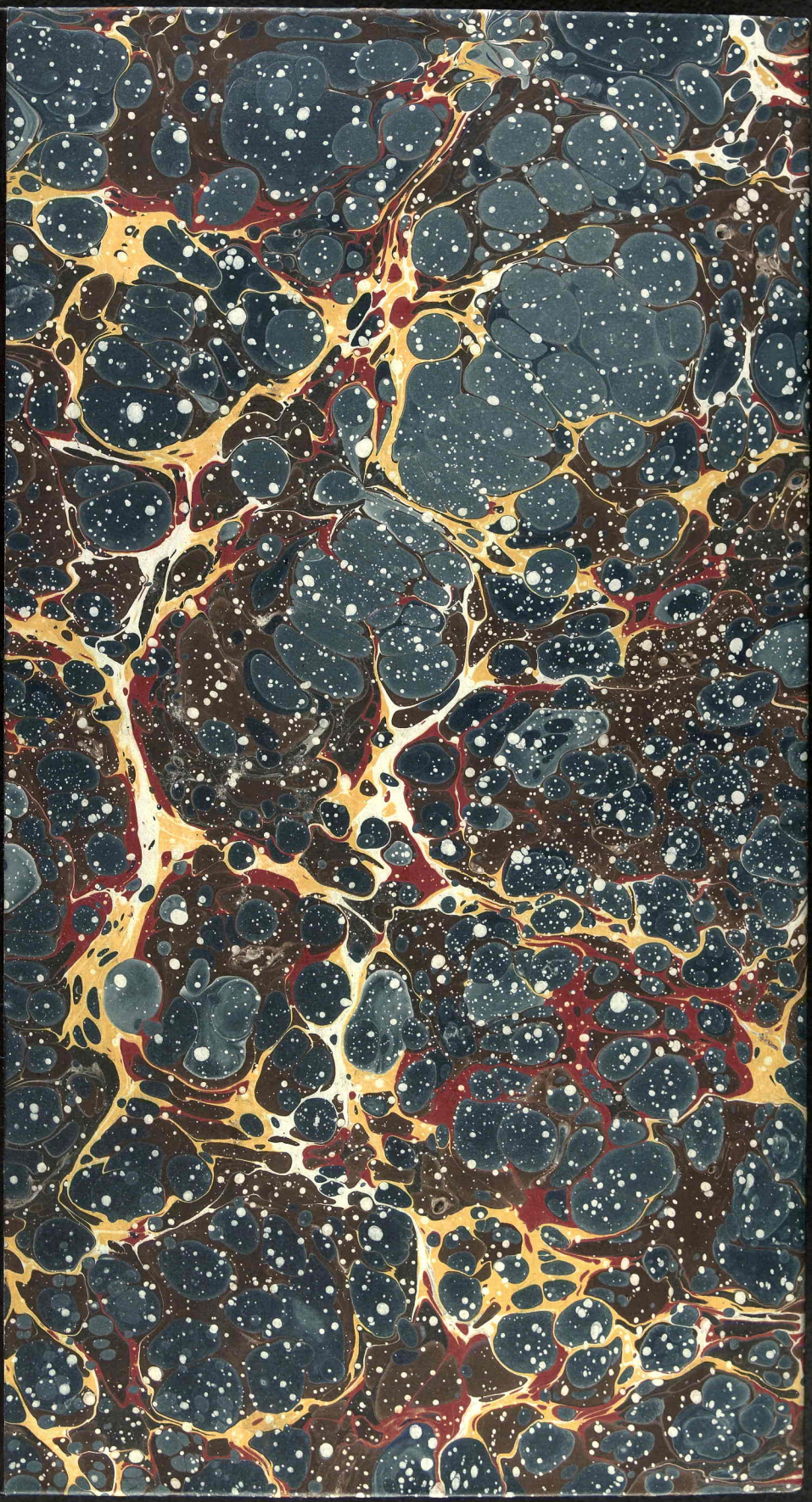
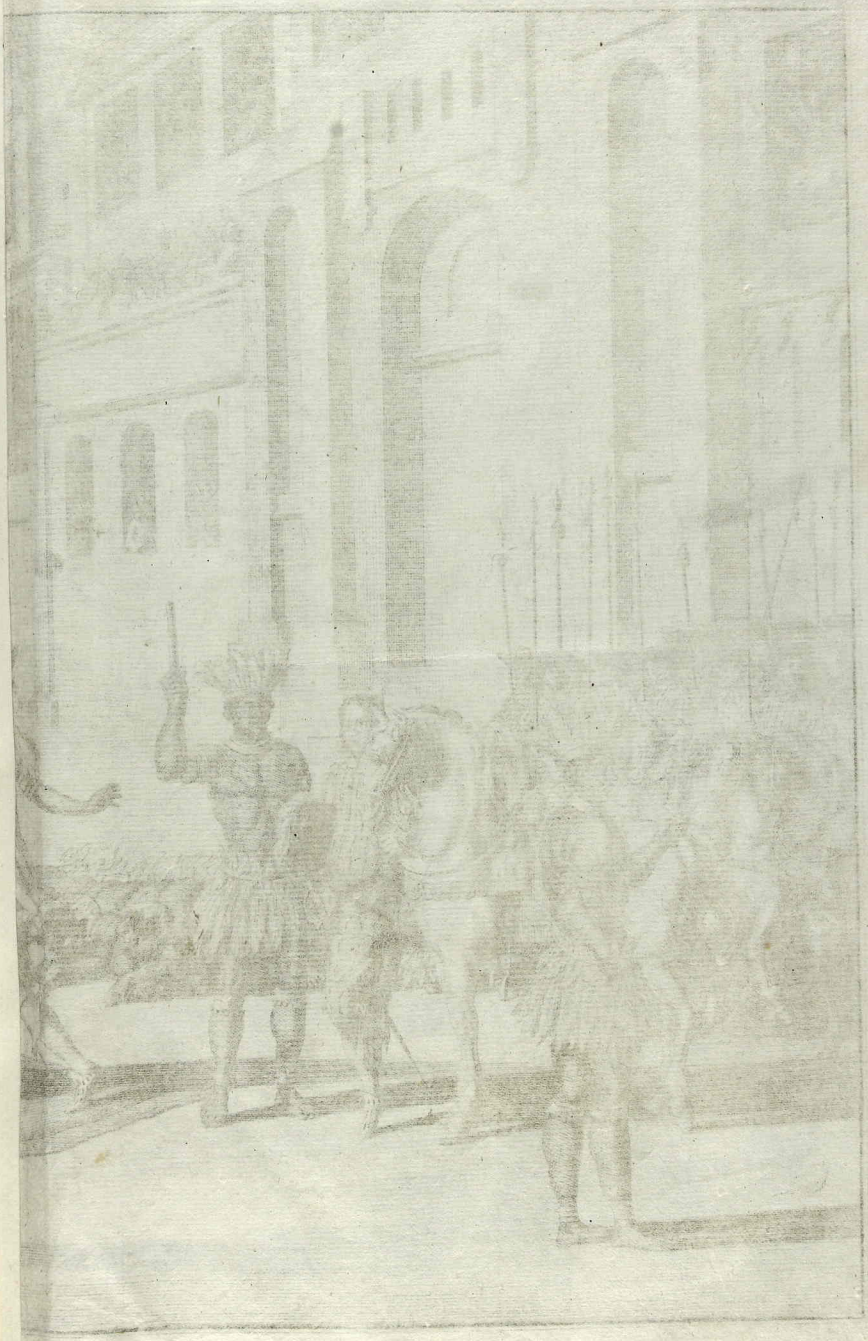
DE SOLIS ON
CONQUEST OF
MEXICO



90.018.00.0001
9173
1000
Sabin 86487



P. Schyndel. invent. et fec.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Conquest of *MEXICO*

BY THE

SPANIARDS.

Done into ENGLISH from the Original SPANISH of

Don *ANTONIO DE SOLIS*,

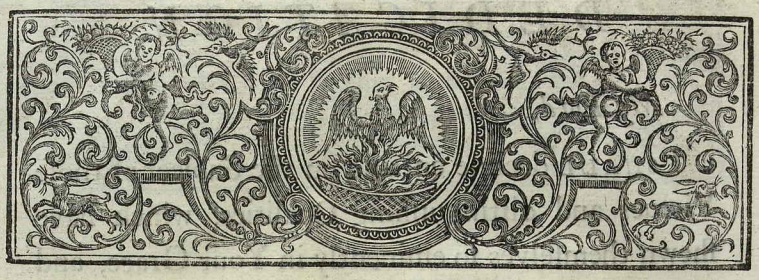
Secretary and Historiographer to His Catholick Majesty.

By *THOMAS TOWNSEND* Esq;

LONDON:

Printed for T. WOODWARD at the *Half-Moon*, and J. HOOKE at the *Flower-de-Luce*, both against *St. Dunstan's Church*, in *Fleet-Street*; and J. PEELE at *Locke's-Head* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. M.DCC.XXIV.

HERNAN CORTÈS.
Ex pictura TITIANI in Ædibus
præhon.bis Domini D. PAULI METHUEN.
Geo. Vertue Sculpsit 1724.



TO

His Grace *JAMES*

Duke of *CHANDOS*.

My LORD,

BEG Leave to recommend to Your Grace's Protection the *History of* HERNAN CORTEZ, the Fortunate Conqueror of the *Mexican* Empire.

THE Discovery and Conquest of that new World have enrich'd *England* with no small Share of the Wealth of it; which makes it a Point of Gratitude in Behalf of my Country to publish the Actions of this Hero, and renders him still more worthy of Your Grace's Patronage.

My

DEDICATION.

My Lord,

I SHALL decline entring on the Subject of thoſe Virtues and diſtinguiſhing Qualities, which have ſhewn themſelves ſo eminently in Your Grace, and engag'd the Love and Eſteem of all good Men. May You long live the Ornament of Your Country: And permit me the Honour of acknowledging publickly the many Obligations I have to Your Grace, and aſſuring You that I am, with an invioble Reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Grace's Moſt Obedient, and

Moſt Faithful Humble Servant,

THOMAS TOWNSEND.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THE *Conquest of* MEXICO *is one of the greatest Subjects in all History: It leads us through Variety of important Transactions to the Overthrow of a vast Empire, atchiev'd by a Handful of Men under the Conduct of* HERNAN CORTEZ, *who added this inestimable Jewel to the Crown of* Spain *in the Time of* CHARLES V.

WHOEVER *will consider the Difficulties he overcame, and the Battles he fought and won against an incredible Superiority of Numbers, must own him little inferior to the most celebrated Heroes of Antiquity.*

HIS *History has been written by several Authors, and particularly by* Francisco Lopez de Gomara, Antonio de Herrera, *and* Bernal Diaz del Castillo; *who either took Things too much upon Trust, or were prejudic'd against him: But at length the Learned* SOLIS, *by erecting this Trophy to his Honour, discharged the Debt due from the* Spanish *Nation to the Memory of so illustrious a Conqueror.*

PREFACE.

THE *great Actions of* CORTEZ, *and the elegant Pen of* SOLIS, *were the chief Motives that induc'd me to make him* English: *To which may be added, that Sir* Paul Rycaut *having translated the Conquest of* Peru *from* Garcillasso de la Vega, Inca, *my present Work compleats the Discovery and Conquest of the* American *Continent.*

AND *notwithstanding what has been written by some concerning the Simplicity and Nakedness of the* Indians, *it is plain from the History of* SOLIS, *and contributes not a little to the Glory of* CORTEZ, *that he engag'd numerous Armies, which wanted neither Courage, Conduct, nor offensive Weapons: And though some Things in the ensuing History may appear fabulous, it is nevertheless certain, that* CORTEZ *really perform'd more than Flattery has invented of others.*

THE *Translation was the Employment of my leisure Hours in Country Quarters, in the Kingdom of* Ireland: *How well I have succeeded, is humbly submitted to the Judgment of the Reader.*

THE

THE

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I. *Shewing the* Necessity *of dividing the History of the* Indies *into different Parts, in order to a thorough understanding of it.* ——— ——— pag. 1

Chap. II. *The Reasons which engaged the Author to write a separate History of* North America, *or* New Spain. 4

Chap. III. *The Calamities which* Spain *laboured under when the Conquest of* Mexico *was undertaken.* ——— 6

Chap. IV. *The Condition of the distant Kingdoms and the Islands of* America, *which are now called the* West-Indies. ——— — 10

Chap. V. *The Calamities of the Monarchy cease on the Arrival of* Charles. *At this time began the Conquest of* New Spain. ——— 13

Chap. VI. Juan de Grijalva *enters the River of* Tobasco. ——— 16

Chap. VII. Juan de Grijalva *prosecutes his Voyage, and enters the River of* Flags, *where he has the first Account of the* Mexican *King* Motezuma. 19

Chap. VIII. Juan de Grijalva *goes on with his Discovery, until he has coasted the Province of* Panuco. *What happened in the River of* Canoes, *and his Resolution to return to the Isle of* Cuba. ——— 22

Chap. IX. *The Difficulties which occurred in the Choice of a Commander of the new Fleet, and who* Hernan Cortez *was; who, in the end, obtained that Post.* — ——— ——— 25

Chap. X. *The Rivals of* Cortez *endeavour with all their Power to set* Diego Velasquez *against him, but without Effect. He sails with the Fleet out of the Port of* Sant Jago. ——— — 28

Chap. XI. Cortez *sails with the Fleet to* La Trinidad, *where he gets a considerable Reinforcement of Soldiers. His Enemies obtain their Point of making* Velasquez *jealous, who uses his utmost Endeavours to stop him.* 31

Chap. XII. Cortez *sails from* La Trinidad *to the* Havana, *where he gets the last Reinforcement for the Fleet, and suffers a second Persecution from* Velasquez. —— ——— 33

Chap. XIII. Cortez *resolves not to put himself in the Power of* Velasquez; *the just Motives of this Resolution; with what further passed till the time of their sailing from the* Havana. — — 36

The CONTENTS.

Chap. XIV. Cortez *names the Officers of his Fleet, parts from the* Havana, *and arrives at the Isle of* Cozumel, *where he musters his Troops, and animates his Soldiers to the Undertaking.* — 39

Chap. XV. Cortez *pacifies the Inhabitants of* Cozumel; *he establishes a Friendship with the Cazique, overthrows their Idols, begins to introduce the Gospel, and endeavours in vain to recover some* Spaniards *who were Prisoners at* Yucatan. — — 43

Chap. XVI. Cortez *pursues his Voyage, but by an Accident finds himself obliged to return to the same Island.* Geronimo de Aguilar, *who had been Prisoner in* Yucatan, *arrives, during his Stay there, and gives an Account of his Captivity.* — — — 47

Chap. XVII. Cortez *prosecutes his Voyage, and arrives at the River of* Grijalva, *where the* Indians *oppose his Landing; he engages them, and disembarks his Troops,* — — 51

Chap. XVIII. *The* Spaniards *gain the Town of* Tabasco; *they send out two hundred Men to discover the Country, and are driven back by the* Indians; *they shew great Valour both in the Engagement and Retreat.* — 55

Chap. XIX. *The* Spaniards *engage with a powerful Army of the* Indians *of* Tabasco, *and the Parts adjacent; a Description of their manner of fighting, and of the Victory obtained by* Cortez. — 58

Chap. XX. *The* Spaniards *make Peace with the Cazique of* Tabasco, *and celebrate the Festival of* Palm-Sunday; *after which they reimbark, and continue their Voyage.* — — — 63

Chap. XXI. Cortez *proceeds on his Voyage; the Fleet arrives at* St. Juan de Ulva; *the Soldiers land; the General receives an Embassy from* Motezuma's *Governours. An Account who Donna* Marina *was.* — 67

BOOK II.

Chap. I. Teutile *General of* Motezuma's *Troops, and* Pilpatoe *Governor of the Province, come to visit* Cortez *on the Part of* Motezuma: *An Account of what passed between them, and of the Painters who drew the Pictures of the* Spanish *Forces.* — 69

Chap. II. Motezuma *returns his Answer, with a Present of great Value, but refuses to grant the Leave they desired to go to* Mexico. — 75

Chap. III. *Gives an Account how ill the Positiveness of* Cortez *was received at* Mexico; *who* Motezuma *was; the Greatness of his Empire, and the Condition his Monarchy was in at the Arrival of the* Spaniards. 79

Chap. IV. *An Account of the several Prodigies and Signs that were seen in* Mexico *before the Arrival of* Cortez, *from which the* Indians *apprehended that the Ruin of their Empire drew near.* — — 83

Chap. V. Francisco de Montejo *returns, having discovered the Town of* Quiabislan. Motezuma's *Ambassadors arrive, and depart dissatisfy'd. Some Muttering happens among the Soldiers, who incline to mutiny, and* Hernan Cortez *makes use of Artifice to appease them.* — 87

Chap. VI. *The Return to* Cuba *is given out. The Soldiers, prepared by* Cortez, *exclaim against it; the Cazique of* Zempoala *sues for his Friendship; and, in fine, they make a Settlement.* — 91

Chap.

Chap. VII. Hernan Cortez *(in the first Council which was held at* Vera Cruz*) renounces the Title of Captain-General, which he held from* Diego Velasquez, *and the Town and People elect him a-new.* — 95

Chap. VIII. *The* Spaniards *march, and the Fleet sails for* Quiabiflan; *they enter* Zempoala *in their way, where the Cazique makes them welcome, and they receive fresh Accounts of the Tyrannies of* Motezuma. — 99

Chap. IX. *The* Spaniards *pursue their March from* Zempoala *to* Quiabiflan; *an Account of what passed at their Entrance into that Town, where they find fresh Relations of the Uneasiness of those Provinces, and they take six of* Motezuma's *Officers.* — 103

Chap. X. *The Caziques of the Mountains come to submit, and offer their Service to* Cortez. *The* Spaniards *build the Town of* Vera Cruz, *and put it in a Posture of Defence. New Ambassadors arrive there from* Motezuma. 108

Chap. XI. *The* Zempoalans, *by Deceit, engage* Hernan Cortez *to take up Arms against the People of* Zimpazingo, *their Enemies; he makes them Friends, and reduces that Country.* — 112

Chap. XII. *The* Spaniards *return to* Zempoala, *where they overthrow the Idols, with some Resistance of the* Indians; *and the principal of their Temples is converted into a Church of our Lady.* — 116

Chap. XIII. *The Army returns to* Vera Cruz; *Commissaries are dispatched to the King, with an Account of what had been done. Another Sedition is quelled, with the Punishment of some Mutineers; and* Hernan Cortez *executes his Resolution of sinking his Ships.* — 120

Chap. XIV. Cortez *having made a Disposition for the March, was informed that Ships were seen upon the Coast. He departs for* Vera Cruz, *and takes seven Soldiers belonging to the Fleet, commanded by* Francisco de Garay; *they begin their March, and having with much Difficulty passed the Mountains, the Army enters the Province of* Zocothlan. — 125

Chap. XV. *The Cazique of* Zocothlan *visits* Cortez *a second time, and highly extols the Greatness of* Motezuma. Cortez *resolves to march by the way of* Tlascala, *of which Province, and the Nature of its Government, some Information is got at* Xacazingo. — 129

Chap. XVI. Cortez's *four Envoys set out for* Tlascala. *An Account of the Habit and the Manner how Embassies were delivered in that Country, and of the Debates of that Republick about the Point of receiving the* Spaniards *in a peaceable manner.* — 133

Chap. XVII. *The* Spaniards *resolve to draw near to* Tlascala, *looking on the Detention of their Messengers as a bad Sign. They engage with a Body of five thousand* Indians *that lay in Ambush for them, and afterwards with the whole Power of the Republick.* — 138

Chap. XVIII. *The* Tlascalans *recruit their Army; they engage a second time with greater Force, and are overthrown and broke by the Valour of the* Spaniards, *and by another new Accident, which puts them in disorder.* 144

Chap. XIX. Hernan Cortez *stills the new Disturbance among his Men; the People of* Tlascala *take the* Spaniards *for Enchanters; they consult their Magicians, and by their Advice attack them by Night in their Quarters.* 149

Chap. XX. *The Senate commands the General to suspend the War; he refuses to obey, but, on the contrary, designs to give a fresh Assault upon the* Spanish *Quarters. His Spies are discovered and punished. A Treaty of Peace begins to be set on foot.* — 154

Chap. XXI. *New Ambassadors come from* Motezuma *to the* Spanish *Quarters, to obstruct the Peace with* Tlascala; *the Senate perseveres in desiring it, and* Xicotencal *takes upon himself the Negotiation.* — 159

BOOK

BOOK III.

CHap. I. *An Account of the Voyage of those sent by* Cortez *into* Spain, *with the Opposition and Impediments that retarded their Dispatches.* pag. 1

Chap. II. Motezuma *endeavours to break the Peace of* Tlascala; *the People of that Republick continue their Instances*; Hernan Cortez *pursues his March, and makes his Entry into that City.* —— —— 7

Chap. III. *The Description of the City of* Tlascala; *the Senators complain of the* Spaniards *going armed, being grieved at their Distrust*; Cortez *satisfies them, and endeavours to make them quit their Idolatry.* —— 13

Chap. IV. Hernan Cortez *dispatches the Ambassadors of* Motezuma. Diego de Ordaz *views the burning Mountain of* Popocatepec; *it is resolved to march to* Cholula. —— —— —— 19

Chap. V. *They discover new Signs of Treachery in* Cholula; *the Army marches for that City, being reinforced with some Companies of* Tlascalans. 25

Chap. VI. *The* Spaniards *make their Entry into* Cholula, *where the People endeavour to deceive them by their outward good Entertainment*; *their Treason is discovered, and the* Spaniards *make a Disposition to chastise them.* 31

Chap. VII. Cortez *chastises the Traitors of* Cholula, *reduces and pacifies the City, and establishes a Friendship betwixt them and the* Tlascalans. 38

Chap. VIII. *The* Spaniards *march from* Cholula; *they meet with new Difficulties on the Mountain of* Chalco; Motezuma *endeavours to stop them by means of his Magicians.* —— —— 45

Chap. IX. Motezuma *sends his Nephew the Lord of* Tezeuco *to visit* Cortez *in his Quarters*; *he continues his March, and halts at* Quitlavaca, *within the Lake of* Mexico. —— —— 50

Chap. X. *The Army marches to* Iztacpalapa; *they make a Disposition for their Entry into* Mexico. *A Description of the Pomp in which* Motezuma *went to receive the* Spaniards. —— —— 54

Chap. XI. Motezuma *comes the same Day in the Evening to visit* Cortez *at his Lodging, the Speech he made before he heard the Embassy, and the Answer of* Cortez. —— —— 59

Chap. XII. Cortez *visits* Motezuma *in his Palace*; *the Greatness and Furniture of it are described*: *An Account of what passed in that Conference, and in others which they had afterwards upon the Subject of Religion.* 64

Chap. XIII. *A Description of the City of* Mexico, *the Temperateness of its Climate, its Situation, the Market of* Tlatelulco, *and the great Temple dedicated to the God of War.* —— —— 69

Chap. XIV. *Of the different Pleasure-Houses which* Motezuma *had for his Recreation*; *his Armories, Gardens, and Country Retirements, with other remarkable Buildings both within and without the City.* —— 75

Chap. XV. *An Account of the Pomp, Ceremony, and Exactness with which* Motezuma *was served in his Palace*; *of the Expences of his Table, of his Audiences, and other Particulars relating to his Oeconomy and Diversions.* 80

Chap.

Chap. XVI. *An Account of* Motezuma's *immense Riches; the Manner of his managing the Royal Revenues, and of his administring Justice; with other Particulars of the* Mexican *Government, both Civil and Military.* —86

Chap. XVII. *An Account how the* Mexicans *measured and computed their Months and Years; their Festivals, Marriages, with other Rites and Customs worthy of Remark.* —— —— 92

Chap. XVIII. Motezuma *continues his Entertainments and Presents to the* Spaniards. *Letters brought from* Vera Cruz *with an Account of the Battle wherein* Juan de Esculante *lost his Life: upon which* Cortez *resolves to secure the Person of* Motezuma. —— —— 98

Chap. XIX. *The Imprisonment of* Motezuma: *An Account after what manner it was effected, and how received amongst his Vassals.* —— 105

Chap. XX. Motezuma's *Behaviour under his Confinement, both to his own People and the* Spaniards. Qualpopoca *is brought Prisoner, and condemned to Death by* Cortez, *who causes* Motezuma *to be put in Fetters, during the Execution of the Sentence.* —— —— 112

BOOK IV.

CHap. I. Motezuma *is permitted to be seen in publick, going out to the Temples and Recreations.* Cortez *takes some necessary Precautions. The* Spaniards *are in doubt, at this time, whether they should overthrow the Idols of* Mexico, *or wait for a properer Occasion.* —— 119

Chap. II. *A Conspiracy which was forming against the* Spaniards, *by the King of* Tezeuco, *is discovered; and* Motezuma, *partly by his own Vigilance, and partly by the Advice of* Cortez, *quells it, and chastises the Author.* —— —— —— 126

Chap. III. Motezuma *resolves to dispatch* Cortez *by answering his Embassy. He assembles his Nobles, and gives Orders, That the King of* Spain *should be acknowledged for Successor of that Empire, determining to obey him, and to pay him Tribute, as Descendant from their first Conqueror.* —133

Chap. IV. *The Gold and Jewels designed for the Present is delivered into the Possession of* Cortez. Motezuma *resolutely tells him, that he must think of his Departure, which he endeavours to delay. Advice brought of the Arrival of a Squadron of* Spanish *Ships upon the Coast.* —— 139

Chap. V. *An Account of the Preparations made by* Diego Velasquez *for the Destruction of* Hernan Cortez: *The Army and Fleet which he sent against him, under the Command of* Pamphilo de Narvaez: *His Arrival upon the Coast of* New-Spain, *and his fruitless Attempt to reduce the* Spaniards *of* Vera Cruz. —— —— 145

Chap. VI. *The Precautions of* Hernan Cortez *to avoid a Rupture. He makes Overtures of Peace, which are rejected by* Narvaez, *who, on the contrary, proclaimed War, and seizes the Person of the Licentiate* Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. —— —— 151

Chap. VII. Motezuma *continues his good Offices toward* Cortez *and his* Spaniards. *The Alteration which some attribute to the Practices of* Narvaez *looked upon as fictitious and improbable.* Cortez *resolves to depart, and executes that Resolution, leaving a Part of his Force in* Mexico. 159

Chap. VIII. Hernan Cortez *directs his March towards* Zempoala. *Is disappointed of the Succours which he expected from* Tlascala. *Continues his*

March as far as Motalequita; *from whence he again makes Overtures of Peace, and, with new Provocation, declares War.* — 166

Chap. IX. Hernan Cortez *continues his March till within a League of* Zempoala. Pamphilo de Narvaez *takes the Field with his Troops. Is obliged to retire by the Badness of the Weather.* Cortez *resolves to attack him in his Quarters.* — — — 173

Chap. X. Hernan Cortez *arrives at* Zempoala, *where he finds Opposition. He obtains the Victory, and takes* Narvaez *Prisoner, whose Troops he obliges to serve under his Banner.* — — 179

Chap. XI. Cortez *reduces the Cavalry of* Narvaez, *which kept the Field. He receives Information that the* Mexicans *had taken up Arms against the* Spaniards *which he had left with* Motezuma. *He marches with his Army to* Mexico, *and enters that City without Opposition.* — 186

Chap. XII. *The Motives which induced the* Mexicans *to take up Arms.* Diego de Ordaz, *with some Companies of Men, is sent to make Discoveries in the City. Falls into an Ambush the Revolters had laid for him, upon which* Cortez *determines to prosecute the War.* — — 193

Chap. XIII. *The* Mexicans *assault the* Spanish *Quarters, and are repulsed.* Cortez *makes two Sallies, in which, tho' the Enemy were both times defeated, and put to flight with great Slaughter, yet he distrusts his being able to reduce them.* — — 200

Chap. XIV. Motezuma *exhorts* Cortez *to retire from* Mexico, *which he offers to do as soon as the Seditious have laid down their Arms. They return to attempt another Assault.* Motezuma *speaks to them from the Wall, and is wounded, losing all Hopes of reducing them.* — 206

Chap. XV. Motezuma *dies of his Wounds, obstinately refusing to receive Baptism.* Cortez *sends his Body to the* Mexicans, *who celebrate his Obsequies. His personal Qualities and Character.* — 212

Chap. XVI. *The* Mexicans *return to besiege the* Spanish *Quarters.* Cortez *makes a Sally. Gains a Temple where the Enemy was lodged. Defeats and puts them to flight. Does considerable Damage to the City, with a Design to terrify them, in order to make his Retreat.* — 219

Chap. XVII. *The* Mexicans *propose Peace, but with the View of distressing the* Spaniards *by want of Provisions. Their Disingenuity is discovered.* Cortez *holds a Consultation with his Officers, and it is resolved to leave* Mexico *that Night.* — — 226

Chap. XVIII. *The* Spaniards *march out privately. At the Entrance of the Causey are discovered by the* Indians, *who attack them with their whole Power both by Land and Water; they get clear at last with great Difficulty, and considerable Loss, and reach the Town of* Tacuba. — 232

Chap. XIX. Cortez *marches the Road towards* Tlascala. *Some Troops from the circumjacent Towns follow the Army at a distance, till being joined by the* Mexicans, *who likewise pursue him, they attack his Rear, and oblige him to take Refuge in a Temple.* — — 238

Chap. XX. *The* Spaniards *continue their Retreat. They undergo great Fatigue and Difficulties. The Army reaches the Valley of* Otumba, *where, in a pitched Battle, the whole Power of* Mexico *is utterly defeated.* — 245

BOOK

BOOK V.

CHap. I. *The Army marches into the Province of* Tlascala, *and quarters in* Gualipar; *the Caziques and Senators come to visit* Cortez: *they celebrate his Entry into their City with publick Rejoicings; and* Cortez, *by fresh Experience, finds he had secured the Affections of those People.* pag. 1

Chap. II. *An Account comes that the Province of* Tepeaca *had taken up Arms. Embassadors arrive at* Tlascala *from* Mexico. *A Conspiracy, carried on by* Xicotencal *the Younger, against the* Spaniards, *is discover'd.* 7

Chap. III. Cortez *marches into the Province of* Tepeaca, *where he defeats the Rebels; who, supported by the* Mexicans, *offered Battel to the* Spaniards: *He, afterwards, takes their City, which he fortifies, and calls by the Name of* Segura de la Frontera. —— —— 12

Chap. IV. Hernan Cortez *sends several Captains to reduce some rebellious Towns, and goes himself to* Guacachula *against an Army of* Mexicans *drawn together to defend their Frontiers.* —— —— 18

Chap. V. Hernan Cortez *makes some Preparations for the Enterprize of* Mexico; *he accidentally receives a Reinforcement of* Spaniards, *returns to* Tlascala, *and finds* Magiscatzin *dead.* —— 25

Chap. VI. *A fresh Succour of* Spanish *Soldiers arrive in the Army. The Men who came with* Narbaez *are importunate for their Discharge and Return to* Cuba. Hernan Cortez *draws up a second Relation of his Expedition, and dispatches new Envoys to the Emperor* Charles V. 31

Chap. VII. *The Envoys of* Hernan Cortez *arrive in* Spain, *and pass on to* Medellin, *where they continue till the Troubles of the Kingdom are over; after which, they go to the Court, and prevail to have the Bishop of* Burgos *set aside from being a Judge in the Cause of* Cortez. —— 38

Chap. VIII. *Concludes the Affairs of the precedent Chapter.* — 44

Chap. IX. Cortez *receives a new Succour of Men and Ammunition: he musters his* Spanish *Troops; and the Confederates do the like, after his Example: He publishes certain military Orders, and begins his March, with a Design to possess himself of* Tezeuco. —— — 50

Chap. X. *The Army marches, and overcomes some Difficulties. The King of* Tezeuco *sends an artful Embassy to* Cortez; *he returns an Answer of the same kind, and thereby gains Admittance into the City without resistance.* —— —— — 56

Chap. XI. *The Army being quartered in* Tezeuco, *the Nobles come and offer to serve in it.* Cortez *restores the Kingdom to the lawful Successor, leaving the Tyrant without any hopes to re-establish himself.* —— 62

Chap. XII. *The new King of* Tezeuco *is baptized with publick Solemnity;* Cortez *marches with part of the Army to possess himself of the City of* Iztapalapa, *where he stands in need of all his Circumspection, to prevent falling into an Ambush prepared by the* Mexicans. —— 66

Chap. XIII. *The Provinces of* Chalco *and* Otumba *apply to* Cortez *for Relief against the* Mexicans. *He orders* Gonzalo de Sandoval, *and* Francisco de Lugo *upon that Expedition; they overthrow the Enemy, and take some Prisoners of Rank, by whose means* Cortez *makes Propositions of Peace to the* Mexican *Emperor.* —— —— 71

Chap.

Chap. XIV. Gonzalo de Sandoval *conducts the Brigantines to* Tezeuco. *Whilst they are finishing,* Hernan Cortez *marches out with part of his Army to view the Borders of the Lake.* —— —— 76

Chap. XV. Hernan Cortez *marches to* Yalcotan, *where he meets with Resistance; he overcomes that Difficulty, and goes forward with his Army to* Tacuba, *and having vanquished the* Mexicans *in several Engagements makes his Retreat.* —— —— 81

Chap. XVI. *A fresh Succour of* Spaniards *arrives at* Tezeuco. Sandoval *marches to the Relief of* Chalco; *defeats the* Mexicans *twice in the open Field, and takes the Town of* Guastepeque *and* Capistlan. —— 87

Chap. XVII. Cortez *marches out of* Tezeuco, *to view the Lake on the side of* Suchimilco: *He has two dangerous Engagements with the Enemy, who had fortified themselves upon the Mountains of* Guastepeque. —— 93

Chap. XVIII. *The Army passes on to* Quatlavaca, *where the* Mexicans *receive a new Defeat; from thence to* Suchimilco, *where* Cortez *surmounts a great Difficulty, and is in danger of being lost.* —— 99

Chap. XIX. *A Conspiracy of some* Spaniards *against the Life of* Cortez, *is punished by the Death of a* Spanish *Soldier; and a Sedition of some* Tlascalans, *by the Death of* Xicotencal. —— 106

Chap. XX. *The Brigantines are launched, and the Army divided into three Parts for attacking the City at the same time, by the Causeways of* Tacuba, Iztapalapa, *and* Cuyoacan. Hernan Cortez *advances upon the Lake, and defeats a great Fleet of* Mexican *Canoes.* —— 112

Chap. XXI. Cortez *goes to view the three Bodies of his Troops, as they were posted on the different Causeways of* Cuyoacan, Iztapalapa, *and* Tacuba, *and finds that in each Place they had occasion for the Assistance of the Brigantines; whereupon he leaves four with* Gonzalo de Sandoval, *four with* Pedro de Alvarado, *and retires himself to* Cuyoacan *with the other five.* —— —— —— 117

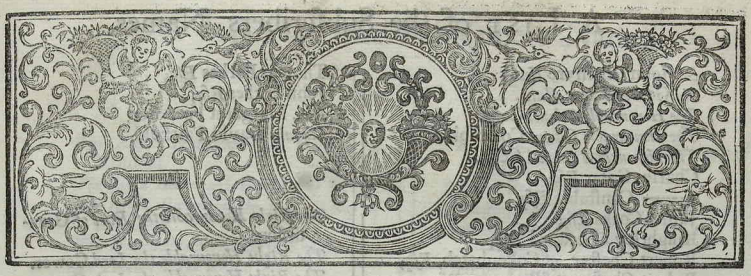
Chap. XXII. *The* Mexicans *make use of various Stratagems for their Defence: they lay an Ambuscade of Canoes for the Brigantines.* Hernan Cortez *receives a considerable Defeat, and is forced to retire to* Cuyoacan. 123

Chap. XXIII. *The* Mexicans *celebrate their Victory with the Sacrifice of the* Spanish *Prisoners.* Guatimozin *terrifies the Confederates, and occasions many of them to forsake* Cortez; *but they return in greater Numbers, and it is resolved to make Lodgments within the City.* —— 130

Chap. XXIV. Cortez *carries on his three Attacks at once. The whole Army joins in the great Square of* Mexico, *called* Tlateluco. Guatimozin *retires to the farthest Part of the City. The* Mexicans *make several Efforts, and use divers Stratagems, to divert the* Spaniards. —— 136

Chap. XXV. *The* Mexicans *attempt to make their Retreat by the Lake. They engage the Brigantines with their Canoes, in order to facilitate* Guatimozin's *Escape. He is made Prisoner, and the City surrenders.* —— 145

THE



A List of the SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

A.

E R Grace the Dutchess of Ancaster.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Abingdon.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Arran.
The Right Honourable the Countess of Arran.
The Right Honourable the Lord Arundel, *of* Trerise.
The Right Honourable the Lord Ashburnham.
Madam D'Acunha.
Sir Edmund Anderson *Bart.*
Sir Arthur Atcheson *Bart.*
Beeling Arundell *Esq*;
Alexander Abercrombie *Esq*;
Captain James Abercrombie.
Edward Arnold *Esq*;
Claudius Archbould *Esq*;
Mr. Roger Anderson, *of the City of* Westminster, *Merchant.*
Mr. Oliver Acton.

B.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort.
Her Grace Anne *Dutchess of* Bolton.
The Right Honourable the Countess of Burford.
The Right Honourable the Countess of Barrymore.
The Right Honourable the Lady Beauclerk.
The Right Honourable the Lady Selena Bathurst.
The Right Honourable the Lord Bathurst.
The Right Honourable the Lady Bathurst.
The Right Honourable the Lady Bellew.
The Right Honourable the Lady Bulkley.
The Honourable Mrs. Berkley.
The Lady Bathurst.
Baron Bothmar *jun.*
Sir Coplestone Bampfield *Bart.*
Sir Charles Buck *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Brand, *Gentleman-Usher of the Green-Rod, and Gentleman-Usher Daily-Waiter to his Majesty.*
Peter Bathurst *Esq*;
——— Barker *Esq*;
Edward Blount *Esq*;
Francis Burton *Esq*;
Clement Barry *Esq*;
John Blackwell *jun. Esq*;
——— Bramston *Esq*;
Edward Burton *Esq*;
Arthur Branthwait *Esq*; *Recorder of* Norwich.
Miles Branthwait *Esq*;
Alexander Brodie *Esq*;
Daniel Burgess *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. Edward Baynes.
Mrs. Finetta Bathurst.
Mrs. Angel Butler.
Mrs. Burrel.
Mrs. Sarah Brocket.
Mrs. Margaret Burgh.
Mr. John Board, *of* Paxhill, Sussex.
Mr. Binks, *of* Covent-Garden, *Mercer.*
Mr. Henry Baynes.
Mr. Basset.

C.

The Right Honourable the Marquess of Carnarvon.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Cardigan.
The Right Honourable the Countess of Cardigan.
The Right Honourable Anne, *Countess of* Coventry.
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Chester.
The Lady Crew.
The Lady Cheshyre.

A List of the Subscribers Names.

Sir John Cheshyre *Knt.*
Sir George Cook *Knt.*
The Honourable Colonel Cope.
The Honourable Colonel Colombine.
The Honourable Colonel Cecil.
Charles Cæsar *Esq*;
-------- Constable *Esq*;
James Cocks *Esq*;
Knightley Chetwood *Esq*;
Robert Chester, *of* Cokenhatch, *Esq*;
Robert Chester, *of* Bygrave, *Esq*;
Roger Coningsby *Esq*;
Butler Chauncy *Esq*;
Thomas Cheshyre *Esq*;
The Reverend Mr. William Campbell.
Mrs. Cæsar.
Mrs. Elizabeth Cornish.
Mrs. Frances Clark.
Mrs. Anne Colladon.
Mrs. Crofts.
Mrs. Mary Chambers.
Mr. James Clitherow.
Mr. James Carlos, *Bookseller in* Norwich.
Mr. John Crawford.
Mr. James Clitherow.

D.

The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Dillon.
The Right Honourable the Lord Deskford.
----- Drake *Esq*;
Roger Drake *Esq*;
Thomas Dineley *Esq*;
Richard Dawson *Esq*;
Dickison Downing *Esq*;
Henry Dowdall *Esq*;
Flexmer Dakins, *of* Highgate, *Esq*;
The Reverend Patrick Delaney *D. D.*
Mrs. Desbouverie.
Mr. Draycott.

E

William East *Esq*;
----- Edwards *Esq*;
Captain Augustin Earl.
Mr. Edward Emilie.

F.

The Right Honourable the Lady Forbes.
The Right Honourable William *Lord* Forbes.
The Right Honourable the Lady Foliot.
The Honourable Mr. Fairfax.
Ralph Freeman *Esq*;
Thomas Floyer *Esq*;
Pulter Forrester *Esq*;
John Fownes *sen. Esq*;
Thomas Forbes *Esq*;
John Forbes *Esq*;
Mrs. Margaret Forrester.
Captain David Fairfield.

G.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Grandisson.
The Right Honourable the Lord Gower.
The Right Honourable the Lady Gower.
The Right Honourable the Lady Gerrard.
The Honourable Colonel George Groves.
------ Giffard *Esq*;
Archibald Grant *Esq*;
James Grant *Esq*;
John Gordon *Esq*;
Thomas Gape *Esq*;
Richard Goulston *Esq*;
Edmund Glinnister *Esq*;
William Gore *Esq*;
Arthur Gore *Esq*;
Robert Gelsthorpe *Esq*;
George Gunning *Esq*;
Luke Gardiner *Esq*;
Richard Graham *Esq*;
Stephen Gardiner *Esq*;
Mrs. Mabella Gore.
Mr. Philip Gilbert.

H.

The Right Honourable the Countess of Halifax.
The Right Honourable the Lord Harley.
The Right Honourable the Lady Elizabeth Hastings.
The Honourable Mr. Auditor Harley.
George Hennedge *Esq*;
------ Howard *Esq*;
Thomas How *Esq*;
John Hamilton *Esq*;
George Heneage *Esq*;
John Hyde *jun. of* Sunderidge *in* Kent, *Esq*;
Richard Helsham *M. D.*
Mrs. Hanbury.
Mrs. Heathcott.
Mrs. Harcourt.
Mrs. Hartstrong.
Mrs. Lœtitia How.
Mr. Heylin.

I.

The Right Honourable the Lady Elizabeth Jermain.
Jeffery Johnson *Esq*;
John Jolliffe *Esq*;
Mrs. Jones.

A List of the Subscribers Names.

K.

The Right Honourable the Countess of Kinnoul.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Kerry.
The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Killalloe.
The Honourable Mrs. Maria Kelly.
Sir Henry-Hoo Keate *Bart.*
Thomas Kennedy *Esq;*
Dennis Kelly *Esq;*
John Kendall *Esq;*
Mrs. Kerr.
Mrs. Frances-Arabella Kelly.
Captain Patrick Kirwan.

L.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Leeds.
The Right Honourable John *Earl of* Leicester.
The Right Honourable the Lady Lynn.
The Honourable Mrs. Leeke.
Sir William Lemon *Bart.*
William-Robinson Lytton *Esq;*
Robert Lawley *Esq;*
William Ludlow *Esq;*
Mr. Lewis.
Mr. Lister.
Mr. Leak.
Mr. John Lock.
Mr. William Larkham, *of* Richmond.

M.

The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Mountjoy.
Sir Robert Maud *Bart.*
The Lady Monoux.
The Honourable Colonel John Middleton.
Atcheson Moor *Esq;*
William Murray *Esq;*
——— Montain *Esq;*
——— Masters *Esq;*
Pooley Molyneux *Esq;*
Major John Murray.

N.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Norfolk.
Richard Nutley *Esq;*
John Nugent *Esq;*
Mr. John Nicholl.

O.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford.
Sir Edward O-Brien *Bart.*
Mrs. Catherine O-Brien.

P.

The Right Honourable the Countess of Pomfret.
Madam Persode.
George Pitt *Esq;*
Samuel Poynter *Esq;*
——— Packer *Esq;*
George Purdon *Esq;*
John Powell *Esq;*
Walter Price *Esq;*
Captain Thomas Poulter.
Mrs. Pinckom.

Q.

The Reverend Mr. Quartermain.

R.

Her Grace Bridget *Dutchess of* Rutland.
The Right Honourable the Countess of Rochfort.
Sir John Rawdon *Bart.*
George Rooke *Esq;*
William Ryves *Esq;*
William Richardson *Esq;*
The Reverend Dr. Rundee.
Mr. Michael De la Roche.
Mr. James Round.

S.

The Right Honourable the Countess of Sunderland.
The Right Honourable the Countess of Sandwich.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Stafford.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Strafford.
The Right Honourable Anne *Countess of* Strafford.
The Right Honourable Viscountess Scudamore.
The Right Honourable the Lady Suasso.
The Honourable Major James Stewart.
Sir Thomas-Saunders Seabright *Bart.*
Sir John Staples *Bart.*
Sir Philip Sydenham *Bart.*
Sir Patrick Stracher.
William Shaud *Esq;*
Thomas Spaight *Esq;*
Matthew Snow *Esq;*
Samuel Strode *Esq;*
Ralph Samson *Esq;*
Thomas Stoner *Esq;*
Thomas Skeffington, *of* Skeffington, *in* Leicestershire, *Esq;*

The

A List of the Subcribers Names.

The Reverend John Savage *D. D.*
Mrs. Shippen.
Mrs. Strangeways.
Mrs. Elizabeth Strangeways.
Mrs. Seagrave.
Major George Sawyer.
Captain James Scott.
Captain Samuel Savil.
Mr. Peter Short, *of* Lindfield, Suſſex.
Mr. Daniel Surruge.
Mr. Thomas Sooley.
Mr. Edward Spackman.
Mr. William Steel.
Mr. Sparks.
Mr. Screen.

T.

The Lady Tyrrell.
William Toumball *Eſq*;
Stephen Taff *Eſq*;
——— Trenchfield *Eſq*;
William Thornton *Eſq*;
Mr. John Tyſoe.

V.

The Honourable Mrs. Verney.
——— Varnam *Eſq*;
William Vaiſey *Eſq*;
Arthur Vanſittart *Eſq*;
Mr. Vancetty.

W.

The Right Honourable the Lord Walpole.
The Right Honourable the Lady Walpole.
The Lady Walder.
The Honourable Andrews Windſor *Eſq*;
The Honourable Mrs. Juliana Wentworth.
Sir John Webb *Bart.*
The Lady Werden.
William Wentworth *Eſq*;
Cornelius Wittenoom *Eſq*;
George Wrighte, *of* Goathurſt *in* Buckinghamſhire, *Eſq*;
Mrs. Williams.
Mr. Richard Wilkin, *of* London, *Bookſeller.*
Mr. Philip-Carteret Webb.

Y.

——— Young *Eſq*;
William Young *Eſq*;

The Subſcribers not here inſerted, are deſired to excuſe the Omiſſion, their Names not being yet come to the Hands of the Undertakers.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the CONQUEST of *MEXICO*, or *NEW SPAIN*.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Shewing the NECESSITY *of Dividing the History of the* Indies *into different Parts, in order to a thorough understanding of it.*

IT was my Intention, for some Time, to continue the *General History of the* WEST INDIES, left by *Antonio de Herrera* in the Year 1554, until I discover'd the Difficulties of the Undertaking. And while I persisted in this bold Resolution, I read, and carefully observ'd what both before and since his *Decades* has been written by our own Countrymen, or by Strangers, relating to those Discoveries and Conquests. But as the Regions of that new World are at so great a Distance from our Hemisphere, I have found that the foreign Writers have been very daring, and no less malicious, to invent whatsoever they have pleas'd to the Disadvantage of the *Spaniards*; spending whole Volumes in blaming the Mistakes of some particular Men, in order to darken the Glory of the worthy Actions perform'd by All in

common. I have likewise observ'd, that there is but little Uniformity and Agreement in the Accounts given by our own Writers: A remarkable Instance of that ordinary Danger to which Truth is expos'd, which seldom fails to be disfigur'd when transmitted from afar; as indeed every Thing, in proportion as it is carried from its Source, loses of its native Purity.

THE Obligation I was under to disprove the former, and the Desire I had of reconciling the latter, detain'd me in the Search of Papers, and in Expectation of some Memoirs which might serve as a Foundation to my Work: An inglorious Kind of Labour! our Time and our Application being spent in Obscurity, and unseen by the World: A Labour, however, from which no Historian can be exempted; because he is to draw the Truth, which is the very Soul of History, pure and unmix'd, out of that confus'd Medley of various Accounts; the Care of an Author in this Respect resembling that of an Architect, who, before he begins to build, first heaps together his Materials, and then from that formless Mass takes every Thing necessary to the Execution of his Design, drawing out by little and little from the Dust and Confusion of the Storehouse the Beauties and Proportions of the Building.

BUT to come to my Subject: I have found that a General History takes in so great a Number of Facts independent upon each other, that I have thought it little less than impossible to bring them together without a Confusion; a Difficulty which, perhaps, arises from my want of Capacity. The History of the *Indies* has for its Ground-work three great Actions, such as may vie with the greatest that former Ages have seen: The Exploits of *Christopher Colombus*, in his admirable Navigation and first Enterprizes upon the new World; the Courage and Conduct of *Hernan Cortez* in the Conquest of *New Spain*, the Bounds of whose vast Regions are still unknown; and the Labours of *Francisco Pizarro*, and of his Successors, who subdued that most extensive Empire of *South America*, a Theatre of various Tragedies and surprizing Novelties. These are three Subjects for great Histories, which, abounding with illustrious Achievements and wonderful Accidents of both Kinds of Fortune, furnish Matter worthy of our Annals, an agreeable Entertainment for the Memory, and useful Examples to improve our Minds, and excite our Courage. But as in the General History of the *Indies* these three Subjects are blended together, and each of them in particular with an infinite Number of less considerable Enterprizes, it is no easy Matter to reduce them to the Connexion of one single Narration, nor to observe the due Order of Time, without

out interrupting, and even frequently rending to Pieces the principal Story, by a Detail of Circumſtances.

The Maſters of the Art, who have given the Name of *Tranſition* to that Step which an Hiſtorian makes from one Event to another, require ſo juſt a Proportion to be obſerv'd between the Parts and the Whole, that the Body of the Hiſtory may neither appear monſtrous by a Superfluity of Members, nor yet fail to have all thoſe which are neceſſary to preſerve a beautiful Variety; but according to their Precepts, the joining of theſe Parts muſt be ſo nicely wrought, that no Eye may diſcern the Texture; nor muſt the Things be ſo different as to be unlike, or to make a Confuſion. And this delicate Skill of interweaving Events in ſuch a Manner, that they may not appear Digreſſions one from another, is the greateſt Difficulty to an Hiſtorian: For if when we are to reſume a Matter we had dropp'd, we recapitulate many of its Circumſtances, we inevitably fall into the Inconvenience of Repetition and Prolixity; and if, on the other hand, we neglect to do it, our Style becomes unconnected and obſcure: Vices which muſt equally be avoided, becauſe they ruin the beſt Performances of an Author.

This Danger, common to all General Hiſtories, is greater and almoſt unavoidable in ours: For the *Weſt Indies* conſiſt of two Empires of very great Extent; each of which contains an Infinity of Provinces, and innumerable Iſlands. Within theſe Limits reign'd divers petty Kings, or Caciques; ſome of them Dependent, and Tributaries to the two Emperors of *Mexico* and *Peru*; the reſt were ſecur'd in their Freedom by the Diſtance of their Situation. All theſe Provinces, or little Kingdoms, were ſo many ſeveral Conqueſts by different Conquerors: Many Enterprizes were form'd at one and the ſame Time, all under Brave Captains, tho' little known. They conducted ſome Troops of Soldiers, and theſe Troops were ſtiled Armies; not without ſome Shew of Reaſon, if we conſider the Greatneſs of their Deſigns, and their Succeſs in the Execution. Many Battles were fought in theſe Expeditions with ſome Princes, and in ſome Provinces and Places, the Names of which were difficult not only to be remember'd, but even to be pronounc'd: So that hence aroſe frequent and obſcure Tranſitions in the Hiſtory of thoſe Exploits, and the Abundance of the Matter perplex'd the Narration; the Hiſtorian being oblig'd frequently to leave and to reſume the leſs important Adventures, and the Reader to turn back to thoſe he had left in Suſpence, or to keep his Memory upon a continual Stretch.

