the Goddesses, were of sundry intentions. But none of them came to abide there al their life time, although among them wer some olde women. Some entered into those religious houles being sicke and diseased, hoping there to recouer their health: others came thither through pure neede, and necessitie, to be there relieued: other some came thither to be good 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 hulbandes, and manye children: eche of them bowed the time that theye woulde or ment to abide in that order, and after that time expired they married.

The first thing that theye did comming into the religion, was to polle their heads, to be knowen fro others.

These

Their offices were to spinne cotton wool and feathers, and to weaue cloth, for to apparel the Goddesses and themselves, to sweepe the yarde and lodgings of the temple (so the stappes and high chappels, the ministers themselves did make cleane) they vsed also to let them bloud in certaine partes of the body, to offer to the Diuellish Fools. On euery festiual day they went on procession with the pziesses, but it was not lawfull for them to presume to go vpp the stappes of the temple, nor yet to sing. They liued on almes, for their kinsfolke being rich, did maintaine them with almes as a charitable seruice done vnto the Goddesses: their foode was boyled flesh, and hote bread, to the intent that they should offer therof to the Goddesses, 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 alwayes in theyr clothes, for honestie sake, and also to be the soner 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 befoze 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 & the woman were slain, yea they believed that all suche offenders flesh 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 al the while that they aboade there.

The Conquest of
Hoyv the Diuell appeared to
the Indians.



The Diuell did many times talke wyth the priestes, and with other rulers and perticular persons, but notwith al sortz of men. And vnto him to whom the Diuel had appeared, was offered & presented great giftes. The wicked spirit appeared vnto the in a thousand shayes, and fashions, & finally he was conuersant and familiar among them very often. And the soles thought it a greate wonder, that Gods would be so familiar with mortall men. Yea they not knowing that they were Diuels, and hearing of them many things befoze the had hapned, gave great credite and beliefe to their illusions and decettes. And bycause he commaunded them, they sacrificed suche an infinite number of creatures. Likewise he, vnto whom he had apeared, carried about him painted, the likenesse wherin he shewed himself the first time. And they painted his image vpon their dozes, benches, and euery corner of the house. And as he appeared in sundry figures & shayes, euen so they painted him, of infinite fashions, yea and some soule, grieuolye, & feareful to beholde, but yet vnto them, it seemed a thing delectable. So this ignorant people giuing credite to y condēned spirite, were growen euen to y highest hil of crueltie, vnder the colour of deuout & religious persons, yea they had suche a custome, that befoze they would eat oz drink, they would take thereof a little quantitie, & offer it vnto the sun and to the earth. And if they gathered cozne, fruite, oz roses, they would take a lease befoze they would smel it, & offer the same. And he that did not obserue these & such other ceremonies, was iudged one y had not god in his hart

hart, year (as they say) a man out of the gods fauour.

The Viceroyes of Mexico.



The greatnesse of the newes Spayne, the Hatefullie of Mexico, and the qualitie of the conquerers, required a man of noble bloude to gouerne, whereupon the Emperour sente thither Don Antonio de Mendosa, brother vnto the Marques de Moniar, for viceroy, at whose arrival 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 chancery of Valladolid, and bishop of Culuca, Don Antonio de Mendosa was appointed viceroy in the yeare. 1534. who carried with him many artificers verie experte in their sciences, likewise through his intercession, a money house was erected in Mexico: he also caused silke to be made and wrought in that countrey, and planted many Mulbery trees for the same, although the Indians little care for suche things through their slouthfulnesse and gret liberty. This viceroy Don Antonio, called all the Bishoppes, cleargy, and learned men together, to consult vpo ecclesiastical matters, which tended to the doctrine of the Indians. At that instant was decreed, that the Indians shoulde be instructed only in the latin tong, which they learned verie wel and also the Spanishe tong. They learne the Musicke with god wil, especially the flaute: their voyces are not god for the prycke song. At that season was also decreed, that no Indian should take order of Priesthood.

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The viceroy *Don Antonio* built certaine towne with Romaine pillars, in honor of the Emperour, and caused his name to be grauen in Marble. He also began the Bay or wharfe in the porte of *Medellin*, a costly and necessarie woꝝke: he also reduced the *Chichimecas* to ciuel liuing: he spente muche money in the entraunce of *Sibola*, without any profit, and also thereby remayned an enemy to *Cortes*. He likewise discovered much land on the south coast neare *Xalisco*; he sente also Shippes to *Molluca*, soꝝ spices, which were lost: he behaued himself very prudently in the rebellion time of the *Indians of Piru*.

The Emperour commaunded hym afterwarde to goe vnto the *Piru* soꝝ viceroy, considering the licenciat *Gasca*, who gouerned there, was returned into Spain, and likewise hauing vnderstood his good gouernement in the newe Spain, although some complaintes were made of hym. It grieued *Don Antonio de Mendosa*, to departe from the newe Spain, where he founde himselfe wel beloued among the *Indians*, who had cured him of sundꝝ diseases with bathes of Herbes, where befoze he was starke lame, and also possessed of lands, Cattell, and other riche things, whiche he was loth to leaue. Likewise he desired not to haue to deale with other newe men, whose conditions he knewe not, although he knewe that the *Piruleros* were stubboꝝne and vnrucely felowes. But of necessitie he was compelled to take that iourney by lande from *Mexico* to *Panama*, which standeth fve hundred leagues distant, in the yeare 1531. And that yere came *Don Luys de Valasco* soꝝ viceroye to *Mexico*, who was a Gentleman wise and discrete in his gouernement. The office of viceroy in the newe Spain, is a charge of great honor and profite.

The conuersion of the Indians.



How greatly are those *Indians* bound to prayse God, who being seruants of Satan, and lost Sheepe, yet it pleased the goodnesse of the Almighty to haue compassion of the, who hath giuen them light to come out of darkenesse, and brought them to the knowledge of they cruell and abhominable life, and hath nowe giuen vnto them the holy Ghost in baptisme: oh most happie *Cortes*, thy paynes was well employed, oh valiant Conquerors, your names shall liue for ever. I am now bolde to saye, that all that lande which is conquered in the new *Spaine*, the people thereof are generally conuerted vnto the faith of *Iesus Chryste*: oh what a greate felicitie is it vnto those blessed *Kyngs* who were the beginners thereof.

Some doe saye, that in the newe *Spayne* onely are conuerted *Chyistians* five *Millions*. Others hold opini- on of eyght *Millions*. And other some doe assuredly as- firme, that aboue tenne *Millions* are *Chyristened*. But in conchlussion, I am assured, that within the limittes of four hundred leagues, there are none vnchrystened.

The conuersion began with the Conquest, but wpyth the diligence in prosecuting the warres, little god was done, vntyll the yeare 1524. and then the matter wente forwarde effectuallye, by reason that certayne learned menne wente thpyther for the same purpose.

At the begynnyng it was a troublesome thyng to teach them, for wante of vnderstandyng the one of the o- ther, wherefoze they pprocured to teache the chylzen of Gentlemen whiche were most aptest, the Spanishe tong,

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and they likewise learned the *Mexican* speche, in the whiche language they dayly preached. It was at the firste a paynefull thing to make them leaue those Idols in whome they hadde euer belaeued, yea and the Diuell gaue them cruell warres in spirite, and mange times, in appearing in diuers formes vnto them, threating, that if they vpd call vpon the name of Iesus Christ, it should not rayne, and that all their delight and pleasure should be taken from them, prouoking them still to Rebellion against the Chyistians, but his wicked counsell would not preuaile.

Throughe greate punishmente they haue left off the horrible sinne of Sodomy, although it was a great grieue to put away their number of wines.

There are nowe in the newe Spayne eyght Bysshopes, whercof one is an Archbishopprike.