I DO not deny, but that *Antonio de Herrera*, a very careful Writer, (whom I not only ſhall endeavour to follow, but would gladly imitate,) has labour'd with great Succeſs in the difficult Taſk he had choſen of a General Hiſtory: Nevertheleſs, I do not find all that Perſpicuity in his *Decades* which was neceſſary to make them be underſtood: Nor was it poſſible for him to be more clear, having ſuch a Multitude of Adventures to relate, and being oblig'd ſo often to quit and to reſume them as the Order and Succeſſion of Times requir'd.

CHAP. II.

The Reaſons which engag'd the Author to write a ſeparate Hiſtory of North America, *or* NEW SPAIN.

MY Deſign is to recover the Hiſtory of *New Spain* out of this Labyrinth and Obſcurity, in order to write it ſeparately, placing it, as well as I am able, in a ſuch Light, that the Mind of the Reader may be ſtruck by the *Wonderful* without being ſhock'd, and inſtructed by the *Uſeful* without being diſguſted. I have choſen this Subject out of the Three which I have mention'd, becauſe the Exploits of *Chriſtopher Colombus*, and the firſt Conqueſts of the Iſlands, and of *Darien*, not being intermix'd with any other Adventures, are happily and diſtinctly related in the firſt and ſecond *Decades* of *Antonio de Herrera*. And as for the Hiſtory of *Peru*, it is to be met with a-part in two Tomes, written by the *Inga*, *Garcilaſo*, an Author ſo exact in his Accounts, and ſo ſmooth and agreeable in his Style, (according to the Elegance of his Time,) that I ſhould blame any Man as too ambitious, who ſhould attempt to excell him, and give great Encomiums to whoſoever could imitate him in proſecuting that Hiſtory. But *New Spain* either is without a Hiſtory which deſerves that Name, or ſtands in need of a Defence againſt the Reproaches of Poſterity.

Franciſco Lopez de Gomara is the firſt who has treated this Subject, but without any Care or Exactneſs. He relates what he has been told, and affirms it with an exceſſive Credulity, depending as much upon what he has heard, as if he had been an

Eye-

Eye-witneſs of the Facts; and finding no Difficulty in Things improbable, nor Repugnance in Things impoſſible.

This Author is followed by *Antonio de Herrera*, both in Time, and in ſome Part of his Accounts; and after him comes *Bartholomé Leonardo de Argenſola*, who has fallen into the ſame Faults with *Herrera*, and is leſs excuſable, having interwoven the firſt Adventures in this Conqueſt into his Annals of *Arragon*, treating them in ſuch a Manner, as to appear there far fetch'd, and to fill only the Place of an Epiſode. He has related what he found in *Antonio de Herrera:* And though his Style be better, yet is it ſo often interrupted and perplex'd by the Mixture of other Adventures, that what is great and heroical in that Enterprize, is either diminiſh'd or entirely loſt by the Digreſſions, as may be ſeen in many Parts of his Hiſtory.

There has ſince come abroad a particular *Hiſtory of New Spain*, a Poſthumous Work of *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo.* It was brought to light by a Monk of the Order of our Lady of *La Merced*, he having found the Manuſcript in the Library of a great and learned Miniſter, where it had lain conceal'd for many Years, perhaps on account of ſome Inconveniences which, at the Time of the printing it, were either over-look'd, or unknown. It paſſes at preſent for an authentick Hiſtory, its rough and unpoliſh'd Style helping it to look like Truth, and to perſwade ſome of the Sincerity of its Author. But though he has the Advantage of having been an Eye-witneſs of thoſe Things he has recorded, one may nevertheleſs diſcover, from his very Work, that he was not ſo free from Paſſion in his Views, as to have the right Government of his Pen: He appears as well ſatisfy'd with his Ingenuity, as ill content with his Fortune; Envy and Ambition openly ſhew themſelves in many Parts of his Book, theſe two intemperate Paſſions frequently breaking forth in Complaints againſt *Hernan Cortez*, the principal Hero of this Hiſtory. He endeavours to penetrate his Deſigns, that he may throw a Slur upon, and correct his Counſels; oftentimes giving out as infallible Rules for Conduct not the Orders of his General, and the Diſpoſitions made by him, but the Murmurs and Mutterings of the Soldiers; although in this Profeſſion there are as many ſtupid ignorant Creatures as elſewhere; and in all Profeſſions, it is equally dangerous to ſuffer thoſe to diſpute, who are born only to obey.

These are the Motives which have engaged me to enter upon this Subject, endeavouring to clear it from the Obſcurity in which it is involv'd, and to do Juſtice to injur'd Truth. I ſhall take Help from thoſe Authors I have cited, upon all Occaſions

casions where I shall have no reasonable Ground to differ from them; and I shall have Recourse to other Accounts, and private Memoirs, which I have collected, impartially chusing those which are most worthy of Credit, for the forming of my Relation. I shall endeavour to avoid Repetitions, and the mentioning of of such Things as ought to be supposed, wasting no Time in recounting minuter Circumstances, which either sully the Paper with what is indecent, or fill it with Things unworthy to be remark'd, and serve more to swell the Volume, than to add any thing to the Dignity of the History.

BUT before I enter upon the Execution of what I have undertaken, it will be proper to give an Account of the Posture of Affairs in *Spain*, at the Time when the Conquest of the new World was begun, to the End that we may discover its Origin, before we consider its Progress, and that this Knowledge may serve as a Foundation to the Building we are going to raise.

CHAP. III.

The Calamities which SPAIN *labour'd under, when the Conquest of* MEXICO *was undertaken.*

THE Year 1517 is no less memorable in this Monarchy, for the Troubles and Disorders with which it was haras'd, than for the many Felicities which then attended it. *Spain* was at that Time assaulted on all Sides by Tumults, Discords, and Factions, its Tranquility being disturb'd by such intestine Evils as threaten'd its utter Ruin, and the People remaining in their Fidelity rather from a Sense of their Duty, than as being obedient to the Curb and Reins of Government. At the same Time a Way was opening to its greatest Prosperity in the *West Indies*, by the Discovery of another *Spain*, by which it not only extended its Limits, but renew'd and doubled its Name. Thus Time and Fortune sport themselves with the Things of this World; and thus Good and Evil are either always mingled, or succeed each other with a perpetual Revolution.

IN the Beginning of the foregoing Year died *Don Fernando* the Catholick, and the Schemes he had form'd for the Preservation and Augmentation of his Dominions, being disconcerted by the

the Death of their Author, the great Loſs theſe Kingdoms had ſuſtain'd, was gradually known by the Diſturbances and Diſorders in the publick Affairs which follow'd it; as the Value of Cauſes is uſually diſcover'd by the Importance of the Effects.

THE whole Authority of the Government remain'd in the Hands of the Cardinal-Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, *Don Franciſco Ximenes de Ciſneros*, a Man of a reſolute Soul, ſuperior Capacity, and invincible Courage, and endow'd in an equal Degree with Piety, Prudence, and Fortitude: Theſe moral Virtues, and heroick Qualities, were all united in him, without the leaſt Diſcord ariſing from their Diverſity. But he was ſo fond of doing every Thing the beſt Way, and ſo active in the Support of his own Opinion, that he frequently let ſlip an Opportunity of doing well, by endeavouring to do better; and his Zeal was not ſo proper for correcting turbulent Spirits, as his Integrity was likely to provoke them.

THE Queen *Donna Juana*, Daughter of *Don Fernando* and *Iſabella*, to whom the Succeſſion of the Kingdom rightfully belong'd, reſided at *Tordeſillas*, where no body was admitted to ſee her, by reaſon of the unhappy Accident which had diſorder'd her Underſtanding, and which, by the too ſtrong Impreſſions it had made upon her Imagination, had either depriv'd her totally of the Uſe of Reaſon, or brought her to Reaſon incoherently of thoſe Things with which her Fancy was poſſeſs'd.

PRINCE *Charles*, (the Firſt of that Name among the Kings of *Spain*, and Fifth among the Emperors,) whom the Accident of his Mother had brought to the Crown before the Time, was holding his Court in *Flanders*. And as he was yet but very young, being only in his Seventeenth Year, as he had not been educated in *Spain*, and as his firſt Inclinations were preingag'd in favour of the *Flemiſh* Miniſters: All theſe were melancholy Circumſtances, which made his Coming be apprehended, even by thoſe who judg'd it neceſſary for the Good of the State.

THE *Infanto Don Fernando* his Brother, though of fewer Years, yet wanting not a Maturity of Underſtanding, was highly diſpleas'd, that his Grandfather *Don Fernando* had not in his laſt Will named him to be Chief Governor of theſe Kingdoms, as he had done in a former one, made at *Burgos*; and although he ſtrove to keep himſelf within the Bounds of his Duty, yet he often made this Reflection, (and heard the ſame from others, who were near him,) That had he never been nam'd to that Employment, the Neglect might have been imputed to his want of Years; but to exclude him after he had been once nam'd, was a Diſtruſt of another kind, which put a direct Affront upon

his

his Person and Dignity. So that he could not forbear declaring how little he was satisfied with the new Government. A Discontent extremely dangerous at that Time, because the Minds of the People being in a general Disquiet, and strongly inclin'd to that Prince, as well upon Account of his affable Behaviour, as because he had been born and bred in *Castille*; they would undoubtedly have follow'd him, (in case of a Disturbance, as was apprehended,) taking Advantage of so natural a Motion to act their accustom'd Violences.

THESE Perplexities were augmented by another, which gave the Cardinal *Ximenes* no less Uneasiness. The Dean of *Louvain*, *Adriano Florencio*, who was afterwards Pope, and the Sixth of that Name, had been sent from *Flanders*, to hold, in Appearance, the Rank and Quality of Ambassador at the Court of King *Ferdinand*; but as soon as that King was dead, he produc'd the Powers, which, till then, he had conceal'd, to take Possession of his Kingdoms, in the Name of Prince *Charles*, and to govern in his Absence. This occasion'd a Contest, which was manag'd on both Sides with great Warmth. The Question was, Whether these Powers, or those with which the Cardinal was invested, were of the greater Virtue and Authority. The Politicians of that Time manag'd their Arguments upon it with too much Freedom, and little Respect; their Reasonings having always some Tincture of the Passions, by which they were animated. Those who were fond of Novelty, pretended that the Cardinal was only a Governor, named by another Governor; because King *Ferdinand* bore no other Title since the Death of Queen *Isabel*. The Arguments offer'd by the other Side were not less insolent, seeing they tended to an Exclusion of both the Ministers. They maintain'd, that there was the same Defect in the Nomination of the Dean, because, tho' Prince *Charles* had the Advantage of being lawful Heir to the Crown of *Spain*, he could not, during the Life of his Mother, assume any other Quality than that of Governor, in the same Manner as his Grandfather had done. Thus they declar'd those two Princes incapable of delegating to their Magistrates that Sovereign Authority, which being inseparable from the Person of the King, cannot be lodg'd in that of a Governor.

THE two Governors perceiving that both the Royal Authority, and their own Jurisdiction were struck at by the fomenting of these Disputes, concerted together to unite their Powers. A wise Resolution, had they been able in like manner, to form a Harmony of Genius; but the positive Humour of the Cardinal was continually clashing with the mild Temper of *Adriano*.

The

The first was inclin'd to suffer no Companion in his Resolutions; and the other supported his with little Activity, and without any Knowledge of the Laws and Customs of the Nation. This divided Authority occasioned a like Division in the Obedience of the Subject, producing the same Inconvenience in the State, which would be caus'd by two Rudders in a Ship, whose different Steerings would alone create a Tempest in the very Midst of a Calm.

The Effects of this bad Constitution were presently known, the ill-corrected Humours, with which the Commonwealth abounded, being entirely exasperated. The Cardinal order'd (and he needed but little Perswasion to bring over his Collegue to his Opinion) that all the Cities and Towns of the Kingdom should arm themselves; and that every one should list its Militia, training the People to the Use of their Arms, and to the Practice of the Obedience due to their Commanders; to which End he appointed pay for the Officers, and granted Privileges to the Soldiers. Some say, that he took these Measures in View to his own Security; and others, that it was in Order to have a Strength sufficient to curb the Pride of the Grandees. But Experience soon made appear, that it was an inconvenient Step at that Season: For the Grandees, and those who possess'd hereditary Lordships, took Offence at the arming of the People, believing a Report which had been spread, not to be without some Foundation, That the Governors intended, by the Help of this Force, to examine into the Origin of their Seignories, and their Pretensions to those Duties they exacted from their Vassals. And even among the People these Measures had different Effects: For some Cities lifted Men, made their Musters, and trained their Soldiers to military Exercises; but in others they look'd on these Imitations of War, as affecting their Liberty, and as dangerous to the publick Tranquillity: This Novelty being of equal bad Consequence in all; because those Cities which continued in their Duty, were, however, not insensible of the Strength they had to support their Disobedience upon Occasion; and those that were rebellious, found themselves in a Condition to force the rest to follow them, and to put all Things into Confusion.

CHAP. IV.

The Condition of the distant Kingdoms and the Islands of America, *which are now called the* West Indies.

AT this Time the rest of the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, suffer'd no less than *Castile*; there was scarce a Stone that did not move, nor a Part from whence they had not Reason to fear the Ruin of the whole Fabrick. *Andaluzia* groaned under the Oppression of a Civil War, occasioned by *Don Pedro Giron*, Son to the *Conde de Urenna*, that he might get Possession of the Estates belonging to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the Succession of which he pretended to, by *Donna Mencia de Guzman*, his Wife; putting the Proof of his Right upon the Decision of Arms, and authorizing Violence with the Name of Justice.

IN *Navarre*, the two Parties of *Beamont* and *Agramont*, began to break out again with Violence, Names which made themselves famous at the Expence of their Country. The *Beamontese*, who were Partisans of the King of *Castile*, called the attacking of their Enemies the Defence of Right: And the *Agramontese*, who, after the Death of *Juan de la Brit* and Queen *Catalina*, declared for the Prince of *Bearne*, their Son, presum'd upon the Protection of *France*; with whose Power they threaten'd their Adversaries; both the one and the other Party were difficult to reduce; both cover'd their Hatred with the Appearances of Loyalty, abusing the Name of the King, which only served as a Pretence for Revenge and Sedition.

IN *Arragon* there arose dangerous Disputes about the Government of the Kingdom; which, by the Will of King *Fernando*, was left to the Care of his Son *Don Alphonso*, Archbishop of *Zaragoça* who was strenuously oppos'd by the chief Magistrate in that Kingdom, *Don Juan de Lanuza*, out of an opinion, (either real or affected,) that it was inconsistent with the Quiet of that Kingdom, to have the absolute Power vested in a Person of such ambitious Thoughts.

FROM this Beginning sprung other Disputes among the Nobles, which might be consider'd as too refin'd Reasonings upon the Point of Loyalty; but as these Discussions infected by Degrees

grees the unreaſoning Minds of the People, they endanger'd their Obedience and Subjection.

Catalonia and *Valencia* were laid waſte by the cuſtomary Cruelty of their Banditti, who, not contented with commanding the Country, poſſeſs'd themſelves of the ſmaller Towns, and grew terrible to the Cities, with ſo much Inſolence and Security, that the Order of the Commonwealth being diſturbed, the Magiſtrates abſconded, and Cruelty prevailed in all Places. Crimes were accounted noble Actions, and the Poſterity of Delinquents became illuſtrious.

In *Naples* the proclaiming of Queen *Juana*, and *Don Carlos*, was receiv'd with Applauſe; but even in the Midſt of the publick Joy, a ſeditious Report was ſpread, the Riſe whereof was unknown, but the Wickedneſs obvious.

It was ſaid that King *Fernando* had named the Duke of *Calabria*, then a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Xativa*, for Heir of the Kingdom. And this Report, which was deſervedly ſlighted in the Beginning, deſcended to the Commonalty, among whom it paſs'd in a Whiſper for ſome Days, untill at length ſwelling with Myſtery, it broke out in popular Clamour, and open Tumult; which gave great Uneaſineſs to the Nobility, and all ſuch as had any Regard to Reaſon and Truth.

In *Sicily* the People took up Arms againſt their Viceroy, *Don Hugo de Moncada*, with ſo much Fury, that he was forc'd to leave the Government in the Hands of the Populace; and theſe Diſturbances began to take deeper Root than thoſe at *Naples*, for they were fomented by ſome of the Nobility; who made the publick Good (always the firſt Signal of Sedition) a Pretence, and the common People an Inſtrument to execute their Revenge, and to paſs on to the more dangerous Deſigns of their Ambition.

Nor were the *Indies*, notwithſtanding their Diſtance, free from this Infection, which extended to the moſt remote Parts of the Monarchy. At that Time all the Conqueſts in that new World conſiſted of the four Iſlands, of *Santo Domingo*, *Cuba*, *San Juan de Puerto Rico*, and *Jamaica*, and a ſmall Part of the *Terra Firma*, which had been peopled in the Province of *Darien*, at the Entrance of the Gulph of *Uraba*, within which Bounds was contained all that was called the *Weſt Indies*. The firſt Conquerors gave it this Name, becauſe in Wealth and Diſtance it reſembled the *Eaſt Indies*, ſo call'd from the River *Indus*. The reſt of this Empire conſiſted not ſo much in any Thing real, as in the Hopes they had conceived from ſeveral Diſcoveries and Inroads made by ſome of our Captains with various

various Succeſs, but more Danger than Profit; but in that little they poſſeſs'd, they had ſo far forgotten the Valour of the firſt Conquerors, and Covetouſneſs was ſo rooted in their Minds, that they regarded nothing but enriching themſelves, in utter Defiance to Conſcience and Reputation, without which two Curbs, a Man is left to his own Nature, and is as ſavage and cruel as the very Brutes, which make War upon him. There came nothing from thoſe Parts now but Lamentations and Complaints of what they ſuffer'd. Zeal for Religion and the publick Good gave Way entirely to the Intereſt and Luſt of private Men, and they were continually deſtroying the poor *Indians*, who groaned under the heavy Load, labouring for Gold to ſatisfy the Avarice of other Men, and were forced to ſeek with the Sweat of their Brow, what they themſelves deſpiſed, curſing the ungrateful Fertility of their Country, as the Cauſe of their Slavery. Theſe Diſorders gave great Diſturbance to *Don Fernando*, who was particularly deſirous to protect and convert the *Indians*, (which was always the firſt Care of our Kings;) to which End he gave Orders, publiſhed Laws, and made uſe of different Means, which loſt their Force by the Diſadvantage of their Diſtance, as an Arrow falls ſhort of the Mark, when placed at too great a Diſtance from the Arm that directs it. But the Death of the King happ'ning before he could enjoy the Fruit of his Labours, the Cardinal enter'd in good Earneſt, into the Proſecution of this Deſign, deſiring to put that Government once upon a good Footing; to which End he imploy'd four grave Regulars of the Order of St. *Jerom*, ſending them with the Character of Inſpectors, and another Miniſter of his own Election, to accompany them, with Commiſſion of Reſidentiary Judge; to the End, that thoſe two Juriſdictions being united, might extend over the Whole. But they no ſooner arrived at the Iſlands, than they found it impoſſible to execute the Severity of their Inſtructions; and that the Difference is great between Practice and Speculation; and they did little more than diſcover the ill State of that Government, making the Diſeaſe worſe by the Weakneſs of the Remedy.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Calamities of the Monarchy ceaſe on the Arrival of CHARLES. *At this Time began the Conqueſt of* NEW SPAIN.

IN this Condition were the Affairs of the Monarchy, when *Charles* took Poſſeſſion, and arrived in *Spain*, in the Month of *September* this Year. The Storm began to abate upon his Coming, and the Influence of his Preſence, by little and little, introduc'd a Calm. The firſt Effects of this happy Change were perceived in *Caſtile*, whoſe Tranquillity communicated it ſelf to the reſt of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, and afterwards reach'd to the Dominions abroad; as in a human Body, the natural Heat diſtributes it ſelf, paſſing from the Heart to the Benefit of the moſt diſtant Members. In ſhort, the Influence of the new King extended to *America*, his Name doing as much there, as his Preſence did in *Spain*. The Minds of Men became diſpoſed to great Undertakings; the Courage of the Soldiers increaſed; and they began the firſt Operations which preceeded the Conqueſt of *New Spain*, the Empire of which Heaven had deſtined to ſignalize the Beginning of the Reign of this auguſt Monarch.

THE Iſland of *Cuba* was at that Time governed by Captain *Diego Velaſquez*, who went thither as Lieutenant to the ſecond Admiral of the *Indies*, *Don Diego Colon*, with ſuch good Fortune, that the Conqueſt of it was owing to him, and the greateſt Part of the Settlement.

AS that Iſland was the moſt Weſtern of thoſe that had been diſcover'd, and neareſt to the Continent of *North America*, they had there large Accounts of other Lands, not far diſtant, tho' it was ſtill a Doubt whether they were Iſlands, or not. They talk'd, however, of the Riches of thoſe Countries with as much Certainty, as if they had ſeen them; whether it be that this Confidence was grounded upon what Experience had diſcover'd in the Conqueſts already made, or that the Proſperities, with which we flatter our ſelves, have but a ſhort Step to make from the Fancy to abſolute Belief.

THE great Idea conceived of those Parts encreased at this Time by what those Soldiers related, who accompanied *Francisco Fernandez de Cordova* in the Discovery of *Yucatan*, a Peninsula scituate on the Confines of *New Spain*. And altho' this Undertaking was not prosperous, and they could not at that Time make a Conquest, because the Captain and the greatest Part of his Men died gallantly in the Attempt, yet at least they were satisfied of the Reality of those Countries; and the Soldiers, who arrived at this Time, altho' wounded and overcome, were so little daunted, that even in magnifying what they had suffer'd, they shewed an Inclination to return to the Enterprize, and infused the same Desire into the rest of the *Spaniards* of the Island; not so much by what they said, as by shewing some little Toys of Gold, which they brought from the new discover'd Country, under the Standard, and in small Quantity, but so much heighten'd in Value by the Strength of Imagination, that they all began to promise themselves great Riches from this Conquest, and to raise mighty Structures in Fancy upon the Foundation of what they had seen.

SOME Writers do not allow that this first Gold, or Metal mix'd with it, came at that Time from *Yucatan*, grounding their Opinion on that Province's not producing any, and the Easiness of contradicting what no body maintains. We follow those who relate what they saw, without finding any great Difficulty in believing that Gold might come from some other Part to *Yucatan*, well knowing that to produce it, and to have it, are different Things. It appears by their not finding it any where but in the Temples, that those *Indians* esteem'd it as something excellent, since they applied it solely to the Worship of their Gods.

DIEGO Velasquez seeing the Name of *Yucatan* in so much Credit with every one, began to entertain Thoughts of raising himself to farther Greatness, as one who found himself uneasy in acknowledging Admiral *Diego de Colon* his Superior in that Government; a Dependance now more nominal than real, but yet such, as when he consider'd his Rank and great Successes, gave him inward Trouble, and destroy'd the Relish of his good Fortune. With this View he treated with several Persons to return upon this Discovery, and conceiving new Hopes from the Ardour, with which the Soldiers offered themselves, he publish'd his Design. Men were listed, and three Vessels and a Brigantine fitted out, and well stor'd with Ammunition and Provisions. He appointed *Juan de Grijalva*, a Relation of his own, to be Commander in Chief; and *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Francisco*

de

de Montexo, and *Alonso Davila*, to command under him, Men of eminent Rank, and highly esteemed in those Islands for their Valour and Humanity, the most valuable Kind of Nobility. But notwithstanding they easily assembled about two hundred and fifty Soldiers, including in this Number Pilots and Mariners, and made all the Dispatch which Men, so eager on their Enterprize, could possibly do, they did not put to Sea until the Eighth of *Aprill*, the Year following, 1518.

They set out with a Design to follow the same Course they did the Year before; but falling off some Degrees, by the Strength of the Currents, they came upon the Isle of *Cozumel*, (the first Discovery in this Voyage,) where they refreshed themselves, without any Opposition from the Natives; and returning on board, they stood their Course, and in few Days found themselves in Sight of *Yucatan*; and having doubled the Point of *Cotoche*, the most Eastern Part of that Province, they stood Westerly, with the Larboard to the Shore, which they coasted, until they arrived at *Potonchan*, or *Champoton*, where *Francisco Fernandez de Cordova* was routed and killed: To revenge whose Death, more than out of any Necessity, they landed; and having vanquish'd and terrified those *Indians*, determined to pursue their Discovery.

They stood Westerly by common Consent, without keeping at a greater Distance from the Land than was necessary for their Safety, and discover'd on a Part of the Coast (which extended a great Way, and appeared very delightful) several Towns, with Buildings of Stone, which very much surprised them; and in the Confusion, with which they were all making their Observations, their Fancies represented them as great Cities, with Towers and Pinnacles; Objects at this Time, contrary to the ordinary Rule, appearing greater, as they were more distant. And because one of the Soldiers at that Time said, that this Country was like *Spain*, the Comparison so much pleased the Hearers, and made such an Impression upon them all, that we have no Account of any other Beginning of the Name of *New Spain*, given to that Country: Words accidentally spoken, but so successfully repeated, that without any Propriety or Beauty to recommend them, they have fixed themselves for ever on the Memories of Men.

CHAP. VI.

Juan de Grijalva *enters the River of* Tobasco.

OUR Vessels followed the Coast, until such Time as they came to the Place where the River *Tobasco*, one of the navigable Rivers which runs into the Gulph of *Mexico*, discharges it self at two Mouths. From the Time of this Discovery, it was called the River of *Grijalva*; but the Province, water'd by it, scituate on the Frontiers of *New Spain*, between *Yucatan* and *Guazacoalco*, retains the old Name. In these Parts they discover'd spacious Groves, and so many Towns between the two Rivers, that with the Hopes of making a considerable Progress here, *Juan de Grijalva* resolved (with the Approbation of his Men) to go up the River, and take a View of the Country; and finding by the Soundings, that he could only make use of the two lesser Vessels, he embarked all his Soldiers on board them, and left the other two at an Anchor, with Part of the Sailors.

THEY began, not without some Difficulty, to overcome the Strength of the Current; when they perceived at a little Distance, a considerable Number of Canoes, filled with armed *Indians*, and on the Shore several small Bodies of Men, who seemed prepared for an Engagement; and who both by their Voices and Motions, which were now distinguishable, endeavour'd to persuade the *Spaniards*, that their Landing would be difficult; their Gestures being such as Men in Fear are wont to use, who would keep off Danger by Menaces. But our People, accustom'd to greater Enterprizes, approach'd in good Order until the two Parties were within Reach of one another's Weapons. The General commanded that no one should fire, or make any Signal, but of Peace; and the Admiration the *Indians* were in at the Make of the Ships, and Difference of the Men and Habits, seemed to have impos'd upon them the same Orders; for they stood without Motion, as deprived of the Use of their Hands, by the Astonishment under which their Eyes had brought them. *Grijalva* made use of this seasonable and accidental Amusement, wherein he found the Enemy, to leap on Shore, followed by a Part of his Men, with great Expedition, and without any Danger.

Danger. He drew them up, and erected the Royal Standard: And after those customary Solemnities were performed, which being little more than Ceremonies, were yet called Acts of Possession, he endeavour'd to make the *Indians* understand, that he came in Peace, without any Design to offend them. This Message was carried by two *Indian* Boys, who were made Prisoners in the first Expedition to *Yucatan*, and at their Baptism had the Names of *Julian* and *Melchor*. They understood the Language of *Tobasco*, as being like that of their own Country; and they had learn'd ours, so that they made themselves understood with some Difficulty; but in a Country where they were often forc'd to speak by Signs, that indifferent Interpretation pass'd for Eloquence.

THE Result of this Embassy was such, that about thirty *Indians* had the Boldness to draw nearer in four Canoes, with some Precaution.

CANOES were Boates, made of the Trunks of Trees, work'd hollow after such a Manner, that some were capable of holding fifteen or twenty Men; such is the Largeness of those Trees, and the Fertility of the Country that produces them. They saluted each other courteously; and *Juan de Grijalva*, after having removed their Apprehensions by some Presents, made them a short Discourse, giving them to understand, by the Help of his Interpreters, that he and his Soldiers were Vassals to a powerful Monarch, who possess'd an Empire where the Sun rises; in whose Name he came to offer them Peace, and great Advantages, if they would become his Subjects. They heard his Proposition with the Marks of a disagreeable Attention; and we must not omit the natural Discretion of one of those *Barbarians*, who silencing the rest, answer'd *Grijalva*, with Firmness and Resolution, That he did not esteem that to be a good Kind of Peace, which he was desirous to introduce by Subjection and Vassalage; and that he could not but wonder at it as a Thing very preposterous, that he should talk to them of a new Master, before he knew whether they were discontented with him they already had: But that as to the Point of Peace or War, (for they had nothing else there to discourse of,) they would speak of it to their Superiors, and return with their Answer. They took leave with this Resolution, and our People remained equally surprized and concerned. The Satisfaction of having found *Indians* of more Reason, and better Discourse than usual, being allay'd by the Difficulties they expected to meet with in conquering them; for they rightly concluded, That those who knew how to discourse so well, would also know how to

fight, or that at least they had Reason to apprehend a different Kind of Valour with their different Understandings; it being certain that in War the Head does more than the Hands. But these Considerations of the Danger (on which both Captains and Soldiers variously reasoned) pass'd as prudent Reflections, but made little or no Impression on their Hearts. They were undeceived in a little Time, for the same *Indians* returned with Signals of Peace, saying, That their Caziques did accept it, not that they feared War, or were so easily to be overcome as the People of *Yucatan*, (whose Defeat they had learn'd,) but because our Men having left Peace or War to their Election, they thought themselves obliged to chuse the best; and in Token of the new Friendship they were going to establish, they brought a plentiful Regale of Provisions and Fruits. A little after came the principal Cazique, with a slender Attendance of unarmed People, thereby giving to understand the Confidence he had in his Guests, and that he came secure in his own Sincerity. *Grijalva* received him with Demonstrations of Satisfaction and Courtesy, and the *Indian* made a Return in Submissions after his Manner, accompanied with an Air of Gravity, either real or affected. After the first Compliments, he order'd his Servants to come up with another Present (which he had brought) of divers Curiosities, of more Workmanship than Value: Plumes of various Colours; Robes of fine Cotton, with some Figures of Animals to adorn them, made of Gold, thin and light, or curiously wrought in Wood, set in Gold, or overlaid with it; and without staying for the Acknowledgements of *Grijalva*, the Cazique gave him to understand, by the Help of his Interpreters, that his Design was Peace, and that the Intention of that Present was, to take a friendly Leave of his Guests, in order to maintain it. *Grijalva* answered him, That he very much esteem'd his Liberality; and that his Purpose was to pass forwards, without making any Stop, or giving him any Umbrage: A Resolution to which he inclined, partly out of the generous Return to the good Behaviour of those People, and the Confidence they had plac'd in him; and partly for the Conveniency of a Retreat, and of having Friends at his Back, in case of any Accident that might occur. And so he took his leave, and re-embark'd, having first presented the Cazique and his Servants with some *Castillian* Trifles, which altho' of very little Value, bore a Price for their Novelty; which should be less surprising to the *Spaniards* now a Days, when they themselves buy foreign Glasses at such excessive Rates.

ANTONIO de Herrera, and those who follow him, or have writ since, affirm, that the Cazique presented *Grijalva* with a

Suit

Suit of Armour of fine Gold, with all the Pieces belonging to it; that he armed himſelf compleatly with them; and that they fitted him as well as if they had been made for him, a Circumſtance too remarkable to have been omitted by more antient Authors. He took it, perhaps, from *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara*, whom he uſes to reject on other Occaſions; but *Bernal Diazdel Caſtillo*, who was there preſent, and *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo*, who wrote at that Time in the Iſland of *Santo Domingo*, make no mention of theſe Arms, altho' both give a minute Account of all the Curioſities brought from *Tobaſco*. I leave it to the Judgment of the Reader what Credit is to be given to thoſe Authors, deſiring only the Liberty to relate the Story, without blaming any one for doubting the Truth of it.

CHAP. VII.

Juan de Grijalva *proſecutes his Voyage, and enters the River of* Flags, *where he has the firſt Account of the* Mexican *King* Motezuma.

GRIJALVA and his Companions purſued their Voyage, ſtanding the ſame Courſe, ſtill diſcovering new Lands and Towns, without any memorable Accident, until they came to a River, which they call'd the River of *Flags*; becauſe on the Shore and neighbouring Coaſts, they ſaw a great Number of *Indians*, with white Flags hanging at the Tops of their Spears, and who, by their Manner of waving them, together with their Signals, Cries, and different Motions, made a Shew of Peace, and ſeemed rather to invite Paſſengers than forbid them. *Grijalva* order'd *Franciſco de Montejo* to advance with ſome of his Men in two Boats, to try the Entrance of the River, and diſcover the Intentions of thoſe *Indians*. This Captain finding a good Anchoring Place, and little to apprehend from the Behaviour of the People, gave Notice to the reſt to come up. They all landed, and were received with great Admiration and Marks of Joy by the *Indians*: From amongſt whom, aſſembled in great Numbers, three advanced, who, by the Ornaments of their Habits, ſeemed the principal Men of the Country; and ſtopping ſo long as was neceſſary to obſerve who was the chief Commander, by the Reſpect the others paid him,

him, they went directly up to *Grijalva*, whom they accoſted with great Reverence, and who received them with equal Courteſy. Our Interpreters did not underſtand the Language of this Country, ſo that the Compliments were made by civil Signs, with ſome Words of more Sound than Signification.

AFTER this they ſaw a Banquet, which the *Indians* had provided of different Sorts of Food, plac'd, or rather flung upon Mats of Palm, under the Shade of the Trees; a ruſtick and diſorderly Plenty, but not the leſs grateful to the Taſte of the hungry Soldiers. After which Refreſhment, the three *Indians* commanded their People to ſhew ſome Pieces of Gold, which they had concealed till then; and by their Manner of ſhewing and holding them, it was underſtood that they did not deſign to make a Preſent of them, but to purchaſe with them the Merchandize of the Ships, the Fame of which had already reach'd their Ears. Preſently a Fair was open'd for Strings of Beads, Combs, Knives, and other Inſtruments of Iron and Alchimy, which in that Country might be called Jewels of great Price, the Fondneſs of the *Indians* for thoſe Trifles giving them a real Value. They were exchanged for Implements, and Trinkets of Gold, not of the greateſt Fineneſs, but in ſuch Abundance, that in the ſix Days the *Spaniards* ſtopp'd there, the Ranſomes amounted to fifteen thouſand Peſo's.

WE don't know with what Propriety they gave the Name of Ranſomes to this Kind of Trucking, nor why they called it Ranſomed Gold, which in Truth was deliver'd over to a greater Slavery, and had more Liberty where it was leſs eſteemed: But I ſhall make uſe of this Expreſſion, becauſe I find it introduced into our Hiſtories, and before them into the Hiſtory of the *Eaſt Indies*; it being granted that in the Manner of ſpeaking, whereby Things are explained, the Reaſon is not ſo much to be ſought after, as the Cuſtom, which according to the Opinion of *Horace*, is the true Judge of Language, and either gives or takes away, as it pleaſes, that Harmony which the Ear finds between Sounds and their Signification.

Juan de Grijalva finding that the Ranſomes were at an End, and the Ships in ſome Danger, by being expoſed to the North Wind, took his leave of thoſe People, who remained pleaſed and thankful. He conſulted about purſuing his intended Diſcovery, having underſtood by Signs that theſe three *Indian* Chiefs were Subjects to a Monarch called *Motezuma*, whoſe Empire extended over numerous Countries abounding with Gold, and other Riches; and that they came by his Order to examine, after a peaceable Manner, into the Intentions of our People, whoſe

whoſe Neighbourhood, in all Appearance, gave him Diſturbance. Some Writers run into larger Accounts, but it doth not ſeem eaſy to conceive whence they could have gained their Knowledge; nor was it a ſmall Matter to learn ſo much as we have related, where People were oblig'd to ſpeak with their Hands, and underſtand by their Eyes.

They ſailed on, without loſing Sight of Land, and paſſing by two or three Iſlands of ſmall Note, landed in one they called the *Iſland of Sacrifices*, becauſe going in to view a Houſe of Lime and Stone, which overlooked the reſt, they found ſeveral Idols of a horrible Figure, and a more horrible Worſhip paid to them; for near the Steps where they were plac'd, were the Carkaſſes of ſix or ſeven Men, newly ſacrificed, cut to Pieces, and their Entrails laid open. This miſerable Sight ſtruck our People with Horror, and affected them with different Sentiments, their Hearts being filled with Compaſſion, at the ſame Time that they were enraged at the Abomination.

They ſtaid but a little while in this Iſland, becauſe the Inhabitants ſeemed to be in a Conſternation; ſo that the Ranſomes were not conſiderable. Upon which they paſs'd on to another, which was not far from the Main Land, and ſo ſituated, that between that and the Coaſt there was ſufficient Room and convenient Shelter for the Ships. They called it the Iſland of *St. Juan*, becauſe they arrived there on the Day of the Baptiſt, and likewiſe in Reſpect to the Name of their General, mixing Devotion with Flattery; and becauſe an *Indian*, who was pointing with his Hand towards the Main Land, giving them to underſtand how it was called, repeated ſeveral Times, with a bad Pronunciation, the Word *Culua! Culua!* This gave Occaſion to the Sirname, by which they diſtinguiſhed it from *St. Juan de Puerto Rico*, calling it *St. Juan de Ulua:* A little Iſland of more Sand than Soil; and which lay ſo low, that ſometimes it was cover'd by the Sea. But from theſe humble Beginnings, it became the moſt frequented and moſt celebrated Port of *New Spain*, on that Side which is bounded by the North Sea.

Here they ſtaid ſome Days; for the *Indians* of the neighbouring Parts came with their Pieces of Gold, believing they had the Advantage of the *Spaniards* in changing them for Glaſs. And *Juan de Grijalva* finding that his Inſtructions limited him to diſcover and ranſome without making a Settlement, (which was expreſly forbidden him,) he conſulted about giving an Account to *Diego Velaſquez* of the large Countries he had diſcover'd; that in caſe he reſolv'd to have him ſettle there, he might ſend him Orders with a Supply of Forces, and ſuch

other Provisions as he stood in need of. With this Account he dispatch'd Captain *Pedro de Alvarado* in one of the four Ships, giving him all the Gold, and whatever else they had acquired until that Time; to the End, that the Shew of that Wealth might give his Embassy the more Weight, and facilitate his Proposal of Settling, to which he was always inclined; notwithstanding *Francisco Lopez de Gomara* denies it, and blames him on this Account as a pusillanimous Person.

CHAP. VIII.

Juan de Grijalva *goes on with his Discovery, until he has coasted the Province of* Panuco. *What happen'd in the River of* Canoes, *and his Resolution to return to the Isle of* Cuba.

SCARCE had *Pedro de Alvarado* steered his Course for *Cuba*, when the rest of the Ships parted from *St. Juan de Ulua* in Pursuit of their Way, and following the Guidance of the Coast, turn'd with it towards the North, having in View the two Mountains of *Tuspa* and *Tusta*, which stretch a great Way between the Sea and the Province of *Tlascala*. After which they entered the River of *Panuco*, the fartheſt Province of *New Spain*, on the Gulph of *Mexico*, and came to an Anchor in the River of *Canoes*, which took this Name at that Time, because in the little Space they stopp'd to take a View of it, they were assaulted by sixteen Canoes, filled with armed *Indians*, who, by the Help of the Current attack'd the Ship, commanded by *Alonso Davila*, and after discharging a furious Shower of Arrows, cut one of the Cables, and endeavour'd to board the Ship; a Resolution becoming *Barbarians*, but such, as had it been favour'd with Success, might have deserved the Name of a gallant Action. But the other two Ships coming immediately up to her Relief, the Men in an Instant mann'd their Boats, charging the Canoes with so much Vigour, that one could not distinguish betwixt the Attack and the Victory: Some of them were overset, many *Indians* killed, and in short, no Enemies left, but those who had Prudence enough to know the Danger, or used the most Diligence to avoid it by Flight.

IT

It did not ſeem proper to follow this Victory, by reaſon of the ſmall Advantage by Traffick that could be hoped for from frighten'd Fugitives; wherefore they weigh'd Anchor, and proſecuted their Voyage till they arrived at a Point of Land which ran far into the Sea, which ſeemingly, enrag'd with it, as uſurping upon its Territories, maintain'd an obſtinate War againſt the Rocks. The Pilots made uſe of all their Induſtry and Skill to double this Cape; but were forc'd to give way to the Strength of the Current, and not without Danger of overſetting, or running a ſhore. This Accident occaſion'd the Pilots to proteſt againſt proceeding any farther; in which they were ſeconded by the general Clamours of the Men, grown weary now of ſo tedious a Navigation, and more apprehenſive of the Dangers that might attend it. Upon which *Juan de Grijalva*, a Man of equal Prudence and Courage, aſſembled the Captains and Pilots, to conſult what was to be done in their preſent Circumſtances. In this Council they weighed the Difficulty of paſſing forward, and the Uncertainty of returning; that one of their Ships had ſuffer'd, and wanted to be refitted; that their Proviſion began to ſpoil, and the People to be diſſatisfied, and fatigued. They conſider'd withal, that to make a Settlement, was contrary to the Inſtructions of *Diego Velaſquez*; and that they were in an ill Condition to undertake it, without a further Reinforcement; ſo that in the end, they reſolved with one Accord to ſteer their Courſe for *Cuba*, in order to furniſh themſelves with what was neceſſary for undertaking a third Time this great Affair, now left unfiniſhed. This was preſently put in Execution, and ſailing back the Way by which they came, taking View of other Parts of the ſame Coaſts, without ſtopping long at any Place, yet making a conſiderable Profit in Ranſomes, they arrived at length at the Port of *Sant Jago*, in *Cuba*, the 15th of *November* 1518.

Some few Days before, *Pedro de Alvarado* arrived at the ſame Port, and was very well received by the Governor *Diego Velaſquez*, who publiſh'd, with incredible Joy, the Account of the large Countries they had diſcover'd, and, above all, of the fifteen thouſand Peſo's of Gold, which ſupported the Relation, without any Occaſion for Exaggerations.

The Governor beheld this Wealth with Pleaſure, and hardly believing his Eyes, made *Pedro de Alvarado* repeat a ſecond and third Time what he had before related, finding ſomething new in the very Thing he had juſt heard; as a Muſician is delighted with the Repetition of his Tune. But this Satisfaction was ſoon allay'd by his Impatience at the Conduct of *Don Juan de Grijalva*, becauſe he had not made a Settlement in the Country

Country where he had been ſo well received: And altho' *Pedro de Alvarado* endeavour'd to excuſe him, yet being one of thoſe, who had advis'd the making a Settlement in the River of *Flags*, he ſpoke but faintly, as a Man uſually does when he endeavours to enforce any Thing againſt his own Opinion. *Diego Velaſquez* accuſed him of Want of Reſolution, and angry at his own Choice, confeſs'd he was to blame for having ſent him, propoſing to intruſt this Undertaking to ſome more active Perſon, without conſidering how he diſobliged a Relation, to whom he owed the very Happineſs which rais'd his Hopes to ſuch a Pitch. But the firſt Effect that good Fortune has on the Minds of the Ambitious, is to captivate their Reaſon, and take from them the Senſe of Gratitude. He had nothing now to do but to obtain the Prize, and at any Rate enjoy the Proſperity which he promiſed himſelf from that great Diſcovery; raiſing his Imaginations to mighty Things, and hoping now to compaſs that which before exceeded his very Deſires.

HE immediately made Preparations for the Conqueſt of this Country, to which the Name of *New Spain* gave a great Reputation. He communicated his Reſolution to the Regulars of St. *Jerom*, who reſided in the Iſland of *Santo Domingo*, but in ſuch Terms, that he ſeemed rather to deſire their Approbation than ask their Conſent. And he ſent a Perſon to Court, with a large Account of the Diſcovery, together with a Memorial, in which his own Services were not forgotten; in Reward of which, he requeſted ſome Favours, and the Title of the King's Lieutenant of thoſe Countries he ſhould conquer.

HE had already bought ſome Veſſels, and began to fit out a new Fleet, when *Juan de Grijalva* arrived, and found him as much incenſed, as he had Reaſon to expect him thankful. *Velaſquez* reprimanded him ſharply and publickly, the other modeſtly declining to ſay all he could have done in his own Defence. However, he laid before *Velaſquez* his own Inſtructions, which expreſly forbad him to ſettle: But the Governor's ambitious Proſpects had now ſo tranſported him beyond the Bounds of Reaſon, that tho' he owned the Order, yet he treated Obedience to it as a Crime.

CHAP. IX.

The Difficulties which occur'd in the Choice of a Commander of the new Fleet, and who HERNAN CORTES *was, who, in the end, obtained that Poſt.*

BUT *Diego Velaſquez* knowing how much it imported to be quick in his Reſolutions, and that by loſing of Time, he might loſe a favourable Opportunity, gave immediate Orders for refitting the four Veſſels which ſerved in the Voyage of *Grijalva*; with which, and thoſe he had bought, he made up ten Veſſels, from eighty to an hundred Tuns, uſing the ſame Diſpatch in arming, and furniſh them with Stores and Proviſions; but he was at a Loſs upon whom to fix the Command. His Deſign was to chuſe a Man of Reſolution, who would know how to diſengage himſelf from Difficulties, and make uſe of Opportunities, but withal, ſo manageable, as not to give him any Jealouſy, or have any other Ambition than to advance the Glory of his Principal; which, in other Words, was to ſeek for a Man of great Courage, and a mean Spirit. But it not being eaſy to find theſe two Extreams in the ſame Subject, it delayed his Determination for ſome Days. The Voice of the People was in favour of *Juan de Grijalva*, and they uſually do Juſtice in their Elections. What ſerved greatly to recommend him, were his good Qualities, the Trouble he had taken in this Diſcovery, together with his Knowledge of the Navigation, and of the Country.

THE other Pretenders were *Antonio* and *Bernardino Velaſquez*, near Relations of the Governor; *Baltaſar Bermudez*, *Vaſco Porcallo*, and other Cavaliers of that Iſland, of ſufficient Merit to pretend to greater Imployments; and upon this Occaſion every one diſcours'd, as if he was the only proper Choice; and indeed, generally ſpeaking, when the Diſpoſal of Imployments is delay'd, it ſerves only to encreaſe the Number of Pretenders, and multiply the Complaints of the Unfortunate.

BUT *Diego Velaſquez* continued in his Irreſolution, fearing the Ambition of thoſe whoſe Capacity he approved, until adviſing with *Amador de Lariz*, the King's Treaſurer, and *Andres de Duero*, his Secretary, which two he entirely confided in, and who

knew his Temper perfectly well, they proposed their intimate Friend *Hernan Cortes*, being not over-lavish in his Praise, lest their advise should be suspected; insinuating withal, that they spoke more out of Regard to the Success of the Undertaking, than the Interest of their Friend. Their Proposition was well heard, and they contented themselves with seeing him favourably inclined, giving him Time to consider, with Hopes, of entirely perswading him in a second Conversation.

BUT before we go farther, it will be proper to say who *Hernan Cortes* was, and through what Variety of Events his happy Destiny led him to atchieve, by his Valour and Conduct, the Conquest of *New Spain*. I call that, Destiny, which, speaking as a Christian, is the sovereign and unsearchable Disposition, made by the first Cause, who leaving second Causes to act in Subordination to his Providence, as natural Means, produces all that happens by his Permission or Appointment, in a manner consistent with that Liberty of Choice, which he has bestowed upon Mankind.

HE was born in *Medillin*, a Town of *Estremadura*, Son of *Martin Cortes*, of *Monroy*, and *Donna Catalina-Pizarro Altamarino*, Names that sufficiently declare the Nobility of his Extraction. In his Youth, he for some Time applied himself to Letters, and was two Years at *Salamanca*, which were sufficient to make him sensible, that the sedentary Application of a studious Life, was contrary to his Temper, and did not suit the Vivacity of his Spirit. He returned home resolved to follow the Wars, and his Parents pointed out to him that of *Italy*, which was then the most considerable, and made the greatest Noise with the Name of the Great Captain *Gonsalvo de Cordoua*: But when he was to embark, he fell dangerously ill of a Distemper, which continued many Days; by which Accident, he found himself obliged to change his Intention, tho' not his Profession; and therefore he resolved to go to the *Indies*, where the War at that Time was carried on with a View to Glory, rather than to Wealth. He embarked, with the Approbation of his Parents, in the Year 1504, and carried Letters of Recommendation to *Don Nicholas de Obando*, Commendatory-Major of the Order of *Alcantara*, his Kinsman, and then Governor of the Island of *Sant Domingo*. He was no sooner arrived there, and known, than he gain'd the general Good-will and Esteem; and was so kindly received by the Governor, as to be immediately admitted by him into the Number of his Friends, and offer'd his Assistance in a particular Manner: But all those Favours were not sufficient to divert his Inclination to Arms; for he was so uneasy with the State of

of Inaction, wherein he found that Island, which the *Spaniards* now possess'd without any Opposition from the Natives, that he desir'd Leave to go and serve in the Isle of *Cuba*, where the War was still carried on: And having gained the Consent of his Kinsman, he endeavour'd to signalize himself in that War both by Valour and Obedience, which are the first Rudiments of the Military Profession. He very soon acquired not only the Reputation of a valiant Soldier, but also that of an able Commander, distinguishing both his Courage in Action, and his Capacity in Council.

Cortes was well made, and of an agreeable Countenance; and besides those common natural Endowments, he was of a Temper which rendered him very amiable; for he always spoke well of the Absent, and was pleasant and discreet in his Conversation. His Generosity was such, that his Friends partook of all he had, without being suffer'd by him to publish their Obligations.

He married in that Island *Donna Cathalina-Suarez Pacheco*, a noble and virtuous young Lady. This Courtship brought him under many Difficulties, by the interfering of *Diego Velasquez*, who made him Prisoner till such Time as all Differences were adjusted; and then *Velasquez* stood Father to the Bride, and gave her to him in Marriage. After which they were intimate Friends; and he in a little Time gave him a Distribution of *Indians*, and the Post of *Alcalde*, or Chief Magistrate in the very Town of *St. Jago*; an Imployment usually conferr'd on those who had distinguish'd themselves in the Conquest of those Countries.

In these Circumstances was *Hernan Cortes*, when *Amador de Lariz* and *Andres de Duero* proposed him for the Conquest of *New Spain*; and they did it with so much Address, that the next Time they waited upon *Diego Velasquez*, furnished with fresh Reasons to enforce their Recommendation, they found him resolved on *Hernan Cortes*, and so possess'd with the Advantages of entrusting the Undertaking to his Care, that they chang'd their premeditated Arguments into Flattery, and only endeavour'd to oblige him by applauding a Resolution so agreeable to their own Wishes. They agreed with the Governor that it was convenient immediately to publish the Choice, in order to put a Stop at once to all further Pretensions; and *Andres de Duero* was not dilatory in the Dispatch of the Commission. The Substance of which was, That *Diego Velasquez*, as Governor of the Isle of *Cuba*, and Promoter of the Discoveries of *Yucatan* and *New Spain*, did name *Hernan Cortes* for Captain-General of the Fleet, and of the Countries already discover'd, or which should be discover'd, with the

most

most extensive Powers, and most honourable Clauses, which the Friendship of the Secretary could add, under the Pretence of observing the necessary Forms.