The death of Hernando

Cortes.



Here was a greate contention betwene *Hernando Cortes*, and *Don Antonio de Mendosa*, the Vizeroy, as concerning the prouince of *sibola*, for each of them pretended a title vnto the same through the Emperours gift, the one by meanes of his office of Vizeroy, and the other by his office of Captayne Generall, vpon the whyche matter they grewe into such hatred, that perfyte friendshippe coulde neuer after take place betwene them, although at the beginning they were familiar and louing friends: but malice grewe to suche extremitie, that eache of them wrote vndecently agaynst the other, to the Emperoure they maister, the

the whyche they doynge blemished both they cresents.

Cortes wente to lawe with the Licenciat *Villa Lobos* the Kings Attourney, aboute certayne of his vassals, and also the Rizeroy assisted agaynste him as muche as hee myghte. Upon consideration whercof, he was enforced to come into Spayne in Anno 1540. and broughte *Don Martin* his sonne and heyre, beynge a childe of eyght peares of age, and hys sonne *Don Luyz*, to serue the Prince: he came very riche, but not so riche as the fyrste tyme. He entred into great friendship with the Cardinal *Loaisa*, and the Secretarie *Cobos*, but it pzeuapled not, for the Emperoure was gone into flanders about matters of Gant.

In the yeare 1541. the Emperoure personally wente to the seage of Argell with a mightie armye, and Cortes with his two sonnes went also thither to serue him with a good companye of men and Horses, but it pleased God to raise vp suche a tempest, wherewith the most parte of the flate 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 dyuen by violence of weather vpon the shore, he then bound about him the sayde fyue rich emraldes, esteemed in a hundzed thousande Duckates, yet notwithstanding through the throng of people, and hast to escape out of oese and mire, the Jewels fell from him, who could neuer heare moze of them, so that the present warres cost hym moze than any other, except the Emperours matestie, although *Andrea de Oria* lost eleuen Gallies.

But the losse of treasure graued hym not so much, as the excludng hym out of the Counsell of the warres, where as other yong Gentlemen of lesse knowledge

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and abilitie were accepted, which was a cause of greate murmuring among the host. And where in the counsell of warre it was determined to leaue the sêge and to depart, it grœued manye, whereupon Cortes made an open offer, that he alone with the Spanishe nation would presume to take *Argell*, haupng but the one halfe of the *Tudefcos* and *Italians*, if it woulde please the Emperoure to graunte vnto hym the enterprise. The Souldyers on the lande dyd hyghly commende hys courage, but the Sea menne woulde giue no eare vnto him, so that it is thoughte that the offer came not to the Emperoures knowlledge. Cortes wente by and downe in the Courte a long season, being soze afflicted in a certaine lute aboute hys vassals, and also the processe and allegations of *Nunio de Guzman*, layde vnto hys charge in hys residence. The whole processe was sêene in the counsell of *Indias*, but iudgemente was neuer pronounced, whyche was a greate hartes ease for Cortes. And then hee departed from the Courte towarde *Siuill*, with determinate wyll to passe vnto the newe Spayne, and to ende his lyfe in *Mexico*, and also to receyue the Lady *Mary*, Cortes hys daughter, who was come from *India*, and promised in marriage vnto *Don Aluar Perex Osario*, with a hundred thousande Duckates in dowry, and hys apparell; but the marriage toke no effecte, through the faulte of *Don Aluar* and hys father.

He then fell sicke of a fire and indigestion, whiche endured long, so that on hys iourney towarde the Citie of *Siuill*, he departed thys transitozy lyfe, in a little Village called *Castilleia de La Cueska*, whyche standeth a myle from the Citie of *Siuill*, on the seconde of December Anno 1547. beeyng thye score and thye peares of age;

His body was deposited to þe dukes of *Medina Sidonia*.