CHAP. X.

The Rivals of Cortes *endeavour with all their Power to set* Diego Velasquez *against him, but without Effect. He sails with the Fleet out of the Port of* Sant Jago.

CORTES received the new Charge from *Velasquez* with great Expressions of Respect and Satisfaction, as sensibly affected at that Time, with the Confidence the Governor had reposed in his Person, as he was afterwards with his Distrust. The Resolution was made publick, and well received among those who desir'd to see that Affair brought to a Conclusion; but occasion'd much Discontent among his Rivals for the Imployment; and those who declared themselves with the greatest Boldness, were the Relations of *Diego Velasquez*, who made very strong Efforts to raise in the Governor a Distrust of *Hernan Cortes*. They told him, *That he placed a great deal of Confidence in a Man whom he had so little obliged; that if he consider'd the Conduct of* Cortes, *he would find that he was not much to be depended on, for that his Words and Actions very seldom agreed; that his Courtesy and Liberality had an Artifice in them, which rendered him suspected to those who are not led away by the bare Appearances of Virtue; that he was over assiduous to gain the Affections of the People; and that such sort of Friends, when they are in great Numbers, are easily form'd into a Party; that he would do well to remember the Disgust his Imprisonment had given him; and that a Man rarely makes true Friends of those, to whom he has given such Occasion of Complaint; for the Wounds of the Mind, as well as of the Body, leave Scars behind, which are wont to put a Man in mind of the Offence, when he has the Power to revenge it.* To these they added other Reasons more specious than solid, without much Regard to Truth, aiming to appear zealous in the Governor's Interest, the better to dissemble their real Views.

'TIS

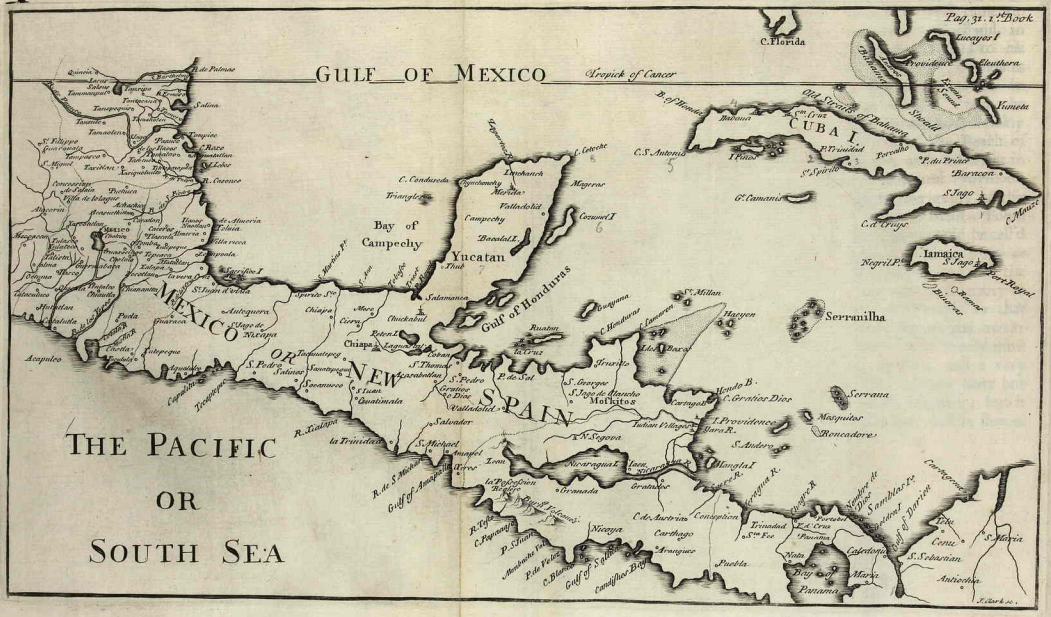
'Tis reported that *Diego Velasquez*, walking out one Day with *Hernan Cortes*, and his Friends and Relations, a pleasant crack-brain'd Fellow, with whose Whimsies he used to be diverted, said to him, *Thou hast done well, Friend* Diego; *shortly there will be Occasion for another Fleet to go in Pursuit of* Cortes. There are some that relate this as a Prophecy, considering how luckily Madmen sometimes hit upon Things, and the Impression that it made on the Mind of *Diego Velasquez*. Let us leave it to Philosophers to dispute whether the fortelling of what is to come be one of the Extravagances of a distempered Imagination, or if it be possible that a Judgment so disorder'd should be capable of Divination. Let them imploy their Wit in searching for Reasons to maintain such an Opinion; I, for my part, shall believe that this craz'd Person was put upon saying what he did by the Enemies of *Cortes*, and that their Malice was but poorly supported by Reason, when they were obliged to have Recourse to Madness.

But *Diego Velasquez* stood firm to his Resolution, and *Hernan Cortes* wholly applied himself to hasten the Preparations for his Departure. The first Step was, to erect his Standard, with the Sign of the Cross, having this Inscription in *Latin: Let us follow the Cross, for with this Sign we shall overcome.* He appeared in the Habit of a Soldier, which became him well, and suited his Inclinations better. He imployed his own Stock liberally, and what he could borrow from his Friends, in the buying of Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition, in order to hasten the Departure of the Fleet, endeavouring, at the same Time, to draw together a Number of Soldiers for the Expedition, in which he did not find much Difficulty; for the very Name of theEnterprize, and the Fame of the Captain were so great, that in few Days they listed three hundred Soldiers, among which were *Diego de Ordaz*, a principal Confident of the Governor, *Francisco de Morla*, *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, (who has written the History of this Conquest,) and other Gentlemen, who shall be named in their proper Place.

The Time for their Departure being come, Orders were given for the Soldiers to embark, which they did in the Daytime, the People all running to the Sight; and at Night, *Cortes*, accompanied by his Friends, went to take leave of the Governor, who embrac'd him in a very friendly manner, and the next Morning accompanied him to the Sea-Side, and saw him embark. Small Circumstances, and of little Importance in the History, and which might have been omitted, if they were not necessary to wipe off the Imputation of that early Ingratitude, with which they

have reproached *Cortes*, who say, that he forc'd his Way out of the Port with the Fleet; so *Antonio de Herrera* reports, and those who copy after him, affirming, without any manner of Reason, that he called the Soldiers together from their Houses at Midnight, embarking with them by Stealth; and that *Diego Velasquez*, going out after him in the Morning, *Cortes* came up to him in a Boat, well armed, and gave him to understand, in a disrespectful manner, that he no longer had Regard to his Orders. We follow *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who relates what he saw, and is most probable: For it is not to be imagined that a Man so discreet as *Cortes*, (had he formed such a Resolution within himself,) would so publickly break with *Velasquez*, before he had got out of the Reach of his Jurisdiction; for he was obliged to touch with his Fleet in other Places of the same Island, to take in Men and Provisions, which he wanted. And tho' we should allow him guilty of this Indiscretion, it does not seem likely, that in so small a Town as was *St. Jago* at that Time, three hundred Men could be call'd from their Houses, and embark in the Night-time, *Diego de Ordaz*, and other Creatures of the Governor being of the Number, and that there should not be one among so many to give him an Account of so extraordinary a Procedure; or that those who so narrowly observed his Actions, should not awake at the Noise occasion'd by so great a Hurry. This surely must have argued a strange sort of Silence on one Side, and a very extraordinary Negligence on the other. We will not deny but that *Cortes* withdrew from his Obedience to *Velasquez*; but it was sometime afterwards, and for the Reasons that shall be shewn.

CHAP.


Pag. 31. 1.st Book.
GULF OF MEXICO
Tropick of Cancer
C. Florida
Lucayos I
Providence
Eluthera
Old Straits of Bahama
S. Salvador
Yumeta
CUBA I.
Bay of Campechy
Yucatan
Gulf of Honduras
NEW SPAIN
MEXICO
Serranilha
Jamaica
Serrana
Mosquitos
Rencadore
Bay of Panama
THE PACIFIC
OR
SOUTH SEA

CHAP. XI.

Cortes *sails with the Fleet to* La Trinidad, *where he gets a considerable Reinforcement of Soldiers. His Enemies obtain their Point of making* Velasquez *jealous, who uses his utmost Endeavours to stop him.*

THE Fleet sailed from the Port of *Sant Jago* in *Cuba* the Eighteenth Day of *November*, in the Year of our Lord 1518; and coasting along the North-Side of the Island towards the East, arrived in a few Days at the Port of *La Trinidad*, where *Cortes* had some Friends, who gave him a very kind Reception. He presently publish'd his Design, and *Juan de Escalante, Pedro Sanchez Farfan, Gonzalo Mexia*, with other considerable Persons of that Settlement offer'd to follow his Fortunes; and a little after, he was joined by *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Alonso Davila*, who had been Captains in the Expedition of *Juan de Grijalva*, with four Brothers of *Pedro de Alvarado, viz. Gonzalo, Jorge, Gomez*, and *Juan de Alvarado*. The Account of this Affair reaching to the Town of *Sancti Spiritus*, which was but a little distant from *La Trinidad*; there came from thence with the same Design of following the Fortune of *Cortes, Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Roderigo Rangel, Juan Velasquez de Leon*, (a Relation of the Governor's,) and other Persons of Distinction, whose Names will be more properly remembred when we shall relate their Exploits. With this Reinforcement of Gentlemen, and a hundred Soldiers, who came from the two Settlements, the Strength of the Fleet was considerably augmented; and at the same Time Care was taken to buy up Provisions, Ammunition, Arms, and some Horses; *Cortes* assisting all who wanted, with his own Money; for he knew how to gain their Affection by an obliging Behaviour, by inspiring them with Hopes, and by maintaining his Superiority, in such a Manner, as to let them see he look'd upon himself at the same Time, as their Companion.

South
West
Robertson Ann.
Book V

But

BUT ſcarce had he turned his Back to the Port of *Sant Jago*, when his Enemies began to cry out againſt him, talking already of his Diſobedience, after the Cuſtom of Cowards, who always attack the abſent. *Diego Velaſquez* hearken'd to their Diſcourſe and tho' he ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, they diſcover'd in his Mind a Diſpoſition to Jealouſy, eaſy to be work'd up to an entire Diſtruſt; to which End they made uſe of an old Man, called *Juan Millan*, who, notwithſtanding he was very ignorant, pretended to the Knowledge of *Aſtrology*: A mad Man of another kind, and touch'd with a Madneſs of another Species. This Man, ſet on by others, having engaged *Velaſquez* to Secrecy, acquainted him in myſterious Terms, that this Expedition would have a fortunate and an unfortunate Event; giving him to underſtand, that he had learned ſo much from the Stars. And tho' *Diego Velaſquez* was a Man of ſufficient Senſe to know the Vanity of ſuch Prognoſtications, nevertheleſs, as his Foible was Jealouſy, this had ſuch an Effect, that notwithſtanding he deſpiſed the *Aſtrologer*, he began to be affected by what he ſaid.

FROM ſuch ſlight Beginnings ſprung the firſt Reſolution, which *Diego Velaſquez* took to break with *Hernan Cortes*, by depriving him of the Command of the Fleet. He diſpatch'd immediately two Couriers to *La Trinidad*, with Letters for all his Confidents, and expreſs Orders to *Franciſco Verdugo*, his Couſin, who at that Time was chief Alcalde of the Town, to diſpoſſeſs him of his Captain-General-Ship; in a judicial Way, on Suppoſition, that his Authority was now revoked, and another Perſon named in his Room.

CORTES was quickly informed of this unexpected Accident, and without being diſcourag'd at the Difficulty of the Remedy, ſhew'd himſelf to his Friends and Soldiers, that he might know in what Manner they reſented the Injury done to their Captain, and conſequently how far he might depend on their Opinion of the Juſtice of his Pretenſions.

HE found them all not only in his Intereſt, but reſolved to guard him from ſuch an Injury, tho' it ſhould carry them to the laſt Extremity, of taking Arms in his Defence. And tho' *Diego de Ordaz*, and *Juan Velaſquez de Leon* were leſs warm, as depending more upon the Governor, they were eaſily brought over to approve of that which they had not Power to hinder. Being thus ſecure, he went to viſit the chief Alcalde, who already knew the Grounds he had to complain. He laid before him how far he might expoſe himſelf in ſupporting ſuch a Piece of Injuſtice, by diſguſting ſo many Perſons of Diſtinction as followed him; and how much he had Reaſon to fear from the Fury of the

the Soldiers, whose Affections he had gained, that he might the better serve *Diego Velasquez*; and that he already found it difficult to keep them within the Bounds of Obedience to him; speaking in such Terms, and with such a kind of Resolution, as appeared both modest and great. *Francisco Verdugo* approved his Reasons, and from a Principle of Generosity, being unwilling to become the Instrument of such Injustice, offered not only to suspend the Execution of the Order, but to write to *Diego Velasquez* to engage him to desist from a Resolution, which was now impracticable, by Reason of the Disgust it gave the Soldiers, and could not be executed without very great Inconveniencies. *Diego de Ordaz*, and the rest, who had any Interest in the Governor, offered to do the same, and wrote immediately. *Cortes* likewise wrote to him, complaining in a friendly Manner of his Distrust, without shewing how far he was dissatisfied, or omitting his ordinary Respect, as one who found himself obliged to complain, but desir'd to have no Reason to appear discontented or injur'd.

CHAP. XII.

Cortes *sails from* La Trinidad *to the* Havana; *where he gets the last Reinforcement for the Fleet, and suffers a second Persecution from* Velasquez.

HAVING taken these Measures, which at that Time seemed sufficient to quiet the Mind of *Velasquez*, *Cortes* consider'd of prosecuting his Voyage; and sending *Pedro de Alvarado* by Land, with a Party of Soldiers to take care of their Horses, and raise some more Men in the Settlements upon the Road, he sail'd with the Fleet for the *Havana*, the most Westerly Part of the Island, where it begins to incline towards the North. The Ships parted from *La Trinidad* with a favourable Wind; but at the coming on of the Night they separated from the *Capitana*, where *Cortes* was on Board, without observing as they ought the Course he stood, or perceiving the Error of their Pilots, until the Light of the Day discovered it: But being now advanced so far, they continued their Voyage, and arrived at the *Havana*, where the Soldiers went on Shore. They were kindly and liberally entertained by *Pedro de Barba*, at

at that Time Governor of the *Havana*, under *Velasquez*. They were all concerned that they had not waited for their Captain, or turned back in search of him; but their Discourses on that Occasion, went no farther than to furnish themselves with Excuses against his Arrival; but perceiving that he staid longer than they thought it was possible he could, unless some Misfortune had befallen him, they began to be uneasy, and divided into various Opinions. Some were for sending two or three Vessels in search of him amongst the neighbouring Islands; others proposed to name a Commander in Chief in his Absence; but others thought such a Proposition unseasonable. However, as no body commanded, every one gave his Verdict, and nothing was done. He who most insisted upon their naming a Commander, was *Diego de Ordaz*, who as Confident of *Velasquez*, expected to be preferred to the rest, and thought that by the gaining of this Point, he should stand fair to obtain that Post from *Velasquez*. But at last, after a Dispute of seven Days, *Cortes* safely arrived with the *Capitana*.

HIS Delay was occasion'd by the Fleet's passing over some Flats which are between the Harbour of *La Trinidad* and the Cape of *St. Anthony*, at a small Distance from the *Isle of Pines*, where the *Capitana*, as being the largest Ship, struck, and was in Danger of being over-set: An Accident which gave *Cortes* no little Trouble, but withal, served to raise his Reputation; for animating his Men, on View of the Danger, he gave such Orders as were necessary with great Presence of Mind, and used the utmost Expedition, without Confusion. His first Care was to put out his Boat, and take out the Ship's Lading, which was carried to a little Sandy Island hard by: By which Means he so far lightened her, as to set her afloat. After which, getting clear of the Banks, they took her Lading on Board again, and pursu'd their Course, having thus spent the seven Days, he was detain'd in this Place, much to the Advantage of his Reputation.

PEDRO *de Barba* lodged him in his own House, and he was received with great Acclamations. And here again their Numbers encreased, several of the Inhabitants and Gentlemen entring into the Service: Among whom were *Francisco de Montejo*, who was afterwards the King's Lieutenant of *Yucatan*, *Diego de Soto del Toro*, *Garci Caro*, *Juan Sedeno*, and other Persons of Distinction and Fortune; which very much added to the Reputation of the Enterprize, and compleated the Equipment of the Fleet. These Preparations took up some Days: But as *Cortes* knew not how to be idle the Time he staid there, he commanded the Artillery

to

to be brought on Shore to be cleaned and proved, ordering the Cannoniers to obſerve exactly how far each Gun would carry; and as there was great Plenty of Cotton thereabouts, he directed the making a ſufficient Quantity of defenſive Arms. Theſe were a kind of Quilts, in the Form of great Coats, which were called *Eſcaupilles:* Neceſſity inventing what Experience afterwards approved; when they found that a little Cotton, ſtitched beween two Cloths, was a better Defence than Iron againſt the Arrows and Darts of the *Indians*; for they loſt their Force by the weak Reſiſtance they met with, and were likewiſe hinder'd from glancing from one Man to another.

At the ſame Time he exerciſed his Soldiers in the Uſe of their Fire Arms and Croſs-Bows, and the Management of their Pikes: He alſo taught them how to form a Battalion, and file off in order; how to Charge, and how to ſeize a Poſt; inſtructing them both by Voice and Example in the Rudiments of War; after the Manner of the great Captains of Antiquity, who by feigned Battles and Aſſaults, taught new Beginners the military Art. Which Practice, in Time of Peace, was in ſo much Eſteem among the *Romans*, that from this kind of Exerciſe they gave their Armies the Name of *Exercitus*.

At the ſame Time, and with the ſame Diligence, he went on with the reſt of his Preparations: But when every one was rejoicing at the Approach of the Day appointed for their Departure, *Gaſper de Garnica*, a Servant of *Velaſquez*, arrived at the *Havana*, with freſh Orders to *Pedro de Barba*, expreſly enjoining him to diſpoſſeſs *Cortes* of the Command of the Fleet, and to ſend him Priſoner with a good Convoy; telling him how highly he had been diſpleas'd with *Franciſco Verdugo* for letting him go from *La Trinidad*; and withal, giving him to underſtand how much he would riſque in not complying with his Orders. He likewiſe wrote to *Diego de Ordaz*, and to *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, to be aſſiſting to *Pedro de Barba* in the Execution of his Commands. But *Cortes* was advertis'd of what was doing from ſeveral Hands, and even by *Garnica*. They warn'd him to take care of himſelf, ſince he who firſt entruſted this Enterprize to his Conduct, was now going to diſcard him in a manner highly injurious to his Honour; freeing him from the Scandal of Ingratitude, by forcing from him the Favour for which he ſtood oblig'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Cortes *resolves not to put himself in the Power of* Velasquez: *The just Motives of this Resolution: With what further pass'd till the Time of their sailing from the* Havana.

ALTHOUGH *Cortes* was a Man of great Spirit, he could not help being shock'd with this new Attempt, which touch'd him the more sensibly, by how much the less it was expected; for he thought *Velasquez* had been satisfied with what every one had wrote to him on the Receipt of his first Command at the Town of *La Trinidad*; but being convinced of his Obstinacy by these repeated Orders, he began, with less Temper, to think of taking care of himself. On the one Side, he saw himself applauded and esteem'd by all who followed him; and on the other, degraded, and condemned to Prison like a Criminal. He acknowledged that *Velasquez* had expended some Money in fitting out the Fleet; but then the greatest Part of the Charge was born by himself and his Friends, and almost all the Soldiers were rais'd upon their Credit. He revolv'd in his Mind all the Circumstances of the Injury done him; and considering the Slights he had hitherto suffered, he grew angry with himself, and, not without Reason, accus'd his own Patience; for this Virtue passing beyond the Bounds assign'd to it by Reason, degenerates into Meanness of Spirit and Insensibility. He was also concerned for the Enterprize, which he foresaw would entirely miscarry if he quitted the Conduct of it; but that which most sensibly affected him, was the Wound given to his Honour, which (to those who understand its Value) is dearer than Life it self. Upon these Reflections, and this Occasion of Resentment, *Cortes* took his first Resolution of breaking with *Velasquez*. Whence it appears how little Justice *Antonio de Herrera* has done him, by placing this Breach in the City of *St. Jago*, at a Time when he had just received such singular Obligations. But we shall adhere to what is related by *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, an Author not the most favourable to *Cortes*; for *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo* affirms, That he acknowledged his Dependancy on the Governor *Velasquez*, till upon

upon his Arrival in *New Spain* he ſet up for himſelf, giving an Account to the Emperor of the Advances made by him in that Conqueſt.

THE Pains I have beſtowed in clearing the Character of *Cortes* from theſe early Reproaches, muſt not be thought a Digreſſion from the Subject: I am as far from flattering thoſe whom I undertake to defend, as from hating others whom I condemn: But when Truth points out the Way to juſtify the firſt Steps in a Man's Conduct, who knew how to make himſelf ſo conſiderable by his Actions, I ought to follow the Path, and to be pleaſed with diſcovering the Certainty of that which ſerves to eſtabliſh his Reputation.

I AM very ſenſible that an Hiſtorian ſhould by no Means conceal what deſerves Reproof; for Examples are as uſeful to make Vice abhorred, as to allure us to the Imitation of Virtue: But it argues a wrong Turn in an Author to put the worſt Conſtruction upon a Man's Actions; and to relate as Truth their own ill-natur'd Conjectures, is a Fault of which ſome Writers are guilty, who have read *Tacitus* with an Ambition to imitate that which in Reality is inimitable, and fancy they enter into the Spirit of that Author, when they put ſuch Interpretations upon Things, as ſavour more of Spleen than Art.

BUT to return to our Hiſtory: *Cortez* judging that it was now no longer a Time to ſmother his Reſentment, or take moderate Meaſures, which are generally Enemies to great Reſolutions, reſolved to provide for himſelf, and make uſe of the Force he was Maſter of as Occaſion ſhould require. To this End, before *Pedro de Barba* had determined to publiſh the Order he had againſt him, he made haſte to ſend away from the *Havana Diego de Ordaz*, whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected very much, on Account of the Efforts he had made to be choſen Commander in Chief in his Abſence: He therefore ordered him to embark immediately on Board one of the Veſſels, and to make the beſt of his Way to *Guanicanico*, a Settlement ſituate on the other Side of the Cape *St. Antonio*, to take in ſome Proviſions which he had directed to be carried to that Place, and there to wait his Arrival, with the reſt of the Fleet. *Cortez* aſſiſted in putting this Order in Execution with his uſual Diligence and Calmneſs; and this Way diſengaged himſelf from a Man who might have embaraſs'd him to a very great Degree. After which he went to viſit *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, whom he eaſily brought over to his Intereſt, being himſelf not a little diſpleaſed with the Proceedings of his Relation, and withal more tractable, and of leſs Artifice than *Diego de Ordaz*.

HAVING taken these Precautions, he shewed himself to the Soldiers, acquainting them with the new Persecution that threatned him. They all offered him their Services, agreeing in the Resolution of assisting him, tho' differing in the Manner of expressing themselves, the Zeal of the Gentry appear'd as the natural Effect of the Obligations they had to him; but the rest declar'd in his Behalf with so much Heat, as to give Uneasiness to the Person in whose Favour it was design'd: And it appear'd by their Clamours and Threats on this Occasion, how much a good Cause may suffer in the Hands of the Multitude.

BUT *Pedro de Barba* apprehending the ill Consequences of not appeasing this Tumult in Time, went to *Cortez*, and appearing publickly with him, quieted all in a Moment, by declaring aloud, That he did not design to execute the Order of *Velasquez*, or to have any Share in so great an Injustice. This turned all their Threats into Acclamations: And he presently shewed the Sincerity of his Intentions, by publickly dispatching *Gasper de Garnica* with a Letter to *Velasquez*; in which he told him, That this was not a Time to stop *Cortez*, who was too well attended to let himself be ill treated, or to be reduc'd to Obedience by Violence. He represented to him, in the strongest Terms, the Ferment his Order had occasioned among the Soldiers, and the Danger the Town had been in by this Commotion; and concluded his Letter with advising him to regain *Cortez* by Acts of Friendship, adding new Favours to those he had already bestow'd, and relying on his Gratitude for what could not be compass'd either by Perswasion or Force.

THIS Affair being over, *Cortez* employ'd all his Thoughts to hasten his Departure; which he found necessary, in order to quiet the Minds of the Soldiers, who were disturb'd afresh by the Report that *Velasquez* resolv'd to come in Person, and put his Orders in Execution. It is said that he had form'd this Design; in which he would have run a very great Risque, without succeeding: For Authority is but a weak Argument, when oppos'd both to Reason and Power.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Cortez *names the Officers of his Fleet; parts from the* Havana; *and arrives at the Isle of* Cozumel, *where he musters his Troops, and animates his Soldiers to the Undertaking.*

A Brigantine of moderate Burden having joined the ten Vessels which composed his Fleet, *Cortez* distributed his Men into eleven Companies, putting one on Board each Vessel; and named for Captains *Juan Velasquez de Leon, Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero, Francisco de Montejo, Christoval de Olid, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco Saucedo,* and *Diego de Ordaz,* whom he had not sent out of the Way with an Intention to forget or disoblige him by not giving him an Employment. He reserved for himself the Command of the *Capitana,* and intrusted the Care of the Brigantine to *Gines de Nortes.* The Command of the Artillery he bestow'd upon *Francisco de Orozco,* a Soldier who had signaliz'd himself in the Wars of *Italy*; and chose for his chief Pilot *Antonio de Alaminos,* a Man of Experience in those Seas, having served in the same Quality in the two Voyages of *Francisco Fernandez de Cordova* and *Juan de Grijalva.* He drew up Instructions for his Officers; wherein, with singular Foresight, he provided against Contingencies; and the Day of Embarkation being come, they celebrated a Mass of the Holy Ghost with great Solemnity, at which all the Soldiers very devoutly assisted, recommending to God the Beginning of an Enterprize, the Success of which they expected from his divine Assistance; and *Hernan Cortez,* as the first Act of his Command, gave the Word *St. Peter,* thereby acknowledging him the Patron of this Expedition, as he had been of all his Actions from his Childhood. After which he ordered *Pedro de Alvarado* to sail for the North Coast, in search of *Diego de Ordaz,* in *Guanicanico*; and after they were joined to wait for the Fleet at Cape *St. Antonio.* The rest of the Vessels had Instructions to follow the *Capitana*; and in case they should be separated by contrary Winds, or any other Accident, to stand for the Isle of *Cozumel,* discover'd by

Juan

Juan de Grijalva, which was but little distant from the Land they were in search of, and where *Cortez* propos'd to consider and resolve on that which should be most necessary for the Prosecution of their Enterprize.

In fine, they parted from the *Havana* the 10th of *February*, 1519. The Wind at first was favourable, but did not long continue so; for at Sun-Set there arose a furious Storm, which put them in great Disorder; and when the Night came, the Ships were obliged to separate, that they might not run foul on each other, and to put right before the Wind. The Ship that *Francisco de Morla* commanded suffer'd most, a Break of the Sea carrying away the Rudder, whereby he was in great Hazard of being lost. He fired several Guns as a Signal of Distress, which gave extreme Concern to the rest of the Captains; who, notwithstanding their own Danger, were alarm'd at his, and did all that was possible to keep near him, sometimes bearing up against Wind and Sea, and then again giving way to their Violence. But the Storm ended with the Night; and as soon as they had Light enough to distinguish Objects, *Cortez* was the first who came up with the Ship in Danger, the rest following his Example; and the Damage she had suffer'd was soon repair'd.

AT this Time *Pedro de Alvarado*, who was gone in search of *Diego de Ordaz*, discover'd by Day-break that the same Storm had forced him into the Gulph a great Way farther than he imagined: For in order to keep clear of the Shore, he was oblig'd to put out into the open Sea, as least dangerous. The Pilot found by his Compass and Chart, that he was fallen very far from the Course prescrib'd to him, and was at such a Distance from the Cape *St. Antonio*, that his Return would have been very difficult; wherefore he proposed it, as most adviseable, to sail directly for the Isle of *Cozumel*. *Alvarado* left it to his own Choice; representing to him the Order of *Cortez* after such a Manner, as look'd very like dispensing with it. Hereupon they continued their Voyage, and arrived at the Island two Days before the Fleet. They landed with a Design to lodge themselves in a small Town near the Coast, well known to the Captain, and some of the Soldiers, since the Voyage of *Grijalva*; but they found it deserted: For the *Indians*, upon the first Notice that the *Spaniards* were landed, abandon'd their Houses, retiring farther within the Country, with what poor Moveables they had, such light Baggage giving no Obstruction to their Flight. *Pedro de Alvarado* was a young Man of Spirit and Valour, well qualified for any Enterprize where he received Orders,

Orders, but of too little Experience to give them. He had a Notion that till the Arrival of the Fleet it would be a Shame for an Officer to be without Action; and therefore ordered his Men to march, and take a View of the inner Part of the Island, and at little more than a League's Distance they found another Town forsaken in the same Manner, but not so entirely unfurnished as the former; for here were some Cloaths and Provisions, which the Soldiers seized as Spoils of an Enemy; and in a Temple of one of their Idols they found divers Jewels, which served to adorn it, and some Instruments of Sacrifices, fram'd of Gold, mixed with Copper, of which they made Prize. This Undertaking did by no means promote the Service they were upon, but on the contrary, frighted the *Indians*, and cross'd the Design they had of gaining their Friendship. *Pedro de Alvarado* grew sensible, tho' something too late, that he had made a false Step, and retired to his first Post, having taken three Prisoners, two Men and a Woman, who not being able to escape, surrender'd without any Opposition.

THE next Day *Cortez* arrived with the whole Fleet, having sent to *Diego de Ordaz*, at Cape *St. Antônio*, to join him, suspecting, as it afterwards prov'd, that the Storm would hinder *Alvarado* from executing his Orders; and tho' inwardly well pleased to find him there in Safety, he commanded the Pilot to be imprisoned, and reprimanded the Captain very sharply for not having observed his Directions, as well as for his Presumption in marching up into the Island, and permitting his Soldiers to plunder. This Rebuke he gave in publick, with Design that it might serve as Warning to the rest. He presently called for the three Prisoners, and by *Melchior*, the only Interpreter he had in this Voyage, his Companion being dead, informed them how much he was concerned at what the Soldiers had done; and ordering the Gold and Cloaths to be restored, he set them at Liberty, giving them some trifling Presents for their Caziques, that these Tokens of Amity might induce them to lay aside the Fear they had conceived.

THE *Spaniards* encamp'd on the Sea-side, where they rested three Days, without marching any farther, that they might not occasion any Disturbance among the *Indians*. After which *Cortez* mustered his Army, and found that it consisted of five hundred and eight Soldiers, sixteen Horse; and of Mechanicks, Pilots, and Marriners, an hundred and nine more, besides two Chaplains, the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, and Father *Bartholomew de Olmedo*, a Regular of the Order of our Lady *de la Merced*, who accompanied *Cortez* to the End of his Expedition.

THE Muſter being over, he returned to his Quarters, attended by his Captains and principal Soldiers; and taking his Seat in the Midſt of them, he ſpoke in the following Manner:

" WHEN I conſider, my Friends and Companions, the good Fortune that has brought us together in this Iſland, the Obſtacles " and Perſecutions we have ſurmounted, and the Difficulties " which have oppos'd our Enterprize, I acknowledge the Hand of " God in the Work we have undertaken, and promiſe my ſelf Suc- " ceſs, from Beginnings ſo remarkably favoured by his Divine Pro- " vidence, in our Zeal for the Service of God and of our King; in Ef- " fect the ſame that has animated us to undertake the Conqueſt of " theſe unknown Regions, and the Almighty in fighting our Cauſe, " will fight his own. I have no Deſign to leſſen the Danger of " the Undertaking: We are to expect bloody Engagements, in- " credible Fatigues, and ſuch Multitudes of Enemies, that it " will require all your Valour to ſuſtain their Attacks: Beſides " that, Want of Neceſſaries, Inclemencies of Weather, and dif- " ficult Marches, will exerciſe your Conſtancy, which is ac- " counted a ſecond-rate Valour, and ſhews as much Greatneſs " of Spirit as the firſt; for very often in War, Patience brings " that, to bear, which Force could not. By this *Hercules* gained " the Name of *Invincible*, and his Exploits were called *Labours*. " You have been accuſtomed to ſuffer and to act in theſe Iſlands, " which you have already conquered: Our preſent Underta- " king is of greater Importance; we muſt purſue it with an- " ſwerable Vigour, and proportion our Reſolution to the Diffi- " culty of our Enterprize. Antiquity has painted the Temple " of *Fame* upon the higheſt Part of the Mountain, and her " Image upon the higheſt Part of the Temple; thereby giving " to underſtand, that to find her, even after we have gained " the Top of the Mountain, we muſt look higher. We are but " few in Number, but Union adds Strength to Armies, and ſerves " to multiply them: In our Agreement conſiſts our greateſt " Strength. We muſt, my Friends, be all of one Mind to reſolve, " and as one Hand to execute: Our Intereſts ſhould be the " ſame, and the Glory of Conqueſt ought to be equally ſhar'd " among us: The Valour of every one in particular, muſt eſtabliſh " the Security of all in general. I am your Commander, and will " be the firſt to hazard my Life for the meaneſt of the Soldiers. " I ſhall lead you on by Example to the Execution of my Orders; " aſſuring you that I find in my ſelf a Spirit ſufficient to under- " take the Conqueſt of a whole World: And this Hope is in- " ſpir'd by I know not what extraordinary Impulſe, the moſt " promiſing of all Preſages. To conclude, let our Words be ſuc-

" ceeded

" ceeded by Actions; and let not this Confidence of mine be " thought Temerity, ſince it is ſo well ſupported by you, from " whom I expect every Thing that is wanting in my ſelf."

Thus did he perſwade and animate his Men; when Notice came, that ſome *Indians* were ſeen at a little Diſtance. And altho' they came in ſeparate Parties, and without Arms, *Cortez* commanded his Men to be rang'd in Order, without Beat of Drum, and to ſtand cover'd behind their Lines, till they ſaw whether they drew near, and with what Deſign.

CHAP. XV.

Cortez *pacifies the Inhabitants of* Cozumel: *He eſtabliſhes a Friendſhip with the Cazique; overthows their Idols; begins to introduce the Goſpel; and endeavours in vain to recover ſome* Spaniards, *who were Priſoners at* Yucatan.

The *Indians* were in ſmall Troops, and ſeemed to be conſulting among themſelves, as if they watch'd the Motions of the *Spaniards*, whoſe Poſture carrying no Appearance of Hoſtility, encourag'd the boldeſt amongſt them to draw near by little and little; and theſe receiving no ill Treatment, were followed by the reſt, ſo that ſome of them ſoon enter'd the Camp; where they were ſo favourably received by *Cortez*, and all beſides, that they called to the reſt of their Companions, inſomuch that they came in great Numbers that very Day, and mingled among the Soldiers with ſo much Familiarity and Confidence, as ſcarce diſcover'd the leaſt Surpriſe, but ſtrongly argued that they were a People accuſtomed to converſe with Strangers. There was an Idol in this Iſland extremely reverenc'd by the *Barbarians*, who were continually flocking to worſhip it from different Provinces of the Continent; on which Account the Iſlanders of *Cozumel* had a perpetual Commerce with People of divers Nations, Habits, and Languages, which made the Arrival of the *Spaniards* appear the leſs ſtrange, or at leaſt enabled them to conceal their Surpriſe.

At

AT Night they all retired to their Houſes; and the next Day the principal Cazique of the Iſland came to viſit *Cortez*, with a numerous, but ill appointed Equipage, delivering his Ambaſſy and Preſent himſelf. The General received him with great Humanity and Satisfaction; and, by his Interpreter, returning Thanks for the Viſit, aſſured him of his own Friendſhip, and that of his Followers. To which the Cazique replied, That he accepted his Offers, and would make a good Uſe of them. They heard one, among the *Indians* who accompanied him, repeating after a bad Manner the Name of *Caſtilla*; and *Cortez*, whoſe Attention nothing could ever divert from purſuing his main Point, obſerved the Word, and commanded the Interpreter to inquire into the Meaning of it. Which Remark of his, tho' accidentally made, was of the utmoſt Importance in facilitating the Conqueſt of *New Spain*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

THE *Indians* ſaid that our Men very much reſembled certain Priſoners who were in *Yucatan*, Natives of a Country called *Caſtilla*. Which *Cortez* no ſooner heard than he reſolv'd to ſet them at Liberty, and engage them in his Service. Upon informing himſelf more particularly, he found that they were in the Power of ſome *Indians* of the higheſt Rank, reſiding two Days Journey farther within the Province of *Yucatan*. *Cortez* communicated his Intention to the Cazique, and asked him whether thoſe were warlike *Indians*, and what Force would be neceſſary to reſcue the Chriſtians from Slavery. The Cazique gave him a very ready and reaſonable Anſwer, telling him the ſecureſt Way would be to ranſom them, for that endeavouring to releaſe them by Force of Arms would expoſe them to the Hazard of being maſſacred by their Maſters. *Cortez* embrac'd his Advice, with Admiration to find ſo much good Senſe and Policy in the Cazique, whoſe Rank among Princes, tho' inconſiderable, muſt have taught him ſome Principles of what they call Reaſon of State. He immediately gave Orders to *Diego de Ordaz* to ſail with his Veſſel and Company to the Coaſt of *Yucatan*, by the ſhorteſt Cut from the Iſle of *Cozumel*, which might be about four Leagues over; where he was to land the *Indians* appointed by the Cazique for this Purpoſe, who carried a Letter from *Cortez* to the Priſoners, and ſome Trifles for their Ranſom, where *Ordaz* was commanded to ſtay eight Days, in which Time the *Indians* undertook to return with an Anſwer.

IN the mean time *Cortez* marched with all his Troops in a Body to take a View of the Iſland; not that he ſaw any Neceſſity for being on his Guard, but to keep the Soldiers together, and conſequently to ſecure the Inhabitants from being inſulted. He told

told his Men, That they were an indigent People, unable to defend themſelves; that the Sincerity they ſhew'd, entitled them to good Treatment in Return, and that their Poverty was ſuch as gave no Temptation to Avarice. That they were not to expect from that ſmall Spot of Ground any other Wealth than a good Reputation: "And do not think, (added "he,) that the good Character you ſhall acquire here will be "confined within the narrow Limits of this miſerable Iſland; "for the Concourſe of Pilgrims, who, as you have been in-"formed, are accuſtomed to reſort hither from all Parts, will "carry your Name to diſtant Countries, where the Character "of Humanity and Juſtice will be of ſignal Uſe to facilitate "our Deſigns; and by this Means we ſhall meet with leſs "Oppoſition in Countries where more is to be gained." By ſuch Diſcourſes as theſe, he kept the Soldiers within Bounds. He was always accompany'd by the Cazique, and great Numbers of *Indians*, who ſupplied him with Proviſions, and exchang'd Gold for Glaſs Beads, believing that they over-reach'd the *Spaniards*, and could never purchaſe thoſe Toys at too dear a Rate.

At a little Diſtance from the Coaſt ſtood the Temple of the Idol, ſo much rever'd by the *Indians*. It was a ſquare Building of Stone, and of no contemptible Architecture. The Idol bore the Figure of a Man, but of a very terrible Aſpect. All the Idols, worſhipp'd by theſe miſerable People, were formed in the ſame Manner; for tho' they differed in the Make and Repreſentation, they were all alike moſt abominably ugly; whether it was that theſe Barbarians had no Notion of any other Model, or that the Devil really appeared to them in ſome ſuch Shape; ſo that he who ſtruck out the moſt hideous Figure, was accounted the beſt Workman.

'Tis ſaid this Idol was called *Cozumel*, and gave to the Iſland the Name which it retains to this Day; but very improperly, if it be the ſame which the Devil took to himſelf, it muſt, thro' Inadvertency, have been made uſe of in our Maps, being contrary to all Reaſon. The *Spaniards* found a very great Concourſe of *Indians* at the Temple, and in the midſt of them a Prieſt, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a certain Ornament, or Part of a Covering, which ſcarcely hid his Nakedneſs. He ſeemed to preach, and to perſwade them to ſomething, by a Tone and Actions extremely ridiculous; for he gave himſelf the Airs of a Preacher, with all the Gravity and Authority of which a a Man dreſſed after ſuch a Manner was capable. *Cortez* interrupted him; and turning towards the *Cazique*, ſaid to him, "That

" That in order to maintain the Friendſhip between them, it " was abſolutely neceſſary for him to renounce the Worſhip of " his Idols, and to influence his Subjects to do the ſame by his " Example." After which he took him aſide with his Interpreter, and made him ſenſible of the Error of his own, and the Truth of the *Chriſtian* Religion, by ſuch Arguments as were accommodated to his Capacity, but ſo convincing, that the *Indian* was confounded, and would not venture to return any Anſwer, as having ſufficient Underſtanding to be conſcious of his own Ignorance. He recovered himſelf, and deſired Leave to communicate this Affair to the Prieſts, who had Authority from him to decide abſolutely in Affairs of Religion. The Reſult of that Conference was the bringing before *Cortez* that venerable Preacher, with others of his Profeſſion, who all made loud Outcries, which, as explain'd by the Interpreter, were Proteſtations on the Part of Heaven, againſt them who ſhould be ſo audacious as to diſturb the Worſhip of their Gods, denouncing immediate Puniſhment upon the Attempt. *Cortez* was incens'd at their Menaces; and the Soldiers gueſſing his Intention from his Looks, immediately attacked their Idol, overturning the Altar, and breaking it in Pieces, with ſeveral other Idols of a ſmaller Size, placed in different Niches. The *Indians* were aſtoniſhed at the Sight of this Deſtruction; but as the Heavens were ſerene, and the expected Vengeance delayed to come down, their Adoration was chang'd into Contempt; and they began to deſpiſe ſuch ſuffering Gods. And this Paſſion was the firſt Effort that Truth made in their Hearts. The reſt of their Temples ſuffer'd the ſame Fate; but in the Chief of them they built an Altar, whereon they placed the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, erecting at the Entrance a large Croſs, made by the Carpenters of the Fleet, with equal Zeal and Diligence. The next Day they ſaid Maſs at that Altar, where the Cazique, accompanied by his *Indians*, aſſiſted with a Silence that looked like Devotion; and perhaps it naturally flow'd from that Reſpect which is imprinted on the Mind by our Holy Ceremonies, or was a ſupernatural Effect of the ineffable Myſtery contain'd in that Sacrifice.

THUS did *Cortez* employ his Time and his Soldiers, during the Term of eight Days, which he had allowed *Diego de Ordaz* to ſtay for the *Spaniards*, who were Priſoners in *Yucatan*; but he returned to the Iſland without bringing any Account either of them, or the *Indians* who were ſent in queſt of them. *Cortez* was highly diſpleaſed; but believing the Barbarians had deceived him by falſe Intelligence, in order to gain the Preſents he

he had ſent for their Ranſom, of which they ſeemed ſo extremely fond, he did not care any longer to delay his Voyage, or to impart his Suſpicions to the Cazique. On the contrary, he took his Leave of him with great Civility, and Tokens of an entire Satisfaction, earneſtly recommending to him the Croſs and the Holy Image, which he truſted to his Care, expecting from his Friendſhip, that he would pay it all due Veneration, till he ſhould be better inſtructed, and thereby more capable of receiving the Truth.

CHAP. XVI.

Cortez *purſues his Voyage; but by an Accident finds himſelf obliged to return to the ſame Iſland.* Geronimo de Aguilar, *who had been Priſoner in* Yucatan, *arrives, during his Stay there, and gives an Account of his Captivity.*

CORTEZ put to Sea with a Deſign to follow the ſame Courſe which *Juan de Grijalva* had done before, and to diſcover the Countries from which he had retired, by too ſcrupulous an Obedience to the Orders he had receiv'd. The Fleet had the Wind a-ſtern, and all were overjoyed at the proſperous Beginning of their Voyage, when an unexpected Accident gave them great Uneaſineſs. *Juan de Eſcalante* fired a Gun, and the reſt of the Commanders, caſting their Eyes towards him, obſerv'd that he follow'd with Difficulty; and ſoon after tacked about, and ſtood for the Iſland. *Cortez* very well underſtood the Meaning of what he ſaw, and without ſtaying to deliberate, immediately ordered all the Fleet to follow him. *Juan de Eſcalante* ſtood in need of all his Diligence to bring off his Veſſel; for ſhe ſprung a Leak, and took in ſo much Water, that ſhe was upon the Point of ſinking when ſhe approach'd the Shore; though they ſoon arriv'd, who came to his Relief. The Soldiers were landed; and the Cazique preſently came down with his *Indians*, and ſeemed to be ſurpriſed at their ſudden Return: But when they underſtood the Reaſon, they very chearfully helped to unload the Veſſel; and afterwards aſſiſted in repairing and careening

reening it, managing their Canoes with great Dexterity, and performing ſingular Service upon this Occaſion.

WHILE this was doing, *Cortez*, accompany'd by the Cazique, and ſome of his Soldiers, went to viſit the Temple, and found the Croſs and Image of the Virgin *Mary* in the ſame Place where he had left them; obſerving withal, to his great Satiſfaction, ſome Signs of the Veneration paid them by theſe Barbarians, in the Cleanneſs of the Temple, and the Perfumes they had burned, beſides Flowers and Boughs with which they had adorned the Altar. *Cortez* thanked the Cazique for the Care he had taken in his Abſence. The *Indian* was pleas'd, and received the Compliments of the *Spaniards*, as if it had been an Inſtance of his extraordinary Conduct; that the Image and Altar had ſtood undemoliſh'd for no longer a Time, at the fartheſt, than two or three Hours.

THE Accident that thus retarded the Voyage of *Cortez* deſerves a particular Remark, being an Event that may be rank'd with Things depending on Fortune, and yet carrying the Appearance of ſomething more than of Hazard, or Chance. They who ſaw the Courſe of their Voyage ſtopp'd, and a Ship ready to founder, could conſider it no otherwiſe than as a Misfortune which very ordinarily happens: But whoever will reflect that the ſame Time that was neceſſary for the refitting the Ship, was no leſs neceſſary for the Arrival of a *Chriſtian Captive* at that Iſland, who had been Priſoner in *Yucatan*, ſufficiently inſtructed in the different Languages of thoſe People, to ſupply the Want of an Interpreter, and that he was afterwards one of the principal Inſtruments of this Conqueſt, cannot attribute all this to Fortune, but muſt own the Hand of Providence in a very extraordinary Manner.

THEY were four Days refitting the Veſſel; and on the laſt, as they were going to embark, they diſcovered, at a Diſtance, a Canoe, which was croſſing the Gulph of *Yucatan*, and ſtood directly for the Iſland. They quickly perceived that ſhe was filled with armed *Indians*, and were ſurpriſed at the Diligence they uſed to come up, without ſhewing any Fear of the Fleet. *Cortez* being informed of this, gave Orders to *Andres de Tapia* to place himſelf in Ambuſcade near the Place at which the Canoe was to land the *Indians*; and to diſcover their Deſigns. *Andres de Tapia* took his Poſt accordingly, where he could not be ſeen: But finding they came on Shore with their Bows and Arrows, he ſuffer'd them to paſs by him a little Way from the Coaſt, and then cut off their Retreat. As ſoon as the *Indians* diſcovered him, they fled; but one amongſt them ſtopp'd the reſt,

and

and advancing three or four Paces, pronounc'd with a loud Voice, in the *Castillian* Tongue, that he was a Christian. *Andres de Tapia* received him with open Arms; and full of Joy for his good Fortune, conducted him to the General, followed by the *Indians*, who appeared to be the Messengers left by *Diego de Ordaz* upon the Coast of *Yucatan*. The Christian had nothing to cover him, except just enough to hide his Nakedness. On one of his Shoulders he bore his Bow and Quiver; and over the other was thrown a Mantle like a Cloak, in one Corner whereof was tied our Lady's Office, which he immediately shew'd the *Spaniards*, ascribing to his Devotion the good Fortune of seeing himself again amongst Christians. He made his Compliments very awkardly, not being able to forbear his new Manner, or deliver what he had to say, without intermixing with his *Spanish* some Terms that were not understood. *Cortez* caress'd him extremely; and covering him with the Coat he had on; informed himself in general who he was; and afterwards gave Orders to have him cloathed, and regaled. He published it among his Soldiers, as a singular Felicity both to himself and the Undertaking, that he had redeemed a Christian from Slavery, having no other Motive in View at that Time than pure Charity.

THIS Man was called *Jerom de Aguilar*, a Native of *Ecija*, where he had received Deacon's Orders; and, according to the Account he afterwards gave of his Adventures, had been near eight Years in that miserable Slavery. He was shipwreck'd in a Caravel upon the Flats of the *Alacranes*, as he was passing from *Darien* to the Island of *St. Domingo*, and escaping in the Boat with twenty more in Company, was driven upon the Shore of *Yucatan*, where they were taken, and carried to a Country of *Caribee Indians*, whose Cazique immediately cull'd out the best-fed amongst them, to offer them to his Idols, and afterwards to feast on the wretched Remains of the Sacrifice. One of those who were reserved for another Occasion, by Reason of their Leanness, was this *Jerom de Aguilar:* They used him very rigorously, but at the same Time inhumanly feasted him, that he might be in better Plight to furnish a second Banquet: Amazing Brutality! detestable to Nature, and not to be related without Horror! *Aguilar* made a Shift to escape out of a wooden Cage, in which he was confin'd; not so much to save his Life, as to seek another kind of Death: And wandering several Days at a Distance from all Settlements, without any other Nourishment than what the Herbs of the Field afforded, he fell into the Hands of certain *Indians*, who presented him to their Cannibalism

Cazique, an Enemy to him from whom *Aguilar* had made his Escape. This Master used him with more Humanity, either in Contradiction to the other, or perhaps because he had a real Aversion to his Cruelties. *Aguilar* served him some Years, running through different Fortunes in this new Slavery: For at first he oblig'd him to work beyond his Strength; but afterwards treated him better, being seemingly pleas'd with his Obedience, and especially with his Modesty; (of which the *Spaniard* gave some Proofs, more admirable, than the Tryals of it are decent to be related;) for there is no Temper so barbarous as to be wholly void of the Regard due to Virtue. Accordingly the Cazique gave him an Employment near his Person, and *Aguilar* in a little Time acquir'd his Esteem and Confidence.

THIS Cazique dying, recommended him to his Son, under whom he held the same Employment, and found a favourable Occasion of encreasing his Credit; for the neighbouring Caziques making War upon him, he gained several Victories over them by the Valour and Conduct of *Aguilar*, who thereupon became so great a Favourite both of Prince and People, and was in so much Authority when he received the Letter from *Cortez*, that he could, without Difficulty, treat for his Liberty, as the Recompence of his Services; and offer, as his own Gift, the Presents which were sent as his Ransom.

THUS did *Aguilar* relate his Adventures; adding withal, that of the rest of the *Spaniard* Prisoners, there remained alive only one Sailor, born at *Palos de Moguer*, called *Gonzalo Guerrero*; that he had communicated to him the Letter of *Cortez*, and endeavour'd to bring him with him, but without Effect, he having married a rich *Indian*, by whom he had three or four Children, and excusing his Stay by his Love for them, pretending natural Affection as a Reason why he would not abandon those deplorable Conveniences, which with him weighed more than Honour or Religion. We do not find that any other *Spaniard*, in the whole Course of these Conquests, committed the like Crime; nor was the Name of this Wretch worthy to be remember'd in this History: But being found in the Writings of others, it could not be conceal'd; and his Example serves to shew us the Weakness of Nature, and into what an Abyss of Misery a Man may fall, when God has abandon'd him.

CHAP. XVII.

Cortez *prosecutes his Voyage, and arrives at the River of* Grijalva, *where the* Indians, *oppose his Landing: He engages them, and disembarks his Troops.*

THE *Spaniards* left that Island, the second Time, on the 4th of *March*, 1519; and without any Adventure worthy of Remark, they doubled the Point of *Catoche*, which, as we have already said, is the most easterly Part of *Yucatan*; and following the Coast, they came to the Road of *Champoton*; where the Question was put, in a Council held on that Subject, whether they should land, or no. *Cortez* inclined to the Affirmative, that he might punish the *Indians* for the Resistance they made against *Juan de Grijalva*, and before that, against *Francisco Hernandez de Cordova*; and some Soldiers who had been present on both those Occasions, pushed by a Spirit of Revenge, supported his Opinion with extreme Warmth: But the chief Pilot, and the rest of his Profession, opposed it with unanswerable Reasons; for the Wind that favour'd the Continuance of their Voyage, directly oppos'd their landing in that Place: Whereupon they pursued their Course, and arrived at the River of *Grijalva*. There was no Occasion to deliberate upon the Point of landing here, for the good Treatment they had formerly received from the *Indians* of *Tabasco*, and the Gold which at that Time they brought from thence, were two powerful Attractives to carry them ashore; and *Cortez* complied, for the sake of maintaining Friendship with the Inhabitants, although he had no Design to stay there many Days; for his Thoughts were continually bent on the Dominions of *Motezuma*, of which *Juan de Grijalva* had the first Account in this Province, it being his Opinion, that in this Sort of Expeditions, it was more adviseable to attack the Head than the Members, that he might encounter the greatest Difficulty with his whole Force.

As he had some Knowledge of this Place by the Experience of those who had been there before, he made a Disposition for entering

entering the River; and leaving the larger Veſſels at an Anchor, he embark'd all his Soldiers, well arm'd, in thoſe of a ſmaller Size, and in the Boats; and was beginning to make the beſt of his Way againſt the Current, in the ſame Order as had been before practiſed by *Juan de Grijalva*, when he perceiv'd a conſiderable Number of Canoes with armed *Indians*, which covered both Sides of the River, ſupported by ſeveral other Bodies on the Shore. *Cortez* drew near in cloſe Order, and commanded that none ſhould fire, or ſhew the leaſt Sign of Hoſtility. He follow'd in this the Conduct of *Grijalva*; for he was more ſolicitous to uſe the proper Means of ſucceeding in his Enterprize, than to avoid the Imputation of copying after another, well knowing what Riſques they run, who value themſelves upon finding out new Ways, with no other Deſign than to be diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe who went before them. The *Indians* thought to put a Stop to the *Spaniards* by their horrible Outcries: And as ſoon as they were ſo near that what they ſaid could be diſtinguiſhed, *Jerom de Aguilar* found that he underſtood their Language, which was the ſame, or little different from that of *Yucatan*; and *Cortez* look'd upon it as the Work of Providence, that he was furniſhed with ſo good an Interpreter. *Aguilar* informed him, that the Words he underſtood were Menaces; and that the *Indians* were inclin'd to War. Upon which *Cortez* ſtopp'd, and commanded him to advance in one of the Boats with Offers of Peace. *Aguilar* executed his Orders; and returned in a very ſhort Time with an Account, that the *Indians* were in great Numbers prepared to defend the Entrance of the River, and ſo obſtinate in their Reſolution, that they had very inſolently refuſed ſo much as to hear him. *Cortez* had no Deſign to begin a War in that Country, or delay his Voyage, but finding that he was now engaged, he thought it would be diſhonourable to retreat, and of dangerous Conſequence to ſuffer this Inſolence of the Barbarians to go unpuniſhed.

THE Night overtaking them in a Country unknown, *Cortez* thought it moſt adviſeable to lie by till Day; and diſpoſing every Thing after the beſt Manner he could for the Engagement during this Suſpenſion, he commanded all the Artillery out of the great Veſſels, and his Soldiers had Orders to arm themſelves with their Cotton Coats, for the better reſiſting of the Arrows; to which he added ſuch other Directions as he judged neceſſary, without repreſenting the Danger greater or leſs than it really was. He us'd all poſſible Precaution to ſecure the Succeſs of this firſt Action of his Troops, well knowing of what Importance it was to begin an Enterprize well, and chiefly in War; which

which would not only give Reputation to his Arms, but alſo add to the Valour of his Soldiers; the firſt Advantages being generally eſteemed good Omens of thoſe which are to come, and ſeeming to communicate to them their own happy Influence by ſome ſecret Virtue.

As ſoon as the Day appeared, the Veſſels were drawn up in a Half-Moon, whoſe Figure leſſen'd by Degrees, till it ended in the Boats, the River being large enough to allow ſufficient Room for that Diſpoſition. Their Advance was very ſlow, and ſeemed to invite to Peace: But our Men ſoon diſcover'd the Canoes of the *Indians*, who waited their Coming in the ſame Order, and uſing the ſame Threats as the Night before. The General commanded his Men not to ſtir till they were attack'd; telling them all, That they ought to uſe their Shields before they employ'd their Swords, the Juſtice of this War depending on the Provocation to it. And being deſirous to have Reaſon ſtill more on his Side, he ſent *Aguilar* a ſecond Time to them with Offers of Peace; and to aſſure them, That this was a Fleet of their Friends, who deſign'd their Advantage, and came on the Foot of that Alliance which had been formerly made with *Juan de Grijalva*; that to refuſe them Entrance would be a Breach of it, and would oblige the *Spaniards* to open their Way by Force of Arms; and that whatſoever Damage they ſhould ſuſtain, muſt be imputed to themſelves.

The Anſwer to this ſecond Propoſal, was the giving the Signal for the Attack. They advanc'd by the Favour of the Current near enough to uſe their Arrows, of which they diſcharged ſo great a Number, both from the Canoes and the Sides of the River, that the *Spaniards* were very much embaraſs'd in their Endeavours to cover themſelves; but having received the firſt Charge according to Order, they returned it with ſo much Vigour, that the Canoes quickly left the Paſſage free, and the *Indians*, intimidated by the Deaths of their Companions, flung themſelves into the River in great Numbers. Upon which, our Veſſels approach'd the Shore without further Oppoſition, and landed the Troops on the left Side of the River; but in a Place ſo marſhy, and covered with Brambles, that they found themſelves engaged in a ſecond Conflict; for the *Indians*, who lay there in Ambuſh, and thoſe who eſcaped from the Engagement on the River united in one Body, and renewed the Attack with extraordinary Fury; the great Quantity of Arrows, Darts, and Stones, which they diſcharged, encreaſing the Difficulty of the Moraſs: But *Hernan Cortez*, without ceaſing to fight, drew up his Men; and thoſe Ranks which were formed, making Head

 againſt

against the Enemy, covered the rest of the Troops who were landing.

HAVING formed his Battalion in Sight of the Enemy, whose Numbers continually encreas'd, he gave Orders to Captain *Alonso Davila* to advance with an hundred Soldiers thro' the Wood, and possess himself of the Town of *Tabasco*, the Capital of that Province, not far distant from the Place of Action, according to the Accounts of those who had been upon the former Expedition. After which he immediately engaged that vast Multitude, forcing them back with equal Courage and Difficulty; for he was obliged very often to march up to the Knees in Mud: And 'tis said, that in the Heat of the Engagement the General lost one of his Shoes, and fought a great while without missing it; so thoroughly was his Attention employ'd upon the Business of the Day.

AFTER the *Spaniards* had passed the Marsh, the *Indians* gave Way, and disappeared in an Instant among the Woods. Their Flight was owing in part to their losing the Advantage of Ground, and in part to their Concern for the Town of *Tabasco*, upon their discovering the March of *Davila*, as it presently appeared by the great Multitudes that immediately repaired to the Defence of that Place.

THE Town was fortified with a kind of Wall generally used in the *Indies*, made of large Trunks of Trees, fixed in the Ground after the Manner of *Palisades*, and so plac'd together, that there was Room between to discharge their Arrows. The Compass was round, without any Traverses, or other Defences; and at the Closing of the Circle, the Extremity of one Line covered the other, and formed a narrow winding Street, in which were two or three little Castles of Wood, which filled up the Passage, and wherein they were used to post their Centinels: A sufficient Fortress against the Arms of this new World, where they were happily ignorant of the Arts of War, and of those Methods to attack and defend, in which Mankind have been instructed, either by Malice or Necessity.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Spaniards *gain the Town of* Tabasco. *They send out two hundred Men to discover the Country; and are driven back by the* Indians. *They shew great Valour both in the Engagement and Retreat.*

CORTEZ arrived at the Town a little while before *Alonso Davila*, who was stopp'd by some Marshes and Lakes that he found in his Way. Without giving Time either to the *Indians* to recover themselves, or to his own Soldiers to reflect on the Difficulty, he ordered *Davila* to join him with his hundred Men, distributing among them proper Instruments for the breaking down of the *Palisades*, he gave the Signal to engage, only stopping to say, "My "Friends, here we must lodge this Night: This is the Retreat "of those whom you have already conquered in the Field. "This weak Wall, that covers them, serves to make them a "little more bold, but does not add to their Security: Let us "follow the Victory we have begun, before these Barbarians "forget their Custom of flying before us, or our longer Delay "give them Time to recover their Courage." Having ended thus, he led them on to the Attack, inspired with a Desire to distinguish themselves.

THE Soldiers went on with equal Resolution, and turning aside a Shower of Arrows with their Shields, and even with their Swords, gained the Foot of the *Palisade*; the Intervals of which were of Service at that Time for the Discharge of the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, which quickly drove the Enemy from their Post, while some who were not engaged, overthrew the Palisades, and entered without Resistance, the *Indians* retiring to the inward Part of the Town; but had stopp'd up the Streets with other Palisades, where they again made Head, but with small Effect; for they were embarrass'd by their own Numbers; and while some were retiring from one Work to another, they put the rest, who would have fought, into Disorder.

IN

IN the Center of the Town there was a large Space, where the *Indians* made their utmost Efforts; but after a little Resistance, turn'd their Backs, and fled into the Woods in great Numbers. *Cortez* would not follow the Chace, that he might give his Soldiers Time to refresh, and the Fugitives to sue for Peace, during the Consternation of their Defeat.

THUS did the *Spaniards* gain *Tabasco*, a large Town, and well provided for Defence; for they had sent away all their Families and Effects, and stored the Town with Provisions: So that the Covetousness of the Soldiers was disappointed; but they found what was necessary. Fourteen or fifteen of them were wounded; and amongst them, our Historian, *Bernal Diaz del Castillio*, whom we follow in what he reports of himself. It cannot be denied but that he was a valiant Soldier, and the Style of his History shews, that he understood a Sword better than a Pen. In this Engagement died a considerable Number of *Indians*. Of the Wounded there was no Account, because they took Care to carry them off, it being a Point of Honour amongst them to conceal their Loss from the Enemy.

THAT Night the Troops lodged in three Temples, situated in that Part of the Town where they last engaged. *Cortez* went his Rounds, and posted his Sentinels with as much Care and Exactness, as if he had had a Veteran Army of Enemies in view, well knowing that a Man can never be too circumspect in War, where nothing is more dangerous than too much Security. Caution is as necessary as Valour in a Commander.

THE next Day the Country appeared all forsaken and quiet; for so far as the Eye could reach, there was not the least Sign of an Enemy, or any Noise to be heard: The neighbouring Woods were search'd, and found to be equally solitary. However, *Cortez* did not think it proper to march out of his Intrenchments. This great Stilness made him the more suspicious; and he was still the more apprehensive when he understood that his Interpreter *Melchior*, who came from *Cuba*, had deserted that very Night, leaving his Christian Habit hanging on a Tree; whose informations might be of ill Consequence to him among those Barbarians, as it afterwards appeared: For it was he that induc'd them to renew the War, acquainting them with the small Number of our Soldiers; that they were not immortal, nor their Fire-Arms Thunder and Lightning, as they imagin'd; the Dread of which had made them desirous of Peace. But his Crime did not go long unpunished; for the same Barbarians, whom he had perswaded to take up Arms, being vanquished a second Time, reveng'd themselves on the Adviser

Adviſer of the War, by making him a miſerable Sacrifice to their Idols.

In this Uncertainty, *Cortez* reſolved to ſend out *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Franciſco de Lugo*, each with an hundred Men, by different Ways to view the Country, with Orders, if they found out an Army in the Field, to retire to their Quarters, without engaging with unequal Numbers. This was executed: And *Franciſco de Lugo*, after little more than an Hour's March, fell into an Ambuſcade of numberleſs *Indians*, who attacked him on all Sides; and that with ſo much Fury, that he was obliged to draw up his little Battallion into a Square, facing every Way. The Number of the Enemies encreaſed, and the *Spaniards* began to be tired, when it pleaſed God, that *Alvarado*, who had taken a different Road from his Companion, met with a Marſh, which obliged him to turn aſide, and brought him where the Report of the Fire-Arms gave him Notice of the Engagement. *Alvarado* marched ſtrait to the Noiſe, and diſcovered the Enemies Squadrons, at a Time when our Men were in the utmoſt Diſtreſs. He advanced with all the Haſte poſſible, under Cover of a Wood, and ſending an *Indian* of *Cuba* to *Cortez*, to adviſe him of the Accident, drew up his Men, and fell upon the Enemy with ſo much Reſolution, that the *Indians* ſurpriſed at the ſudden Aſſault, left them the Paſſage free, and without giving the *Spaniards* Time to break them, diſpers'd of themſelves.

This Succour gave *Franciſco de Lugo*'s Soldiers Time to breathe; and as ſoon as the two Captains had joined their Troops, and doubled their Ranks, they charged another Squadron of the Enemy, who ſtopp'd up the Way to their Quarters, that they might execute the Orders they had received to retreat.

Here again they found Reſiſtance; but, in fine, they made Way through them with their Swords, marching forward, tho' continually attack'd, and ſometimes almoſt borne down; ſome fought while others took Breath; and whenſoever they advanced to gain Ground, they were charged by the whole Body of the Enemy, who immediately, upon their facing about, got out of their Reach, retiring with the ſame Swiftneſs that they were attack'd; the Motions of this great Multitude of Barbarians, from one Side to another, reſembling the Rolling of the Sea, whoſe Waves are driven back by the Wind.

The *Spaniards* had marched about three Quarters of a League, continually plying their Weapons, when *Ferdinand Cortez* appeared at a Diſtance, who, upon the Notice given him by

Alvarado, was coming to their Relief, with all the rest of the Troops. As soon as the *Indians* spy'd him, they made a Halt, giving those they pursu'd Time to march off, and continued a while, looking on, either by Way of Threatning, or to signify that they were not afraid; yet afterwards they dispersed in several small Bodies, and left the Field to their Enemies. *Cortez* returned to his Quarters, without entering farther into the Dispute, because it was requisite to take care of the Wounded, being eleven in both Companies, of which Number two died, and this was reckon'd, at that Time, a very great Loss.

CHAP. XIX.

The Spaniards *engage with a powerful Army of the* Indians *of* Tabasco *and the Parts adjacent. A Description of their Manner of fighting; and of the Victory obtain'd by* Cortez.

SOME Prisoners were taken upon this Occasion; and *Cortez* order'd *Jerom de Aguilar* to examine them separately, to know what it was that those *Indians* founded their Obstinacy on, and what Forces they had to support it. Their Answers were somewhat different in their Circumstances; but they agreed in declaring, That all the Caziques of the neighbouring Countries were summon'd to the Assistance of those of *Tabasco*; and that the next Day a very powerful Army was to be drawn together to make an End of the *Spaniards* at once, of which Number the Body that had attack'd the two Companies under *Francisco de Lugo* and *Pedro de Alvarado*, was but a small Detachment. This Intelligence gave *Cortez* some Uneasiness; whereupon he resolved to call his Captains together, and advise with them what was proper to be done. He laid before them the Difficulties they lay under; their small Numbers, and the great Preparations the *Indians* had made to destroy them, without concealing the least Circumstance of what the Prisoners had declar'd. On the other hand, he ponder'd how far they were engaged, representing to them their own Valour, the Nakedness and Weakness of their Enemies, and how easily they had overthrown them at *Tabasco*, at their

their Landing; but above all he urged the ill Consequences of turning their Backs upon the Threats of those Barbarians, the Report of whose Boasts might spread as far as the Country they were going to, which would be a Disgrace of so much Consequence, that in his Opinion they must either entirely lay aside the Enterprize of *New Spain*, or proceed no farther till they had either established Peace, or subdu'd that Province; but that he only proposed this as his Opinion, being resolved to act as should be judged the most convenient.

They very well knew that this Deference of their General was no Affectation; for he always valu'd himself much upon being fond of Advice, and submitting to that Opinion which was best, this being one of his chief Qualities, and a sufficient Proof of his Prudence: For true Judgment is not so conspicuous in forming an Argument, as it is in discovering the Force of another's. Upon this every one gave his Opinion; and they all agreed, that it was not then practicable to depart that Country till they had either reduced or chastised the Inhabitants. Whereupon *Cortez* proceeded to make the necessary Dispositions for that Enterprize. He ordered the wounded Men to be carried on Board, the Horses to be landed, and the Artillery to be in a Readiness, and every Thing in Order by the next Morning, which was the Feast of the *Annunciation of our Lady*, memorable to this Day in that Country, on Account of the Success of that Battle.

As soon as it was Day, he contrived that all the Men should hear Mass; and giving the Command of the Foot to *James de Ordaz*, he and the other Commanders mounted a Horseback, and kept pace with the Artillery, which moved with much Difficulty, because the Ground was boggy and uneven. They drew near to the Place, where, according the Information of the Prisoners, the Enemy's Forces were to rendevous, but found no one of whom they could get the least Account, till coming to a Place called *Cinthla*, little less than a League from their Quarters, they discover'd at a great Distance the *Indian* Army, so numerous, and extending so far, that the Sight could not reach to see the End of them.

We will now describe the *Indian* Manner of Marching, and Engaging, which may serve upon all Occasions in this Conquest, the Art of War being almost the same among all the Nations in *New Spain*. Most of their Weapons were Bows and Arrows: The Bow-Strings were made of the Sinews of Beasts, or of Thongs of Deer Skin twisted; and their Arrows, for Want of Iron, were headed with Bones ground sharp, or Fish Bones. They used

also

alſo a kind of Darts, which ſometimes they threw, and at others they managed like a Pike, as Occaſion required. They had likewiſe long Swords, which they uſed with both Hands, as we do our Scimitars or Faulchions, made of Wood, in which they fixed ſharp Flints. The ſtrongeſt of them had Clubs, pointed with Flints. And there were Slingers, who threw Stones with great Force and Skill. The defenſive Arms, which were only uſed by Commanders and Perſons of Deſtinction, were Coats of quilted Cotton, ill-fitted Breaſt-Plates, and Shields of Wood or Tortoiſe-Shell, adorned with Plates of ſuch Metal as they could get; and ſome made uſe of Gold as we do of Iron. The reſt were naked; and all of them deformed with Dies and Painting of ſeveral Sorts, which they uſed about their Faces and Bodies; a Martial Sort of Ornament among them, practis'd to ſtrike a Terror into their Enemies, applying Uglineſs to look the more dreadful; as *Tacitus* relates of the *Arii*, a People in *Germany*, and remarks that an Impreſſion on the Eye is the firſt Step to Victory. Their Heads were covered with divers Plumes of Feathers, like Crowns, raiſed on high to make them appear taller. They had alſo warlike Inſtruments, and Muſick, with which they animated their Soldiers; and gave Signals; as Flutes made of great Canes; Sea-Shells; and a Sort of Drums, made of the Trunk of a Tree, ſo hollowed, and made thin, that they anſwered to the Stroke of the Stick a very diſpleaſing Sound, but ſeemed well ſuited to the Ears of thoſe People. They formed their Battallions of great Numbers, without any Order; but had Troops of Reſerve to relieve where there was Occaſion. They made their Attacks with great Fury, and terrible Outcries, with which they thought to intimidate their Enemies, a Cuſtom which ſome have accounted among the Brutalities of thoſe *Indians*, without obſerving that it has been uſed by many antient Nations, and not deſpiſed even by the *Romans*: For *Cæſar* in his *Commentaries* commends the Cries of his own Soldiers, and blames the Silence of thoſe of *Pompey*; and *Cato* the Elder was wont to ſay, that he had obtained more Victories by the Cries of the Soldiers, than by their Swords; both of them being of Opinion, that the Cries of the Soldiers proceeded from the Courage that was in the Heart. We do not argue whether this is a commendable Cuſtom, or not, but only ſay, it was not ſo barbarous in the *Indians*, as to be without Example in other Nations. Their Armies were compos'd of Natives, and ſeveral Troops of Auxiliaries from the neighbouring Provinces, who came to the Aſſiſtance of their Confederates, who being led by their Caziques, or ſome Prime *Indian* of their

Family.

Family. And they were divided into Companies, whose Captains led, but could scarce govern their Men; for when they came to engage they were directed either by Fear or Rage, as is usual among such Multitudes, being equally eager to attack, and to run away.

Such was the Martial Discipline of the *Indians*; and after this Manner that Army, or rather that Innundation of Men, which seemed to cover all the Country, advanc'd towards the *Spaniards*. *Cortez* was sensible of the Danger he was in, yet did not despair of the Success, but encourag'd his Soldiers with a chearful Countenance; and posting them under the Shelter of a rising Ground, which covered their Rear, and placing the Artillery where it could do most Execution, he struck into a Wood with his fifteen Horse, advancing far into it, in order to sally out, and flank them as Occasion should require. As soon as the *Indian* Army came up within a proper Distance, they made the first Discharge of their Arrows, and attack'd the *Spaniards* with so much Fury and Precipitation, that the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows not being able to stop them, they were obliged to make use of their Swords. Great was the Slaughter made among them; and as they press'd on in Throngs, the Artillery destroy'd whole Companies; but they were so obstinate and conceited, that as soon as the Ball was pass'd they closed again, and cover'd the Loss they sustain'd, crying aloud, and flinging Handfuls of Dust into the Air, that the *Spaniards* might not see those who fell, or hear their Lamentations.

Diego de Ordaz repaired to all Parts, acquitting himself both as a good Captain and a valiant Soldier: But the Enemies being so very numerous, the *Spaniards* had enough to do to stand their Ground; and the Inequality of their Strength began to appear, when *Cortez*, who could not come sooner to the Assistance of his Men, by reason of some Brooks he had to pass, sally'd forth from the Wood, and fell upon all that Army, breaking through the thickest of their Battallions, and doing such Execution with his Horse, that the *Indians* wounded, and trod under Foot, thought of nothing but getting from them, throwing away their Arms, to be able to fly the better, and look'd upon them as an Obstacle to their Activity.

Diego de Ordaz was sensible that the Relief he had expected was come, by the weak Resistance of the Enemies Van-Guard, which began to face about by Reason of the Confusion in the Rear; whereupon, without Loss of Time, he advanced with his Foot, charging those who had almost oppress'd him with so much Resolution, that he obliged them to give way, gaining

the Ground which they loſt, till he came to the Place that *Cortez* and his Captains had clear'd. They all joined to make their laſt Effort, and were forced to mend their Pace, for the *Indians* were retiring in an haſty Manner, ſtill making Head againſt them, caſting their Darts, and diſcharging their Arrows. The which Manner of making off and withdrawing from the Fight in good Order they continu'd till the *Spaniards* coming up to them, and they finding themſelves again attack'd, turn'd their Backs, and inſtead of retreating, fled outright.

CORTEZ commanded his People to halt, to avoid the ſhedding of more Blood, ordering only ſome Priſoners to be taken, whom he might make uſe of to ſet on foot a Treaty of Peace, which he chiefly had in View, looking on the War as no more than a Circumſtance of his principal Deſign. Above eight hundred *Indians* remained dead upon the Spot, and the Number of the Wounded was very great. Of the *Spaniards* two Soldiers were killed, and Threeſcore and ten wounded.

THE Enemies Army, according to the Account we find, conſiſted of forty thouſand Men; who, altho' they were naked Barbarians, as ſome Strangers have obſerved, yet had Hands to do miſchief: And tho' they had wanted Courage, which is proper to Men, yet they could not be deſtitute of Fierceneſs, of which Brute Beaſts are capable.

THE Action of *Tabaſco*, in ſpite of Envy, has worthily deſerved to be remember'd, by building a Church in Commemmoration of the Day on which the Battle was fought, dedicated to our Lady of Victory, and giving the ſame Name to the firſt Town which the *Spaniards* built in that Province. The greateſt Share of the happy Succeſs muſt be aſcrib'd to the Valour of the Soldiers, who by their Courage and Reſolution, made amends for the Inequality of Numbers, tho' they had the Advantage of engaging in good Order, againſt an Army without any Manner of Diſcipline. *Cortez* opened the Way to the Victory, by breaking through the Body of *Indians* with his Horſe: An Action, in which he ſhewed no leſs Conduct than Valour, the Contrivance before-hand, being as commendable as the Execution was afterwards. Nor can it be denied but that the Horſes had their Part in this Action, the Strangeneſs of them terrifying the *Indians*; for they had never ſeen any before, and imagin'd them to be fierce Monſters, made up of half Man and half Beaſt, as the antient Heathens, who were leſs excuſable in that Particular, fancy'd of the *Centaurs*. Some Authors relate, that St. *James* the Apoſtle fought for the *Spaniards* in that Battle upon a white Horſe; and add, that *Cortez*, out of his

particular

particular Devotion, attributed this Relief to St. *Peter*. But *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who was present, utterly denies the Miracle; and declares, that neither he, nor any of his Companions either saw or heard of any such Thing. It is an Excess of pious Zeal to ascribe those Things to Heaven which succeed contrary to all Appearances, or Hope. I confess my self little inclin'd to this; but, in case of any extraordinary Accident, am willing to leave the immediate Operation to natural Causes: But it is certain, that those who read the History of the *West Indies*, will meet with many Truths that look like Hyperboles, and many Events, which it was necessary to make miraculous, that they might appear credible.

CHAP. XX.

The Spaniards *make Peace with the Cazique of* Tabasco, *and celebrate the Festival of* Palm-Sunday. *After which they reimbark, and continue their Voyage.*

THE next Day *Cortez* caused the Prisoners to be brought before him, among whom were two or three of their Commanders. They discovered in their Countenances very great Fear, expecting to be treated after the same cruel Manner they used to treat the Vanquish'd. But *Cortez* receiv'd them with great Courtesy; and encouraging them with a chearful Countenance, and with Embraces, set them at Liberty, giving them some trifling Presents; and telling them at the same time, That *he knew both how to Conquer, and Forgive*. This Piece of Humanity had so good an Effect, that within a few Hours several *Indians* came to the Quarters loaden with *Indian* Wheat, Fowl, and other Provisions, designing by that Present to facilitate the Peace which they were to propose from the principal Cazique of *Tabasco*. The People who came on this Embassy, were of the meanest Sort, and made no Figure; which *Jerom de Aguilar* took Notice of; it being the Custom of this Country, upon all such Occasions, to send the principal *Indians*, adorned with all their Finery. And altho' *Cortez* was very desirous of Peace, he refused to admit their Proposals, as not coming in due Form; and sent back the

Indians

Indians, without ſo much as ſeeing them; bidding them, by his Interpreter, acquaint their Cazique, *That if he deſired his Friendſhip, he muſt ſend Perſons of greater Account, and after a more decent Manner, to ſolicite it.* *Cortez* was of Opinion, that theſe Formalities, which ſupport Authority, were not to be diſpenſed with, nor any Failings of Reſpect ſuffer'd in thoſe who came as Suppliants; for in ſuch ſort of Affairs, the Manner of Acting is almoſt of as much Importance as the Thing it ſelf.

THE Cazique acknowledg'd his Fault; and to make amends, the next Day ſent thirty *Indians* of better Quality, with their Ornaments of Plumes and Jewels, wherein all their Pride conſiſted. They were followed by a Train of *Indians*, loaded with another Preſent of the ſame Kind as before, but in greater Abundance. *Cortez* gave them Audience, attended by all his Captains, affecting a grave and ſevere Countenance, becauſe he thought it proper upon this Occaſion to lay aſide his natural Affability. They approached with very great Submiſſion; and having perfum'd him with their Fire-Pans, in which they burnt Gum-Anime, Gum-Copal, and other ſweet Scents, (a uſual Ceremony when they would expreſs the greateſt Veneration,) they delivered their Embaſſy; which began with ſome frivolous Excuſes for their paſt War, and concluded in earneſt Entreaties for Peace. The General repreſented to them, after a very ſerious Manner, the juſt Cauſes he had to be diſpleas'd with them; to the end that on a View of their Faults, the Pardon might appear with greater Luſtre, and the Peace which he granted them prove the more welcome. The Ambaſſadors received it with great Applauſe, returning extremely ſatisfied, and eaſily enriched with thoſe ſlight Baubles they ſo highly valu'd.

AFTERWARDS the Cazique himſelf came to viſit *Cortez*, accompany'd by all his Officers and Relations, bringing with him a Preſent of Cotton Cloths, Plumes of various Colours, and ſome Pieces of low Gold, more valuable for the Workmanſhip than for the Metal. He firſt made his Preſent, in order to be better received. *Cortez* careſs'd him very much; and all the Viſit paſs'd in Compliments and Proteſtations of a reciprocal and ſincere Friendſhip, all tranſacted by the Interpreter. The *Spaniſh* Captains treated the other Prime *Indians*, who accompany'd the Cazique, after the ſame Manner; and nothing appeared but Signs of Joy and Peace, which they explained by their Countenances and Embraces, to ſupply the Want of Language. The Cazique took his Leave, appointing another Day for an Interview;

view; and to ſhew his Sincerity, and how much he confided in the General, he immediately ordered his Subjects to return with their Families to *Tabaſco*, and aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in whatſoever they ſhould want.

THE next Day he came again to the Quarters, with the ſame Attendance, and twenty *Indian* Women, well dreſs'd, after the Manner of the Country; telling *Cortez* he brought them as a Preſent, to ſerve him and his Companions, as being very ſkilful in dreſſing all Sorts of Meat, and in making Bread of *Indian* Wheat, which amongſt them was always the Work of Women.

THEY ground the Grain between two Stones, like thoſe we uſe for Chocolate; and when reduced to Flower, they made it into Paſte, without having any occaſion for Leaven. Then they ſpread and moulded it upon a ſort of earthen Plates, which they put over the Fire, and baked it; this being the Bread with which God has abundantly ſupplied that new World, to make Amends for the Want of Wheat, and is very agreeable to the Taſte, and not offenſive to the Stomach. Among theſe Women came one principal *Indian*, well made, and of more than ordinary Beauty, who was afterwards baptized, and received the Name of *Marina*, and proved very neceſſary in the Conqueſt, as will appear in its proper Place.

CORTEZ went aſide with the Cazique, and the Chief of thoſe that followed him; and by means of his Interpreter informed them, *That he was the Subject and Officer of a very powerful Monarch; and that his Intention was to make them happy, by bringing them under the Obedience of his Prince; to convert them to the true Religion; and deſtroy the Errors of their Idolatry.* He enforced theſe Propoſals with his natural Eloquence, and ſo much Authority, that the *Indians* were perſwaded, or at leaſt inclined to Reaſon. The Anſwer they gave was, *That they ſhould think themſelves very happy in obeying a Monarch, whoſe Power and Greatneſs appear'd with ſuch Advantage in the Valour of his Subjects.* But as to the Point of Religion, they were more reſerved.

THE Defeat of their Army by ſuch a Handful of *Spaniards*, made them doubt whether they were not aſſiſted by ſome Deity ſuperior to their own. But though they could not reſolve to confeſs it, their admitting the Doubt was no ſmall Step towards the Truth.

THE Pilots preſs'd the Departure of the Fleet, which, according to their Obſervations, might be endanger'd by any

longer Stay in that Place. And though *Cortez* was concerned to leave those People, before he had better instructed them on the Subject of Religion, he found himself obliged to think of his Voyage; and *Palm-Sunday* drawing near, he appointed that Day for embarking, so ordering it, that the Festival might be kept first, according to the Rites of the Church, Religion being always his first Care. To which End he raised an Altar in the Fields, which he covered with Boughs, in Form of a Chapel: A rustick, but decent Structure, and which was the second Church of *New Spain.* At the same Time they embarked their Provisions, and made all other necessary Preparations for their Voyage. The *Indians* assisted in all Things with an officious Diligence; and the Cazique, with his Captains attended *Cortez* with the greatest Respect and Veneration. Father *Bartolome de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, made use of this Opportunity to endeavour to bring them into the Way of Truth, pursuing what *Cortez* had so well begun, and taking Advantage of the good Inclinations they shewed in their Answers: But they only comply'd as Men that were subdu'd, being more inclin'd to receive another God, than to part with any of their own. They hearken'd with Pleasure, and seem'd desirous to comprehend what they heard: But Reason was no sooner admitted by the Will, than it was rejected by the Understanding. The most that the two Priests could effect at that Time, was to leave them in a good Disposition, and to perceive that it required more Time to prepare their rude and uncultivated Minds, to become sensible of their Blindness,

ON *Sunday* Morning there came an infinite Number of *Indians*, from the neighbouring Parts, to see this Festival of the Christians; and the Boughs, being blest with the usual Solemnity, were distributed among the Soldiers, who all marched in Procession with equal Modesty and Devotion: A Sight worthy of better Spectators; and which appeared with the more Lustre among those Infidels, as Light from the Opposition of Darkness. However, it had some little Effect upon those Heathens; for, as *Aguilar* afterwards declar'd, they cry'd out, *This must needs be a great God, to whom such valiant Men shew so much Respect.* They hit upon the Truth, but mistook in their Way of Reasoning.

WHEN Mass was done, *Cortez* took Leave of the Cazique, and the principal *Indians*; and having confirm'd the Peace with further Demonstrations of Friendship, he embarked, leaving those

those People rather obedient, than subject to the King; and as to Religion, so far in the Way to Salvation, as to desire, or at least, not to oppose the Means of obtaining it.

CHAP. XXI.

Cortez *proceeds on his Voyage. The Fleet arrives at* St. Juan de Ulua. *The Soldiers land. The General receives an Embassy from* Motezuma's *Governors. An Account who* Donna Marina *was.*

THE *Monday* after *Palm-Sunday* the *Spaniards* set Sail, along the Coast to the Westward: They came up with the Province of *Guazacoalco*; and, without putting in at *Rio de Banderas*, or the *River of Banners*, had a View of the *Island of Sacrifices*, and other Places, which had before been discovered and forsaken by *Juan de Grijalva*; the Soldiers who had served under him, telling their Comrades what Adventures they had met with in that Expedition: *Cortez* learning from the ill Success of that Enterprize, how to manage his own better, prudently making his own Advantage of the Errors committed by another. At length they arriv'd at *St. Juan de Ulua* on *Maundy-Thursday* at Noon; and the Ships had no sooner anchored between the Island and the main Land, to shelter themselves from the North Winds, than they saw two large Canoes, which in that Country are called Piraguas, coming from the neighbouring Coast, with some *Indians* in them; who drew near, without shewing the least Concern at the Fleet, discovering by this Security, and some Signs they made, that they came in a peaceable Manner, and desired to be heard.

WHEN they were within a small Distance of the Admiral, they began to speak in a strange Language, that *Aguilar* did not understand; which much troubled *Cortez*, being concern'd to want an Interpreter when he had most Occasion for him, looking upon it as a great Obstacle to his Undertaking: But Providence, that brings about its Designs, by Ways that to Men appear casual, soon relieved him in this Distress: The *Indian*

dian Woman, whom we ſhall now call *Donna Marina*, was not far from *Cortez* and *Aguilar*, and gueſſing by their Looks what they were diſcourſing, and what they wanted, ſhe told *Aguilar* in the *Yucatan* Tongue, that thoſe *Indians* ſpoke the *Mexican* Language, and deſired Audience of the General on the Part of the Governor of that Province. *Cortez* order'd them to come aboard; and laying aſide the Uneaſineſs he had been under, gave Thanks to God, acknowledging it was owing to his infinite Goodneſs, that, contrary to all his Hopes, he had found an Inſtrument whereby to make himſelf underſtood in a Country which he had ſo earneſtly deſired to ſee.

DONNA MARINA, according to the Report of *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, was Daughter to the Cazique of *Guazacoalco*, one of the Provinces ſubject to the Emperor of *Mexico*, bordering upon that of *Tabaſco*, and had, through ſome Accidents of Life, which are variouſly reported, been carry'd away in her Youth to *Xicalango*, a ſtrong Place upon the Confines of *Yucatan*, which was kept by a *Mexican* Garriſon. There ſhe was bred in a poor Manner, no way agreeable to her Birth, till by a freſh Misfortune, either by Sale, or being taken in War, ſhe became a Slave to the Cazique of *Tabaſco*, who made a Preſent of her to *Cortez*. In *Guazacoalco*, and in *Xicalango*, they ſpoke the general *Mexican* Language, and in *Tabaſco* that of *Yucatan*, which *Aguilar* underſtood: So that *Donna Marina* underſtood both thoſe Languages, and explained to the *Indians* in the *Mexican*, what *Aguilar* told her in that of *Yucatan*; *Cortez* making uſe of this round-about Way of Speaking by two Interpreters, till ſuch time as *Donna Marina* had learn'd *Spaniſh*, which was not long; for ſhe had a very ready Wit, and ſeveral natural Endowments, which well agreed with the Nobility of her Birth. *Antonio de Herrera* ſays ſhe was a Native of *Xaliſco*, and that ſhe was brought to *Tabaſco* from a very diſtant Country; for *Xaliſco* is on the other Sea, in the very furtheſt Part of *New Galicia*. Perhaps he took this Notion from *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara*; but we cannot apprehend, why in this, and other more important Matters, he does not follow the Account of *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, whoſe Manuſcript he had at hand; for he follows and quotes him in many Parts of his Hiſtory. *Donna Marina* was ever a moſt faithful Interpreter to *Cortez*; and he confirmed her in his Intereſt by Ways not altogether ſo decent, for he had a Son by her, called *Don Martin Cortez*, who was made a Knight of *St. Jago*, in Conſideration of the Nobility of his Mother's Birth. This was no juſtifiable Method to ſecure her Fidelity; but ſome will have it to have been good Policy: However,

However, we are more apt to believe it was the ill Effect of an ungoverned Passion, notwithstanding the World is accustomed to give the specious Title of Reason of State, to that which is in Reality no other than human Weakness.

The *Indians* being admitted to the Presence of the General, acquainted him, That *Pilpatoe* and *Teutile*, the one Governor, and the other Captain-General of that Province, for the great Emperor *Motezuma*, had sent them to know of the Commander of that Fleet, with what Intention he was come upon their Coast; and to offer him what Succour and Assistance he should stand in need of, in order to continue his Voyage. *Cortez* carress'd them, gave them a few Baubles, and treated them with some *Spanish* Diet and Wine; and having thus obliged them, answer'd, "That he came as a Friend to treat concerning Matters "of great Importance to their Prince, and all his Empire; for "which Purpose he would meet the two Governors, and "hoped to receive the same good Treatment from them, as "others of his Nation had done the Year before." And having receiv'd some Information concerning the Greatness of *Motezuma*, his Riches, and Form of Government, he sent them away very well contented.

The next Day in the Morning, being *Good-Friday*, the *Spaniards* all landed on the Shore nearest the Fleet: And *Cortez* gave Orders for landing the Horses and Artillery; and that the Soldiers, in Companies, should go and cut Fascines to entrench themselves, not forgetting to post the necessary Guards at the Avenues, and to build a sufficient Number of Barracks to shelter them from the Heat of the Sun, which at that Time was very great. The Artillery was planted so as to command the Country, and in a little Time they were all under Cover; for *Teutile* sent a great Number of *Indians* with Provisions, and Orders to assist the *Spaniards* in that Work: To whom they were of great Use, because they brought their Tools made of Flints, with which they cut Stakes, and fixing them in the Ground, interwove them with Boughs and Palm Leaves, forming the Walls and Roofs of a Lodging with much Ease and Diligence, being great Masters in this Kind of Architecture, as having in many Places no other Houses, and less barbarous in proportioning their Structures to what Nature requires, than those who build vast Pallaces, where still they cannot find sufficient Room for their Vanity. They also brought some Cotton Cloths, with which they covered the Officers Barracks, the better to defend them from the Heat of the Sun. In the best of them *Cortez* ordered an Altar to be set up, on which, when adorn'd,

he placed the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, and at the Entrance a great Croſs, in order to celebrate *Eaſter*: For Religion was always his principal Care; and in that he was equally zealous with the Prieſts. *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo* aſſures us, that Maſs was ſaid on that Altar the ſame Day they landed; but we do not believe that Father *Bartolome de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, could be ſo ill inſtructed, and ſo ignorant of the Offices of the Church, as not to know that Maſs could not be ſaid on *Good-Friday*. He very often depends too much upon his Memory: But what is moſt to be wondered at, is, that *Antonio de Herrera* ſhould follow him, and almoſt copy him in this Particular, which, it is likely, proceeded from Inadvertency in both; which we do not ſo much mention with a Deſign to cenſure them, as to make it a Leſſon to our ſelves againſt taking the ſame Liberties.

CORTEZ underſtood by theſe *Indians*, that General *Teutile* had a conſiderable Body of Men in that Province, where he was endeavouring to confirm ſome Places, newly conquered, in their Obedience to *Motezuma*, the Civil Government of which was veſted in *Pilpatoe*. And the great Care they took to ſend Proviſions, and help the *Spaniards* in building of their Barracks, was not without Artifice, ſo far as could be gathered; for they were very much terrified with the Account they had of their Succeſs at *Tabaſco*, which had now ſpread over all the Country, and believing their own Forces too weak, they made uſe of thoſe Preſents, and their Aſſiſtance, to oblige thoſe whom they could not oppoſe: A Contrivance of Fear, which often makes thoſe generous who dare not to appear as Enemies.

The END *of the* FIRST BOOK.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the CONQUEST of *MEXICO*, or *NEW SPAIN*.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Teutile *General of* Motezuma's *Troops, and* Pilpatoe *Governor of the Province, come to visit* Cortez *on the Part of* Motezuma. *An Account of what passed between them; and of the Painters who drew the Pictures of the* Spanish *Forces.*

THEY passed this Night, and the following Day, in great Tranquility, but not the less upon their Guard, some *Indians* continually repairing to their Quarters; some to work, and and others with Provisions, which they truck'd for Baubles. Nothing extraordinary happening till *Easter*-Day in the Morning, when *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* came with a very great Attendance to visit *Cortez*. He received them in equal State, surrounded by his Officers and Soldiers; for he thought it proper to make a Shew of Authority, when he was to treat with the Ministers of a great Prince. The first Compli-

ments

ments being over, in which the *Mexicans* exceeded, and *Cortez* endeavour'd to temper his Gravity with Courtesy, he carried them with him to the great Barrack, which served for a Chapel, it being the Hour for divine Service, ordering *Aguilar* and *Donna Marina* to tell them, that before he acquainted them with the Intention of his Journey, he was to comply with the Duties of his Religion, and recommend to the God of all other Gods the good Success of his Proposition.

IMMEDIATELY Mass was celebrated with all possible Solemnity. Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* officiated, assisted by the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, *Jerom de Aguilar*, and some Soldiers, who understood how to sing the Service of the Church. The *Indians* looking on all the while with a kind of Astonishment, which tho' the Effect of Novelty, had the Air of Devotion. After Service was over, they returned to the General's Barrack, who entertained the two Governors at Dinner, and treated them with great Plenty and Ostentation.

THE Banquet being over, *Hernan Cortez* called his Interpreters, and in a grave and stately Manner told them, That his coming thither was to treat with the Emperor *Motezuma* on the Part of *Don Carlos* of *Austria*, Monarch of the East, touching Affairs of great Importance, not only to his own Person and Estate, but likewise for the Good of all his Subjects, for performing whereof, it was necessary for him to appear before his Royal Presence, and hoped he should be admitted with all the Civility and Respect that was due to the Greatness of the King who sent him.

BOTH the Governors seemed disturbed at this Proposal, and to hear it with great Dissatisfaction: But before they returned an Answer, *Teutile* ordered a Present he had provided to be brought into the Barrack; and about twenty or thirty *Indians* came in loaded with Provisions, fine Cloths, Feathers of several Colours, and a great Box, in which were divers Pieces of Gold, curiously wrought. Having made his Present with a good Grace and Civility, and finding it was well received and praised, he turned to *Cortez*, and by the Help of the same Interpreters, prayed him to accept that small Present from two Slaves of *Motezuma*'s, who had Orders to entertain such Strangers as should come upon his Coasts; but that they must immediately think of prosecuting their Voyage, for they were to understand that to speak to their Prince was a Matter of great Difficulty; and that they thought they did him no small Piece of Service in that plain Dealing, before he went about to try by Experience how difficult a Matter it was that he intended.

CORTEZ

Cortez replied with ſome Heat, That Kings never refuſed to hear the Embaſſies of other Princes; neither could their Miniſters, without very poſitive Orders, take upon themſelves ſo bold a Reſolution as to oppoſe it: That what belonged to them to do in this caſe, was to acquaint *Motezuma* with his Arrival, for which he would allow ſome Time; but that they ſhould likewiſe let him know that he came fully reſolved to ſee him, and poſitively determined not to leave his Country, with Diſhonour to one that repreſented his King. This bold Reſolution of *Cortez* gave the *Indians* ſo much Uneaſineſs, that they durſt not reply; on the contrary, they earneſtly entreated him not to move from thoſe Quarters till the Return of *Motezuma*'s Anſwer, offering to ſupply him with all Things that were neceſſary for the Support of his Soldiers.

At this Time ſome *Mexican* Painters, who came in the Train of the two Governors, were very buſy about drawing (upon Cotton Cloths, which they brought ready prim'd for that Purpoſe) the Ships, Soldiers, Arms, Artillery, and the Horſes, and every Thing elſe that appeared to them remarkable, of which Variety of Objects they formed different Landſkips, no way contemptible, either for Drawing or Colours.

Our *Bernal Diaz* enlarges too much about the Skill of theſe Painters; for he ſaith they drew all the Captains, and that the Pieces were very like: But let that paſs as an unlikely Hyperbole; for ſuppoſing them to have underſtood the Art of Painting, they had too little Leiſure to obſerve the Nicety and Tedioufneſs that Imitation requires.

These Pictures were drawn by the Order of *Teutile*, the better to inform *Motezuma* of that extraordinary Novelty; and to make that Account the more intelligible, they placed ſome Characters here and there, with which they ſeemed to explain, and give the Signification of the Picture. This was their Manner of Writing; for they had not attained the Uſe of Letters, nor were they acquainted with thoſe Signs or Elements, invented by other Nations, to repreſent Syllables, and make Words viſible; but they explained themſelves by their Pencils, marking down material Things with their own proper Images, and the reſt with Numbers and ſignificant Signs, diſpoſed after ſuch a Manner, that the Number, Sign, and Figure formed the Idea, and fully explained the Meaning; an excellent Invention, (which ſhewed their Capacity,) like the Hyerogliphicks of the Egyptians, who boaſted of their Wit in that, which was common among the *Indians*, and which the *Mexicans* uſed with ſuch Dexterity, that they had whole Books of this Kind of Characters, and legi-

ble Pictures, in which they preſerved the Remembrance of their Antiquities, and left to Poſterity the Annals of their Kings.

CORTEZ had Notice of what theſe Painters were doing, and went out to ſee them, not without admiring their Skill; and being informed that they were painting upon thoſe Cloths the Information which *Teutile* was to give *Motezuma* of what he had propos'd, and the Forces *Cortez* had with him to make it good, he, with his uſual ſprightly Wit, preſently obſerved that thoſe dumb Images wanted Action and Motion to expreſs the Valour of his Soldiers, and therefore reſolved to exerciſe his Men before them, to give the greater Life and Vigour to the Picture. To this End he ordered them to their Arms; drew up all his Men in a Body, cauſed the Artillery to be made ready; and telling *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* that he would entertain them after the Manner of his Country, he mounted his Horſe, with his Captains. They firſt ran ſome Races in Order, and then they ſkirmiſh'd in a martial Manner; at which ſtrange Sight the *Indians* ſtood amaz'd, and like Men beſide themſelves: For obſerving the obedient Fierceneſs of thoſe Beaſts, they began to think there was ſomething more than natural in thoſe Men that managed them. Immediately, at a Signal made by *Cortez*, the Fire-Arms diſcharg'd, and ſoon after the Artillery: The Confuſion and Aſtoniſhment of thoſe People encreaſing (as the Noiſe was repeated and augmented) with ſuch various Effects, that ſome fell down upon the Ground, others began to fly, and the moſt Conſiderate affected Admiration, to diſſemble their Fear.

HERNAN CORTEZ encouraged them, giving them to underſtand, that among the *Spaniards* theſe were military Diverſions, as one who deſign'd to make his Arms appear the more formidable, by the Terror of ſuch friendly Entertainments; and they preſently perceived that the Painters were inventing new Figures and Characters, to ſupply what was wanting on their Cloths. Some painted the *Spaniards* armed, and drawn up in Form; others the Horſes in their Exerciſe and Motion. They deſcrib'd the Artillery with Fire and Smoke, and repreſented the very Noiſe with the Similitude of Lightning, without omitting any one of thoſe frightful Circumſtances, that moſt directly regarded what their King moſt deſir'd to underſtand.

IN the mean time *Cortez* returned to his Barrack, with the two Governors; and after having preſented them with ſome ſmall *Spaniſh* Jewels, he prepared a Preſent of ſundry Sorts of Curioſities to be ſent from him to *Motezuma*; to which Purpoſe he made Choice of ſeveral neat Pieces of the moſt ſolid and brighteſt Glaſs; to which he added a Holland Shirt, a Cap of Crimſon

Crimson Velvet adorned with a Gold Medal representing *St. George*; and Tapestry Chairs, which the *Indians* so much seem'd to admire, that it was thought a fit Present for the Emperor. With this small Shew of Liberality, which, among those People, look'd like Magnificence, did *Hernan Cortez* soften the Disagreeableness of his Resolution, and took Leave of the two Governors, who were equally thankful, and troubled.

CHAP. II.

Motezuma *returns his Answer, with a Present of great Value; but refuses to grant the Leave they desired, to go to* Mexico.

THE *Indians* halted at a small Distance from the *Spanish* Quarters, and seemed to consult about what they were to do: For the Result of this Stop was, That *Pilpatoe* remained there to observe the Actions of the *Spaniards*; for which Purpose, having fixed upon the Spot of Ground, they built several Cabbins, and in few Hours Time, the Morning discover'd a considerable Village built upon the Plain. *Pilpatoe* immediately provided against the Suspicion this Novelty might produce, sending Word to *Cortez*, that he stay'd in that Place to take Care of his Entertainment, and the better to supply his Troops with Provisions. And tho' the Artifice of the Message was known, and that his Intentions were to keep within View of the Army, and watch their Motions, they conniv'd at their Dissimulation, making their Advantage of that very Pretence: For they supplied them with all Necessaries; and the Fear of having their Design suspected, made them more punctual and careful.

Teutile proceeded to his own Quarters, and dispatched an Account to *Motezuma* of all that had happen'd upon the Coasts, sending the Pictures which were drawn by his Orders, and *Cortez*'s Present, with the utmost Diligence. For this Purpose, the King of *Mexico* had a great Number of Couriers distributed along all the principal Roads of the Kingdom, chosen out of the swiftest *Indians*, and bred them up to it carefully from little Children, allotting Rewards out of the publick Treasury

ſury to thoſe who arrived firſt at the appointed Place: And Father *Joſeph de Acoſta* (a faithful Obſerver of the Cuſtoms of that Nation) ſays, That the chief School where theſe *Indian* Runners were bred, was the principal Temple of *Mexico*, where the Idol ſtood on the Top of an hundred and twenty Stone Steps, and thoſe who firſt arrived at its Feet, gained the Reward: A notable Exerciſe to be taught in a Temple, and perhaps the leaſt Indecency uſed in that miſerable Place of Worſhip. Theſe Couriers were reliev'd at every Town, like our Poſt-Horſes; and made the greater Speed, becauſe they ſucceeded one another, before they were tired; ſo that the firſt Force of the Carreer never ceaſed.