De

He left a Sonne and three Daughters begotten of the Lady Iane de Zuniga his wife, his Sonne was called Don Martin Cortes, who did inherite his fathers estate, and was married unto the Lady Ana de Arellano, his cousine, daughter to the Countie De Aguilar, by order of his father.

The daughters unto Cortes were named as foloweth, the lady Donea Maria, Donea Catalina, and Donea Iuana who was the yongest. He had another Sonne by an Indian woman, and he was called Don Martin Cortez. He had also another base sonne by a Spaniſh woman, who was named Don Luys Cortez, and three daughters by three severall Indian women.

Cortez buylt an hospitall in Mexico, and gave order for a Colledge to be also erected there. He builte also a Temple in Coioacan, where he willed in his Testament that his bones should be buried at the charges of his Sonne and heyre. He situated foure thousand Ducates of rent,

Whiche yeeldeth yearly his houses in Mexico for the purpose aforesayd, of the which foure thousande Ducates, two thousand should be to mainteyne the Students in the Colledge.

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FINIS.

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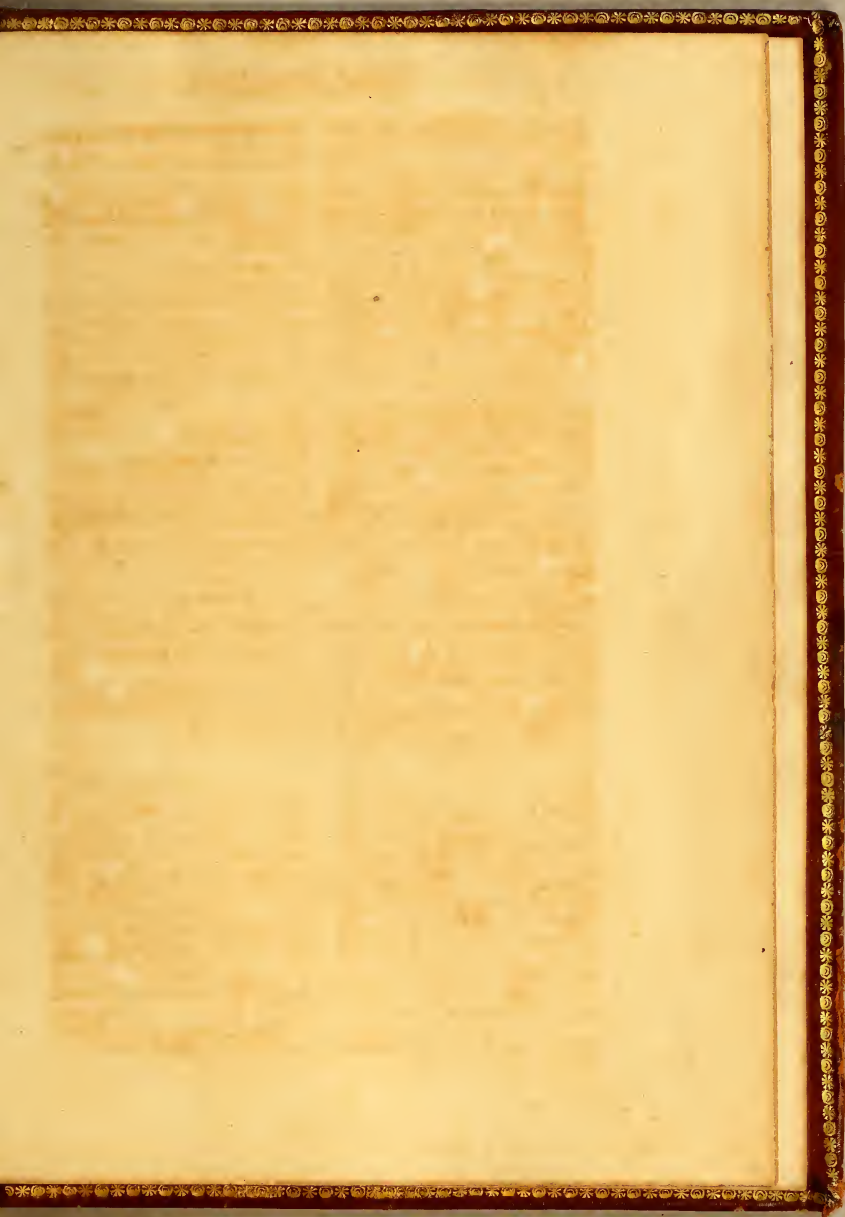
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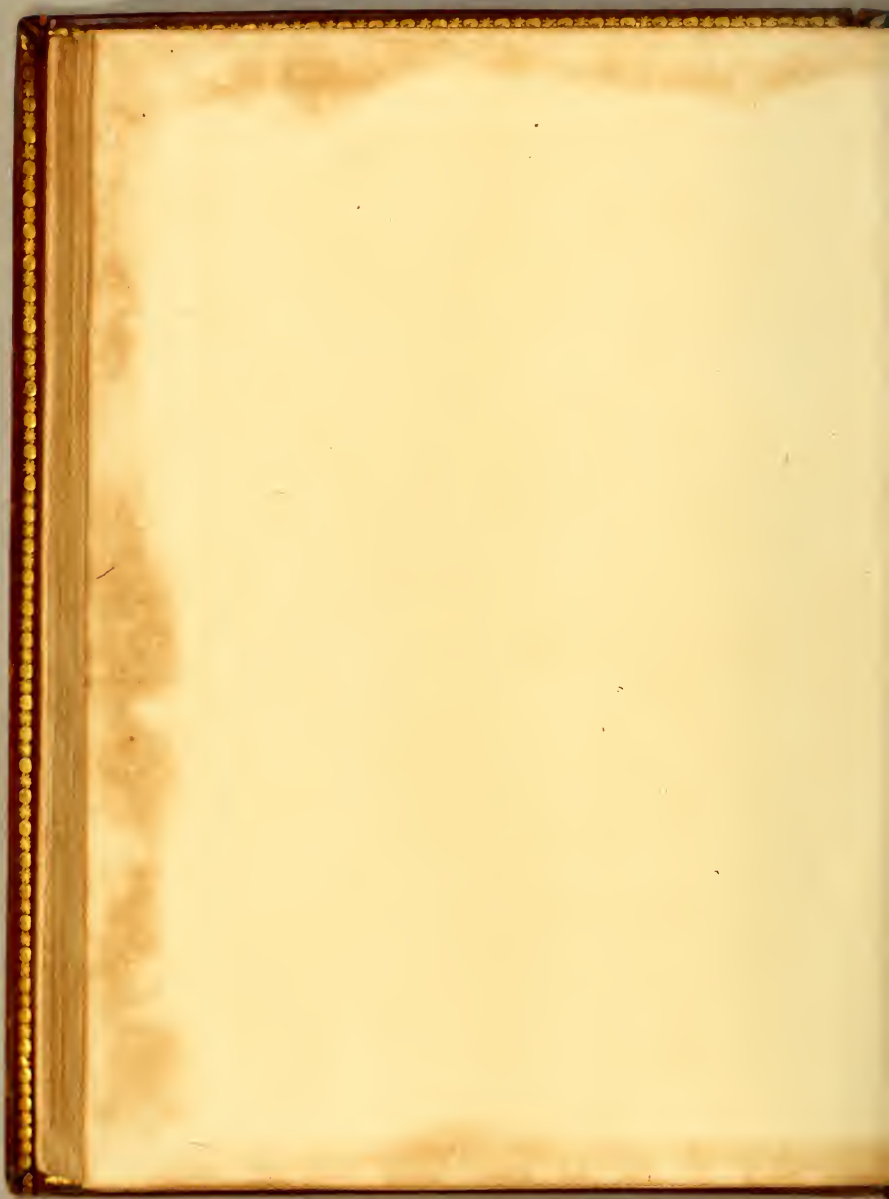
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