IN the *General Hiſtory*, we find it reported, that *Teutile* himſelf carry'd his Diſpatches and Pictures, and that he returned in ſeven Days with the Anſwer; too expeditious for a General: Nor doth it ſeem likely, the Diſtance being ſixty Leagues, the ſhorteſt Way, from *Mexico* to *St. Juan de Ulua*: Nor can it eaſily be believed, that the *Mexican* Ambaſſador, whom our *Bernal Diaz* calls *Quintalbor*, came upon this Affair, or the hundred noble *Indians*, the Rector of *Villahermoſa* pretends that attended him: But this is of no great Importance. The Anſwer came in ſeven Days, (a Number which all agree in;) and *Teutile* brought it to the *Spaniſh* Quarters. He brought with him a Preſent of *Motezuma's*, which loaded the Shoulders of an hundred *Indians*; and before he delivered his Embaſſy, he caus'd them to lay Mats, made of Palm-Tree Leaves, (which they call Petates,) upon the Ground, and place in Order upon them, as it were on a Buffet, the ſeveral Things of which the preſent was compoſed.

THERE were various Sorts of Cotton Cloths, well wove, and ſo fine, that they could not be known from Silk, but by feeling. A Quantity of Plumes, and other Curioſities made of Feathers, whoſe Beauty and natural Variety of Colours (found on rare Birds that Country produces) ſo placed and mixed with wonderful Art, diſtributing the ſeveral Colours, and ſhadowing the Light with the Dark ſo exactly, that without making uſe of artificial Colours, or of the Pencil, they could draw Pictures, and would undertake to imitate Nature. They next produc'd a great Number of Arms, Bows, Arrows, and Targets, made of extraordinary Woods. Two very large Plates, of a circular Form, the one of Gold, which by its emboſſing, repreſented the Sun; and the other of Silver, repreſenting the Moon. And laſtly, a conſiderable Quantity of Jewels, Pieces of Gold, ſome Precious Stones, Collars of Gold, Rings, Pendants,

Cotton

dants after their Fashion, and other Ornaments of greater Weight in the Shape of Birds and Beasts, so curiously wrought, that notwithstanding the great Value of the Metal, the Workmanship seem'd to exceed it.

As soon as *Teutile* had laid all his Wealth before the *Spaniards*, he turned to *Cortez*, and making a Sign to the Interpreters, told him, That the great Emperor *Motezuma* sent him those Things in return for his Present, and to shew how much he valu'd his King's Friendship; but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it possible at that Time, according to the present Posture of his Affairs, to grant the Permission he asked of passing forward to his Court: The which Refusal *Teutile* endeavoured to soften, by urging the Badness of the Roads, savage *Indians*, who would take up Arms, and obstruct his March, and other Difficulties, which plainly discovered the Intention; and in a covert Manner denoted, that there was a particular Reason (which we shall see hereafter) why *Motezuma* would not suffer himself to be seen by the *Spaniards*.

Cortez returned Thanks for the Present, with Words of much Respect; and answered *Teutile*, That it was not his Intention to be wanting in his Obedience to *Motezuma*; but that it was not in his Power to go back with Dishonour to his King, or to desist from his Demand, with all the Earnestness to which he was obliged, by the Reputation of a Crown that was honoured and respected among the greatest Princes of the World: Discoursing upon this Point with so much Life and Resolution, that the *Indians* durst not presume to reply, but, on the contrary, they offered to importune *Motezuma* a second Time; and he dismiss'd them with another Present like the former, letting them know, that he would expect the King's Answer without moving from that Place; but that he should be very much concerned if by any Delay, he should be obliged to go nearer to sollicite that Affair.

All the *Spaniards* admired *Motezuma*'s Present; yet they had not all the same Notion of that Wealth, but reasoned variously, each maintaining his own Opinion, and carried on their Disputes with some Heat. Some pleas'd themselves with the Hopes of bettering their Fortune, promising themselves mighty Advantages from such a favourable Beginning; others by the Greatness of the Present, made a Judgment of *Motezuma*'s Power, and of the Difficulty of the Undertaking. Many declar'd absolutely, that the Design of attempting so great an Affair with so few Men, was a Piece of Rashness; and most of them justified the Valour and Constancy of their Captain, looking on the

Conquest as good as made: Every one judging of the Success according to his Inclination. Such are the Discourses and Reasoning of Soldiers, by which the Influence the Courage has over the Understanding is better discover'd, than by any other Means. But *Cortez* gave them leave to talk on, without discovering his Resolution, till he had taken Time to advise; and to keep his People out of Idleness, which is the best Way to make them less inquisitive, he ordered two Vessels out, to view the Coast, and search out some Port, or Bay, where the Fleet might be more under Shelter, (for in that Place they had but little Security against the North-Winds,) and some more fertile Piece of Ground, where they might be accommodated in Quarters, until the Return of *Motezuma*'s Answer; making a Pretence of the Suffering of his People in that Sandy Soil, where the Sun reflected his Heat with double Force; besides that, they were persecuted by the Mosquitoes, or Gnats, which made even the Hours of Rest uneasy. He appointed Captain *Francisco de Montejo* to command in this Cruize; and pick'd out the Soldiers that were to bear him company, being those that seem'd most averse to his own Opinion. He ordered him to run along as far as he could, steering the same Course he had done the Year before with *Grijalva*; and that he should take notice of what Towns appeared along the Coast, without landing to view them, alotting ten Days for their Return. By which Means he order'd what he thought convenient, employed those that were troublesome, and entertained the rest with Hopes of Relief; being himself full of Care, and uneasy, considering the Greatness of the Design, and the Smallness of the Means; but resolving not to desist till he could see the very utmost of the Difficulty, and so much Master of himself, that he disguis'd his inward Concern with an easy and chearful Countenance.

CHAP. III.

Gives an Account how ill the Positiveness of Cortez *was received at* Mexico. *Who* Motezuma *was. The Greatness of his Empire, and the Condition his Monarchy was in at the Arrival of the* Spaniards.

CORTEZ's persisting in his Resolution, gave much Trouble at *Mexico*. *Motezuma* was angry; and in his first Fury, proposed to make an End at once of those Strangers, who presumed to contend contrary to his Inclination. But afterwards, considering better, his Courage failed him, and Anger gave Way to Sorrow and Confusion. He summoned his Ministers and Relations; they held several secret Councils; they resorted to the Temples with publick Sacrifices; and the People began to be uneasy, seeing their King so much disturb'd, and those who managed the Government in such a Fright. So that they began to talk, with very little Reserve, of the approaching Ruin of that Empire, and of the Signs, and Presages, which (according to their Traditions) threatned it. But it seems necessary now, that we should shew who *Motezuma* was, and the State of his Monarchy at this Time; and why both he and his Subjects were in such a Consternation at the coming of the *Spaniards*.

THE Empire of *Mexico* was then at its greatest Heighth, having under its Dominion almost all the Provinces and Countries which had been discovered in *North America*, which were govern'd by *Motezuma* himself, and his petty tributary Kings, or Caziques. The Length of it extended, from East to West, above five hundred Leagues; and the Breadth, from North to South, in some Places, was two hundred; a Country populous, rich, and plentiful. On the East it was bounded by the *Atlantick* Sea, (now call'd the *North Sea*,) and stretch'd along all that great Space of Land between *Panuco* and *Yucatan*: On the West, it reached the other Sea, lying along the *Asiatick* Ocean, (or *Gulph of Anian*,) from *Cape Mendocino*, to the fartheſt Part of *New Galicia*. On the South, it stretched out farther, running along the

Leagues 500 Long 200 Breadth

the *South-Sea*, from *Acapulco* to *Guatimala*; and went so far as to approach, by the Way of *Nicaragua*, to that *Isthmus*, or narrow Neck of Land, which divides, and at the same time unites the two *America*'s. On the North, it reached out as far *Panuco*, including that Province; but was streighten'd considerably by the Mountains, or hilly Countries possessed by the *Chichimecas* and *Ottomies*, a barbarous People, without Government or Policy, living in the Caves of the Earth, or in the Holes of Rocks, feeding upon the Game they kill'd in Hunting, and the Fruits of such Trees as grew wild; but so dextrous in the Use of their Arrows, and in making their Advantage of the Crags and Passes of the Mountains, that they had often withstood the whole Power of *Mexico*; being Enemies to Subjection, satisfied with not being conquered, and only desiring to preserve their Liberty, amongst the wild Beasts.

Raised in little more than 130 years

THIS Empire grew from a small Beginning to this vast Greatness in little more than an hundred and thirty Years; for the *Mexicans* naturally a warlike Nation, were always making way with their Arms among the rest of the Nations which inhabited that Part of the World. They were at first governed by a valiant Captain, who made them Soldiers, and sensible of Military Honour. Afterwards they chose a King, giving the supreme Dominion to the Person that had the greatest Reputation for Valour, being acquainted with no other Virtue but Fortitude; and if they knew any other they look'd upon them as much inferior. They always observed this Custom of chusing the greatest Captain for their King, without Regard to the Succession; tho' where Actions were equal, they preferred the Royal Blood; and the War, which made their Kings, by little and little enlarged the Monarchy. At first Justice supported their Arms, for the Oppression of their Neighbours forced them to an unblameable Defence; and Heaven favoured their Cause with the first Successes: But their Power afterwards encreasing, Justice was laid aside, and Tyranny took place.

WE shall see the Progress of this Nation, and the great Conquests they made, when we come to give an Account of the Succession of their Kings, and the principal Part of this History shall be less depending. *Motezuma* was the Eleventh King, (according to their painted Annals,) and the Second of that Name, a singular Person, and much respected among the *Mexicans* before he began to reign.

HE was of the Royal Blood; and in his Youth followed the Wars, where he gained the Reputation of a valiant Captain, by several Actions, which raised his Character. He returned to the

the Court, ſomewhat puffed up with theſe Flatteries of Fame; and finding himſelf applauded and reſpected as the firſt Man of his Nation, he entertained Hopes of graſping the Scepter at the next Election, behaving himſelf in his own Thoughts as one that was beginning to be crown'd, upon the Notion he had conceived of being King.

He then plac'd all his Happineſs in gaining Friends; to which End he made uſe of ſome Politick Arts, a Science which ſometimes does not diſdain to be found amongſt the Barbarians, but is rather apt to make People ſo, when that which is called Reaſon of State gets the better of natural Reaſon. He affected great Obedience and Veneration towards his King, and extraordinary Modeſty and Compoſure in his Words and Actions, always ſo carefully preſerving the Gravity and Statelineſs in his Countenance, that the *Indians* were wont to ſay, the Name of *Motezuma* became him well, which, in their Language, ſignifies a ſurly Prince, though he endeavoured to temper this Severity, making himſelf agreeable by his Liberality.

He alſo gained the Character of being very zealous for his Religion; a powerful Motive to captivate thoſe who are taken with outward Shew: And to this End, he erected a little ſeparate Pile in the moſt frequented Temple, after the Manner of a Tribune; to which he retir'd in the Sight of all the People, and ſtaid there many Hours to attend that popular Devotion, or placing the Idol of his Ambition among his other Gods. He gained ſo much Reputation by theſe outward Appearances, that when the King his Predeceſſor died, the Electors gave him their Votes without any Oppoſition, and the People received him with great Acclamations. He made a Shew of refuſing, ſuffering himſelf to be courted for that which he deſired, and ſeemed to accept it with Reluctancy: But no ſooner was he poſſeſs'd of the Imperial Throne, than all that Artifice which he had forc'd upon his natural Temper ceaſed, and he diſcovered thoſe Vices that had been hitherto covered with the Shew of Virtues.

The firſt Action by which he manifeſted his Pride, was the diſcarding of all thoſe that belonged to the Royal Family, which, till his Time, was compoſed of midling People and Plebeians; and under Colour of greater Decency, he made his Nobles ſerve him, even in the meaneſt Employments of his Houſe. He ſhewed himſelf but ſeldom to his Subjects, and only when it was neceſſary to his Miniſters and Servants, looking upon Retirement and Melancholy as a Part of Majeſty; and for thoſe who obtain'd Leave to come into his Preſence, he invented new Obeyſances and Ceremonies, enlarging the Reſpect almoſt to Adoration.

He perſwaded himſelf, that he had the entire Command of the Lives and Liberties of his Subjects, and exerciſed great Cruelties to perſwade others to the ſame.

He impoſed new Taxes, without any publick Neceſſity, at a certain Rate on each Head of that vaſt Number of Subjects; and exacted it with ſo much Rigour, that even poor Beggars were not exempted from the miſerable Oppreſſion, bringing to his Treaſury ſome mean Things, which were received, and then thrown away before their Faces.

These violent Practices made his People fear him: But as it is uſual for Fear and Hatred to go together, ſome Provinces rebelled; to reduce the which, he went himſelf in Perſon; being ſo jealous of his Authority, that he would not ſuffer any other to command his Armies. Tho' it cannot be denied, but that he had a martial Inclination and Spirit: None reſiſted his Power, and maintained their Rebellion, except the Provinces of *Mechoacan*, *Tlaſcala*, and *Tepeaca*. And he was wont to ſay, "He did not ſubdue them, becauſe he wanted thoſe Enemies "to ſupply him with Captives for the Sacrifices of his Gods." A Tyrant, even in what he permitted, and what he did not puniſh.

He had reigned fourteen Years when *Cortez* arrived on his Coaſts; and the laſt was full of Preſages, horrible, and wonderful Portents, which God either ordered, ordained, or permitted, to cruſh the Spirits of thoſe fierce People, and render that great Work leſs difficult to the *Spaniards*; Providence, by Degrees, diſpoſing all Things towards it by ſuch unlikely Means.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

An Account of the ſeveral Prodigies, and Signs that were ſeen in Mexico, *before the Arrival of* Cortez; *from which the* Indians *apprehended, that the Ruin of their Empire drew near.*

AFTER knowing who *Motezuma* was, and the Condition and Greatneſs of his Empire, it remains that we enquire into the Motives which caus'd that Prince and his Miniſters ſo obſtinately to oppoſe the preſſing Inſtance made by *Hernan Cortez*: The firſt Contrivance of the Devil, and the firſt Difficulty in the Undertaking.

AS ſoon as they had Notice of the *Spaniards* in *Mexico*, when *Juan de Grijalva* arrived upon their Coaſt the Year before, ſeveral Prodigies began to appear in this Country, and very aſtoniſhing Signs, which did in a manner aſſure *Motezuma* that the Ruin of his Empire drew near; and greatly terrified and diſcouraged both him and his Subjects.

A FRIGHTFUL Comet appeared many Nights, in Shape like a Pyramid, which beginning at Midnight, advanc'd ſlowly to the higheſt Part of the Heavens, where it vaniſh'd at the Preſence of the Sun.

AFTERWARDS, at Midday, another Comet, or Exhalation, was ſeen to riſe in the Weſt, or like a fiery Serpent with three Heads, which ran ſwiftly till it vaniſhed in the Eaſt, ſcattering an infinite Number of Sparks that dy'd in the Air.

THE great Lake of *Mexico* overflowed its Banks, and with an extraordinary Impetuoſity drowned the Country, carrying away ſeveral Houſes, with a ſort of Waves that look'd as if it had boil'd up; tho' there were no Floods or ſtormy Weather to which they could attribute the Motion of the Waters.

ONE of their Temples took Fire of it ſelf, without their being able to find out the Cauſe of its burning, or Means to extinguiſh the Flame. The very Stones were ſeen to burn, and the whole Pile was reduced to little more than Aſhes. Lamentable Voices were heard in the Air from different Parts, which foretold the End of that Monarchy; and the ſame was repeat-

ed

ed in the Answers of their Idols; the Devil pronouncing by them what he could conjecture of those Natural Causes which were in Motion, or as much as the God of Nature permitted him to know, who sometimes torments him by making him the Instrument of Truth.

SEVERAL Monsters of horrible Deformity, and never seen before, were brought to the King; which, in his Opinion, had a Meaning, and denoted great Misfortunes. And if they were called Monsters from demonstrating, or foreshewing Things to come, as the Ancients believ'd, who gave them that Name, it was not strange that they should be held for Presages among those barbarous People, where Ignorance and Superstition went hand-in-hand.

HISTORIES make mention of two very remarkable Accidents, which extremely troubled the Mind of *Motezuma*; nor are they fit to be omitted, since they found Credit with Father *Joseph de Acosta*, *Juan Botero*, and other Writers of Judgment and Authority.

CERTAIN Fishermen near the Lake of *Mexico*, took a monstrous Fowl, of extraordinary Make and Greatness; and accounting it a Novelty, presented the same to the King. Its Deformity was horrible; and on the Head of it was a shining Plate like a Looking-Glass, from which the Sun reflected a sort of dim and melancholy Light. *Motezuma* observed it, and drawing nearer to take a better View, saw within it a Representation of the Night, amidst whose Obscurity were seen some Parts of the Heaven covered with Stars, and so distinctly represented, that he turned his Eyes to the Sun, as one doubtful of the Day: and upon fixing his Eyes the second Time on that seeming Glass, he spy'd instead of Night, what gave him greater Astonishment; for there appear'd to his Sight an Army of Men that came from the East, making a terrible Slaughter of his Subjects. He assembled the Magicians and Priests to consult about this Prodigy, and the Bird stood immoveable till many of them had tried the same Experiment; but then it got away, and vanish'd in their Presence, leaving them another Presage in its astonishing Flight.

SOME few Days after a Country Man came to the Palace, one that was reputed a plain downright Man, who earnestly, and with mysterious Instances, press'd to have Audience of the King. He was introduced to his Presence after various Consultations, and having made his Obeysance, without any Manner of Disturbance or Fear, he spoke to him in his rustick Idiom, but with a kind of Freedom and Eloquence, which denoted

denoted a more than natural Transport, or that the Words were not his own, but were inspired, saying, " Yesterday in the Evening, " Sir, being upon my Farm, employed in the Emprovement of " my Land, I saw an Eagle of an extraordinary Magnitude, " which stoop'd down furiously upon me, and, catching me be- " tween his Claws, carried me a great Way through the Air, till " he set me down near a spacious Cave, in which was a Man in " Royal Robes, sleeping amongst Diversity of Flowers and Per- " fumes, with a scented Composition burning in his Hand. I drew " somewhat nearer, and saw your Likeness, or, perhaps, it was " yourself; for I cannot affirm it, though, in my own Opinion, I " had my Senses free. I was going to withdraw, being afraid, and " full of Awe; but an imperious Voice stopp'd and frighted me " a-new, commanding me to take the burning Perfume out of " your Hand, and apply it to some Part of your Thigh that was " uncovered. I refused, as much as I could, to commit such " a Piece of Wickedness: But the same Voice, in a terrible one, " forced me to obey. Upon which, Sir, without being able to re- " sist, and being made bold by Fear, I applied the burning Com- " position to your Thigh, and you endur'd the burning, with- " out waking, or making any Motion. I should have thought " you had been dead, but that your quiet Breathing shewed " you to be alive, the Repose expressing what was wanting " in the Senses. Then that same Voice (which seemed to be " formed in the Air) said to me; Thus sleeps thy King, given " up to his Delights and Vanities, when he has the Anger of " his Gods upon him, and so many Enemies, who come from the " other Part of the World to destroy his Monarchy and Reli- " gion. Bid him awake, and prevent, if he can, the Miseries " and Calamities that threaten him. Scarce had he pronounced " these Words, which I bear deeply imprinted in my Memory, " when the Eagle took me up in his Tallons, and set me down " on my Land, without the least Hurt. And thus do I per- " form what the Gods have enjoin'd me. Awake, Sir, for " your Pride and Cruelty hath provok'd them: I say again, " Awake, or take care how you sleep, since the burning Sting " of your Conscience does not rouze you; nor can you be now " ignorant, that the Cries of your People have reach'd Heaven " before they came to your Ears."

These, or such like Words, did the Peasant deliver, or the Spirit, that spoke in him, inspired him; and turned his Back with so much Resolution, that no Man durst stop him. *Motezuma* (in the first Heat of his Passion) was going to order him to be killed; but was prevented by a new Pain he felt

in his Thigh, where he found, and all ſaw the Mark of a freſh Burning: Which ſtrange Sight aſtoniſh'd and made him thoughtful; but ſtill reſolv'd to chaſtiſe the Peaſant, by ſacrificing him to appeaſe his Gods. Theſe Admonitions proceeded from the Devil, and ſhew'd the Wickedneſs of their Original, as ſerving rather to provoke a Man to Anger and Obſtinacy, than to bring him to the Knowledge of his Fault. But thoſe Accidents might be improv'd by the Credulity of thoſe barbarous People, from whoſe Relation the *Spaniards* had them in this Manner. We do not inſiſt on the Nicety of the Truth; but do not think it unlikely, that the Devil ſhould make uſe of ſuch-like Artifices to ſet *Motezuma* againſt the *Spaniards*, and put what Stops he could to the Introduction of the Goſpel. For it is certain, that he might (ſuppoſing the Divine Permiſſion in the uſe of his Knowledge) feign or form thoſe Phantoms and monſtruous Apparitions, or even make viſible Bodies, by condenſing the Air with a Mixture of the other Elements; or, as often happens, he might impoſe upon the Senſes, and delude the Imagination; of which we have ſome Examples in the holy Scriptures, which make what we find of the ſame Nature in prophane Hiſtory the more credible.

THESE and other portentous Signs, which were ſeen at *Mexico*, and in ſeveral Parts of the Empire, had ſo broke the Spirit of *Motezuma*, and ſo diſmayed the wiſe Men of his Council, that when the ſecond Embaſſy from *Cortez* arrived, they concluded, that all the Ruin and Calamity with which they were threatned, was come upon them.

THE Conſultations were long, and the Opinions various. Some thought, that thoſe armed Strangers, coming at a Time of ſo many Prodigies, ought to be treated as Enemies; for that either to admit, or truſt them, would be oppoſing the Will of their Gods, who had given them ſo many Warnings before the Blow, in order to avoid it. Others, either out of Moderation or Fear, endeavoured to obſtruct the Breach, by extolling the Valour of the Strangers, the Force of their Arms, and the Fierceneſs of their Horſes: And calling to Mind the Deſtruction and Slaughter they made at *Tabaſco*, (of which War they had preſently Notice;) and tho' they did not believe they were immortal, as the Fear of the Vanquiſhed had given out, yet did they not think them Creatures of their own Species, but found in them ſome Reſemblance of their own Gods, by their Management of Lightning, with which (in their Opinion) they fought, and by the Command they had over thoſe Brutes, who underſtood their Orders, and fought for them.

MOTEZUMA

Motezuma heard them; and taking a Medium between both Opinions, resolved absolutely to deny *Cortez* the Liberty he asked of coming to his Court; commanding him immediately to leave those Coasts; and at the same Time sending him another Present like the former, to oblige him to obey. But if that was not sufficient to stop him, he resolved to use Force; raising a powerful Army of such Men, that they should have no Cause to fear the like ill Success as that of *Tabasco.* For he was sensible they ought not to despise the small Number of those Strangers, in whose prodigious Arms, and extraordinary Valour, there appeared so many Advantages; and more particularly when they arrived upon their Coasts, at so calamitous a Time, and when so many frightful Prodigies had appeared, as seemed to magnify their Forces, since they merited the Care, and Warning of their Gods.

CHAP. V.

Francisco de Montejo *returns, having discovered the Town of* Quiabistan. Motezuma's *Ambassadors arrive, and depart dissatisfy'd. Some Muttering happens among the Soldiers, who incline to Mutiny; and* Hernan Cortez *makes use of Artifice to appease them,*

WHILST *Motezuma*'s Court was taken up with these melancholy Reflections, *Hernan Cortes* endeavoured to get some Account of the Country; to gain the good Will of the *Indians* who repaired to his Quarters; and to encourage his Men, endeavouring to inspire them with the same great Hopes of which his own Heart assured him. At that Time *Francisco de Montejo* returned from his Voyage, having coasted some Leagues up to the Northward, and discovered a Town called *Quiabistan,* situate in a fertile Soil, and well cultivated, near an anchoring Place, or Bay, capacious enough, where, in the Opinion of the Pilots, the Ships might ride and be secure under the Shelter of some great Rocks, which broke the Force of the Winds. This Place was distant from *St. Juan de*

de Ulua about twelve Leagues: And *Hernan Cortez* began to look on it as commodious for him to remove his Quarters thither: But before he came to any Resolution, *Motezuma*'s Answer came.

TEUTILE, with the principal Captains of his Troops, came with their little Perfuming Pans, burning Gum-Copal. After the smoaking Courtesies and Ceremonies were over, *Teutile* ordered *Motezuma*'s Present to be produc'd; which was somewhat less, but of the same Sort of Goods, and Pieces of Gold, as came with the first Embassy: All that they brought particular, was four green Stones, like Emeralds, called *Chalcuites*; and *Teutile* told *Cortez*, with a great deal of Gravity, that *Motezuma* sent those Stones to the King of *Spain*, as Jewels of an inestimable Value: But that was not much regarded, as coming from those who held Glass in such great Esteem.

THE Embassy was deliver'd in Terms resolute and disagreeable; and the Conclusion of it was, to dismiss their Guests, without giving them Leave to reply. Night drew on; and when *Cortez* began to return his Answer, the *Ave-Maria* Bell rung in that Barrack that served for a Chapel: He kneell'd down to say that Prayer; as did all the rest, after his Example. Their Silence and Devotion, struck the *Indians* with Admiration; and *Teutile* asked *Donna Marina* the Meaning of that Ceremony. *Cortez* understood it, and thought it proper to make use of that Opportunity of satisfying their Curiosity, to talk to them upon the Subject of Religion. Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* took it in hand, and endeavoured to suit his Discourse to their Blindness, giving them some small Light into the Mysteries of our Faith. He labour'd, with all his Eloquence, to make them understand that there was but One God, the Beginning and End of all Things: That in their Idols they adored the Devil, the mortal Enemy of Mankind; enforcing what he said with Reasons easy to be comprehended: Which the *Indians* listned to with some sort of Attention, as if they were sensible of the Force of Truth.

HERNAN CORTEZ made use of this Beginning to return to his Answer; telling *Teutile*, That one of the Points of his Embassy, and the principal Motive which his King had to offer his Friendship to *Motezuma*, was, the Obligation Christian Princes lay under to oppose the Errors of Idolatry, and the Desire he had to instruct him in the Knowledge of the Truth, and to help him to get free from the Slavery of the Devil, the invincible Tyrant of his Kingdoms, who, in Reality, held him a Slave and Vassal, tho', in outward Appearance, he was so powerful a Monarch. And that since he came from such remote

mote Countries, upon Affairs of ſuch a Nature, and in the Name of another more powerful King, he could not omit making new Efforts, and perſevering in his Inſtances, till he ſhould prevail to be heard, ſince he came on a peaceable Account, as appeared by the ſmall Number of his Men, from which no Suſpicion could be had of greater Deſigns. No ſooner had *Teutile* heard the Reſolution of *Cortez*, than he ſtarted up haſtily, and with ſome ſort of Impatience, between Anger and Confuſion, told him, That hitherto the Great *Motezuma* had dealt courteouſly, treating him as a Gueſt; but that if he was reſolved to continue in that Opinion, it would be his own Fault if he found himſelf treated as an Enemy, and without ſtaying for any other Anſwer, or ſo much as taking Leave, he turned his Back, and went haſtily out of his Preſence, followed by *Pilpatoe*, and the reſt of his Attendance. *Hernan Cortez* was a little ſtartled at *Teutile*'s Proceeding; but ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that turning to his People, more inclined to laugh, than to be concerned, "We ſhall ſee, ſays he, where this Chal-"lenge will end: For we know already how their Armies fight. "And, for the moſt part, Threats are the Effects of Fear." And whilſt they were gathering up the Preſent, he went on, ſaying, "Theſe Barbarians ſhould not ſo eaſily prevail with the "*Spaniſh* Troops to retire; for thoſe Riches are to be looked up-"on as Gifts out of Seaſon, which ſhew more Weakneſs than "Generoſity." Thus did he lay hold of all Opportunities, to encourge his People. And that very Night (tho' it was not likely that the *Mexicans* ſhould have provided an Army to aſſualt the Quarters) the Guards were doubled, looking upon that which was poſſible, as likely to happen: For Commanders can never be too careful; and many Times, that which ſeems ſuperfluous, is found to have been neceſſary.

As ſoon as the Day appeared, they found a conſiderable Alteration, which gave them ſome Diſturbance; for thoſe *Indians* which inhabited *Pilpatoe*'s Cabbins, were retired within the Land, and not a Man appeared in all the Country: They alſo kept away, who uſed to bring them Proviſions from the neighbouring Towns. Theſe Beginnings of Want (rather feared, than ſuffered) were ſufficient to make ſome Soldiers begin to be uneaſy, looking upon it as very unadviſed to think of ſettling in that Country; which Murmuring ſome Friends of *Diego Velaſquez* took the Advantage of, and began to exclaim, ſaying, without any Reſerve, in common Diſcourſe, That *Hernan Cortez* had a Mind to deſtroy them, and ambitiouſly purſued a Deſign without a Force any way proportioned to the

Undertaking: That the Intention of maintaining themſelves with ſuch a Handful of People in the Dominions of ſo powerful a Prince, would be judged raſh by all Men: And that it was now neceſſary for them all to demand to return to the Iſland of *Cuba*, in order to refit their Fleet, and reinforce the Army, and ſo proceed upon that Undertaking with better Foundation.

HERNAN CORTEZ was informed of this, and making uſe of his Friends and Confidents, he endeavoured to enquire into the Opinion of the principal Part of his People; and found that he had on his Side the moſt in Number, and thoſe of greateſt Conſequence. Upon which Security he ſuffered himſelf to be ſeen by the Malecontents.

DIEGO DE ORDAZ was the Perſon who ſpoke in the Name of all the reſt, and, with ſome Heat and Diſreſpect, told him, That the Soldiers were very much diſſatisfy'd, and upon the Point of laying aſide all Obedience, having been informed that he deſigned to proſecute that Undertaking; and that no body could blame them, for neither the Number of Men, Condition of the Ships, nor their Reſerve of Proviſions or Ammunitions of War, had any Proportion with the Intent of conquering ſo large and powerful an Empire: That no Man had ſo little Value for himſelf, as to ſubmit to be caſt away to pleaſe another's Humour; and that therefore it was now Time to conſider of returning to the Iſland of *Cuba*, to the End that *Diego Velaſquez* might reinforce his Fleet, and take this difficult Enterprize in hand upon better Advice, and with a greater Force.

HERNAN CORTEZ heard him, without ſeeming offended, as he might have been, both with the Propoſal, and the Manner of delivering it; on the contrary, he anſwered him, (with a compoſed Voice and Countenance,) That he was obliged to him for the Advice, becauſe he did not know that the Soldiers were diſſatisfied, but rather believed they were well contented, and deſirous to go on; for in that Enterprize none could complain of *Fortune* but thoſe that were weary of being happy: Firſt, a Voyage, without any ill Accidents, favoured by the Winds and Seas; Succeſſes, ſuch as their Hearts could wiſh; the remarkable Favours of Heaven at *Cozumel*; a Victory at *Tabaſco*, and in that Country where they were, ſo much good Treatment and Proſperity; were not Preſages that could any ways diſcourage them. Nor was it very much for their Honour to deſiſt from that Deſign before they had ſeen the Face of Danger, eſpecially conſidering that Difficulties are wont to appear greateſt at a Diſtance, and what the Imagination magnifies, vaniſhes as it

draws

draws near: But that if the Soldiers were already ſo dejected and fearful, (as he ſaid,) it would be a Folly to depend upon them in ſo difficult an Enterprize; and therefore he would immediately conſider of returning to the Iſland of *Cuba*, as had been propoſed; confeſſing that the Knowledge of the private Soldiers being poſſeſſed with that Notion, did not make ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, as it did to find it ſupported by the Advice of his Friends. With theſe and other like Words he at that Time fruſtrated the Intention of thoſe prejudiced Mutineers, without leaving them any thing to deſire, till the Time ſhould come to undeceive them; and with this diſſembled Artifice, (a Subtility which Prudence ſometimes allows,) he made believe he gave way, that he might return with the greater Force to the Execution of his Deſigns.

CHAP. VI.

The Return to Cuba *is given out. The Soldiers, prepar'd by* Cortez, *exclaim againſt it. The Cazique of* Zempoala *ſues for his Friendſhip; and, in fine, they make a Settlement.*

SOON after *Diego de Ordaz* and thoſe of his Party had left *Hernan Cortez*, he gave Directions for publiſhing the Return to the Iſland of *Cuba*, and ordered the Captains ſhould embark with their reſpective Companies on Board the Veſſels under their Command, and be ready to ſail the next Day early in the Morning: But no ſooner was this Reſolution publiſhed among the Soldiers, than thoſe who were underhand gained to the General's Intereſt began to ſtir in the Affair, crying out, That *Hernan Cortez* had deceived them, making them believe they were going to ſettle in that Country; that they would not leave it, or return to the Iſland of *Cuba*; adding, that if he had a Mind to retire, he might do it with all ſuch as were willing to follow him, for they could not want ſome Gentleman that would take upon him to command them.

This Clamour encreaſed ſo much, and was ſo well managed, that it brought over many of thoſe that had been forced over, or

perſwaded

perſwaded into the contrary Opinion; and *Cortez*'s Friends, who had ſtirred up one Part, were obliged to appeaſe the other: They commended their Reſolution, and offered to ſpeak to *Cortez* to ſuſpend the Execution of his Order. And before this Ardour of theirs cooled, they went to him, attended by many of the Soldiers, in whoſe Preſence they acquainted him loudly, That the Troops were upon the Point to Mutiny, on Account of his Order, complaining (or pretending to complain) that he had taken ſuch a Reſolution, without the Advice of his Captains. They laid it before him as a Diſhonour, unbecoming *Spaniards*, to quit their Undertaking on the firſt Rumours of Difficulty, and to turn their Backs before they had drawn their Swords. They put him in Mind of what had happened to *Juan de Grijalva*; that all the Diſpleaſure of *Diego de Velaſquez* was occaſioned by his not making a Settlement in the Land he diſcover'd, and maintaining himſelf there; for which Action he was treated as a puſillanimous Perſon, and the Command of the Fleet taken from him. Laſtly, they told him what he himſelf had dictated, to which he hearkened as to ſomething new: And ſuffering himſelf to be entreated and perſwaded, he did what he deſired, giving them to underſtand that he was convinced; and ſaid he had been miſinformed; that ſome of thoſe who were principally concerned in the Succeſs of the Undertaking, (whom he did not name, to make the greater Myſtery of the Matter,) had aſſured him that all the Men cried out to leave that Country, and return to the Iſland of *Cuba*; and that as he had taken that Reſolution (contrary to his own Opinion) to pleaſe his Soldiers, he would ſtay with much more Satisfaction, ſince he found them better diſpoſed for the Service of the King, and to diſcharge the Duty of good *Spaniards*; but that they muſt know he would not have Soldiers againſt their Inclinations; nor was War an Employment for thoſe that were forced to it; that whoſoever thought fit to return to the Iſland of *Cuba*, might freely do it, and that he would immediately give Orders to provide Veſſels and Proviſions for the Voyage of all ſuch as were not willing to follow his Fortune. This Reſolution met with great Applauſe: Their Acclamations rung with the Name of *Cortez*: The Air was filled with Noiſe and Hats, after the Manner Soldiers are wont to expreſs their Satisfaction: Some rejoiced becauſe they were of that Opinion, and others that they might not be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe who approved the beſt. No one was ſo bold at that Time as to contradict the making of a Settlement; nor did thoſe very Men, who had been the Malecontents, know what to ſay for themſelves; but

Hernan

Hernan Cortez admitted of ſuch Excuſes as they could offer, without enquiring further into the Affair, laying that up for a better Opportunity.

It happened at this Time, that whilſt *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, with another Soldier, were Centinels at one of the Avenues, they ſpy'd five *Indians* coming along the Way next the Sea-ſide, towards the Quarters, and thinking them too ſmall a Number to alarm the Army, they ſuffer'd them to draw near. They ſtopp'd at a little Diſtance, and gave to underſtand by Signs, that they came in a peaceable Manner with a Meſſage to their General. *Bernal Diaz* went with them, leaving his Comrade in the ſame Poſt to obſerve if any more followed. *Hernan Cortez* received them very civilly, ordering them to be well treated before he heard them, and obſerved they ſeem'd to be of another Nation, as differing from the *Mexicans* in their Habit, though like them they had Rings in their Ears and Lips, with Jewels hanging to them; which, tho' they were of Gold, were a Deformity, inſtead of an Ornament.

Their Language alſo had a different Sound; till *Aguilar* and *Donna Marina* coming, it appear'd that they ſpoke in a different Idiom; and it was good Luck that one of them underſtood, and with ſome Difficulty pronounced the *Mexican* Language; by which Means, and not without ſome Trouble, it appeared, that they were ſent by the Lord of *Zempoala* (a Province at a ſmall Diſtance) to viſit the Captain of thoſe valiant People, whoſe great Actions in the Province of *Tabaſco* had reached his Ears; and being a warlike Prince, and a Friend to brave Men, he deſired his Friendſhip, very much magnifying the Value their Maſter had for good Soldiers, as one who doubted leaſt they ſhould attribute that to his Fear, which ſounded better as the Effect of his Inclination.

Hernan Cortez very courteouſly accepted of the good Correſpondence and Friendſhip propoſed to him on the Part of their Cazique, looking on it as a particular Favour of Heaven, that this Embaſſy ſhould arrive at a Time when the *Mexicans* had left him, of whom he was now grown jealous; and he put the more Value upon it, when he underſtood that the Province of *Zempoala* was in the Road to that Place, which *Franciſco de Montejo* diſcovered from the Coaſt, whither he was then thinking to remove his Quarters. He aſked the *Indians* ſome Queſtions, to inform himſelf of the Inclination and Forces of the Cazique. One of them was, how it came to paſs, that they (being ſo near) had ſo long delayed coming with this Propoſal. To which they anſwered, that thoſe of *Zempoala* had

nothing to do where the *Mexicans* appeared, whose Cruelties were ill brooked by those of their Nation.

THIS Intelligence was not disagreeable to *Hernan Cortez*; and diving farther into it with some Curiosity, he understood that *Motezuma* was a cruel Prince, abhorred for his Pride and Tyranny; that many of his People were subject out of Fear; and that some Provinces thereabouts were desirous to free themselves from his Yoke. This made his Power appear the less formidable; and several Sorts of Stratagems came into his Head, and Means of encreasing his Army, which gave him some sort of confused Encouragement. The first that occurr'd, was to take Part with those afflicted People; and that it would not be difficult or unreasonable to form a Party against a Tyrant among his own Rebels. So he reasoned then; and it fell out afterwards accordingly, it being verified (by a fresh Example) in the Ruin of that so powerful an Empire, that the greatest Strength of a King consists in the Love of his Subjects. He immediately dismiss'd those *Indians* with some Gifts, in Token of Friendship; and told them he would soon go and pay their Master a Visit, in order to establish a Friendship, and stand by him, in case he should have any Occasion for his Assistance.

HIS Intent was to pass through that Province, and take a View of *Quiabislan*, where he had Thoughts of fixing his first Settlement, by Reason of the good Account he had received of its Fertility. But it behov'd him for other Ends, which were then in Agitation, to hasten the forming of his small Corporation in those very Quarters, altho' he was to remove the People to a Place more commodious. He communicated his Resolution with those Captains that were his Confidents; and having, by this Means, smoothed the Way for what he had to propose, he assembled the Men, in order to name the Officers of the new Government. At which short Conference, those who were acquainted with the Mind of *Cortez* prevailed; and *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero*, and *Francisco de Montejo*, were appointed Alcaldes; *Alonso Davila*, *Pedro* and *Alonso de Alvarado*, and *Gonzalo de Sandoval* were Regidores: The chief Alguazil and Procurator-General were *Juan de Escalante* and *Francisco Alvarez Chico*. They also appointed the Clerk of the Council, with other inferior Officers; and having taken the accustomed Oath, to observe Reason and Justice, according to their Duty, for the greater Service of God and the King, they took Possession, and began to exercise their Employments with the accustomed Solemnity, calling their new Settlement by the Name of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, which Title it preserved in the same

Place

Place where it was fixed, being called *Villa Rica*, in Remembrance of the Gold they had seen in that Country, and that of *La Vera Cruz*, in Acknowledgement of their landing there on the Friday of the *Cross*, or *Good-Friday*.

HERNAN CORTEZ was present at these Functions, as one of that Corporation, appearing then as a private Person among the rest of the Inhabitants: And tho' he could not easily lay aside that Kind of Superiority which is wont to consist in the Respect which others pay, he endeavoured to support the Authority of these new Ministers, by the Respect he paid them, thereby to induce the rest the better to obey them. Which sort of Modesty was founded upon Policy; for the Authority of that Council, and the Submission of those that were under them, was of much Consequence to him, to the End that the Sword of Justice, and the Voice of the People, might supply the Defect of his Military Jurisdiction, which resided in him by Delegation from *Diego Velasquez*, and was, in Truth, revoked, and then stood upon too weak a Foundation to enter upon so difficult an Enterprize: A Defect which gave him great Trouble; for he was obliged very often to dissemble with those that obeyed him, and was check'd in his own Resolution of making others obey.

CHAP. VII.

Hernan Cortez *(in the first Council which was held at* Vera Cruz*) renounces the Title of Captain-General, which he held from* Diego Velasquez; *and the Town and People elect him anew.*

THE next Day in the Morning the Council met, under Colour of consulting about some Points relating to the Preservation and Augmentation of their new Settlement; and soon after *Hernan Cortez* desired Admittance to propose an Affair of the same Sort. The Council rose up to receive him; and he paying his Respects to the Magistracy of the Town, went and took his Seat immediately next to the first Regidor, and spoke to this Effect.

GENTLEMEN,

GENTLEMEN, " Since, by the Mercy of God, we have in this " Council the Person of the King represented, before whom we " ought to discover our Hearts, and speak without Artifice, " which is the Vassalage, wherein Men of Worth pay him the " greatest Acknowledgement; I come into your Presence, as if " I appeared before his, without any other Design than that " of his Service, in which sort of Zeal you will allow me the " Ambition of not being your inferior. You are considering " of the Means of establishing this new Corporation, happy al- " ready in depending upon your Direction. It will not be fo- " reign to the Purpose to inform you of my Thoughts and Re- " solutions, that you may not act upon any ill-founded Sup- " positions, which may oblige you to reason afresh, and take " new Measures. This Town, which to Day begins to rise un- " der the Protection of your Government, is founded in a " Country unknown, and full of People, where we have al- " ready seen some Signs of Resistance, sufficient to make us believe " that we are engaged in a difficult Enterprize, where we shall " stand in equal Need of Heads and Hands, and where very " often Force must prosecute what Prudence has began. This " is not a Time to depend on politick Maxims, or unarmed " Counsels. Your first Care must be to preserve this Army, " which serves you as a Rampart; and 'tis my first Duty to in- " form you, that it is not at this Time in such a Condition as " is requisite to entrust it with our Security, and our Hopes. " You very well know, that I command this Army, without " any other Commission than by the Appointment of *Diego* " *Velasquez*; which was recall'd soon after it had been given " me. I lay aside the Injury he did me by his Mistrust, as be- " ing another Affair: But I cannot deny, but that the Military " Power, which we so much stand in need of, is lodged at pre- " sent in me, contrary to the Inclination of him who gave it, " and is founded on a Title of Force, which cannot conceal the " Weakness of its Original. The Soldiers are not ignorant of " this Defect; nor am I so mean spirited, as to desire to " command them with such Authority as may be questioned: " Nor is the Enterprize we have in hand of such a Nature, as " to enter upon it with an Army that rather obeys out of mere " Custom, than for that it is under a reasonable Obligation of " Obedience. It belongs to you, Gentlemen, to apply the Re- " medy to this Inconveniency; and the Council which at pre- " sent represents our King, may, in his Royal Name, provide " for the Government of his Troops, by chusing a Person free " from such Exceptions. There are several Persons in this Army

" capable

" capable of that Employment; and it will be much better " bestow'd on any one that may have another Sort of Au- " thority, or that may receive it at your Hands. I, from this " Moment, quit all Right which could accrue to me by Posses- " sion, and deliver back into your Hands the Title by which I " have held it, that you may consider with all imaginable " Freedom upon your Election: And I can assure you that all " my Ambition solely tends to promote the good Success of " our Undertaking; and that I can, without offering the least " Violence to my self, take up a Pike with that Hand which " lays down the Staff of a General; for if in War Men learn " to command by obeying, there are also Cases, in which ha- " ving commanded, teaches them how to obey."

This said, he threw upon the Table the Commission given him by *Diego Velasquez*, kiss'd the Truncheon, and delivering it into the Hands of the Alcaldes, retired to his Barrack. It is likely he was under no Uneasiness about the Event; for he had so disposed Matters, that he adventured but little in the Resolution. But it must be confess'd, that the Remark was much like a Gentleman, and no less commendable the Art he used to supply the Defect in his Authority. The Council soon resolv'd upon the Election; for some, it is likely, had considered what they were to propose, and others had nothing to reply. They all voted to admit the Resignation of *Cortez*; but that he ought to be obliged to take upon him the Command of the Army again; the Town giving him his Commission in the Name of the King, during the Time, and in the Interim, until His Majesty should otherwise order. And they resolved to communicate the new Election to the People, either to see how they would receive it, or that indeed they were satisfied of their Approbation.

The People were called together by the Voice of a Cryer; and the Renunciation of *Cortez* published, with the Resolution of the Council: And they received such Applause as was either hoped or concerted. Great were the Acclamations and Rejoicings of the People. Some congratulated the Council on their good Election: Others demanded *Cortez*, as if he had been denied them: And if any were of a contrary Opinion, they either dissembled their Content by Acclamations, or took care not to be remarkable by their Silence. This Work being over, the Alcaldes and Regidores went with the greatest Part of those Soldiers (who now represented the Town's People) to the Quarters of *Hernan Cortez*, and acquainted him, That the Town of *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz* had, in the Name of the King *Don*

Carlos, with the Consent and Approbation of the Inhabitants, in full Council, chosen and appointed him General of the Army of *New Spain*; and in case it were necessary, did require and command him to take upon him that Post, it being convenient for the publick Good of the Town, and his Majesty's greater Service.

HERNAN CORTEZ accepted the new Command (for so he called it, to distinguish it even by Name from that which he had renounced) with great Civility and Respect; and now began to govern the Troops with another kind of Authority and inward Security, which had its Effect in the Obedience of the Soldiers.

THE Dependents upon *Diego Velasquez* resented this Alteration in a very indiscreet Manner; for they could not disguise their Vexation, nor would they give way to the Current which they were not able to stem. They endeavoured to invalidate the Authority of the Council, and cast Reflections on *Cortez*, blaming his Ambition, and talking with Contempt of those that were deceived, and did not know it. And as Scandal has its hidden Poison, and an unknown Power over the Inclination of the Ears, it spread in their Conversations, where there wanted not some who hearken'd to, and endeavoured to foment it.

HERNAN CORTEZ did all that lay in his Power to remedy this Inconvenience in the Beginning, apprehending it might occasion some Commotion among People who were easily stirred up. He had already found by Experience how little his Patience avail'd, and that gentle Means produc'd contrary Effects, rendring the Evil worse; and therefore resolv'd to make use of Severity, which generally has the best Effect upon the insolent. He ordered *Diego de Ordaz*, *Pedro Escudero*, and *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, to be seized, publickly carried on Board the Fleet, and put in Irons. This Action struck a great Terror into the Troops; and it was his Design to improve it, declaring in a very positive and resolute Manner, that he seized them as seditious Persons, and Disturbers of the publick Peace; and that he would proceed against them, and make them pay for their Obstinacy with the Loss of their Heads. In which Severity, whether real or affected, he continu'd some Days, without proceeding to the Rigor of Justice: For he rather desired to reform, than to punish them. At first he suffer'd none to go near them; but afterwards he, by way of Toleration, permitted it, artfully making use of this Permission, to make way for some of his Confidents to endeavour to reduce, and bring them to Reason; which in Time they compassed, he suffering himself to be pacified with such a Shew of Authority, that he made them his Friends; and they stood by him in all the Accidents which afterwards befel him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Spaniards *march; and the Fleet ſails for* Quiabiſlan. *They enter* Zempoala *in their Way; where the Cazique makes them welcome; and they receive freſh Accounts of the Tyrannies of* Motezuma.

AS ſoon as the aforeſaid Perſons were impriſon'd, *Pedro de Alvarado* was ordered out with a hundred Men, to view the Country, and bring in ſome Proviſions; for now they began to be ſenſible of the Want of thoſe *Indians* who uſed to provide the Army. They were ordered to commit no Hoſtility, nor make uſe of their Arms but in caſe of Neceſſity, if they ſhould be obliged to defend themſelves, or much provoked; and he had the good Luck to perform it in that Manner, with little Trouble. At a ſmall Diſtance he came into ſome Habitations, or Farms, the Inhabitants whereof left all they had to him, and fled into the Woods. They found the Houſes deſerted, but well provided with Hens, *Indian* Corn, and other Proviſions; and without doing any Damage, either to the Houſes or their Furniture, the Soldiers took what they had Occaſion for, as acquired by the Right of Neceſſity, and returned to their Quarters, loaded and well pleaſed.

HERNAN CORTEZ immediately diſpoſed his March, as he had reſolved, and the Ships ſet ſail for the Bay of *Quiabiſlan*; and he followed by Land, taking the Road of *Zempoala*, keeping the Coaſt on his Right Hand, and ſending out a Party before to diſcover the Country, providing very conſiderately againſt all Accidents which might happen in a Country, where Security might be blamed as a Neglect.

IN few Hours they reached the River of *Zempoala*, (near which they afterwards founded the City of *Vera Cruz*;) and by reaſon it run deep, they were obliged to get ſome Canoes, and other Veſſels of Fiſhermen, which they found upon the Shore, in which the Soldiers paſſed over, making their Horſes ſwim.

HAVING

HAVING overcome this Difficulty, they arrived at ſome Houſes in the Diſtrict of *Zempoala*, (as they afterwards found;) and they took it for no good Sign to find them, not only forſaken by the *Indians*, but alſo without either Furniture or Proviſions, betokening a premeditated and concerted Flight; only they left in their Temples ſeveral Idols, with various Inſtruments, or Knives made of Flint, and ſome miſerable Remains of human Victims, ſcattered upon the Ground, which at the ſame Time mov'd Compaſſion and Horror.

HERE they firſt ſaw (and not without Admiration) the *Mexican* Books, of which we have already made mention. There were three or four of them in the Temples, which, 'twas thought, contained the Rites of their Religion, made of a long Skin, or varniſhed Cloth, which they folded in equal Doublings, ſo that every Fold made a Leaf, and, altogether, made up the Volume, like ours to the outward Appearance; and for the Letters, they were written or painted with that kind of Imagery or Cyphers uſed by the Painters of *Teutile*.

THE Army was preſently quartered in the beſt Houſes, and paſſed the Night ſomewhat incommodiouſly, their Arms in Readineſs, with Centinels at a convenient Diſtance, by whoſe Watching, the reſt might take ſome reſt.

THE next Day they continu'd their March in the ſame Order, along the moſt beaten Road, which turned off to the Weſtward, leading further from the Shore; and during the whole Morning they ſaw no Perſon, of whom to gain Intelligence, nor ought but a ſuſpicious Solitude, whoſe very Silence made a Noiſe in their Imagination, and gave them Uneaſineſs; till entring into ſome very delightful Meadows, they diſcovered twelve *Indians*, who were coming in ſearch of *Hernan Cortez*, with a Preſent of Hens, and Bread made of *Indian* Corn, ſent him by the Cazique of *Zempoala*, very earneſtly entreating him not to fail of coming to his Town, where he had provided Quarters for his Men, and where he ſhould be more plentifully entertained.

BY theſe *Indians* he underſtood that the Cazique's Reſidence was at a Town one Sun's Diſtance from that Place, which, in their Language, ſignified the ſame as one Day's March; for they underſtood not the Diviſion of Leagues, but meaſured Diſtance by Suns, counting the Time, and not the Paces.

CORTEZ diſmiſs'd ſix of the *Indians* with many Thanks for the Preſent and Offers, keeping the other ſix to ſhew him the Way, and ask them ſome Queſtions; for he was not entirely ſatisfied

ſatisfied of the Sincerity of this kind Treatment, which being ſo much unlooked for, ſeemed the leſs to be depended on.

That Night they halted in a ſmall Village thin of Inhabitants, who ſeemed very deſirous to entertain the *Spaniards* well: And by the Behaviour of theſe People, the *Spaniards* judged that their Nation was inclined to Peace; nor were they deceived in their Opinions, tho' People are eaſily inclined to flatter themſelves. In the Morning the Army moved towards *Zempoala*, following the Guides with all neceſſary Caution; and at the Declining of the Day (being now near the Town) there came twenty *Indians* forth to receive *Cortez*, well dreſſed after their Faſhion; who, after having pay'd their Reſpects, ſaid, Their Cazique did not come out with them, by reaſon of ſome Impediment, and had therefore ſent them to pay that Reſpect on his Part, being very deſirous to be acquainted with ſuch valiant Gueſts, and to receive into his Friendſhip thoſe whom he already held in his Eſteem.

The Town was large, and of a beautiful Proſpect, ſituated between two Rivers, which fertilized the Country, deſcending from ſome Mountains at a ſmall Diſtance, which were covered with Trees, and of an eaſy Aſcent. The Buildings were of Stone, covered or adorn'd with a ſort of Lime, very white and ſhining, and made a pleaſing and noble View at a Diſtance, inſomuch, that one of the Scouts, who was ſent before, return'd in haſte, crying aloud, That the Walls were of Silver; which Miſtake made much Sport in the Army, and, perhaps, ſome did then believe it, who afterwards made a Jeſt of his Credulity.

The Squares and Streets were filled with an innumerable Company of People, who came to ſee the Entry, without any Arms that could give them the leaſt Suſpicion, or any other Noiſe than that which uſually proceeds from a Multitude. The Cazique came out to the Gate of his Palace; and his Impediment was a monſtrous Fatneſs, which oppreſſed and diſfigured him. He drew near with ſome Difficulty, ſupported by the Arms of ſome noble *Indians*, to whom he ſeemed to owe all his Motion. His Habit was a Mantle of fine Cotton flung over his naked Body, enriched with various Jewels and Pendants, which alſo he wore in his Ears and Lips: A Prince of a very extraordinary Make, in whom Weight and Gravity agreed notably well. It was neceſſary for *Cortez* to put a Stop to the laughing of the Soldiers; and as he had Occaſion to put a Reſtraint upon himſelf, he gave the Order with a forced Severity. But as ſoon as the Cazique began his Diſcourſe, re-

ceiving *Cortez* with his Arms, and welcoming the reſt of the Captains, he ſhewed his good Senſe, and by the Ears gained the Reſpect of the Eyes. He ſpoke to the Purpoſe, and ſhortned his Compliments with Reſpect and Diſcretion, bidding *Cortez* retire to Reſt after his Journey, and quarter his Men; after which he would viſit him in his Quarters, and talk more at Leiſure about their common Intereſts.

HE had provided Quarters in ſquare Courts, which had many great Chambers, where they were all accommodated with ſufficient Room, and plentifully furniſh'd with all they had Occaſion for. After which the Cazique made way for his Viſit, by ſending a Preſent of Jewels of Gold, and other Curioſities, to the Value of about two thouſand Peſo's, and ſoon after came himſelf, with a ſplendid Attendance, in a Chair carried on the Shoulders of the Chief of his Family; and at that Time, it is likely, the ſtrongeſt, had that Honour. *Cortez* went forth to receive him, attended by his Captains; and giving him the Precedence, and the Right Hand, retired with him and his Interpreters; for he thought it convenient to talk to him without Witneſſes. After having made him the uſual Speech, about the Intent of his Coming, the Grandeur of his King, and the Errors of Idolatry, he proceeded to tell him, That one of the Deſigns of thoſe valiant Troops was to redreſs Wrongs, puniſh Violence, and to take Part with Juſtice and Reaſon; having touch'd upon that Point on purpoſe to draw him in, by Degrees, to complain of *Motezuma*, and to diſcover (according to the Information he had received) what Advantages might be expected from that Miſunderſtanding. It preſently appear'd, by the Change of his Countenance, that he had touched the Sore; and before he reſolved on an Anſwer, he began to ſigh, as one concerned at the Difficulty of complaining; but he overcame his Paſſion, and breaking out into Lamentations of his Unhappineſs, told him, That all the Caziques of the neighbouring Countries were under a miſerable and ſhameful Slavery, groaning under the Oppreſſions and Tyrannies of *Motezuma*, without ſufficient Force to free themſelves, or Courage to think on a Remedy; that he cauſed himſelf to be ſerved and adored by his Subjects like one of his Gods; and would have his Violences and Injuries reverenced like the Decrees of Heaven: But that it was not his Deſign to engage him in adventuring to ſupport them, becauſe *Motezuma* was too powerful and ſtrong for him to reſolve (on ſo ſmall Obligation) to declare himſelf his Enemy; nor would it be civil in him to ask his Friendſhip, and ſell ſo ſmall a Service at ſo great a Price.

Hernan Cortez endeavoured to comfort him, letting him know that he ſhould little regard *Motezuma*'s Power, having Heaven on his ſide, and a natural Predominancy over Tyrants; but that he was obliged to paſs on to *Quiabiſlan*, where the Oppreſſed and Needy ſhould find him, and all who, having Reaſon on their ſide, ſtood in need of his Arms; which he might communicate to his Friends and Confederates; aſſuring them all, that *Motezuma* ſhould ceaſe to oppreſs them, or ſhould not be able to compaſs his End, while he undertook their Defence. With this they both took Leave, and *Hernan Cortez* prepared for his March, having gained the good Will of that Cazique, extremely well pleaſed within himſelf at the happy Proſpect of his Deſigns, which from thoſe far diſtant Views in his Imagination, began now to appear poſſible.

CHAP. IX.

The Spaniards *purſue their March from* Zempoala *to* Quiabiſlan. *An Account of what paſſed at their Entrance into that Town; where they find freſh Relations of the Uneaſineſs of thoſe Provinces; and they take ſix of* Motezuma's *Officers.*

WHEN the Army was ready to march, they found four hundred *Indians* of Burden provided to carry their Cloak-Bags and Proviſions, and to help to conduct the Artillery; which was a very great Eaſe to the Soldiers, and look'd upon as an extraordinary Reſpect of the Cazique, till they underſtood from *Donna Marina*, that among thoſe Lords of Vaſſals it was a common Practice to aſſiſt the Armies of their Allies with that ſort of human Baggage-Carriers, which in their Language they called *Tamenes*, and were wont to travel five or ſix Leagues with two or three Arrobas, that is, half or three Quarters of an hundred Weight. The Country they were entring upon, was pleaſant and delightful, Part of it covered with great Trees, and the reſt cultivated with Grain; at which Sight the *Spaniards* went on chearful and diverted, rejoicing at their good Fortune in marching over ſo plentiful a Country. At the Setting of the Sun, they found themſelves near

near a little Village, unpeopled, where they ſtaid to avoid the Inconveniency of entring *Quiabiſlan* by Night, at which they arrived the next Day by Ten in the Morning.

THE Buildings appeared at a large Diſtance on an Eminence of Rocks, which ſeemed to ſerve inſtead of a Wall; a Situation naturally ſtrong, the Avenues narrow, and ſteep, which they found without Reſiſtance, yet they entered with Difficulty.

THE Cazique had retired with the Inhabitants, to diſcover at a Diſtance the Intentions of our People; and the Troops took poſſeſſion of the Town, without finding any Perſon from whom they could get the leaſt Information, till coming to a Square, where the *Indians* had their Temples, there came out fourteen or fifteen *Indians* to meet them, handſomely dreſſed after their Manner, with Abundance of Cringes and Perfumes, continuing their Civilities for ſome Time, with an affected Security and Civility, endeavouring to cover their Fear with Reſpect, and Motions of the Mind, which are pretty much alike in Appearance, and hard to be diſtinguiſhed. *Hernan Cortez* encouraged them by his Careſſes, and gave them ſome Beads of blue and green Glaſs; a ſort of Coin, which, for the Effects it had, began to be valued even among thoſe who knew it. With which good Treatment they recovered from the Fright which they diſſembled, and gave him to underſtand, that their Cazique had withdrawn himſelf to avoid beginning a War, by putting himſelf on his Defence, or adventuring his Perſon, by truſting to armed Troops which he did not know; and by that Example it was impoſſible to hinder the Flight of the Inhabitants, who were under leſs Obligations to run themſelves into Danger; an Action to which they had offered themſelves, as being People of better Faſhion and greater Boldneſs: But that as ſoon as they ſhould be ſenſible of the Goodneſs of ſuch honourable Gueſts, they would immediately return to their Houſes, and account it a very great Happineſs to ſerve and obey them. *Hernan Cortez* gave them freſh Aſſurances; and whilſt they were gone with this News, he gave ſtrict Orders to the Soldiers to treat the *Indians* well; who ſhewed the Confidence they had in the *Spaniards* ſo quickly, that that very Night ſome Families returned, and in a little Time the Town was filled with its Inhabitants.

SOME Time after the Cazique returned, bringing with him the Cazique of *Zempoala* to befriend him. They both came in Litters on the Shoulders of Men. He of *Zempoala* made a handſome Excuſes for his Neighbour; and after ſome ſhort Diſcourſe they themſelves introduced their Complaints of *Motezuma*, recounting

recounting with great Warmth, and ſometimes with Tears, his Tyrannies and Cruelties, the Miſery of their People, and Deſpair of their Nobles; to which the Cazique of *Zempoala* added as the utmoſt Aggravation; "This Monſter is ſo proud and fierce, "that beſides his empoveriſhing us by his Tributes, and raiſing "his Wealth out of our Calamities, he likewiſe invades the "Houſes of his Subjects, taking forcibly from us both our "Wives and Daughters, ſtaining with their Blood the Altars of "his Gods, after having ſacrificed them firſt to other Uſes more "cruel, and leſs honeſt."

Hernan Cortez endeavoured to comfort and diſpoſe them for entring into a Confederacy with him; but at the Time that he was enquiring into their Strength, and the Number of People that would take Arms in Defence of their Liberty, two or three *Indians* came in, who ſeemed in a very great Fright; and whiſpering them in the Ears, put them into ſuch Confuſion, that they roſe up, loſing both Courage and Colour, and went haſtily away, without ſo much as taking Leave, or making an end of their Diſcourſe. The Cauſe of their Diſorder was preſently known, for ſix Officers, or Royal Commiſſaries, ſuch as went about the Kingdom to gather *Motezuma*'s Tributes paſs'd before the *Spaniards* Quarters. They were adorned with Abundance of Feathers, and Pendants of Gold on fine clean Cotton Cloths, with a ſufficient Number of Servants and inferior Officers, who moving great Fans, made of Feathers, fann'd their Maſters to cool them, or officiouſly ſhaded them from the Sun, as Occaſion requir'd. *Cortez* went out to the Gate with his Captains to ſee them; and they paſs'd on, without paying him any Reſpect, with a Countenance that ſhewed Indignation and Contempt; which Pride diſpleaſed ſome of the Soldiers ſo much, that they would have chaſtiſed them, had they not been withheld by *Cortez*, who reſted ſatisfied at that Time with ſending *Donna Marina*, with a ſufficient Guard, to inform herſelf of what they were doing.

By this Means they came to underſtand, that after having ſeated themſelves in the Town-Houſe, they ſummoned the Caziques to appear before them, and reprimanded them publickly, and very ſharply for their Boldneſs in admitting Strangers into their Town, who were Enemies to their King; and therefore, beſides the ordinary Service, to which they were obliged, they demand twenty *Indians* to ſacrifice to their Gods, as a Satiſfaction and Attonement for ſuch a Crime.

Hernan Cortez ſent for the two Caziques by ſome Soldiers, who had Orders, without any Noiſe, to bring them to

his Presence; when letting them know that he saw into their most hidden Designs, the better to authorize his Proposal by this Mystery, told them, That he was well acquainted with the Violence of those Commissaries, who, without any other Crime than their having admitted his Troops, endeavoured to impose on them new Tributes of human Blood; that it was no Time then for such Abominations, nor would he suffer them to obey such horrid Commands in his Presence; but, on the contrary, he ordered them, without fail, to call their People about them, and seize them, and leave him to maintain what they had done by his Advice.

THE Caziques were at a stand, refusing to execute such a bold Command, as being grown mean spirited by constant Use of enduring the Smarts, and even honouring the Rod: But *Hernan Cortez* repeated his Order with so much Resolution, that they immediately went to execute it; and with great Applause of the *Indians* they seized the Ministers of *Motezuma*, whom they put in a kind of Pillories, used in their Prisons, and very incommodious; for they held the Delinquents by the Neck, obliging them continually to do their utmost with their Shoulders to ease the Weight, for the Freedom of breathing. It was very pleasant to see how proud and elevated the Caziques returned to give an Account of their noble Action; for they thought to execute them the same Day, and make them suffer the Punishments assigned by their Laws to Traytors; and seeing that would not be permitted, they desired at least to sacrifice them to their Gods, as if it were a kind of Grace.

THE Prisoners being secured with a sufficient Number of *Spanish* Soldiers, *Hernan Cortez* retired to his Quarters, and began to consider with himself what was to be done in order to disentangle himself from the Difficulty he was in, of protecting and defending the Caziques from the Danger that threatned them for having obeyed him; but he was not willing quite to provoke *Motezuma*, but still to keep him in Suspence.

HE did not altogether like taking up Arms in Defence of Subjects complaining against their King, and to lay aside his Designs of Peace, without Provocation, or a better Pretence. On the other hand, he considered it as a very necessary Point, to maintain that Party which was beginning to form, in case he should happen to want them. In fine, he held it most convenient to manage with *Motezuma*, by making a Merit of suspending the Effects of that Disrespect, and shewing that at least he would so far discharge himself, as not to foment the Sedition, nor draw any Advantage from it to himself, until the last Necessity.

THE

THE Result of these Reflexions (which kept him some Hours awake) was, to send at Midnight for two of the Prisoners with all possible Privacy: And after receiving them courteously, he told them, (as one desirous they should not attribute to him what they had suffered,) that he had sent for them in order to set them at Liberty; and that as they received it solely from his Hands, they might assure their Prince, he would endeavour very shortly to send the rest of their Companions who remained in the Power of the Caziques, whom he would endeavour to make sensible of their Fault, and perform all that should be most for his Service; for that he was desirous of Peace, and to deserve, by his Respects and Actions, all the Remarks of Gratitude that were due to the Ambassador and Minister of so great a Prince.

THE *Indians* durst not set out on their Journey, for fear of being kill'd, or taken by the Way; and he was forced to give them a Guard of *Spanish* Soldiers, who conveyed them to the next Bay, where the Ships lay, and one of the Boats was ordered to land them beyond the District of *Zempoala*.

THE Caziques came in the Morning much frightned and troubled for the Escape of the two Prisoners; and *Hernan Cortez* receiv'd the News with Signs of Surprise and Concern, blaming their Want of Vigilance; and upon this Pretence he ordered in their Presence, that the rest should be carried on board the Fleet, as desiring to take upon himself the Care of their Imprisonment; but he privately ordered the Sea-Officers to treat them well, and to keep them satisfied and safe; by which he gained the Confidence of the Caziques, without disobliging of *Motezuma*, whose Power, so much cried up and dreaded among those *Indians*, made him careful how he acted. After this manner he endeavoured to provide for every thing, keeping up the discontented Party, without engaging himself too far, and still keeping in View all Accidents which might oblige him to support it: A great Master in adjusting his Designs and Suspicions. And he is a prudent General who knows how to provide beforehand against Accidents, and, by Foresight, lessen the Force and Unexpectedness of Events.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Caziques of the Mountains come to submit, and offer their Service to Cortez. *The* Spaniards *build the Town of* Vera Cruz, *and put it in a Posture of Defence. New Ambassadors arrive there from* Motezuma.

THE Benignity and good Behaviour of the *Spaniards* towards their Allies, was quickly divulged thro' all the Districts thereabouts; and the two Caziques of *Zempoala* and *Quiabislan* gave Notice to all their Friends and Confederates of the Happiness they enjoyed, being freed from Impositions, and their Liberty secured by the Protection of a People invincible, who knew the very Thoughts of Men, and seemed of a superior Nature. Upon this Report's spreading, which Fame (as is usual) magnifying, Truth became confounded with overmuch Addition: It was said publickly among those People, that their Gods were come down to *Quiabislan*, darting Lightning against *Motezuma*; the which Credulity lasted some Time among the *Indians*, and caused a Veneration, tho' ill founded, which very much facilitated the Beginnings of this Conquest. Nor were they altogether wide of the Truth, in esteeming those sent from Heaven, who by its Decree and Appointment, came to be the Instruments of their Salvation: A Notion proceeding from their Ignorance, in which there might be some Mixture of a superior Light, dispensed in Favour of their Sincerity.

THIS Opinion of the *Spaniards* did so encrease, and the Name of Liberty sounded so well in the Ears of the Oppressed, that in a few Days there came to *Quiabislan* above thirty Caziques, Lords of the Mountain that was in sight, which had numerous Settlements of *Indians*, called *Totonaques*, a rustick People, of different Languages and Customs, but strong, and valuing themselves upon their Courage. They all paid their Obedience, offered their Troops, and, in the Form proposed to them, swore Fidelity and Vassalage to the King of *Spain*, of which a solemn Act was made before the Secretary of the Council.

Council. *Antonio de Herrera* ſays, that the Troops offered by thoſe Caziques exceeded the Number of a hundred thouſand Men. *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo* doth not relate it; nor were they ever liſted. The Number, it is likely, was very great, the Settlements being many, and the People eaſily ſtirred up againſt *Motezuma*, eſpecially for that the Mountainous Country conſiſted of Warlike *Indians*, lately ſubdu'd, or not quite conquered.

This kind of Confederacy being made, the Caziques returned to their Houſes, ready to do as they ſhould be commanded; and *Hernan Cortez* reſolv'd to ſettle the Town of *Villa Rica de la Cruz*, which, till then moved with the Army, tho' they obſerved the Diſtinctions of Government. They pitch'd upon the Plain between the Sea and *Quiabiſlan*, half a League from that Town; a Land which invited with its Fertility, abounding in Water, and having great Plenty of Trees, which lay commodious for the Cutting of Timber for the Buildings. They laid the Foundations, beginning with the Church. The handicraft Men were diſtributed, Carpenters and Maſons, who came with Soldiers Pay; and the *Indians* of *Zempoala* and *Quiabiſlan* aſſiſting with equal Skill and Activity. The Houſes began to riſe; mean as to Architecture, rather for a Covering, than any Commodiouſneſs. They preſently drew the Compaſs of the Wall with Traveſſes of ſtrong Mud Work, a ſufficient Defence againſt the Weapons of the *Indians*; and in that Country it might be properly called a Fortreſs. The principal Officers of the Army help'd to carry on the Work, applying both their Hands and Shoulders to it; and *Hernan Cortez* work'd as the reſt, ſeeming to ſet himſelf a Taſk, not ſatisfied with the ſcanty Diligence which is ſufficient in a Superior to ſet a good Example.

In the mean time they received at *Mexico* the firſt Advice of the *Spaniards* being received in *Zempoala* by that Cazique, a Man, in their Opinion, of ſuſpected Fidelity, and the neighbouring Places little to be depended on: Which Account ſo provoked *Motezuma*, that he propoſed to join his Forces, and march out in Perſon to chaſtiſe this Offence of the *Zempoalans*, and put the reſt of the Mountain Nations under his Yoke; taking the *Spaniards* alive, whom he had already in his Imagination deſigned for a ſolemn Sacrifice to his Gods.

But at the ſame Time that they began to make great Preparations for this Enterprize; the two *Indians*, whom *Cortez* had diſpatched from *Quiabiſlan*, arrived at *Mexico*, and gave an Account of their Impriſonment; and that they owed their Liberty to the Captain of the Strangers, who had ſent them to

 repreſent

repreſent how much he deſired Peace, and how far it was from his Intentions to do him any Diſſervice; extolling his Courteſy and Mildneſs with ſo much Weight, that it might be perceived by the Praiſes they gave *Cortez*, how much they had feared the Caziques.

UPON this the Face of Affairs was changed: The Anger of *Motezuma* was mitigated, Preparations for War ceaſed, and they determined again to try the Way of Negotiation, endeavouring to divert *Cortez* from his Deſigns with a new Embaſſy and Preſent, to which Meaſures he eaſily inclined; for in the Midſt of his Anger and Pride he could not forget the Signals of Heaven, and the Anſwers of his Idols, which he looked on as evil Omens of his Undertaking, or at leaſt, they obliged him to delay the Breach, endeavouring to qualify his Fear after ſuch a Manner, that it ſhould be taken for an Effect of his Prudence, and Reſpect for his Gods.

THIS Embaſſy arrived, when they had almoſt perfected the new Settlement and Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz*. With the Embaſſy came two Youths, Nephews to *Motezuma*, attended by four antient Caziques who govern'd them as Counſellors, and added to their Authority by the Reſpect they paid them. The Attendance was ſplendid; and they brought a Preſent of Gold, Feathers, and Cotton, worth about two thouſand Pieces of Eight. The Meſſage the Ambaſſadors delivered, was, That the great Emperor *Motezuma* having been informed of the Diſobedience of thoſe Caziques, and their Inſolence in taking and miſuſing his Officers, had provided a powerful Army to come in Perſon to chaſtiſe them; which he had ſuſpended, that he might not be obliged to break with the *Spaniards*, whoſe Friendſhip he deſired, and whoſe Captain he was obliged to eſteem, and acknowledge the Reſpect he had ſhewn in ſending him his two Servants, whom he had releaſed from ſo cruel an Impriſonment; but that tho' he durſt entirely rely upon him for reſtoring their Companions to their Liberty, yet he could not but complain in a friendly Manner, that ſo valiant and wiſe a Man ſhould think fit to live among his Rebels, making them more inſolent under the Shelter of his Arms: And as the making of Traytors bold, was little leſs than approving the Treaſon, he did requeſt him upon that Conſideration immediately to leave that Country, that he might puniſh them without Breach of his Friendſhip. And with the ſame Sincerity of Heart he admoniſh'd him not to think of paſſing on to his Court, for that the Impediments and Dangers of that Journey were very great.

On

On which Point they enlarged with a myſterious Tedioufneſs, this being the principal Point of their Inſtructions.

Hernan Coriez received the Embaſſy and Preſent with great Reſpect; and before he returned his Anſwer, he ordered the four impriſoned Officers to come in, whom he had purpoſely ſent for from on board the Fleet; and, gaining the good Will of the Ambaſſadors, with delivering them up, well treated and thankful, he told them, That the Error committed by the Caziques of *Zempoala* and *Quiabiſlan*, was amended by the Reſtitutions of thoſe Officers; and that he was highly pleaſed with the Opportunity of ſhewing his Reſpect by that Action, and giving *Motezuma* that firſt Proof of his Obedience: That he could not but own the Inſolenee of that Impriſonment, tho' it might in ſome meaſure be excuſed by the Extravagancy of the Officers themſelves, who, not content with the ordinary Tributes due to the Crown, had of their own Authority demanded twenty *Indians* for their Sacrifices, a cruel Propoſition, and an Abuſe which the *Spaniards* could not ſuffer, being bred in another Religion of greater Piety and Regard to human Nature: That he found himſelf obliged to thoſe Caziques for admitting and entertaining him in their Lands, when his Governors *Teutile* and *Pilpatoe* diſcourteouſly abandoned him, failing in Point of Hoſpitality and the Law of Nations; an Action done, in all likelihood, without *Motezuma*'s Orders, and which he believed would be diſpleaſing to him, or at leaſt, he underſtood it ſo; but that having nothing but Peace in view, he did not deſire to aggravate Matters by his Complaints: That neither that Country nor the *Totonaque* Mountainiers ſhould move to his Diſſervice, neither would he permit it; for the Caziques were at his Devotion, and would not tranſgreſs his Orders; for which Reaſon he was obliged to interceed for them, that he would pardon what they had done to his Officers, and for having admitted and lodged his Troops: That for the reſt he could only ſay, that when he ſhould be ſo happy as to appear in his Preſence, he would make known the Importance of his Embaſſy, without any Regard to the Impediments and Dangers which threaten'd him; for that the *Spaniards* were unacquainted with Fear, and Obſtacles only induc'd them to go on, being a People ennured to Dangers, and uſed to ſeek for Glory amidſt the greateſt Difficulties.

With this ſhort and reſolute Speech, (in which the Conſtancy of *Hernan Cortez* is to be obſerved, and the Art with which he endeavoured to ſet a Value upon his Intentions,) he anſwered the Ambaſſadors, who departed much careſs'd, and rich

rich in *Castillian* Trifles, carrying for their King, as a Present, another Treasure of the same kind.

IT was observed that the Ambassadors went away dissatisfied, for not having obtained the Retreat of the *Spaniards*, which was the Point all their Endeavours tended to. The *Spaniards* gained much Reputation among those Nations by this Embassy; for the *Indians* were now confirmed in their Opinion, that *Hernan Cortez* must be some Diety, and none of the least powerful, since *Motezuma* (whose Pride disdained to bend his Knee in the Presence of his Gods) sought him with so much Submission, and sollicited his Friendship with Gifts, which, in their Opinion, were little less than Sacrifices; the Effect of which Extravagancy was, that they lost great Part of the Fear which they had for their King, giving themselves up with greater Subjection to the Obedience of the *Spaniards*: And no less than such Dotage was necessary, that a Work, so wonderful, and undertaken with so small a Force, might be made practicable, the Most High permitting these Things, that it might not appear wholly a Miracle, or lie under the Imputation of Temerity.

CHAP. XI.

The Zempoalans, *by Deceit, engage* HERNAN CORTEZ *to take up Arms against the People of* Zimpazingo, *their Enemies. He makes them Friends, and reduces that Country.*

SOON after the Cazique of *Zempoala* came to *Vera Cruz*, with some principal *Indians*, whom he brought as Witnesses of what he intended to propose. He told *Hernan Cortez*, that now the Time was come to protect and defend their Country; for that some Troops of the *Mexicans* were arrived in *Zimpazingo*, (a Place of Strength, distant from thence about two Suns,) and went out to over-run the Country, destroying the Corn-Fields, and committing some Hostilities in their District, with which it seemed they were beginning their Revenge. *Hernan Cortez* found himself engaged to support the *Zempoalans*, to maintain the Credit of his

his Offers; and besides, he thought it would not be right to suffer that Insolence of the *Mexicans*, as it were in his Sight; and that in case they were some advanced Troops of *Motezuma*'s Army, it would be necessary to strike a Terror into them, to discourage the rest of his People. For which Purpose he determined to march in Person upon this Undertaking, engaging in it somewhat too hastily, for he was yet unacquainted with the Deceits and Lyes of those People, (a Capital Vice among the *Indians*,) and suffer'd himself to be carried away by what was likely, without examining into the Truth. He offered them to march out immediately with his Troops, to chastise those Enemies, who disturb'd the Peace of his Allies; and ordering them to provide *Indians* of Burden for the Baggage and Artillery, he made a Disposition immediately for his March, and took the Road of *Zimpazingo*, with four hundred Men, leaving the rest in the Fortress of *Vera Cruz*.

As he passed by *Zempoala*, he found two thousand armed *Indians*, whom the Cazique had provided to serve under him in that Expedition, divided into four Bodies, or Commands, with their Captains, Colours, and Arms, according to the Custom of their Warriors. *Hernan Cortez* thanked them very much for the Care they took to provide that Succour; and tho' he let him understand that he had no Occasion for his Men upon an Expedition of so small Importance, yet he suffered them to go, to provide against all Events, as if he had done it only to let them share in the Glory of the Success.

THAT Night they lodged in some Houses three Leagues from *Zimpazingo*; and the next Day a little before Three in the Afternoon, they discovered the Town on the Top of a small Hill, a Branch of the Mountain among great Rocks, which hid Part of the Buildings, and threaten'd at a Distance, with the Difficulty of the Way. The *Spaniards* began to overcome the Craggedness of the Mountain, but not without considerable Trouble; for being jealous of an Ambush, they went Doubling, and filing off as the Ground would permit; but the *Zempoalans*, either more dextrous, or less disturb'd with the Narrowness of the Paths, advanced with a sort of Fury which appeared like Valour, but was indeed Revenge, and a theivish Temper. *Hernan Cortez* was obliged to give Orders to halt, at a Time when some Troops of the Vanguard were already in the Town.

HE held on his March, without meeting any Resistance; and just as he was consulting to attack the Town in several Parts, there came out of it eight antient Priests, who asked for the Captain of that Army, before whose Presence they came

with great Submissions, pronouncing some Words in an humble and pitiful Manner, such as sufficiently shewed Submission, without the Help of an Interpreter. Their Dress was a black Mantle, whose End reached the Ground, and the upper Part was gathered and pleated about the Neck, with a Piece hanging loose, in Form of a Hood, with which they kept their Heads warm. Their Hair reached to their Shoulders, dashed and clodded with the human Blood of their Sacrifices, Marks of which they superstiously preserv'd on their Faces and Hands; for it was not lawful for them to wash themselves; fit Ministers of such unclean Gods, whose Filth shewed it self in this and other Deformities.

THEY began their Speech by asking *Cortez*, for what Resistance or Offence of theirs the poor Inhabitants had merited the Indignation or Chastisement of a People, already so much famed in the Countries thereabouts for Clemency and Goodness. He answered, That he did not design to offend the Inhabitants of the Town, but only chastise the *Mexicans*, who were quartered in it, and sallied from thence to infest the Lands of his Friends. To which they replied, That the *Mexican* Troops, which had been garisoned in *Zimpazingo*, were retired, flying further up the Country, as soon as they heard that *Motezuma*'s Officers were imprisoned at *Quiabislan*; and that if his Design was against them, through the Influence or Suggestion of those *Indians* that accompanied him, he was to understand, that the *Zempoalans*, were their Enemies, and had deceived him, feigning those Inroads of the *Mexicans* to destroy them, and make him the Instrument of their Revenge.

BY the Confusion and frivolous Excuses of the *Zempoalan* Captains themselves, it appeared that those Priests spoke Truth; and *Hernan Cortez* was concerned at the Deceit, as a Reflection upon his Arms, being vexed at the same Time at the Malice of the *Indians* and his own Sincerity; but considering what was most convenient upon this Occasion, he presently ordered the Captains *Christoval de Olid* and *Pedro de Alvarado* to go with their Companies, and gather the *Indians* together, who had advanced before to get into the Town, and were now busy in the Pillage, and had taken a considerable Quantity of Cloths and Furniture, and already bound some Prisoners. They were brought to the Army, shamefully loaded with what they had robbed, and the miserable plundered People following them, crying out for their Goods: For whose Satisfaction and Comfort *Hernan Cortez* commanded to unbind the Prisoners, and deliver up the Goods to the Priests, that they might restore them to the

proper

proper Owners; and calling for the *Zempoalan* Captains, reprov'd them publickly for their Presumption, in very angry Terms, telling them they had incurred the Penalty of Death for their Offence, in obliging him to march his Troops only to compass their Revenge; and causing himself to be entreated by the *Spanish* Captains, whom he had instructed before to pacify him. Whereupon he pardoned them for that Time, enlarging upon that Action of his Clemency; tho', in truth, he did not dare at that Time to chastise them with the Rigour they deserved, knowing well, that to preserve new Friends, acquired Clemency was more proper than Justice.

Having done this, which gave him a Reputation with both the Nations, he commanded the *Zempoalans* to lodge without the Town, and he marched in with the *Spaniards*, where he was received with the Applause of a Deliverer. Immediately the Cazique of *Zimpazingo* visited him in his Lodging, with others of the Neighbourhood, who came either out of Friendship or Obedience, acknowledging the King of *Spain* for their Prince; whose Name was already beloved and reverenced in that Country, where the People desired to be his Subjects out of Hatred to *Motezuma*.

He afterwards took in hand the adjusting of the Differences between those *Indians* and the *Zempoalans*; which began about the Division of their Districts, and Disputes of Jurisdiction, first between the Caziques, and had now occasion'd such a Rancour among the People, that they lived in continual Hostility. To which End, he drew up a Scheme for compounding their Differences; and taking upon himself to content the Lord of *Zempoala*, made them Friends, and returned to *Vera Cruz*, leaving his Interest advanced by the Obedience of new Caziques, and Friendship established among those of his Party, whose Disagreement, might have been a Hindrance to his receiving any Service from them: so that he made his Advantage, and found his Conveniency even in that ill-concerted Enterprize; Errors sometimes serving to correct humane Prudence, which generally makes Dispositions according to the first Conception of Things.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII,

The Spaniards *return to* Zempoala; *where they overthrow the Idols, with some Resistance of the* Indians: *And the principal of their Temples is converted into a Church of our Lady.*

THE Cazique of *Zempoala* waited for *Cortez* at some Houses a little distant from the Town, with great Store of Provisions, to refresh his Men; but much ashamed and troubled, that his Deceit was discovered. He went about to excuse himself; but *Cortez* did not permit it, telling him, He had laid aside his Displeasure, and desired an Amendment for the future, which was the only Satisfaction of pardoned Crimes.

THEY passed on directly to the Town, where he had provided a second Present of Eight Virgins finely adorned: One of them was his Niece; and he brought her on Purpose that *Hernan Cortez* might do him the Honour, to take her for his Wife, the rest to be distributed among his Captains, as he should think fit; making this Offer as one desirous to strengthen the Friendship between them by the Bonds of Blood. *Cortez* answered, That he very much esteemed that Testimony of his good Will and Sincerity; but that it was not lawful for the *Spaniards* to take Wives of a different Religion; for which Reason, he suspended the receiving them until such Time as they became Christians. Upon this Occasion he pressed him again to quit his Idolatry, for that he could not be his true Friend, who differ'd so much from him in the most essential Point; and as he took him for a Man of Reason, he undertook, with some Hopes, to convince and reduce him. But he was so far from opening his Eyes, or being sensible of the Force of Truth, that presuming on the Opinion he had of his own Understanding, he undertook to argue in Defence of his Gods; and *Hernan Cortez*, suffering himself to be carry'd away by his Zeal for Religion, grew offended, and turned his Back upon him with some sort of Passion.

AT

At this Time happen'd one of the most solemn Festivals of their Idols; and the *Zempoalans* assembled (not without some Circumspection on account of the *Spaniards*) in the principal of their Temples, were they celebrated a Sacrifice of Human Blood, which horrible Function was performed by the Hands of the Priests, with the Ceremonies, which will be related in their proper Place. Afterwards those unhappy Victims were sold cut out in Pieces, which were sought after, and bought as sacred Food: An abominable Brutality in the Taste; and a much worse in their Devotion. Some *Spaniards* happen'd to see part of this Slaughter; who came and told *Cortez* how much they were scandalized; and he was so highly provok'd at it, that the pious Disturbance of his Mind immediately appear'd on his Countenance. The Motives which obliged him to keep certain Measures with those Confederates, gave way to a greater Cause; and as Anger has its first Fury, even when supported by Reason, he broke out into Threats, commanding his Soldiers to take Arms, and call the Cazique and the principal *Indians* which used to attend him. As soon as they came into his Presence, he went with them to the Temple, causing his Troops to march in Order with him.

The Priests, who were then jealous of the Event, came out to the Gate, and with loud Cries, began to call the People to the Defence of their Gods; at which Time some Troops of armed *Indians* appear'd; which, as it was afterwards known, those very Priests had provided: For they feared some Violence, believing their Sacrifice, so much abhorred by the *Spaniards*, had been discovered. The Number of the *Indians* who had possessed themselves of the Avenues, was considerable; but *Hernan Cortez* (always easy at such Times) ordered *Donna Marina* to tell them aloud, That upon the first Arrow they should let fly, he would cause the Throats of the Cazique, and all the *Zempoalans* in his Power, to be immediately cut, and afterwards permit his Soldiers to chastise their Insolence with Fire and Sword. The *Indians* trembled at the Terror of such a Threat; and the Cazique quaking like the rest, commanded them to lay down their Arms and retire; which Command was immediately obeyed, shewing in the Readiness with which they disappeared, how much they desired their Fear should pass for Obedience.

Hernan Cortez remained with the Cazique, and those who attended him; and calling for the Priests, declamed against Idolatry with more than Military Eloquence. He encouraged them, that they might not hearken to him with Fear: He endea-

voured to make uſe of ſoft Expreſſions, that there might be no Appearance of Violence, where Reaſon was to ſpeak: He lamented the Error in which they lived; and complained, that being his Friends, they ſhould not give Credit to him in that which did moſt concern them: He laid before them how much he deſired their Good; and from loving Expreſſions, which move the Heart, he proceeded to the Motives that affect the Underſtanding: He demonſtrated their Errors, laid before them, as it were, in a viſible Manner the Truth: And laſtly, told them, that he came fully reſolv'd to deſtroy thoſe Repreſentations of the Devil; and that the Work would be moſt acceptable to him, if they themſelves would execute it by their own Hands. To which End, he perſwaded and encouraged them to go up the Steps of the Temple, and overthrow their Idols: But they were ſo much concern'd at this Propoſal, that they only anſwered with Sighs and Lamentations; till proſtrating themſelves on the Ground, they declar'd aloud, That they would ſooner ſuffer themſelves to be cut in Pieces, than lay Hands upon their Gods. *Hernan Cortez* would not inſiſt overmuch on a Circumſtance to which he found them ſo averſe, and therefore ordered his Soldiers to put it in Execution: By whoſe Diligence the principal Idol, together with thoſe on each ſide, were flung down from the Top of the Steps, and came to the Pavement all broke to Pieces, followed and cruſh'd by their own Altars, and the deteſtable Inſtruments of their Adoration. Great was the Commotion and Aſtoniſhment of the *Indians*; they beheld each other, as expecting at leaſt the Puniſhment of Heaven; and the ſame ſoon happened as had been at *Cozumel*; for ſeeing their Gods thus debaſed, without Power to revenge themſelves, they laid aſide all Fear, and were ſenſible of their Weakneſs, juſt as People generally do by a ruined great Man, whom, after his Fall, they deſpiſe as much as ever they formerly adored him.

THE *Zempoalans* by this Experiment became more eaſy to be perſwaded, and more ſubmiſſive to the Orders of the *Spaniards*: For if before they conſidered them as Men of a ſuperior Nature, they now found themſelves obliged to confeſs that they were more powerful than their Gods. *Hernan Cortez* finding how much his Authority was encreaſed among them, commanded them to cleanſe the Temple; which Order was executed with ſo much Fervour and Chearfulneſs, that affecting to be undeceived, they flung into the Fire the Fragments of their Idols. The Cazique immediately ordered his Maſons to ſcrape the Walls, wiping out the Stains of human Blood, which they

preſerved

preſerved as an Ornament. After which they whiten'd them, laying on a Covering of that ſhining Mortar which they uſed in their Building; and they erected an Altar, on which was placed an Image of our Lady, with ſome ornamental Flowers and Lights; and the Day following, the holy Sacrifice of the Maſs was celebrated with all poſſible Solemnity, in ſight of abundance of *Indians*, who aſſiſted at the Novelty, rather admiring than attentive; tho' ſome bent their Knees, and endeavoured to imitate the Devotion of the *Spaniards*.

There was no Opportunity at that Time to inſtruct them in the fundamental Principles of Religion, for their Barbarity required more Time; and the Intention of *Hernan Cortez* was to begin their Spiritual Conqueſt from the Court of *Motezuma*. But they remained inclined to deſpiſe their Idols, and well diſpoſed to the Worſhip of the Image of the holy Virgin, offering to take her for their Advocate, that the God of the Chriſtians might favour them, whoſe Power they were already ſenſible of, by the Effects, and by ſome Glimmerings of natural Light, always ſufficient to diſtinguiſh that which is beſt, and perceive the Force of thoſe Helps with which God aſſiſts all reaſonable Creatures.

And here we muſt not omit the pious Reſolution of an old Soldier, who ſtaid alone among theſe People, as yet but imperfectly reduced, to take Care of that Image, crowning his old Age with this holy Service. His Name was *Juan de Torres* a Native of the City of *Cordova*: An Action truly worthy of a Soldier, and which at once records both his Valour and Piety.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Army returns to Vera Cruz. *Commissaries are dispatch'd to the King, with an Account of what had been done. Another Sedition is quell'd with the Punishment of some Mutineers. And* Hernan Cortez *executes his Resolution of sinking his Ships.*

THE *Spaniards* departed immediately from *Zempoala*, (which Place was afterwards called *New Sevil*;) and when they came to *Vera Cruz*, there was just arrived at the Place where the Fleet lay at Anchor a small Vessel, which came from the Isle of *Cuba*, commanded by Captain *Francisco de Saucedo*, Native of *Medina de Rio Seco*, and in Company with him Captain *Luis Marin*, who was afterwards in the same Station in the Conquest of *Mexico*. They brought with them ten Soldiers, one Horse, and one Mare; which was reckon'd at that Time a considerable Supply.

THE *Spanish* Writers have not acquainted us with the Intention of their Voyage; and it is most likely, that they left *Cuba* with a Design to seek out *Cortez*, and follow his Fortune; and of this the Readiness with which they joined his Troops, seems to convince us. By this Means it was known that the Governor *Diego Velasquez* had a fresh threatned *Hernan Cortez*; for by the Negotiation of one of his Chaplains, whom he had dispatched to the Court, for this and other Pretensions, he had obtained the Title of the King's Lieutenant of that Island, with a Power to discover and people it; which Grace of the King's had made him inexorable, believing that this Addition to his Authority was a fresh Ground for his Complaints.

BUT *Hernan Cortez*, whose Thoughts were now employed in greater Affairs, received this News as a Matter of no Concern, tho' it somewhat hastened his Resolution of giving the King an Account of his Proceedings: For which End, he disposed Matters so, that the Town of *Vera Cruz* should write a Letter, laying at his Majesty's Feet this new Settlement, and giving a short Relation of the Success of his Expedition; the Provinces that were already reduced to his Obedience, with the Riches,

Riches, Fertility, and great Plenty of this new World; the Progreſs he had made in favour of Religion; and the Diſpoſitions that were making, in order to come at a true Knowledge of the Empire of *Motezuma*.

He very earneſtly entreated the Members of the Council of *Vera Cruz*, That they would not omit to take notice of the Violences intended againſt him by *Diego Velaſquez*, and the little Reaſon he had to do ſo; and that they would lay before his Majeſty the great Valour and Conſtancy of the *Spaniards* with him; and left them to ſpeak of his own Perſon, as every own ſhould think proper. It was not Modeſty but a Confidence in his own Merit, more than in any Words he could uſe, for no Man is diſpleas'd to hear his own Actions extoll'd, eſpecially in this martial Profeſſion, in which certain bare-fac'd Virtues are much in uſe, whoſe very Name is look'd upon as their Reward.

The Letter was writ in the proper Form; the Concluſion whereof was to beſeech his Majeſty that he would grant *Hernan Cortez* a Commiſſion of Captain-General, confirming what the Town and Troops had done, without any Dependence on *Diego Velaſquez*. *Cortez* writ to the ſame Purpoſe, ſpeaking with more Certainty of the Hopes he had to bring that Empire to the Obedience of his Majeſty, and of the Diſpoſitions he was making to contend with the Power of *Motezuma*, by the Help of his own revolted Subjects.

The Diſpatches being finiſhed, they were committed to the Care of the Captains, *Alonſo Hernandez Portocarrero*, and *Franciſco de Montejo*; and it was agreed that they ſhould carry the King all the Gold, valuable Jewels, and Curioſities they had acquired as well by the Preſents of *Motezuma*, as the Exchanges and Gifts of other Caziques, both Officers and Soldiers giving up their Shares, that the Preſent might be the greater. They alſo carried ſome *Indians*, who voluntarily offered themſelves for the Voyage, as the firſt Fruits of thoſe new Subjects they were going to conquer; and *Hernan Cortez* ſent a Preſent in particular to his Father *Martin Cortez*, a worthy Thought amidſt the many Cares that lay heavy upon him. The beſt Ship in the Fleet was immediately fitted, and the Charge of the Sailing committed to the Care of the chief Pilot *Antonio de Alaminos*: And when the Day appointed for the Embarkation came, their happy Voyage was recommended to the divine Favour by a ſolemn Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. With this happy Auſpice they ſet Sail the 16th Day of *July*, 1519, with poſitive Orders to ſteer their Coaſt directly for *Spain*, endeavouring to paſs the

Channel of *Bahama*, without touching at the Island of *Cuba*, where they ought to apprehend, as an evident Danger, the Snares of *Diego Velasquez*.

WHILST they were making Preparations for this Voyage, some Soldiers and Sailors (People of little Honour) raised new Disturbances, by endeavouring to make their Escape, and give notice to *Diego Velasquez* of the Dispatches and Riches sent to the King in the Name of *Cortez*; and their Intention was to go with this Advice, that they might seize the Passes, and make Prize of the Ship: To which End, they had gained the Sailors of another Vessel, and had laid in Provisions of all Things necessary for their Voyage. But on the very Night design'd for their Flight, one of the Conspirators, called *Bernardino de Coria*, repented. He was going among the rest to embark; but taking a nearer View of the Foulness of his Crime, he privately stepp'd aside from his Companions, and went to inform *Cortez*. He consulted presently how to remedy this Evil; and made his Dispositions with so much Secrecy and Diligence, that the Acomplices were all seized on board the same Vessel, without being able to deny their Crime; which *Hernan Cortez* thought to deserve an exemplary Punishment, not confiding in his own Clemency. They were soon brought to their Tryal, and two of the Soldiers, who had been the chief Promoters of the Contrivance, were adjudg'd to die; two others, this being the second Fault, to be whipp'd. The rest were pardoned, as drawn in, and deceived; a Pretence *Cortez* made use of, that he might not lose all who were guilty; tho' he ordered that the principal Mariner of the Ship, destined for their Flight, should have one of his Feet cut off: An extraordinary Sentence, and upon this Occasion very necessary; that the Crime which had deserved so severe a Chastisement, might not be forgot in Time. In such Cases the Memory stands in need of the Eyes; for it with Difficulty retains the Idea of that which is grevious to the Imagination.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and after him *Antonio de Herrera* say, That the Liecentiate *Juan Diaz* was guilty of this Crime; and that out of Respect to the Priesthood, he was not proceeded against as he deserved. That Privilege might perhaps avail him against their Pens; for it is certain that in a Letter *Hernan Cortez* writ to the Emperor on the 30th of *October*, 1520, (for the which we are beholding to *Juan Baptista Ramusi*, in his Voyages,) he makes no mention of this Priest, tho' he names all the Accomplices of that same Sedition; so that either the Crime imputed to him is not true, or we have the same Reason not to believe it, as *Cortez* had to conceal it.

THE

The Day on which this Sentence was executed, *Cortez* went with ſome of his Friends to *Zempoala*, where he was diſturb'd with various Thoughts. The Boldneſs of thoſe Soldiers gave him much Uneaſineſs: He looked upon it as a Conſequence of the paſt Diſturbances, and a Spark of Fire not quite put out: He was now to march forward with his Troops, and very probably he ſhould be obliged to try his Strength with *Motezuma*; a very unequal Diſpute; and more eſpecially with Men diſunited and ſuſpected.

He thought of ſtaying ſome Days among thoſe Caziques his Friends; and divert his Troops by ſome ſmall Undertakings, to make ſome new Settlements for the ſtrengthning of *Vera Cruz*: But ſtill he found ſome Inconveniences; and from this Diſturbance of his Mind reſulted an Action, which very much ſhewed the Greatneſs of his Soul; for he reſolved to deſtroy his Fleet, and break up all the Veſſels, that he might be ſecure of the Soldiers, and either conquer with them, or die. In which Reſolution he alſo found his Advantage, by reinforcing his Army with above a hundred Men, who were employed as Pilots and Mariners. He communicated this Reſolution to his Confidents, and by their Means ſo diſpoſed Matters, with ſome Gifts, and keeping it as ſecret as conveniently they could, that the very Sailors themſelves declared with one Voice, That the Ships would certainly founder by reaſon of the Damage they had ſuſtain'd in that Road, and by the bad Quality of the Port. Upon which Information, the Orders which *Cortez* gave, ſeem'd no more than a neceſſary Care, That they ſhould bring aſhore their Sails, Tackling, and Iron, with ſuch Planks as might be of Service, and ſink all the great Veſſels, reſerving only Boats for Fiſhing: A Reſolution deſervedly applauded, as one of the greateſt of this Conqueſt; and we know not whether a greater of the Kind can be found in all Hiſtory.

Justin relates of *Agathocles*, that having landed his Army on the Coaſts of *Africk*, he burnt his Veſſels, to deprive his Soldiers of all Means of Flight.

Polienus celebrates the Memory of *Timarchus*, General of the *Etolians*, for his equal Boldneſs; and *Quintus Fabius Maximus* has left us, among his Military Remarks, ſuch another Inſtance, if we can give more Credit to the Report of *Frontinus*, than to the Silence of *Plutarch*. But none of theſe Actions are leſſen'd by the Example of others. And if we conſider *Hernan Cortez*, with fewer Men than any of them, in a more diſtant Country, and leſs known, without any Hopes of human Succour, among barbarous People, ſo ſavage in their Cuſtoms,

Customs, with a Tyrant to oppose, so proud and powerful, we shall find that the Undertaking of *Cortez* was the greater, and his Resolution the most heroick: Or, granting to those great Captains the Glory of having first led the Way, let us allow *Cortez* that of having gone beyond them in their own Track.

IT is not to be endured that *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, with his usual, we know not whether, Malice or Sincerity, should introduce himself as a Counsellor, upon so great an Occasion, usurping from *Cortez* the Glory of having been the first Projector. "We (says he) that were his Friends, advised him "not to leave a Ship in the Port, but to sink them all." But he knew not how to support his Ambition; for a little after, he adds; "And this Design of sinking the Ships, he had "already concerted, but desired it should come from us." So that we are only beholden to him for the Advice which came after the Resolution. And the Remark of *Antonio de Herrera* on the same Action, is less tolerable; for he affirms, That the Fleet was destroyed at the Instance of the Soldiers; and that they were perswaded and sollicited thereto by the Craft of *Cortez*, (that is his Expression,) that he alone might not be obliged to make good the Payment of the Ships, but impose it upon the Troops. It doth not appear that *Hernan Cortez* was at that Time either in a Place, or a Condition, to fear any Civil Disputes with *Diego Velasquez*; nor does this Manner of Reasoning any way agree with the high Designs which he was then forming. If he took this Account from the same *Bernal Diaz*, (that thus presumed, as fearing some Part of the Payment of those Vessels might come to his Share,) he should have disregarded it as the Grumbling of an interested Person: And if it was his own Conjecture, as he gives us to understand, and that he, as an Historian, had the Dexterity to penetrate into the Secret of the Actions he relates, he lessens the Credit of the Action by the Meanness of the Motive, and is wanting in a just Proportion, by attributing great Effects to ordinary Causes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Cortez *having made a Disposition for the March, was informed that Ships were seen upon the Coasts. He departs for* Vera Cruz, *and takes seven Soldiers belonging to the Fleet, commanded by* Francisco de Garay. *They begin their March; and having with much Difficulty passed the Mountains, the Army enters the Province of* Zocothlan.

SOME of the Soldiers were much grieved at this Destruction of the Fleet; but were easily brought to Reason, by the Memory of the past Punishment, and the Example of those of better Understanding.

They consulted immediately about the March; and *Hernan Cortez* joined his Troops in *Zempoala*, which consisted of Five hundred Foot, fifteen Horse, and six Pieces of Artillery, leaving an Hundred and fifty Men and two Horses in Garison at *Vera Cruz*, appointing Captain *Juan de Escalante* Governor, a Soldier of Valour, very diligent, and one in whom he entirely confided. He strictly charged the neighbouring Caziques, that during his Absence they should obey and respect him as a Person in whom he had vested his whole Authority; that they should take Care to supply him with Provisions, and People to help to build the Church, and the Fortifications of the Town, which he took care of, not so much out of Fear of any Disturbance that might happen from the *Indians* of that Neighbourhood, as out of a Jealousy of some Invasion or Surprize from *Diego Velasquez*.

The Cazique of *Zempoala* had provided two hundred *Tamenes*, or *Indians* of Burden, for the Baggage, and some armed Troops to augment the Army; out of which *Hernan Cortez* picked about four hundred Men, including in this Number forty or fifty noble *Indians*, of the greatest Account in that Country. And tho' he immediately treated them as his own Soldiers, his real Intention was to carry them as Hostages, for the Security of the Church he left in *Zempoala*, and of the *Spaniards* who remained at *Vera Cruz*, together with a young Page of

of his, whom he left in Charge with the Cazique, to learn the *Mexican* Language, in case he should loose his Interpreters. In which he shewed his great Care, and how far he look'd before him, to be provided upon all Events.

WHEN all Things were in a Readiness for the March, an Express arrived from *Juan de Escalante*, with Advice, that some Ships were on the Coast of *Vera Cruz*; without caring to come too, tho' they had made them Signals of Peace, and endeavoured it several Ways. This was not an Accident to be disreguarded, and left behind; therefore *Hernan Cortez* went immediately away with some of his Friends for *Vera Cruz*, leaving the Command of the Troops to *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Gonzalo de Sandoval*. At his Arrival, one of the Vessels seem'd to be at Anchor at a considerable Distance from the Shore; and soon after they discovered four *Spaniards* on the Shore, who drew near without any Fear, giving to understand they sought them.

ONE of them was an *Escrivano*, or Notary, and the others came as Witnesses, of a Notification they intended to make to *Cortez* in the Name of their Captains. They brought it in Writing, and it contained, That *Francisco de Garay*, Governor of the Island of *Jamaica*, by Virtue of an Order which he had from the King, to Discover and People, had freighted three Ships with two hundred and seventy *Spaniards*, under the Command of Captain *Alonso de Pineda*, and taken Possession of that Land, on the side of the River of *Panuco*; and because he intended to establish a Colony near *Naothlan*, twelve or fourteen Leagues to the Westward, intimated to him, and required, that he should not make any Settlements that way.

HERNAN CORTEZ answered the Notary, that he did not understand what he meant by his Notification, or those Forms of Law. But desired that the Captain and he might meet, and all Things should be adjusted after the most convenient Manner; for they were all Subjects of the same King, and lay under an equal Obligation of assisting each other for his Service. He bid them go back with this Message: But because they did not go, but on the contrary, the Notary insisted in a disrepectful Manner, that he should return a direct Answer to his Notification, he ordered them to be seized; and hid himself with his Men among some little Sand Hills, whereof there are many on that Shore; where he stay'd all that Night, and part of the next Day, the Ship never offering to stir, or discovering any other Design they had, than that of staying for their Messengers; which put him upon trying whether he could by any Stratagem draw any of their Men on Shore. The first Thing he thought on, was to order

order the Prisoners to be stripp'd, and four of his own Men to go to the Shore in their Cloaths, making Signals to the Ship with their Cloaks and other Things. The Consequence of this Contrivance was, that twelve or fourteen Men, armed with Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, came in a Boat: But the four Men, who were disguis'd, retiring that they might not be known, and answering their Call, and hiding their Faces, they durst not land: So that they only took three who leap'd on Shore, being more courageous, or less considerate; the rest returned on board the Vessel, which, being thus undeceiv'd, weighed Anchor, and followed her Course. *Hernan Cortez* at first doubted that these Vessels might belong to *Diego Velasquez*, and feared they might have obliged him to put a Stop to his March: But the Designs of *Francisco de Garay* gave him very little Uneasiness, as an Affair which in Time might be much easier adjusted; so that he returned to *Zempoala* eased of his Cares, and not without some Advantage; for he brought with him an Addition of seven Soldiers, which, in a Place where a *Spaniard* was of so much Value, was esteemed a Happiness, and look'd upon as a good Recruit. Soon after, they provided for their March; and upon their leaving the Place, drew up the Army in Order, forming a Body of *Spaniards* for the Vanguard, and the *Indians* for the Rear, commanded by *Mamegi*, *Theuche*, and *Tamelli*, Caziques of the Mountains: The strongest of the *Tamenes* were ordered to take Charge of the Artillery, the rest were reserved for the Baggage. In this Order, with a Party before to look out, they began their March on the sixteenth Day of *August*. The Army was well received in their first Marches, at *Jalapa*, *Socochima*, and *Texucla*, Towns in the same Confederacy. As they went along they scattered among those friendly *Indians* the Seeds of Religion, not so much to inform them of the Truth, as to leave them suspicious of their own Errors. *Hernan Cortez* seeing them so docil and well disposed, was of Opinion, that they should erect a Cross in every Town they passed thro', that at least by this Means their Worship might be introduced; but Father *Bartolome de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*, opposed this Opinion, perswading him that it might be a Rashness to trust the Holy Cross to Barbarians ill instructed, who might offer some Indecency to it, or at least treat it after the same Manner as they did their Idols, if they should superstitiously worship the same, without being sensible of the Mystery which the Cross represented.

His

HIS Piety first moved him to make the Proposition; but his good Judgment made him sensible of the Force of the others Reason.

THEY next enter'd upon the rough Part of the Mountain, the first Difficulty they met with in their Road to *Mexico*, where they suffered very much; for they were obliged to march over an uninhabitable Mountain three Days, whose Paths were over Precipices. They carried the Artillery by Strength of Arms, and some Contrivances; and the Badness of the Weather fatigued them much. The Cold was excessive, and the Showers of Rain very hard and frequent, and the poor Soldiers having no Conveniency to make Barracks at Night, and no other Shelter but their Arms, they marched to keep themselves warm, and were obliged to seek for Ease with Weariness. Their Provisions also failed them, the last Calamity upon these Occasions; and their Resolution began now to contend with their Strength, when they gained the Top of the Mountain: There they found a Temple and a great Quantity of Wood; but they made no Stay, because on the other Side they discovered some neighbouring Villages, to which they marched hastily, to refresh themselves, and there found Accommodation sufficient to make them forget all that they had suffered.

AT this Place began the Country of *Zocothlan*, in those Days a large and populous Province, whose Cazique resided in a City of the same Name, situate in the Valley at the Foot of the Mountain.

HERNAN CORTEZ gave him notice of his Arrival and Designs, sending two *Zempoalan Indians* with the Message, who quickly returned with a grateful Answer; and in a short Time after they discovered the City, a large Place, which in a stately manner filled great Part of the Plain. Their Towers and other Buildings at a Distance appeared white, and because a *Portuguese* Soldier compared it to *Castilblanco* in *Portugal*, for some Time it preserved that Name. The Cazique came forth to receive *Cortez* with great Attendance; but with a kind of forced Civility, which shewed more of Artifice than Good-will. The Entertainment he gave the Troops was not very pleasant, their Lodging incommodious, and the Provisions scanty, and in every Thing it appeared, how little he was pleased with his Guests: But *Hernan Cortez* stifled his Resentment, and repress'd the Anger of his Soldiers, that he might not give the *Indians* any Mistrust of the Peace which he had proposed, when he treated of only marching thro' their Country, preserving the Reputation of his Arms, without stopping to improve it by more inconsiderable Enterprizes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Cazique of Zocothlan *visits* Cortez *a second Time, and highly extols the Greatness of* Motezuma. Cortez *resolves to march by the Way of* Tlascala, *of which Province, and the Nature of its Government, some Information is got at* Xacazingo.

THE next Day the Cazique repeated his Visit, and came with a greater Train of Relations and Servants: His Name was *Olinteth*; he was a Man of Capacity, and Lord of many Towns, and respected as the most considerable Person among all his Neighbours. *Cortez* adorned himself to receive him with all the usual outward Shew. And this Meeting was very remarkable; for after having received him with great Civility, and the usual Compliments being over, with a becoming Gravity, *Cortez* (believing he should find the same Complaint from him which he had heard from others,) asked whether he was a Subject of the King of *Mexico*. To which the Cazique readily replied, "Is there any Man upon "the Earth who is not a Vassal and Slave to *Motezuma*?" *Cortez* might very easily have been discompos'd at the Cazique's answering him with another Question, which seemed so resolute and lofty; but he was so much Master of himself, that with some Scorn he told him, "He knew very little of the World, "for that himself and those who accompanied him, were Sub-"jects of another King, so powerful, that he had many Subjects "greater Princes than *Motezuma*." The Cazique was not mov'd at these Words, but, on the contrary, without entring into any Dispute or Comparison, went on, recounting the Grandeur of his King as if he would not stay to be asked, saying with great Gravity, That *Motezuma* was the greatest Prince then known in the World; that the Provinces of his Dominion were not to be reckoned; that he kept his Court in a City impregnable, founded in the Water in great Lakes; that the Entrance to it was by Dikes, or Causeways, with Drawbridges over several Openings, by which there was a Communication of the Waters.

He enlarged much on the Immenſity of his Riches, and the Strength of his Armies; and above all on the Unhappineſs of thoſe who did not obey him; for with them he made up the Number of his Sacrifices, and that every Year above twenty thouſand Men (Enemies, or Rebels) died upon the Altars of his Gods. What he ſaid was true, but he ſpoke it by way of Hyperbole, and it was eaſily perceived that he was influenced by *Motezuma*, and recounted his Greatneſs rather to cauſe Fear than Admiration.

HERNAN CORTEZ perceived the Deſign of his Diſcourſe, and thinking it neceſſary to put on Reſolution, to diſappoint thoſe boaſting Expreſſions, anſwered, That he was already ſufficiently informed of the Empire and Greatneſs of *Motezuma*; and that were he a leſs Prince he ſhould not have come from ſuch diſtant Countries to make an Offer of Friendſhip from another greater Prince than himſelf: That his Embaſſy was peaceable, and that the Men who attended him in Arms ſerved more for a Shew of Authority than Force; but that both he, and all the Caziques of the Empire muſt know, that he deſired Peace without being afraid of War; for that the moſt inconſiderable of his Soldiers was able to cope with an Army of his King; that he would never draw the Sword without juſt Provocation: But once drawn, I will (ſaid he) put every Thing before me to Fire and Sword, and Nature will aſſiſt me with her Prodigies, and Heaven with its Lightnings; for it is the Cauſe of Heaven I come to defend, by baniſhing your Vices, and the Errors of your Religion, and theſe very Sacrifices of human Blood, which you account the Greatneſs of your King. And (breaking up the Viſit) he turned to his Soldiers, and ſaid, "This, my Friends, is what we ſeek, great "Difficulties, and great Riches: By the one we gain Fame, "and by the other Eſtates." With this ſhort Speech he abated the Pride of the *Indians*, and added freſh Courage to the *Spaniards*; telling his Thoughts to all without Artifice; for from the very Beginning of this Undertaking, God had ſo ſtrengthened his Heart, that altho' he ſufficiently conſidered, and knew the Dangers, he entered upon them, as if he had been ſure of Succeſs.

THE *Spaniards* ſtay'd five Days in *Zocothlan*; and *Cortez* quickly found in the Cazique another ſort of Reſpect; for the Accommodation of the Troops was bettered; and they were more punctual in the Entertainment of their Gueſts.

CORTEZ's Anſwer gave him much Uneaſineſs, and he diſcovered a thoughtful Penſiveneſs, occaſioned by his own Obſervations, as he himſelf afterwards confeſs'd to Father *Bartolome de Olmedo*. He concluded in the firſt Place, that no Men would be ſo bold

as

as to oppose *Motezuma:* And again, that they must be something more, who talked with so much Contempt of his Gods.

WITH this Conceit he observ'd the Difference of their Countenances, the Novelty of their Arms, and the Strangeness of their Habit, together with the Obedience of their Horses: And it seem'd to him, that the *Spaniards* were endued with superior Reason, when they argued against the Inhumanity of their Sacrifices, the Injustice of their Laws, and the Permissions of Sensuality (so unbounded amongst those Barbarians, that the greatest Injuries against Nature were accounted lawful.) And from all these Principles, his high Esteem of them drew Consequences, to make him believe, that some Divinity dwelt in them. For there is no Understanding so deprav'd, as not to be sensible of the Deformity of Vice, notwithstanding it be embraced by the Inclination, and disfigured by Custom. But the Fear of *Motezuma*, so entirely possess'd him, that he could not prevail with himself to acknowledge the Influence those Considerations had on his Mind.

HE rested satisfy'd with giving what was necessary for the Support of the Troops: And not daring to show his Riches, was sparing of his Presents, the greatest of his Liberality being four female Slaves, which he gave *Cortez* to make his Bread, and twenty noble *Indians;* which he offered as Guides for the Army.

THERE arose a Question about the Road which they should chuse for their March; and the Cazique proposed that of the Province of *Cholula*, as being a fertile Country and well peopled, whose Inhabitants being more inclined to Merchandise than War, would give a secure and commodious Passage to his Troops: And he advised them with great Earnestness not to march by the Road of *Tlascala*, as being a Country always in War, and the Inhabitants of so bloody a Disposition, that they placed their Happiness in making and keeping Men their Enemies. But the principal *Indians* who commanded the *Zempoalans*, told *Cortez* privately, that he must not confide in that Advice, for that *Cholula* was a very populous City, and the People not to be depended on. That in *Cholula*, and the Towns of that District, *Motezuma* commonly quarter'd his Troops: And that it was very possible the Cazique might lead them into the Danger with an evil Design: For the Province of *Tlascala* (tho' it were large, and the People warlike) were Confederates and Friends to the *Totonaques* and *Zempoalans*, which were in his Army, and made continual Wars with *Motezuma:* For which two Considerations, it would be more secure to March thro' their Country:

Country: And being in Company with their Allies, the *Spaniards* would not be looked upon as Strangers. *Cortez* lik'd what they ſaid, and finding it more reaſonable to truſt to his *Indian* Friends, than to a Cazique ſo much affected to the Intereſt of *Motezuma*, he commanded the Troops to march to the Province of *Tlaſcala*, whoſe Bounds they in a little Time diſcovered; for they border'd upon thoſe of *Zocothlan*; and during the firſt Marches nothing conſiderable offered: But afterwards they heard ſome Rumours of War, and were informed that the Country was in Arms, and their Deſign kept ſecret; for which Reaſon *Cortez* reſolved to halt in a Town but indifferently peopled, called *Xacazingo*, until he might be better informed.

TLASCALA was at that Time a Province abounding with Inhabitants, and above fifty Leagues in Circumference: The Land was mountainous and uneven, full of Hills, and ſeem'd to be Branches of the Mountain, which is now called the *Great Cordillera*. Their Towns, whoſe Structure was rather durable than handſome, were built upon Eminences, partly to make uſe of the Advantages of the Ground in their Defence, and partly to leave the Plains to cultivate. At firſt they had Kings, which Goverment laſted ſome Years, until Civil Wars ariſing, they no longer cared to obey, and flung off the Yoke. But as the People cannot ſubſiſt of themſelves, (being always Enemies to Subjection, till they are ſenſible of the Damages of Liberty) they formed themſelves into a Commonwealth, making many Princes to get rid of one. They divided their Towns into different Diſtricts, and each named one of their Chiefs to reſide in the Court of *Tlaſcala*, where they formed a Senate, whoſe Reſolutions all obeyed. A notable Kind of Ariſtocracy, which being found amongſt the Barbarity of thoſe People, diminiſhes pretty much the Credit of our Politicks. Under this Form of Government they maintained themſelves long againſt the Kings of *Mexico*, and at that Time were in their greateſt Strength; for the Oppreſſions of *Motezuma* had augmented the Number of their Confederates; and they had now brought over to their Party the *Otomies*, a Nation barbarous even among Barbarians; but always deſirous of War, in which they knew not how to diſtinguiſh Valour from Cruelty.

CORTEZ having receiv'd this Account, and not thinking it reaſonable to deſpiſe it, conſulted about ſending Meſſengers to the Republick, to facilitate the Paſſage of his Troops; which Meſſage he entruſted to four of the chiefeſt *Zempoalans*, inſtructing them by Means of *Donna Marina* and *Aguilar*, in the Speech they were to make to the Senate, till they had in a Manner

ner got it by Heart: And he chose them out of those who proposed in *Zocothlan* the Road of *Tlascala*, that they might have their own Advice in view, and be the more interested in the good Success of the Negotiation.

CHAP. XVI.

Cortez's *four Envoys set out for* Tlascala. *An Account of the Habit, and the Manner how Embassies were deliver'd in that Country; and of the Debates of that Republick about the Point of receiving the* Spaniards *in a peaceable Manner.*

THE four *Zempoalans* immediately adorn'd themselves after the Manner of Ambassadors: For which Employment, they put upon their Shoulder a Mantle, or Tippet of Cotton, wreath'd, and knotted at the Ends: In the Right Hand they bore a large Arrow, with the Feathers up on high, and on the left Arm a Target made of a Shell. The Intent of the Embassy was known by the Feathers of the Arrow; for the Red denoted War, and the White denoted Peace; after the same Manner as the *Romans* distinguish'd by different Simbols the *Feciales* and *Caduceatores*. By these Signs they were known and respected in their Marches: But they could not go out of the high Roads of the Province where they were travelling; for if they were found without them, those Privileges, held for sacred, lost all Force and Immunity; observing religiously this kind of publick Faith, which Necessity invented, and placed among their Laws, as the Right of Nations.

WITH these Marks of their Employment, the four Envoys of *Cortez* entred into *Tlascala*; and being known as such, they were lodged in the *Calpisca*, (for so they called the House set aside for the Reception of Ambassadors;) and the Day following the Senate met to give them Audience in a great Hall, where they held their Councils. The Senators were seated according to their Seniority, upon low Chairs of an extraordinary Wood made of one Piece, which they called *Yopales*. As soon as the Ambassadors appear'd, they raised themselves a little from their

Seats, and welcomed them with moderate Courtesy. They came in with their Arrows raised on high, and the Points upon their Heads; which, among their Ceremonies, was accounted the most submissive. Having paid their Respects to the Senate, they walked leisurely up to the middle of the Hall, where they kneel'd down, and without lifting up their Eyes, waited for Leave to be given them to speak. The eldest Senator ordered them to declare their Business, and they seating themselves on their own Legs, one of them who was pitch'd upon as the propereſt Person to make the Speech, delivered himself after this Manner.

NOBLE *Republick, Valiant and Potent* Tlascallans; "The "Lord of *Zempoala*, and the Mountain Caziques, your Friends, "and Confederates, send you Health; and wishing you abun- "dant Crops, and the Death of your Enemies, they give you "to understand, that certain invincible Men, are arrived among "them from the East, who seem to be Deities; for they "sail upon great Palaces, and make use of Thunder and Light- "ning, the peculiar Arms of Heaven: They are Servants of "another God, superior to ours, who is offended with Tyran- "nies and Sacrifices of human Blood. Their Captain is Am- "bassador from a very powerful Prince, who by the Impulse "of his Religion desires to reform the Abuses of our Coun- "try, and redress the Violences of *Motezuma*; and having "already rescued our Provinces from the Oppression under "which they lived, finds himself obliged to pass thro' your "Republick, in his Way to *Mexico*; and desires to know wherein "that Tyrant has offended you, that he may take your Cause "in hand, and add it to the rest, which justify his Underta- "king. With this Notice then of their Designs, and with Ex- "perience of their Benignity, we come before you to request "and admonish you, on the Part of our Caziques and all their "Confederates, that you would admit these Strangers, as Men "desirous of doing Good, and Friends to your Allies. And on "the Part of their Captain, we assure you, that he comes in a "peaceable Manner, and only desires you would grant him a "free Passage thro' your Country, believing that he desires "your Good; and that his Arms are the Instruments of Justice "and Reason, which defend the Cause of Heaven, in their "own Nature good and mild, and only hurtful to the Wicked, "and where they are provoked."

HAVING thus concluded, the Four raised themselves upon their Knees, and making a profound Reverence to the Senate, they seated themselves as before, expecting their Answer.

THE

The Senators conferred a little among themſelves; and one in the Name of all the reſt, told them, That they admitted the Propoſition of the *Zempoalans* and *Totonaques* their Confederates, with all imaginable Gratitude; but that the Anſwer they were to give to the Captain of the Strangers, required further Deliberation.

Having received this Anſwer, the Ambaſſadors retired to their Lodging; and the Senate ſhut themſelves in, to diſcuſs the Difficulties or Conveniences of that Propoſal. They firſt weighed the Importance of the Affair, thinking it worthy of mature Deliberation; and they diſagreed ſo far in Opinion, as to occaſion great Diſputes. Some were for granting the Strangers the Liberty of paſſing on, as they deſired; others were for making War upon them, and endeavouring to deſtroy them at once; others were for denying them Paſſage, but permitting them to continue their March, provided it were without their Confines: Which Difference of Opinion occaſion'd much Noiſe, without coming to any Reſolution, till *Magiſcatzin*, one of the eldeſt of the Senators, and of greateſt Authority in the Republick, took it upon himſelf, and cauſing Silence to be made, is ſaid to have ſpoke after this Manner.

"You well know, Noble and Valiant *Tlaſcallans*, that in the "firſt Ages of Antiquity, it was revealed to our Prieſts, and is "to this Day believed amongſt us as a Point of Religion, that "an invincible Race of Men are to come from the Oriental Re-"gions to this World, which we inhabit, with ſuch Dominion "over the Elements, that they ſhall found moveable Cities up-"on the Seas, making uſe of Fire and Air to ſubdue the Earth: "And tho' among the Judicious, it is not believed that they "ſhall be Gods, (as the Vulgar apprehends it,) yet the ſame "Tradition informs us, that they ſhall be a celeſtial Race of "Men, ſo valiant, that one ſhall be able to vanquiſh a thou-"ſand; and ſo good, that they ſhall only endeavour to make "us live according to Reaſon and Juſtice. I cannot deny, but "that the great Conformity there is between theſe Strangers, "and thoſe Signs, have given me a very great Concern. Theſe "come from the Eaſt; their Arms are Fire, and Houſes on the "Waters are their Veſſels. Of their Valour, you have already "heard from the Fame of their Actions in *Tabaſco*; and their "Goodneſs you now ſee acknowledged by your own very Con-"federates; and if we caſt our Eyes upon thoſe Comets and "Signals from Heaven, which have ſo often terrified us, me-"thinks they ſpeak to us, and come as Meſſengers of this great "Novelty. Who then will be ſo bold and raſh, (if theſe be the

"People

"People of our Prophecies,) to try his Strength with Heaven, "and treat as Enemies those who come armed with its Decrees? "I, at least, for my own Part, shall fear the Indignation of the "Gods, who rigorously punish those that rebel against them; "and with their own very Lightning, it seems as if they were "pointing out to us to obey, for the Threats of Thunder are "to all, and it only destroys where it meets Resistance. But I "will suppose that these Signals are to be disregarded as casual, "and that the Strangers are Men, like us: What Harm have they "done us that we should consult about Revenge? Upon what "Injury done to us shall we found this Violence? Shall *Tlascala*, "which maintains its Liberty by its Victories, and its Victo-"ries by the Justice of its Arms, enter voluntarily into a War, "which casts a Blemish upon its Government and Valour? "These People come in a peaceable Manner: Their Request is to "pass through our Republick, which they do not endeavour "without our Permission: Where then is their Crime? Where "our Provocation? They arrive at our Gates, confiding in the "Protection of our Friends; and shall we loose our Friends by "engaging with those who desire our Friendship? What will "the rest of our Confederates judge of this Action? and what "will Fame report of us, if five hundred Men oblige us to take "Arms? Shall we gain as much by overcoming them, as we "shall loose by having feared them? My Opinion is, that we "admit them with Courtesy, and grant them the Passage they "desire; if they are Men, because their Request is reasonable; "and if they are any Thing more, because the Will of the "Gods is a sufficient Motive."

THE Opinion of *Magiscatzin* met with great Applause, and all were inclined to follow him with Acclamations; when one of the Senators, called *Xicotental*, desired Leave to speak: A young Man of great Spirit, who, on Account of Capacity and noble Actions, possess'd the Post of General of their Army. Leave being obtained, and Silence being made, "Grey Hairs, "said he, are not always infallible in their Decisions, as being "more inclined to mistrust, than to act with Boldness, and "more proper to perswade to Patience, than to valiant Actions. "I pay all Respect, as you do, to the Authority and Opinion of "*Magiscatzin*: But you will not think it strange, considering "my Age, and Profession, that I differ in Opinion, and per-"haps give the best Advice; for when we are talking of making "War, we are often deceived by that which we call Prudence; "for every Thing that looks like Fear, is not Virtue, but a "Passion. It is true, there is an Expectation among us of these

"Oriental

" Oriental Reformers, whose Coming is kept up in the Prophe-
" cy, and is dilatory in convincing us. It is not my Intention
" to make little of a Report, that has been made venerable by
" the Consent of Ages; but tell me, I desire you, what Secu-
" rity have we, that these are our promised Strangers? Is it the
" same Thing to come by the Way of the East, as to come from
" the Celestial Regions, which we consider as the Birth-Place of
" the Sun. The Fire-Arms and great Embarkations which you
" call Sea Palaces, may they not be the Effect of human In-
" dustry, which are admired, because they have not been seen?
" And perhaps they may be the Illusions of some Inchantment,
" like the deceiving of the Sight, which we call cunning in our
" Diviners. What they did in *Tabasco*, was it any Thing more
" than breaking an Army superior to them in Number? Shall
" this be thought in *Tlascala* supernatural, where every Day
" greater Deeds are done, with the ordinary Force? And this
" great Benignity they have used towards the *Zempoalans*; may
" it not be an Artifice, the more easily to gain the People? At
" least I shall take it for a suspicious Sweetness, that pleases the
" Palate, to cover the Poison; for it is not of a Piece with the
" rest, that we know of their Covetousness, Pride, and Am-
" bition. These Men (if they are not some Monsters, flung
" up by the Sea upon our Coasts) rob our People; live at Dis-
" cretion by the Law of their own Will, thirsting after Gold
" and Silver, and given up to the Delights of the Land. They
" contemn our Laws, and endeavour dangerous Novelties,
" both in Justice and Religion: They destroy our Temples,
" pull in Pieces our Altars, and blaspheme our Gods; and is
" this the Race you call celestial? and can any one make it a
" Doubt whether we should resist? and do we listen without
" Scandal to the Name of Peace? If the *Zempoalans* and *Toto-*
" *naques* have admitted them into their Friendship, it was with-
" out consulting our Republick: They advance under no better
" Protection than the Want of Thought, which deserves to be
" punish'd in those that support them. These Impressions of
" the Air and frightful Signals, so magnified by *Magiscatzin*, do
" rather perswade us to treat them like Enemies, as being con-
" stant Forerunners of Calamities and Miseries: Heaven with its
" Prodigies, does not give us notice of what we wish, but what we
" are to fear; for those Felicities never come accompanied by
" Terrors; nor does Heaven light Comets to lull us asleep, and
" to make us negligent and careless. My Opinion therefore is,
" that we join our Forces, and make an end of them at once;
" for they come into our Power, mark'd out by Signals in

" the Heavens, purposely that we may look on them as Op-
" pressors of our Country, and of our Gods; and that esta-
" blishing the Reputation of our Arms upon their Punishment,
" the World may perceive, that it is not the same Thing to be
" immortal in *Tabasco*, and invincible in *Tlascala*.

THESE Reasons made greater Impression on the Senate than those of *Magiscatzin*, as more agreeable to the Inclination of the People, bred up in Arms, and breathing nothing but War; but upon discussing the Matter again, they resolved (as a Medium between both Opinions,) that *Xicotental* should join his Troops, and try his Strength with the *Spaniards*, supposing if he overcame them, they preserved the Reputation of their Nation, and if he should be beaten, room might be left for the Republick to treat of Peace, by laying the Blame of the Engagement upon the *Otomies*, and declaring it was a Disorder occasioned by their unseasonable Fierceness. For which End they so disposed Matters, that the *Zempoala* Ambassadors were detained in a sort of an underhand Imprisonment, having in view the preserving of their Confederates; for they very well knew the Danger of this War, tho' they undertook it with little Attention, being so brave, that they depended on their own Valour for the Success, but at the same Time so cautious, that they kept in view the Accidents of a contrary Fortune.

CHAP. XVII.

The Spaniards *resolve to draw near to* Tlascala, *looking on the Detention of their Messengers as a bad Sign. They engage with a Body of five thousand* Indians *that lay in Ambush for them; and afterwards with the whole Power of the Republick.*

EIGHT Days the *Spaniards* stay'd at *Xacazingo*, expecting the Return of their Messengers, whose Delay was looked on as something extraordinary; and *Hernan Cortez*, with the Approbation of his Captains, and the Chiefs of the *Zempoalans*, (for he used to shew them so much Favour and Confidence, as to hear their Opinions,) resolved

ved to continue his March, and draw nearer to *Tlaſcala*, in order to diſcover the Intentions of thoſe *Indians*; conſidering, that if they were reſolved on War, (as appear'd by the firſt Tokens, now confirmed by the Detention of their Ambaſſadors,) it would be better to ſhorten the Time of their Preparations, and ſeek them in their own City, before they ſhould have the Advantage of joining their Troops, and engage drawn up in Order in the Field. The Army immediately marched in good Order, without omitting any of the Precautions which are wont to be obſerved by thoſe who ſet their Foot into an Enemy's Country; and taking a Road between two Mountains, whoſe Skirts formed a very delightful Valley, at little more than the Diſtance of two Leagues, they came to a great Wall, which ran from the one Mountain to the other, entirely ſtopping up the Way: A ſumptuous and ſtrong Piece of Building, which ſhewed the Power and Greatneſs of the Owner. The Outſide was of hewn Stone, united with Mortar of extraordinary Strength. It was twenty Foot thick, and a Fathom and an half high; and on the Top was a Parapet, after the Manner of our Fortifications. The Entrance was narrow and winding, the Wall in that Part dividing, and making two Walls, which circularly croſſed each other, for the Space of ten Paces. They were informed by the *Indians* of *Zocothlan*, that the ſaid Fortification was the Boundary of the Province of *Tlaſcala*, built in former Ages to defend themſelves againſt the Invaſions of their Enemies; and it was very happy that they had not poſſeſſed themſelves of it againſt the *Spaniards*; which they did not, either becauſe there wanted Room in this Work for them to march out and receive them, or that they reſolved to expect them in the open Field, and inveſt them with their whole Force, and ſo deprive the Inferior in Number of the Advantage of engaging in a narrow Paſs.

THE *Spaniards* paſſed to the other Side without any Diſorder or Difficulty; and having again formed themſelves, continu'd their March ſlowly, till coming out into a more ſpacious Country, the Scouts diſcovered at a large Diſtance twenty or thirty *Indians*, whoſe Plumes (an Ornament only uſed by Soldiers) denoted that there were Troops in the Field. They came with this Account to *Cortez*; who ordered them to return with Speed, and endeavour to call them with Signs of Peace, without giving themſelves much Trouble in following them; for the Place where they were was uneven, and there ſeemed to be ſeveral Hollows and high Banks capable of hiding an Ambuſcade. He immediately follow'd them

them with eight Horſe, ordering his Captains to advance leiſurely with the Infantry; for it is never right to march Soldiers out of Breath, and enter into an Engagement with Troops that are fatigued.

THE *Indians* ſtay'd in the ſame Place till the ſix Horſe of the Vanguard drew near; and without minding their Calling, and Behaviour with which they endeavoured to perſwade them to Peace, they turned their Backs, running till they incorporated with a Party a little before them, where they fac'd about, and put themſelves upon their Defence. At the ſame Time the fourteen Horſe joined, and charged that Troop, rather to diſcover the Country, than for any Account they made of their ſmall Number. The *Indians* ſtood the Charge, loſing but little Ground, making uſe of their Arms ſo valiantly, that without minding what Damage they received, they wounded two Soldiers and five Horſes. Upon that the Ambuſcade which they had prepared, march'd out to the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, and they diſcovered a Body of about five thouſand Men at the Time when the Infantry came up, and the Troops formed themſelves in a Battalion, to ſuſtain the Fury with which the Enemy advanced to charge. But at the firſt Volley of the Fire-Arms, which made a great Slaughter of their People, they turned their Backs and retired very haſtily; which firſt Confuſion the *Spaniards* took Advantage of to cloſe with them; and did it with ſuch good Order, and ſo much Reſolution, that in a ſmall Time they quitted the Field, leaving ſixty Men dead upon the Spot, and ſome Priſoners. *Hernan Cortez* did not care to follow the Chace, becauſe the Day was declining, and he was deſirous rather to terrify than deſtroy them. The *Spaniards* immediately poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome little Houſes which were in ſight, where they found Proviſions, and paſſed the Night chearfully, but not careleſly, ſome taking their Reſt, whilſt others watch'd.

THE next Day they continued their March in the ſame Order, and diſcovered the Enemy a ſecond Time in a larger Body than before, coming with much more Haſte than good Order. They marched up their Troops with great Noiſe and Arrogance: But diſcharging at too great a Diſtance, their Arrows did no Execution; and at the ſame Time began to retreat, continuing to diſcharge at a great Diſtance, and particularly the Slingers, who were the furtheſt off, ſeemed the moſt reſolute.

HERNAN CORTEZ ſoon perceiv'd, that their Retreat had more of Stratagem than Fear; and gueſſing that a greater Engagement would enſue, he follow'd the Enemy with his Forces in

in close Order, till having gained an Eminence which interposed in the Road, he discovered in the Plain, on the other side, an Army which, as it was said, consisted of above forty thousand Men. It was composed of various Nations, distinguished by the Colours of their Ensigns and Plumes. In it were the Nobles of *Tlascala*, and all their Confederates. *Xicotencal* commanded in Chief, who, as has been said, was General of the Army of the Republick; and under him the Auxiliary Troops were commanded by their own Caziques, or most considerable Soldiers.

The *Spaniards* might very well have been disheartned at the Sight of such an unequal Force; but upon this Occasion, the Experience they had gained in *Tabasco* stood them in great Stead, and *Hernan Cortez* stopp'd but a very little while to perswade them to the Battle; for he saw by their Countenances and other Demonstrations, the Desire they had to engage. They began presently to march down the Hill with a chearful Security: And because it was broken uneven Land, in which they could not manage their Horses, neither had the Fire-Arms their Effect, discharged from the upper Ground, they took much Pains to beat off the Enemy from those Grounds where they endeavoured to dispute the Pass: But as soon as the Horse got into better Ground, and part of the Foot had march'd into the Plain, they disposed themselves so as to make Way for the Artillery to come down, and the Rear-Guard to form themselves. The main Body of the Enemies was at little more Distance than Musket-Shot, engaging only with Shouts and Threats; but scarce did our Troops begin to move, after the Signal given, when the *Indians* began to retire again, as if they had fled; being indeed a second Stratagem of *Xicotencal*'s, to gain by the advancing of the *Spaniards*, his Design of surrounding and attacking them on all Sides; as appeared soon after; for as soon as ever they had them at a Distance from the Hill, which might have secured their Rear, the greatest Part of their Army opened to the Right and Left, and running furiously, possessed themselves of the Ground on both Sides; and then closing the Circle, obtained their Design of surrounding their Enemies at a Distance. They presently began to close with incredible Diligence, and draw into a less Compass; and were so united and resolute, that the *Spaniards* found it necessary to draw up in a Square, facing every Way, and take Care of defending themselves rather than of offending the Enemy, making Amends by Union, and a good Disposition for the Inequality of Numbers.

The Air was filled with Arrows, and rent by their Shouts and Noise: It rained Darts and Stones upon the *Spaniards*;

and the *Indians* being ſenſible what little Effect their miſſive Arms had on their Enemy, came quickly to the Pikes and Swords. Great was the Slaughter of the *Indians*, and greater was there Obſtinacy.

HERNAN CORTEZ charged with his Horſe where he found the greateſt Occaſion, breaking in and trampling under Foot all that were near him. The Fire-Arms did them great Damage, and at the ſame Time occaſioned much Terror; the Artillery did not make a Shot in vain, caſting Aſtoniſhment among thoſe whom the Balls ſpared. As it was one of their Policies of War to conceal their Wounded, and carry off their Dead, a great many were employed that Way, and their Troops began to diminiſh; ſo that they fell back to a greater Diſtance, and began to fight more cautiouſly; but *Hernan Cortez*, before they could put themſelves in Order to cloſe afreſh, reſolved to attack the weakeſt Part of their Army, and open a Paſſage to ſeize ſome Poſt, whereby he might extend his whole Front againſt the Enemy. He communicated his Intentions to his Captains; and having placed his Horſe on the Wings, followed by the Foot at a large Pace, he cloſed with the *Indians*, calling aloud upon St. *Peter*. At firſt they made ſome Reſiſtance, plying their Weapons valiantly; but the Fierceneſs of the Horſes (ſupernatural or monſtruous in their Imagination) put them into Fear and Diſorder, ſo that flying on all Sides, they wounded and trod one another under Foot, doing the ſame Damage to themſelves which they feared from the *Spaniards*.

PEDRO DE MORON, who was mounted on a luſty ſwift Mare, had engaged himſelf too far; when ſome principal *Tlaſcalans* (who were got together for this Purpoſe) ſeeing him alone, attacked him, and having ſeized his Lance and Bridle-Arm, gave the Mare ſo many Wounds that ſhe fell down dead, and in an Inſtant they cut off her Head, ſome ſay, it was at one Stroke; but that hyperbolical Way of Speaking does nothing alter the Subſtance of the Facts. *Pedro de Moron* received ſome ſlight Wounds, and was taken Priſoner; but he was ſoon after relieved by other Horſe, who, with the Death of ſome *Indians*, freed him, and brought him back to the Army. This Accident was no way favourable to the Deſign they had; for it gave the Enemy Time to return and cloſe, and form themſelves again on that Side; ſo that the *Spaniards* now tired with the Engagement, (for it laſted an Hour,) began to doubt of the Succeſs; but making a Virtue of Neceſſity, they were preparing to renew their Attack, when at once the Cries of the Enemy ceaſed, and there being a ſudden Silence among

that

that Multitude, they heard only their little Kettle-Drums and Horns ſounding a Retreat, after their Manner, as preſently appeared; for at the ſame Time their Troops began to move off, and marching ſlowly for the Road of *Tlaſcala*, they removed to the Top of a Hill, and left the Field to their Enemies.

The *Spaniards* had Time to breathe upon this extraordinary Accident which appeared to them miraculous, becauſe they did not perceive any natural Cauſe, to which it might be attributed; but they underſtood afterwards (by Means of ſome Priſoners) that *Xicotencal* had ordered the Retreat, becauſe the greateſt Part of his Commanders being killed in the Battle, he durſt not undertake to manage ſo many Men, without Officers to command them. Many of their Nobles likewiſe fell, which made the Undertaking coſt them dear, and very great was the Number of their Wounded; but notwithſtanding ſo great a Loſs, and that our Troops were entire, and they the People who retreated, they entred their Lodgment triumphant, accounting it for a Victory that they were not overcome; and the Head of the Mare, being all they had to ſhew for their Triumph, *Xicotencal* carried it before him upon the Point of a Spear, and preſently ſent it to *Tlaſcala*, making a Preſent to the Senate of that formidable Spoil of War; which was greatly admired, and afterwards ſacrificed in one of their Temples with extraordinary Solemnity: A proper Victim for thoſe Altars, and leſs unclean than the very Gods which were honoured by it.

On our Side about nine or ten Soldiers were wounded, and ſome *Zempoalans*, whoſe Aſſiſtance was of great Service upon this Occaſion; for the Example of the *Spaniards* made them valiant, together with the Anger of ſeeing their Alliance deſpiſed and broken. At a little Diſtance they diſcovered a ſmall Place, ſeated on an Eminence which commanded the Country; and *Hernan Cortez* conſidering the Fatigue of his People, and how much Occaſion they had to be refreſhed, conſulted about poſſeſſing himſelf of that Poſt for their Lodgment; which was done without Difficulty; for the Inhabitants abandoned it upon the Retreat of their Army, leaving in it Abundance of Victuals, which helped to preſerve their own Proviſions, and refreſh their Wearineſs. There was not ſufficient Accommodation for all to be under Cover; but the *Zempoalans* took Care of themſelves, building Huts in a very ſhort Time; and the Situation, which was naturally ſtrong, was ſecured as well as poſſible with ſome Works of Earth and Faſcines, which they rais'd all the reſt of the Day, with as much Heart and Chearfulneſs

fulness as if their very Work were Rest; not that they were insensible of the Danger in which they were, or thought the War finish'd, but because they attributed that to Providence, which they could not so much as hope for from their own Strength; and finding now that Heaven had declared in their Favour, they looked on those Things as possible, which a little before they held for miraculous.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Tlascalans *recruit their Army. They engage a second Time with greater Force; and are overthrown and broke by the Valour of the* Spaniards, *and by another new Accident, which puts them in Disorder.*

VARIOUS were the Reasonings in *Tlascala*, upon the News of this ill Success. They lamented the Death of their Captains and Caziques in a publick Manner; and from this Concern of theirs sprung different Opinions. Some cried out for Peace, dignifying the *Spaniards* with the Name of immortal; whilst others broke out into Reproaches and Threats against them, comforting themselves with the Death of the Mare, the only Trophy of the War. *Magiscatzin* boasted he had foreseen the Success, repeating to his Friends what he had represented in the Senate, speaking of it as one who finds a Vanity even in the rejecting of his Advice. *Xicotencal* from his Camp desired that they would reinforce his Army with fresh Supplies, lessening his Loss, and making use of that to move them to Revenge. At this Time one of the Confederate Caziques arrived at *Tlascala* with ten thousand Men, which Succour they looked on as a Providence of the Gods; and their Courage encreasing with their Forces, the Senate resolved to list fresh Troops, and prosecute the War at all Hazard.

HERNAN CORTEZ (the Day after the Battle) endeavoured only to put his Fortifications in better Order, and surround his Quarters, adding new Works to help the natural Strength of the Place.

Place. He had a Mind to renew the Offers of Peace, and could find no Way to introduce his Negotiation; for the four *Zempoalan* Envoys (who were returned to the Army by different Ways) came terrify'd, and infected the reſt. They had happily broke from a ſtreight Confinement, (where they were put the Day *Xicotencal* took the Field,) being deſtin'd with their Blood to appeaſe the God of War; and upon the Report they made of this Inhumanity, it did not ſeem convenient, nor indeed would it have been eaſy to make others expoſe themſelves to the ſame Danger.

The very Stillneſs of the Enemy gave him Concern; for there was not any Rumour of War in all the Country round about; and the Retreat of *Xicotencal* had all the Signs of a Diſpute not yet ended. He ought in right Reaſon to have maintained this Poſt for his Retreat, in caſe of Neceſſity; but he found Inconveniencies in that Reſolution; for the *Indians* would have interpreted the ſhutting himſelf up in his Quarters, as Want of Valour; a Conſideration of great Importance, in a War ſupported more by Opinion than Force.

But taking Care of every Thing, like a diligent Commander, he reſolved to ſally out the next Day in the Morning to gain Intelligence, view the Country, and diſturb the Enemy; which he executed in Perſon, with all his Horſe, and two hundred Foot, the one Half *Spaniards*,, and the other *Zempoalans*.

We muſt own this Undertaking was dangerous, conſidering the Force of the Enemy, and in a Country ſo conveniently diſpoſed for Ambuſhes. *Hernan Cortez* ſhould have ventured his Perſon leſs, the whole Affair depending upon him; and in our Opinion, this Exceſs of Bravery is by no Means worthy of Imitation, by thoſe who command Armies, whoſe Safety ought to be conſider'd as publick, and whoſe Valour is to inſpire others. We might excuſe him by the Examples of ſeveral great Men, who have beenthe firſt in expoſing themſelves to the Dangers of Battles, performing a Part with their Swords, in the Execution of their own Commands; but as we are more obliged to give a juſt Relation of his Actions, than to clear them from all Blame, we ſhall leave him open to this honourable Objection, which is indeed the beſt Fault of a Commander.

They went ſo far as to diſcover ſome Villages in the Road to *Tlaſcala*, where they found great Quantities of Proviſions, and took ſeveral Priſoners; from whom they underſtood, that *Xicotencal* was encamped two Leagues from thence, not far from the City; and that he was raiſing more Forces againſt the *Spaniards*; with which Account they returned to their Quarters, having

done some Damage in the neighbouring Places: For the *Zempoalans*, who were now anger'd upon their own Account, put every Thing to Fire and Sword they met in their Way; an Excess which *Cortez* reprimanded faintly; for he was not sorry that the *Tlascalans* should be made sensible how far he was from being afraid of the War, since he provoked them to it with such Hostilities.

HE presently set at Liberty all the Prisoners he had made in that Sally; and gave them such Entertainment as appeared necessary to make them forget their Fear of the *Spaniards*, and to return with an Account of their Benignity. He ordered to search out (among the other Prisoners that were taken on the Day of the Battle,) those who appeared the most ingenious; and out of those he chose two or three to carry a Message to *Xicotencal*. The Substance of which was, *That he was very much concerned for the Loss his People had sustained in the Battle; for which they were to blame who gave the Occasion, by receiving those with Arms who came to propose Peace; that he did again require it of him, laying aside entirely all the Reasons he had to be displeased; but that if they would not presently disarm, and accept of it, they would oblige him utterly to destroy them at once, making the Name of their Nation a Terror to their Neighbours.* The *Indians* departed with this Message, well instructed and pleas'd, promising to return with the Answer; and but a few Hours passed before they made good their Word: But they returned bloody and ill-treated; for *Xicotencal* order'd them to be punish'd for their Boldness in bringing him such a Proposal; and did not order them to be kill'd, that they might return wounded to the Sight of *Cortez*; and that carrying with them this farther Proof of his Resolution, they might let him know, *That at the first Rising of the Sun he should see him in the Field; that his Intention was to carry him and all his People alive to the Altar of his Gods, and appease them with their Hearts Blood; and that he did immediately give him Notice of his Resolution, that he might have Time to prepare himself: Giving him further to understand, that he was not accustomed to lessen the Glory of his Victories by the Carelessness of his Enemies.* The Insolence of this *Barbarian* occasion'd more Anger than Concern in the Mind of *Cortez*: But he did not disregard his Advice, nor despise his Counsel; on the contrary, at the first Break of Day, he drew out his Troops into the Field, leaving in his Quarters such a Force as he thought necessary for their Defence, and advancing little less than half a League, chose a convenient Post, where he might receive the Enemy with Advantage; there he form'd

form'd his Ranks as the Ground would permit, and agreeable to the Experience he already had of this War. His Flanks he secured with the Artillery, ordering them when and at what Distance to discharge. He sent his Vanguard before, and putting himself at the Head of his Horse, to take care of succouring where it was needful, he attended the Success, shewing in his Countenance the Easiness of his Mind, without having much Occasion to make use of his Eloquence to instruct and animate his Soldiers; for they all came chearful and courageous, their Custom of overcoming making them desirous to engage.

It was not long before the Scouts returned with an Account that the Enemy was upon the March with a very powerful Army; and very soon after they discovered their Vanguard. The Plain began to fill with armed *Indians*; the Eye could not reach the End of their Troops, which covered the whole Horizon. Their Army consisted of above fifty thousand Men, (as they themselves confess'd,) the whole Force of the Republick, and all their Allies, that they might take the *Spaniards* alive, and carry them bound, first offering their Blood to the Gods, and then giving their Flesh for a Banquet. They brought forth into the Field a great Eagle of Gold, raised on high, the Ensign of *Tlascala*, which they only made use of in their greatest Undertakings. They drew near with incredible Diligence; and when they came within Reach of the Cannon, the Artillery began to put a Stop to their Speed, striking such a Terror into them, that they stood still some Time, divided between Fear and Anger: But Anger prevailing, they came forward in a Throng, till they were so near as to make use of their Slings and Arrows, where they were stopp'd a second Time by the Terror of the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows.

The Engagement continued a long Time very bloody on the Part of the *Indians*, and but with small Damage to the *Spaniards*, by reason of the Advantage of their Arms, and the Order and good Disposition with which they gave and received the Charge; but the *Indians* perceiving the Blood they lost, and that their own Dilatoriness was destructive to them, they moved all at once; and the Hindmost pushing on the Foremost, the whole Multitude fell upon the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans* with so much Fury and Despair, that they broke and disordered them, quite overthrowing that Union and good Disposition in which they were formed. There was then Occasion for all the Valour of the Soldiers, all the Bravery and Diligence of the Officers, all the Strength of the Horse, and all the Want of military Skill in the *Indians*, to enable them to form again; which they

they did by main Force, and with the Death of all that did not immediately give Way before them.

AT this Time there happened an Accident, as before, by which it appeared a ſecond Time that the ſpecial Providence of God defended his own Cauſe: A very great Diſturbance was perceived in the Enemy's Army; Troops were moving to different Parts, dividing and turning their Arms againſt each other: Whereupon, they all retired in a tumultuous Manner; and thoſe who engaged in the Front, turned their Backs and fled. The *Spaniards* purſued them with ſome ſmall Execution; for *Cortez* did not care to expoſe himſelf to their charging him again at too great a Diſtance from his Quarters.

IT was known afterwards that the Cauſe of that Diſturbance, and the Reaſon of this ſecond Retreat was, that *Xicotencal*, who was a paſſionate proud Man, and founded his Authority upon the Patience of thoſe under his Command, did, with too much Liberty, reprimand one of the principal Caziques, who ſerved under him with ten thouſand Men, calling him a Coward, and Mean-ſpirited, for not advancing when the reſt were engaged; which he returned with ſo much Boldneſs, that it came to a Breach and a Challenge between them; and in a ſhort Time it became the Cauſe of their whole Nation, who eſpouſed the Quarrel of their Chief, and prepared for his Defence; with which Example other Caziques, who were his Friends, mutinied; and taking a Reſolution of withdrawing their Troops from an Army, where their Valour was ſo little regarded, they put it in Execution with ſo much Celerity and Diſpleaſure, that they put all the reſt into Diſorder; and *Xicotencal* being ſenſible of his Weakneſs, endeavoured only to ſecure himſelf, leaving the Field and the Victory to his Enemies.

IT is not our Intention to relate this ſo favourable Succeſs, and ſo opportune to the *Spaniards*, as a Miracle; on the contrary, we confeſs, that it was the caſual Diſagreement of thoſe Caziques, and might eaſily happen when a General commanded of ſo little Temper, and with ſo little Superiority over the Confederates of his Republick; but whoever will conſider this powerful Army of *Barbarians*, overthrown and broke to Pieces a firſt and ſecond Time, (an Action ſcarce to be ſuppoſed, ſeeming ſuperior to any human Force,) muſt acknowledge in the very Caſualties the Hand of God, whoſe ineffable Wiſdom is wont to bring about his high Deſigns by thoſe which Men call Contingencies, making uſe very often of that which he permits, to bring about that which he is diſpoſing.

GREAT

GREAT was the Number of the *Indians* killed upon this Occaſion, and much greater that of the wounded, (as they themſelves did afterwards relate.) On our Side only one Soldier was killed, and twenty wounded, but ſo ſlightly, that they were able to mount Guard that Night. But notwithſtanding this Victory was ſo great, and ſo much more wonderful than the laſt, (for they engaged with a greater Army, and the Enemy retired overthrown,) yet the Novelty of having been broke and put into Diſorder in the Battle, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon ſome of the *Spaniſh* Soldiers, that they returned to their Quarters melancholy and diſhearten'd, like Men who had been vanquiſh'd. There were very many who plainly declar'd, That they would not wilfully throw themſelves away for *Cortez*'s Humour; that he ſhould think of returning to *Vera Cruz*, for that it was impoſſible to advance any farther; or, that otherwiſe they would do it themſelves, leaving him alone to his Ambition and Temerity. *Hernan Cortez* was informed of this, and retired to his Tent, without endeavouring to reduce them, till they were recovered from that Fright, and had Time to be ſenſible how much they were miſtaken in what they propoſed: For in Diſtempers of this Kind, haſty Remedies rather irritate than correct; Fear in Men being a violent Paſſion, which Reaſon at the firſt cannot govern.

CHAP. XIX.

Hernan Cortez *ſtills the new Diſturbance among his Men. The People of* Tlaſcala *take the* Spaniards *for Enchanters. They conſult their Magicians; and by their Advice attack them by Night in their Quarters.*

THE Diſturbance among the Malecontents encreaſed; and the Diligence of the Captains, together with the contrary Opinion of the better ſort, not being ſufficient to reduce them, *Hernan Cortez* found it neceſſary to ſhew himſelf, and endeavour to bring them to Reaſon. To which End, he order'd all the *Spaniards* to aſſemble in the Place of Arms, upon Pretence of coming to a Reſolution upon the

present State of Affairs; and placing near himself the most Troublesome, (a sort of Favour necessary for their better hearing,) "It allows, said he, of no great Dispute, what our Army is to do, having gained in a short Time two Battles, in "which your Valour, and the Weakness of your Enemies, "have equally appeared. It is true, overcoming an Enemy is "not the finishing Stroke of a War; for the improving a Victory has also its Difficulties: And we must avoid those Dangers that oftentimes attend good Success, as Things annexed "to human Felicity. But this, my Friends, is not what gives "me Trouble: I stand in need of your Advice upon a greater "Doubt. They tell me, that some of our Soldiers are again "desirous, and stir up one another to propose, that we should "retreat. I am willing to believe they ground this Opinion "upon some good Reason; but it is not right, that a Point of "so much Importance should be treated in a murmuring "Manner. Tell all your Opinions freely; do not discredit "what you earnestly desire, by proposing it in a criminal Way. "And that we may all reason upon that which is most convenient for us all, let us first consider the Condition in which "we are, and resolve at once upon something which cannot be "contradicted. This Enterprize was begun with your Approbation, I may say, with your Applause. Our Resolution was "to pass on to the Court of *Motezuma*. We all devoted our "selves to this Undertaking for our Religion, and our King, as "also for our Honour and our Hopes. These *Indians* of *Tlascala*, who endeavour'd to oppose our Design with all the "Power of the Republick and Confederates, are now overthrown and conquer'd. It is not possible (according to the "natural Course of Things) that they should delay long to "request Peace, or grant us Passage. If this happens, how "greatly will it add to our Reputation? What will these *Barbarians* conceive of us, who already rank us with their Gods? "*Motezuma*, who expected us with Concern, (as has appeared "by the Repetition and Artifice of his Embassies,) will behold "us with greater Terror, after having vanquished the *Tlascalans*, who are the most valiant Men of the Country, and "have by Force of Arms maintain'd their Liberty against him. "It may be very possible that he will make us very advantageous Offers, fearing lest we should join with his Rebels. "And very possible that this same Difficulty, we now meet with, "may be the Means which God makes use of to facilitate our "Undertakings, by making Tryal of our Constancy; for he "will not work Miracles for us, without making use both of

"our

" our Hearts and Hands. But if we ſhould turn our Backs, " (and be the firſt that have been diſcouraged by Victories,) all " our Deſign and Labour is loſt at once. What can we hope " for? or what is it that we ought not to fear? Theſe very " vanquiſh'd People, that are now terrify'd, and fugitive, will " be animated at our being diſhearten'd, and knowing all the " ſhort Cuts and difficult Paſſages of the Country, they will " purſue, and break us in our March. Our *Indian* Friends " (who ſtand by us contented and courageous) will quit us, " and eſcape to their own Country, publiſhing our Diſgrace. " The *Zempoalans* and *Totonaques*, our Confederates, (who are " our only Refuge in the Retreat,) will conſpire againſt us, " loſing the great Opinion they had of our Power. I repeat it " again, let every Thing be maturely conſider'd, and by comparing " the Hopes which we abandon, with the Dangers to which we " expoſe our ſelves, propoſe and deliberate what will be moſt " convenient; for I leave you to your full Liberty of Diſ- " courſe, and have laid before you the Inconveniencies rather " to free my Opinion from Blame, than defend it."

Scarcely had *Hernan Cortez* finiſh'd his Diſcourſe, when one of the diſſatisfy'd Soldiers, convinced by his Reaſons, raiſed his Voice, telling the reſt, " Friends, our Captain asks what we " are to do, but inſtructs us while he is asking: It is not poſ- " ſible for us to retire now, without being loſt."

The reſt were convinced, confeſſing their Error, and the other Part rejoiced at their being undeceiv'd; and it was reſolv'd, by Acclamations, to proſecute the Enterprize. The Diſturbance of thoſe Soldiers who were deſirous of finding Reſt in the Iſle of *Cuba*, being at that Time entirely pacify'd, whoſe Unreaſonableneſs was one of the Difficulties which did moſt trouble the Mind, and exerciſe the Conſtancy of *Cortez* in this Enterprize.

This ſecond Rout of their Army cauſed an unuſual Trouble in *Tlaſcala*: They all admir'd, and were confounded. The common People cried out for Peace; and the Nobles were unable to carry on the War. Some propos'd to retire to the Mountains with their Families; others ſaid the *Spaniards* were Deities, inclining to pay them Obedience with Circumſtances of Adoration.

The Senate aſſembled to conſult how to reſtore their Affairs: And beginning to argue from their own Fear, they all confeſſed that the Force of thoſe Strangers appeared to be more than natural: But they were not fully perſwaded they were Gods, eſteeming it too great a Lightneſs to conform their Opinions to the Credulity of the Vulgar; but were rather inclin'd

to

to believe that they performed ſuch wonderful Actions by magical Art. And coming to a Reſolution, that they ought to have Recourſe to the ſame Science, in order to overcome them, and ſo take off the Force of one Enchantment with another, they ſummoned their Magicians and Diviners for this Purpoſe, whoſe Deluſions were much introduced by the Devil in that Country, and no leſs reverenced. The Opinion of the Senate was communicated to them, which they approv'd of with myſterious Conſideration; giving them to underſtand, that they knew what Doubt they had to propoſe, and had beforehand ſtudied the Caſe; telling them, That by the Obſervation of their Circles, and by their Divinations, they had fully diſcover'd the Secret of this Novelty; and that the Whole conſiſted, in that the *Spaniards* were the Offſpring of the Sun, produced by his own active Quality in the Mother-Earth of the Oriental Regions, their greateſt Enchantment being the Preſence of their Father, whoſe warm Influence did communicate unto them a Kind of Force ſuperior to human Nature, and made them immortal; but that upon his diſappearing in the Weſt, the Influence ceaſed, and they remained diſheartned and wither'd, like the Herbs of the Field, reduced to the Terms of Mortality, like other Men; for which Conſideration it was neceſſary to attack them by Night, and deſtroy them before the Riſing Sun made them invincible.

THOSE Senators very much applauded the great Knowledge of their Magicians, being ſatisfy'd that they had found out the difficult Point, and diſcover'd the Way to obtain Victory. It was contrary to the Cuſtom of this Country to engage by Night; but as in extraordinary Caſes little Reſpect is had to Cuſtom, this important News was ſent to *Xicotencal*, with Orders to attack the *Spaniards* in their Quarters on the Setting of the Sun, endeavouring to deſtroy and make an End of them before he ſhould return to the Eaſt. Acordingly he began to diſpoſe every Thing for the Action, believing (with ſome Excuſe) the Impoſture of the Magicians, as coming to him authorized by the Opinion of the Senate.

DURING this Interim of Time, the *Spaniards* had ſeveral Rencounters of little Conſequence. Some Troops of the Enemies ſhewed themſelves on the Eminences near the Quarters, who either fled before the *Spaniards* could engage them, or were beat off with Loſs. They made ſome Sallies to raiſe Contributions from the neighbouring Villages, where they uſed the Inhabitants well, and gained both their Good Wills and Proviſions. *Cortez* took ſpecial Care to preſerve Diſcipline, and keep his

People

People vigilant, during this Time of Reſt in their Quarters. He always had his Centinels poſted at a Diſtance, his Guards mounted with the utmoſt Military Strictneſs; the Horſes ſtood ſaddled all Night, with their Bridles upon the Pummels; the Soldiers either watch'd, or, if they reſted, lay upon their Arms. An Exactneſs which ſeems ſuperfluous to the Negligent, but then prov'd very neceſſary; for at the coming on of the Night, deſtin'd for the Attack reſolv'd on by the *Tlaſcalans*, the Centinels diſcover'd a Body of the Enemy marching towards their Quarters with unaccuſtom'd Slowneſs and Silence. Notice was given of it without any Noiſe; and as the Soldiers were always prepar'd for ſuch Accidents, they immediately mann'd the Works, and with great Readineſs diſpos'd every Thing that appear'd neceſſary for their Defence.

Xicotencal upon the Credit of his Magicians came on inſenſible of Danger, thinking to find his Enemies without Spirit or Strength, and to end the War before the Riſing of the Sun; but he brought with him ten thouſand Men, leſt they ſhould not be diſpirited by the Abſence of the Sun. The *Spaniards* let him draw near, without making any Motion; and he made a Diſpoſition to attack the Quarters on three Sides: Which Order the *Indians* executed with Speed and Reſolution; but they met with ſuch a powerful and unlook'd-for Reſiſtance, that many died in the Attack, and the reſt were ſtruck with the more Fear, by how much the greater had been the Security with which they came. *Xicotencal* was ſenſible (tho' late) of the Deluſion of his Sorcerers, and of the Difficulty of his Undertaking; but his Anger and Courage would not let him conſider, and therefore he gave Orders for another Attack to be made on all Sides, and he return'd to the Aſſault, pouring the whole Body of his Troops upon our Defences. We cannot but acknowledge the Valour with which the *Indians* try'd this Way of Fight in the Night, and againſt a Fortification, a Thing altogether new in their Way of making War. They helped one another with their Shoulders and Arms to gain the Wall, and receiv'd Wounds, which they made larger by their own preſſing forward; and the foremoſt falling, did not in the leaſt terrify thoſe who came behind.

The Combat laſted a long Time, their own Diſorder endamaging them no leſs than our Arms; till *Xicotencal* being convinc'd that it was not poſſible for him to compaſs what he intended, order'd the Signal to be given for drawing off, and thought of retreating. But *Hernan Cortez* (who had a watchful Eye over all,) as ſoon as he found them ſlackening, and ſaw

that they return'd in Heaps from the Wall, sent out Part of his Foot, and all his Horse, which were ready prepar'd, with Breast-Plates full of Bells, that by the Novelty of the Noise they might strike the greater Terror: Which sudden Assault put the *Indians* into such a Fright, that they endeavour'd only to escape, without making any Resistance. They left a considerable Number of Dead in the Field, with some Wounded, which they could not carry off; and of the *Spaniards* only two or three were wounded, and one *Zempoalan* kill'd: An Event that seem'd miraculous, considering the innumerable Multitude of Arrows, Darts, and Stones, which they found within their Intrenchments; and a Victory, which for the Easiness and small Expence wherewith it was gained, was celebrated among the Soldiers with particular Demonstrations of Joy; though at that Time they were not sensible how much it imported them to have been valiant in the Night, nor of the Obligations they lay under to the Magicians of *Tlascala*, whose Folly was of Use in this Work; for it rais'd the Reputation of the *Spaniards* to the highest Pitch, and facilitated a Peace, which is the best Advantage of War.

CHAP. XX.

The Senate commands the General to suspend the War: He refuses to obey; but on the contrary, designs to give a fresh Assault upon the Spanish *Quarters. His Spies are discovered and punish'd. A Treaty of Peace begins to be set on foot.*

THE great Hopes which the City had conceived, without any other Reason, than that of trusting the Success of their Arms to the Favour of the Night, being vanish'd, the Common People again called out for Peace; the Nobles were dissatisfy'd, and came now into the same Sentiments with the Populace, though they made less Noise: The Senators were dishearten'd and silent; and the first Thing they did, was to punish their Magicians for their own Folly, not so much, because Deceit in them was a

a new Thing, but becauſe they were aſhamed they had believed them. Two or three of the chiefeſt of them were ſacrificed in one of their Temples; the reſt were reprimanded, and found themſelves obliged to Lye with leſs Liberty in that Aſſembly.

After that, the Senate met to conſult about the principal Affair, and all without Exception, inclined to Peace; granting that the Judgment of *Magiſcatzin* had foreſeen what had befallen them, and the moſt Incredulous confeſſing, that thoſe Strangers were, without Doubt, the Celeſtial Men mentioned in their Prophecies. Their firſt Reſolution was to diſpatch an Expreſs immediately to *Xicotencal*, with Orders to ſuſpend the War, and only keep himſelf upon his Guard; acquainting him, that they were treating for a Peace, which was already reſolved on the Part of the Senate, and that they would immediately name Ambaſſadors to propoſe it, and to make the beſt Terms they could in Favour of the Republick.

However, *Xicotencal* was ſo obſtinately bent againſt the *Spaniards*, and ſo far blinded by his Martial Employment, that he utterly denied Obedience to this Order, and anſwered with Arrogance and Diſreſpect, *That he and his Soldiers were the true Senate, and would take Care of the Credit of their Nation, ſince the Fathers of the Country abandoned it.* He had diſpoſed Matters ſo as to aſſault the *Spaniards* a ſecond Time by Night, and within their Quarters; not that he made any Account of the paſt Divinations, but becauſe he thought it better to keep them ſhut up, that they might come alive into his Hands. But he intended to go upon this Undertaking with a greater Force, and better Intelligence; and knowing that ſome Peaſants of the adjacent Villages repaired to the Quarters with Proviſions, to exchange them for *Spaniſh* Baubles, he made uſe of this Means to facilitate his Enterprize; and choſe forty Soldiers in whom he confided, who, clothed after the Manner of Peaſants, loaded with Fruit, Hens, and Bread made of *Indian* Corn, were to enter the Place, and obſerve the Nature and Strength of the Fortification, and where it might be aſſaulted with leaſt Difficulty.

Some ſay, that theſe *Indians* were ſent as Ambaſſadors from *Xicotencal* himſelf, with feigned Propoſals of Peace, (in which Caſe the Inadvertency of our People would be more culpable.) But whether the Pretence was this, or the other, they entered within their Quarters, and were among the *Spaniards* great Part of the Morning without any Notice being taken of their Stay, till a *Zempoalan* Soldier gave Notice, that they went ſlily about,

about, obſerving the Walls, and looking over them in a curious Manner; of which he preſently gave Notice to *Cortez*. And as in this Kind of Suſpicions, there is no Sign which is trivial, or Shadow that has not a Body, he order'd them to be ſeized immediately; which was eaſily executed. Being examin'd ſeparately, they confeſſed the Truth without much Reſiſtance, ſome preſſed by Torture, and others by the Fear of it; all agreeing that a ſecond Aſſault was to have been made on the Quarters that ſame Night; for which Undertaking their General was now upon the March with twenty thouſand Men, and was to wait for them at a League's Diſtance, in order to diſpoſe his Attacks, according to the Account they ſhould bring him of the Weakneſſes they had obſerved in the Works.

HERNAN CORTEZ was much concern'd at this Accident, for he was then indiſpos'd; and it coſt him more Trouble to conceal his Sickneſs, than to bear it: But he never kept his Bed, or took Care of himſelf, but when he had nothing elſe to take Care of. It is reported of him, (we will not paſs it by in Silence,) That juſt before one of the Engagements with the *Tlaſcalans*, he had taken Phyſick; and that he mounted his Horſe, made a Diſpoſition of the Battle, and engaged without finding the leaſt Diſorder, or thinking on the Purge, the which, by that Diverſion of his Mind, was deprived of its active Quality, and had not the Effect until the next Day. Father *Don Prudencio de Sandoval*, in his Hiſtory of the Emperor *Charles* V. looks upon it as a Miracle which God wrought on him: A Notion which Philoſophers will diſpute, to whoſe Profeſſion it belongs to ſhew how, in this Caſe, the natural Faculty may be ſo far influenced by the Imagination, buſied in greater Matters, as to ceaſe performing its Function; or how the Spirits, gathering about the Heart and the Head, draw after them that natural Heat which ſhould put the Medicine in Motion. Such an Accident, however, ought not to be omitted by an Hiſtorian, as ſerving to ſhew how much this Commander gave himſelf up to the vigilant Care of what he was to direct and order in the Battle: An Employment which, in Truth, requires the whole Man, as great as he can be; and theſe Conſiderations are ſometimes permitted in Hiſtory, as propoſing Examples, which animate to an Imitation.

THE Deſigns of *Xicotencal* being now diſcovered by the Confeſſion of his Spies, *Hernan Cortez* gave the neceſſary Orders for the Defence of his Quarters; and immediately conſidered on the Puniſhment thoſe Delinquents deſerved, being already condemned to Death by the Laws of War. But he thought, that to kill them without the Knowledge of the Enemy, would be

Juſtice

Juſtice without Terror: And as he did not ſo much want to ſatisfy himſelf, as to terrify them, he gave Orders, that the moſt obſtinate of them (which were fourteen or fifteen) ſhould have ſome their Hands, and the reſt their Thumbs cut off; and in this Manner diſmiſſed them, bidding them tell *Xicotencal* from him, that he was now waiting for him; and that he ſent them alive, that he might not loſe the Informations they carry'd of his Fortifications.

The *Indian* Army (that was now marching to the Enterprize) was ſtruck with Horror at this bloody Spectacle: They ſtood aſtoniſh'd, as well at the Novelty, as at the Rigour of the Puniſhment; and *Xicotencal* more than all the reſt at the Diſcovery of his Deſigns; this being the firſt Stroke which touch'd his Mind, and began to ſtagger his Reſolution; for he was perſwaded that thoſe Men could not have diſcovered his Spies, and penetrated his Thoughts, without the Help of ſome Divinity: On which Reflection he began to be troubled, and doubtful which Way he ſhould manage; but when he was now inclined to reſolve on a Retreat, he found it neceſſary, by another Accident, and that which his Obſtinacy reſiſted, was now done without his Conſent: For at this Time ſeveral Miniſters arrived from the Senate, who, by their Authority, informed him, that he muſt deliver up his Staff of General; for that by reaſon of his Diſobedience, and the Inſolence of his Anſwers, they had revoked the Power, by Vertue of which he commanded the Arms of the Republick. They alſo ordered the Captains not to obey him, upon Pain of being declared Traytors to their Country. Now as this News came immediately on the Back of that Confuſion which the diſmembring of the Spies had cauſed in all, and in *Xicotencal* the Penetration of his Secret, no Man was ſo bold as to reply, but on the contrary, ſubmitted themſelves to the Commands of the Republick: All that Preparation for War breaking up with extraordinary Readineſs; the Caziques marched to their own Lands; the *Tlaſcalans* took the Road to the City, without expecting farther Orders; and *Xicotencal*, who was now leſs reſolute, thought himſelf happy that they had taken the Command out of his Hands, and returned to the City attended only by his Friends and Relations; where he appear'd before the Senate, ill covering his Vexation with this Shew of his Obedience.

The *Spaniards* were that Night upon the Watch, and reſted the next Day without being negligent; for they were not well aſſured of the Intention of the Enemy, tho' the *Indians* that were brought under Contribution affirmed, that the Army

was broke up, and a Treaty of Peace resolved on. They continu'd thus in Suspence till the next Day in the Morning, when the Centinels discovered a Troop of *Indians*, who seem'd to them to come with Burdens on their Backs along the Road of *Tlascala*. *Hernan Cortez* ordered they should retire to the Place, and let them draw near. At the Head of this Troop came four Persons of Rank well adorned, whose Habit and white Feathers denoted Peace: Behind them came their Servants; and after them twenty or thirty *Indian* Tamenes loaded with Provisions. Every now and then they stopp'd, as fearful to approach, and made Signs of Respect and Humility towards the Quarters, diverting their Fear with Courtesy: They bowed their Bodies till they touch'd the Earth with their Hands, then raising themselves, and putting them to their Lips; a Respect they only shewed to their Princes; and being come nearer, they paid a greater Submission, with the Smoak of their Censers. Then *Donna Marina* appeared upon the Wall, and asked them in their Language, from whom, and for what Purpose they came. They answered, from the Senate and Republick of *Tlascala*, and to treat of Peace. Upon which they were permitted to enter.

HERNAN CORTEZ received them with proper State and Gravity, and they repeating their Bows and Perfumes, delivered their Embassy, which consisted of several Excuses for what had passed, frivolous, but sufficient in the main to shew their Repentance. They said, That the *Otomies* and *Chontales*, barbarous Nations of their Confederacy, had joined their Troops, and made War contrary to the Opinion of the Senate, whose Authority had not been able to repress the first Sallies of their Fierceness; but that they were now disarmed, and the Republick very desirous of Peace: That they did not only bring with them the Voice of the Senate, but of the Nobles and Common People, to request that they would march presently with all their Soldiers to the City, where they might stay as long as they pleased with Security, and where they should be served and respected as Children of the Sun, and Brothers of their Gods: And lastly, they concluded their Discourse without being able handsomely to cover their Artifice in what related to the past War, but with some Shew of Sincerity in their Proposition of Peace.

HERNAN CORTEZ a second Time affected Severity; and restraining his inward Complacency from appearing on his Countenance, only answered, That they should understand, and tell the Senate from him, that it was no small Demonstration of of his Goodness to admit and hear them, when they might justly

justly fear his Indignation as Delinquents, and ought to receive Laws as vanquish'd: That the Peace they proposed was agreeable to his Inclination; but that they sought it after too unjust and obstinate a War to obtain it easily, or at least, not without Terms and Circumspection: That he would see how they persevered in desiring it, and what they did to deserve it: And in the mean Time, he would endeavour to appease the Anger of his Captains, and put a Stop to the Justice of his Arms; suspending the Punishment with an up-lifted Arm that they might, with their Amendment, make use of what Time there was between the Threat and the Blow.

Cortez answer'd them in this Manner, to gain some Time to recover of his Indisposition, and to enquire the better into the Truth of their Proposal: For which End he thought it necessary that those Messengers should return with Concern, and doubtful, lest the Senate should grow proud and backward, by finding him very easy, or desirous of the Peace; for in this sort of Affairs, that which seems the fartherest Way about, is often the shortest Cut; and Difficulties well managed, are better than hasty Resolutions.

CHAP. XXI.

New Ambassadors come from Motezuma *to the* Spanish *Quarters, to obstruct the Peace with* Tlascala. *The Senate perseveres in desiring it; and* Xicotencal *takes upon himself the Negotiation.*

THE Fame of the *Spaniards* encreased with these Victories; and *Motezuma*, who had frequent Accounts of what passed in *Tlascala*, by the Observation of his Ministers, and the Diligence of his Couriers, began to be more apprehensive of his Danger, when he saw that warlike Nation, which had so often resisted his Armies, subdu'd and vanquish'd by so small a Number of Men. He greatly admired the Actions which were reported of those Strangers; and feared, that when once the *Tlascalans* were reduced to their Obedience, they might make use of their Rebellion, and of their Arms, and aim at greater

greater Matters to the Damage of his Empire. But it is very remarkable, that in the Midst of so many Perplexities and Suspicions, he did not bethink himself of his Power, and go about forming an Army for his Defence and Security; on the contrary, without attempting (by I know not what superior Genius that over-awed his Spirit) to assemble his People, in order to make War, he made use of political Arts, and was fluctuating among gentle Means. At that Time he had in view to break the Union of the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*, and he did not think amiss; for where there wants Resolution, Prudence is wont to be very watchful and careful. To this End, he resolved to send a new Embassy and Present to *Cortez*. The Pretence was to congratulate the good Success of his Arms, and his assisting him to chastise the Insolence of his Enemies the *Tlascalans*; but the principal End was, to desire, with new Instances, that he would not think of coming to his Court, laying before him greater Difficulties, which oblig'd him not to grant Permission. The Ambassadors had secret Instructions to look into the State of the *Tlascalan* War, and endeavour (in case there was a Talk of Peace, and the *Spaniards* seemed inclinable) to divert and obstruct the Conclusion, without discovering their Prince's Concern, or quitting their Negotiation, till they had given him an Account, and waited his Orders.

FIVE *Mexicans* of the greatest Rank among the Nobility came with this Embassy; and travelling with some Circumspection on the Borders of *Tlascala*, arrived at the Quarters a little after the Ministers of the Republick were departed. *Hernan Cortez* received them with great Kindness and Courtesy; for *Motezuma*'s Silence had given him some Uneasiness. He heard the Embassy graciously, and received the Present with Thanks, (being worth about a thousand Pieces of Eight, in several Pieces of light Gold, besides other Curiosities of Feathers and Cotton,) but did not give them his Answer at that Time, because he was desirous they should, before their Departure, see the *Tlascalans* reduced, and desiring Peace; neither did they sollicite to be dispatch'd, because they also desired to stay there. But it was not long e'er they discovered the whole Secret of their Instructions; for they told what they should have conceal'd, by asking, with little Discretion, that which they came to be informed of; and in a short Time all *Motezuma*'s Fear was known, as also of what Importance the Peace of *Tlascala* was, in order to bring him to Reason.

THE Republick, in the mean time, desiring to convince the *Spaniards* of their Sincerity, sent Orders to the neighbouring Villages

Villages, to furnish the Quarters with Provisions, commanding them not to receive any Price for them; which was punctually executed, and they had Plenty of all Things; the Peasants not daring to receive the least Return. Two Days after they discovered on the Road that led to the City a considerable Troop of *Indians*, who drew near with the Ensigns of Peace; of which *Cortez* being advised, gave Orders to admit them; and to receive them, mixed among his own Attendance, the *Mexican* Ambassadors, making them believe, that he trusted them with that which he desired they should know. The Chief of these *Tlascalans* was *Xicotencal* himself, who undertook the Charge of treating and concluding this great Affair; whether to satisfy the Senate, by attoning with this Action for his past Rebellion, or that he was perswaded Peace was necessary, and being ambitious of Glory, did not care that the Good of the Republick should be owing to another. He was attended by fifty Gentlemen of his Party and Parentage, well-dressed after their Manner. He was of more than a middle Stature, well-made, rather Lusty than Corpulent: His Habit was a white Mantle, put on after a handsome Manner, and some Jewels in their proper Places: His Face was of no agreeable Proportion, but yet such as infused Respect, and more observable for its Boldness than Deformity. He came before *Cortez* with the free Air of a Soldier; and having paid his Respects, took his Seat, told who he was, and began his Speech: Confessing that he was wholly to blame for the past War, believing that the *Spaniards* were Favourers of *Motezuma*, whose Name he abhor'd; but that now, as the first Witness of their gallant Actions, he came with the Merit of a Person, submitting, to put himself into the Hands of his Conqueror; hoping by this Submission and Acknowledgement, to obtain Pardon for his Republick, whose Name, Power, and Authority he had, not to propose, but with all Submission, to request Peace, and to accept it upon his own Terms: That he asked it once, and twice, and thrice, in the Name of the Senate, Nobles, and Commons of *Tlascala*, entreating him with all Earnestness to honour the City immediately with his Presence, where he should find Quarters provided for all his Men, and all the Respect and Service he could expect from those who, being brave, submitted to entreat and obey: But he would only pray him (and that not as a Condition of the Peace, but as the Effect of his own Goodness) that the Inhabitants might be well used, and their Gods and Wives protected from Military Liberty.

CORTEZ was so pleased with the Discourse and Freedom of *Xicotencal*, that he could not forbear shewing it in his Countenance to those who stood by; suffering himself to be carried away by a Respect due to valiant Men; but he ordered *Donna Marina* to tell him so, that he might not think it was the Proposal with which he was so much pleased; and he again took up his Gravity, to lay before him, not without some Vehemence, how little Reason his Republick had to make such an unjust War, and for him to foment such a Piece of Injustice with so much Obstinacy. Upon which he enlarged as far as was necessary, without being tedious, and after having exaggerated the Crime, to enhance the Value of the Pardon, he concluded, granting the Peace they desired, and that he would not offer Violence to any one, or oppress them in the March of his Army. To which he added, that when he went to their City, he would give them Notice of it in Time, and make the necessary Dispositions for his Entry and Quarters.

XICOTENCAL was much concerned at this Delay, looking on it as a Pretence for the better examining into the Sincerity of the Treaty: And turning his Eyes upon the Audience, "You "have Reason (said he) Great *Teules* (so they call'd their "Gods) to chastise our Sincerity with your Distrust: But if it "be not sufficient to gain your Belief, when the whole Republick of *Tlascala* speaks to you by me, I, who am the Captain-"General of their Armies, and these Gentlemen of my Retinue, who are the principal Nobles, and greatest Captains of "my Nation, will remain as Hostages for your Security, and "continue in your Power, or be imprisoned during the whole "Time you shall stay in our City." *Hernan Cortez* was much satisfy'd with this Offer: But as he always desired to appear Superior, he answer'd, That there was no Occasion for such an Argument to convince him, that they desired that which was so much for their Interest; nor did his Men stand in need of Hostages to enter their City in Security, and maintain themselves there without Fear, as they had already maintained themselves in the midst of their Armies; but that the Peace remained firm, and secured in his Word; and he would march as soon as he could dispose Matters for it. With this he broke up the Conference, and waited upon them as far as the Gate of his Quarters, where he again embraced *Xicotencal*; and giving him his Hand afterwards, told him at parting, That he would no longer delay the returning of his Visit, than only the short Time that was necessary to dispatch the Ambassadors of *Mote-*

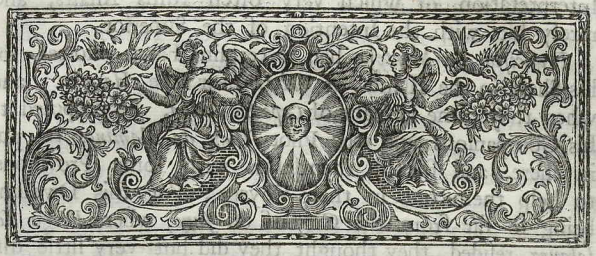
zuma.

zuma. Which Words gave ſufficient Life to the Negotiation, tho' they ſeemed to drop by Chance.

He then ſtay'd with the *Mexicans*; and they made a Jeſt of the Peace, and of thoſe who propoſed it, proceeding ſo far as to blame (and not without a diſpleaſing Liberty) the Eaſineſs with which the *Spaniards* ſuffered themſelves to be perſwaded; and turning to *Cortez*, they told him, as by way of Inſtruction, That they much wonder'd ſo wiſe a Man ſhould not have found out the *Tlaſcalans*; a barbarous People, who ſupported themſelves more by their Deceits than their Forces: That he ſhould look well to what he was doing; for that they only endeavoured to ſecure him, to take an Advantage of his Careleſneſs, to deſtroy both him and his Men; but when they ſaw that he ſtood fixed to his Word, and could not refuſe Peace to them that deſired it, nor be wanting to the Honour of his Arms, they ſtood for ſome Time thoughtful; the Reſult of which was to deſire him (their Perſwaſion being now turned to a Requeſt) that he would delay his March to *Tlaſcala* for ſix Days, in which Time the two Chiefeſt of their Number ſhould go and inform their Prince of what had paſſed, and the reſt would ſtay there to expect his Reſolution; to which *Hernan Cortez* did agree; for he did not think it proper to break through the Reſpect due to *Motezuma*, nor lay aſide all the Hopes which this Piece of Service might do him; it being poſſible he might by this remove thoſe Difficulties he made of ſuffering himſelf to be ſeen: And ſo he made his Advantage of the Inclination he found in the *Tlaſcalans* and *Mexicans*, and thus raiſed the Reputation of the Peace, cauſing it to be deſired by ſome, and feared by others.

The End *of the* Second Book.

THE



THE HISTORY Of the CONQUEST of *MEXICO*, or *NEW SPAIN*.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

An Account of the Voyage of those sent by Cortez *into* Spain; *with the Opposition and Impediments that retarded their Dispatches.*

IT is now reasonable that we return to the Captains *Alonso Hernandez Porto Carrero* and *Francisco de Montejo*, who sail'd from *Vera Cruz* with the Present, and Letters for the King; the first Account, and the first Tribute of *New Spain*. They had a prosperous Voyage, tho' they might have run a Risque by not complying literally with their Orders; the

Interpretation of which very often ruins Affairs, and rarely hits with the Intention of the Superior.

Francisco de Montejo had a certain Farm allotted for his Share in the Island of *Cuba*, near the *Havana*; and when they came in Sight of *Cape St. Anton*, he proposed to his Companions and the Pilot *Juan de Alaminos* to put in there, and furnish themselves with some Provisions, to help them out in their Voyage: For this Dwelling being so far from the City of *St. Jago*, where *Diego Velasquez* resided, they thought they did but very little disobey the Substance of the Order *Cortez* had given them, to keep at a Distance from *Diego Velasquez*'s Government. He obtained his Desire, and enjoy'd the Satisfaction of seeing his Home; and ran the Risque not only of losing the Vessel, but also the present, and the whole Business with which he was intrusted: For *Diego Velasquez*, whom his Jealousy of *Cortez* kept continually watchful, had distributed Spies among all the Habitations on the Coast, to give him an Account of whatsoever happened, suspecting that *Cortez* would send some of his Ships to the Island of *St. Domingo*, to give an Account of his Discovery, and ask Succour of the Religious Governors; which Application he was desirous to prevent and obstruct. By this Means he was presently acquainted with what passed in the Dwelling of *Montejo*; and in a very few Hours dispatched away two light Sailors, well manned and furnished with Artillery, with Orders to take that Ship of *Cortez* at all Risques. This was put in Execution with so much Celerity, that the Pilot *Alaminos* had Occasion for all his Skill and good Fortune to avoid the Danger which hazarded all the Advances made in *New Spain*.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo reflects with very little Reason on the Reputation of *Francisco de Montejo*, (worthy of better Treatment, both on Account of his Quality and Courage.) He charges him with betraying the Trust which *Cortez* had reposed in him; and says, he went ashore to his House, with a Design to set aside the Voyage, by giving *Diego Velasquez* an Opportunity of seizing the Ship; that he writ him a Letter of Advice, and sent it by a Sailor, who swam ashore; and other Circumstances without Foundation; in which he afterwards contradicts himself, by mentioning particularly with what Resolution and Activeness *Francisco de Montejo* opposed the Agents and Favourers

Favourers of *Diego Velasquez* at the Court; but writes also, that the Envoys of *Cortez* did not find the Emperor in *Spain*; and affirms several other Matters, by which 'tis easily perceived with what Facility he gave Ear to every Thing: And 'tis necessary to read his Works with Caution, where he has not been informed by his own Eyes. In fine, they continued their Course by the Channel of *Bahama*; *Anton de Alaminos* being the first Pilot who threw himself into the Danger of those Currents; and at that Time there was Occasion for all the Violence with which the Waters precipitate themselves between the *Lucaian* Islands and *Florida*, to pass quickly into the open Sea, and frustrate the Designs of *Velasquez*.

THE Weather favoured them; and they arrived at *Sevill* in *October*, in an unlucky Conjuncture; for there they found the Chaplain *Benito Martin*, who came to the Court (as we have said) to sollicite the Interest of *Diego Velasquez*, to whom he had sent his Commission of the King's Lieutenant, and was waiting for an Vessel to return to *Cuba*. This Accident appeared very extraordinary to the Chaplain, who employ'd all his Care and Interest, complaining of *Hernan Cortez*, and those who came in his Name, before the Ministers of the *Contratation* (as they now call it) of the *Indies*, that is, the Directors of the Trade, declaring, That that Ship belong'd to his Master *Diego Velasquez*, and all that was in her, as belonging to his Conquest: That the landing on the Provinces upon the Continent was done by Stealth, and without Authority, *Cortez* and those with him, having made use of that Fleet which *Diego Velasquez* had equipped for the same Enterprize: That the Captains *Porto Carrero* and *Montejo* ought to be severely punished, or at least the Vessel, with her Cargo, ought to be seiz'd, till such Time as they proved their Right, and by whose Authority they had a Commission.

Diego Velasquez had many Friends in *Sevill*; for he presented liberally, and seemed to be in the Right; at least, in doubtful Cases, People are used to interpret as they would have it. Finally, the Chaplain's Charge was admitted, and the Vessel seiz'd, the Envoys of *Cortez* being permitted to resort to the King upon good Security. With this Permission the two Captains, and the Pilot *Alaminos*, departed for *Barcelona*, believing they should find the

Court

Court in that City; but they came just as the King was gone to *Corunna*, whither he had summon'd the Estates of *Castile*, and prepared his Navy to pass over into *Flanders*, having now been some Time pressed by the *Germans* to accept of the Imperial Crown. They did not think fit to follow the Court, to prevent being obliged to discourse in haste on a Matter of such Importance, which being lost in the Hurry of the Journey, would be little regarded for its Novelty, for want of being duly considered. Upon which Reflection they took the Road of *Medellin*, with a Design to visit *Martin Cortez*, and try if they could perswade him to go with them to the Presence of the King, and authorize by his grey Hairs and Representation the Instances of his Son. They were received by that venerable old Man with all the Tenderness they could expect from a troubled and disconsolate Father, who had already bewailed the Death of a Son, in whom now he found, together with the News of his Life, as much to admire in his Actions, as to celebrate in his Fortune.

HE determined to go presently with them; and being informed where the Emperor (for so we shall call him now) was, they believed he would make some Stay in *Tordesillas* to take Leave of his Mother, the Queen *Donna Juana*, and dispatch some Affairs relating to his Journey. There they attended the Coming of the Emperor, had their first Audience, and were favoured by an opportune Accident; for the Ministers at *Sevill* not daring to detain, by way of Embargo, what came on account of the Emperor, it happen'd that *Cortez*'s Present, and the *Indians* of the new Conquest, arrived at the same Time; with which Accident the News they brought was better heard, reconciling to the Eyes the strange Things they had heard; for those Curiosities of Gold, valuable for the Art, as well as Matter, the curious fine Works of Feathers and Cotton, and those rational Creatures of such extraordinary Physiognomy, that they looked like Men of another Species, were so many other Testimonies to make his wonderful Account believed.

THE Emperor heard them with a very grateful Ear; and the first Motion of his Royal Mind was to turn to God, and give him humble Thanks, that new Kingdoms were discovered in his Time, where he might introduce his holy Name, and spread the Gospel. He had several Conferences with

with them, and informed himſelf very carefully of the Affairs of that new World, of the Dominions and Forces of *Motezuma*, of the Quality and Capacity of *Cortez*. He aſked the Pilot *Alaminos* ſome Queſtions concerning the Navigation. He ordered the *Indians* ſhould be carried to *Sevill*, that they might preſerve their Healths better in a more temperate Climate; and by what could be gathered at that Time of his good Diſpoſition to encourage that Undertaking, his Reſolves would have been ſhort and favourable, if he had not been taken up with other Affairs of the utmoſt Importance. There came Letters every Day from the Cities, with Propoſitions little reſpectful. *Caſtile* complained that her Cortes were oblig'd to aſſemble in *Galicia*; the Kingdom was jealous that the Empire would be a Burden upon them; and their Obedience was mixed with Proteſtations. In ſhort, by little and little, the Seed of the enſuing Rebellion of the Commons began to take Root among the People: They all loved the King, and all loſt their Reſpect: They were troubled at his Abſence, and lamented the Want of him. And this natural Love converted into Paſſion, or not properly diſpoſed, in a ſhort Time threaten'd the Loſs of his Dominion. The Emperor reſolved to haſten his Journey, that he might be at a Diſtance from their Complaints; and put it in Execution accordingly, believing he ſhould return in a ſhort Time, and without much Difficulty, correct thoſe ill Humours he left in Motion; but with Reſpect to thoſe high Motives which obliged him to take that Voyage, we cannot but acknowledge, he ran a very great Riſque. And in Truth, he conſiders but little his Health, who runs into Exceſſes, upon a Suppoſition that he ſhall find Remedies in Time of Neceſſity.

UPON Account of theſe Diſturbances, the Demand of *Cortez* was referred to Cardinal *Adrian* and the Aſſembly of Prelates and Miniſters, who were of his Council in the Government, during the Abſence of the Emperor, with Orders, that after a Hearing before the Council of the *Indies*, they ſhould take a Medium in the Pretenſions of *Diego Velaſquez*, and encourage the Diſcovery and ſpiritual Conqueſt of that Land, which now was known by the Name of *New Spain*. The Preſident of this Council (which was formed ſome few Days before) was *Juan Rodriguez de Fonſeca* Biſhop of *Burgos*, aſſiſted by *Hernando de Vega* Lord of *Grajal*, *Don*

Francisco de Zapata, *Don Antonio de Padilla* of the Royal Council, and *Pedro de Martir* of *Angleria*, Protonotary of *Aragon*. The President was very well skill'd in the Affairs of the *Indies*, of which he had the Management a long while, and all gave Way to his Authority and Experience. He openly favoured *Diego Velasquez*, either for that the Chaplain's Reasons weighed with him, or else for the good Opinion he had of the Governor.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo relates the Cause of this Partiality with a tedious Indecency. But as he only says what he heard, 'tis likely there is little or nothing in it. That which cannot be denied is, that the Cause of *Cortez* suffered much by what he urged against him, giving an ill Name to his Conquest, and treating it as a Crime of evil Consequence: He represented that *Diego Valasquez*, by Vertue of the Title given him by the Emperor, was Chief of the Undertaking, and in Justice, of the Means by which it was prosecuted: He urg'd the little Reliance there was on a Man in Rebellion against his own Superior, and how much such Principles of Sedition ought to be feared in Provinces so remote: He protested the Damages which might ensue: And lastly, he laid so great a Stress upon his Representation, that he put both the Cardinal, and those of the Assembly to a Stand.

THEY were very sensible that he appeared over zealous in the Cause of *Velasquez*; yet they would not presume to determine so important a Point against so able a Minister; nor did they hold it convenient to give *Cortez* Occasion of Distrust, when he was so employed, and when they were in Truth obliged to him for the greatest Discovery that had been made. Those Doubts and Oppositions retarded their Resolution after such a Manner, that the Emperor returned from his Journey, and other Agents arrived from *Cortez*, before they came to any Determination upon his Pretensions. All that *Martin Cortez* and his Friends could obtain, was, an Allowance of some Part of the Treasure for their Expences, out of those Effects which were seiz'd at *Sevill*; with which moderate Supply they were two Years in the Court, following the Councils, like unregarded Pretenders; the Interest of the Monarchy at that Time being made a particular Affair, contrary to the many Instances, where particular Interest is made that of the Publick.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Motezuma *endeavours to break the Peace of* Tlaſcala. *The People of that Republick continue their Inſtances.* Hernan Cortez *purſues his March, and makes his Entry into that City.*

DURING the ſix Days that *Hernan Cortez* continued in his Quarters to comply with the *Mexicans*, it was known by freſh Experience, with what Earneſtneſs the People of *Tlaſcala* deſired Peace; and how jealous they were of the diligent Negotiations of *Motezuma*. The Ambaſſadors, which were expected, came within the prefixed Time, and were received with the uſual Civility. There came ſix Gentlemen of the Royal Family, with a ſplendid Attendance, and another Preſent like the former, but ſomething greater in Value. One of them ſpoke, and (not without premeditated Words, and much enlarging) laid before them how much the ſupreme Emperor (and at the mentioning of his Name, they all humbled themſelves very low) deſired to be a Friend and Confederate of the Great Prince, whom the *Spaniards* obey'd, whoſe Majeſty appeared with ſo great a Luſtre in the Valour of his Subjects, that he found himſelf inclined to pay a yearly Tribute, dividing with him thoſe Riches with which he abounded; for that he held him in great Veneration, conſidering him as the Offſpring of the Sun, or, at leaſt, Lord of all thoſe moſt happy Regions, where Light is firſt produced. But that two Conditions were neceſſarily previous to this Agreement: Firſt, that *Hernan Cortez* and his People ſhould make no League with thoſe of *Tlaſcala*; for that it would by no Means be right, after being ſo much obliged by the Gifts of *Motezuma*, to take part with his Enemies; and, ſecondly, that they ſhould lay aſide all Thoughts of a Deſign which was neither poſſible nor reaſonable; as was their marching into *Mexico*; for that by the Laws of the Empire the King could

could not suffer himself to be seen by Strangers, nor would his Subjects permit it: That they should seriously consider the Dangers of both those rash Undertakings; for that the *Tlascalans* were so inclined to Treachery and Robbery, that they would only endeavour to make sure of them, in order to be revenged, and make their Advantage of that Gold, wherewith the Emperor had enriched them: And that the *Mexicans* were so zealous for their Laws, and so stubborn a People, that his Authority would not be sufficient to keep them under; nor could the *Spaniards* have just Reason to complain of what they should suffer, after they had been so often admonished of that which they were undertaking. Thus did the *Mexican* deliver himself. And all the Embassies and Cares of *Motezuma* tended to endeavour to hinder the *Spaniards* from coming nearer. After the Presages which had happened, he look'd upon them with Horror, and with a dissembled Obedience to his Gods, made that a Point of Religion which was only his Faintheartedness. *Cortez* at that Time suspended his Answer; and only said, 'Twas but reasonable they should rest after their Journey, and that he would dispatch them very soon. He desired they should be Witnesses of the Peace of *Tlascala*; and likewise thought it of Importance to detain them, lest *Motezuma* should be concerned at the Account of his Resolution, and begin to put himself upon his Guard; for he knew how unprovided he was at that Time, and with what Facility he could form his Armies.

THESE Embassies, to which the *Tlascalans* attributed the Delay of *Cortez*, gave them so much Uneasiness, that the Government came to a Resolution (as the last Proof of their Affection) to go to his Quarters in the Form of a Senate, in order to conduct him to their City, determining not to return till they had convinced him of the Sincerity of their Treaty, and broke off the Negotiations of the *Mexicans*. The Appearance was solemn and numerous with Ornaments and Feathers of a Colour denoting Peace. The Senators were brought in Chairs upon the Shoulders of inferior Officers, and *Magiscatzin* (who always favoured the *Spaniards*) in the most honourable Place, as also the Father of *Xicotencal*, a venerable old Man, who had lost his Sight with Age, but without any Detriment to his Understanding; for he still preserved the Character of a wise Man among the Councellors. A little before they came to the House

where

where *Cortez* expected them, they alighted; and the blind Man advancing foremost, desired those who led him to bring him near the Captain of the Eastern People. He embrac'd him with extraordinary Satisfaction; then touched several Parts of him, as if he were desirous to know him, and supply with his Hands the Defect of his Sight. They all seated themselves, and at the Request of *Magiscatzin*, the blind Man spoke after this Manner.

" Now, valiant Captain, (whether you be of mortal Race, " or not,) you hold in your Power the Senate of *Tlascala*, the " utmost Proof of our Submission. We come not to excuse " the Errors of our Nation, but to take them upon our selves, " depending upon our own Sincerity for your Forgiveness. We " were the Men who resolved upon the War; but we are like- " wise the Men who have determined Peace: The first was " hasty, and the second slow; but Resolutions well consi- " dered are not usually the worst: On the contrary, it " requires Pains to efface that which hath been impressed " with Difficulty; and I can assure you, that the very " Delay hath given us a greater Knowledge of your Valour, " and laid a deeper Foundation of our Constancy. We " are not ignorant, that *Motezuma* endeavours to dissuade " you from our Confederacy: Hearken to him as you " would to our Enemy, tho' you will not consider him as a " Tyrant, as surely he should appear, since he perswades you " to act unjustly. We do not desire your Assistance against " him, for provided you are not on his Side, our own " Forces are sufficient; and we shall only be sorry that " you trust your Security to his Offers, because we are " acquainted with his Artifices and Subtilties. Here in " my Blindness some Lights offer themselves, which disco- " ver to me your Danger at a Distance. Perhaps *Tlascala* " shall be famous in the World for the Defence of your " Cause; but let us leave your being undeceived to Time, " it needs no Prophecy to explain what may be so easily " gathered from his Tyranny, and our Fidelity. You have " already offered us Peace; if *Motezuma* does not hinder " you, what is it that does? Why do you deny our earnest " Requests? Why do you forbear to honour our City with " your Presence? We are come resolved at once to gain " your good Will and Friendship, or put our Liber- " ty into your Hands; therefore chuse which of the two " is the most grateful. As to our selves there is no Medium

" between the two Fortunes, of being either your Friends, " or your Prisoners.

THUS did the venerable old Man conclude his Speech, that there might not be wanting an *Appius Claudius* in this Council, like to the other, who made an Oration in the Senate against the *Epirotes*, and it must be confessed, that the *Tlascalans* were Men of more than ordinary Reason, as has appeared in their Government, Actions, and Discourses. Some Writers, ill affected to the *Spanish* Nation, treat the *Indians* as Brutes incapable of Reason, thereby to lessen the Glory of the Conquest. It is true, they admired with Simplicity at the Sight of Men of another Kind, Colour, and Habit; they beheld a Beard as a Thing monstrous, (an Accident which Nature had denied them;) and gave Gold for Glass; believing the Fire-Arms to be Lightning, and Horses to be wild Beasts: But all was the Effect of Novelty, which does not lessen the Understanding; for tho' Admiration supposes Ignorance, it does not suppose Incapacity; nor can that properly be called Ignorance which proceeds from a Want of due Information. God made them rational; and notwithstanding he permitted their Blindness, he did not the less endow them with all the Capacity and Gifts of Nature, that were necessary for the Preservation of their Species, and the Perfection of his own Work. But let us return to our Narration, lest we should do honour to the Calumny, by being too long upon the Defence.

CORTEZ could not resist this Demonstration of the Senate's good Will; nor did he now hope for any Thing more, having complied with the Time offered to the *Mexicans*; and to that Purpose answered the Senators with much Respect, and made them some Presents, desiring by those to confirm to them the Satisfaction he received, and the Confidence he put in them. It was necessary to perswade them, with some Resolution, that they should return; which they did, *Cortez* having given his Word to remove his Quarters to the City immediately, without any more Delay than was necessary to join some People of the neighbouring Villages, to conduct his Artillery and Baggage. They took his Word, repeating it to him with more Affection than Suspicion, and so return'd well satisfy'd, taking upon themselves the Care of sending *Cortez* a sufficient Number of *Indians* of Burden. Scarce had the Sun begun to shine

the

the next Morning, when they found five hundred *Tamenes* at their Quarters, and ſo diligent, that they diſputed about their Burdens, and made Pretenſions to their own Labour.

THEY prepared immediately for a March; drew up their Men in a Body, with the Artillery and Baggage in its proper Place, and took the Road of *Tlaſcala*, with all the good Order, Caution, and Care uſually obſerved in this little Army; to which exact Diſcipline they owed good Part of their Succeſs. The Fields on both Sides were filled with innumerable *Indians*, who came forth from their Habitations at the Novelty of this Sight; and the Outcries and Behaviour of them were ſuch, as might have paſſed for the Clamours and Threatnings of War, if *Donna Marina* had not acquainted them that they uſed thoſe Shouts of Joy upon their Feſtivals; and that celebrating after their Manner the Happineſs they had obtained, they bleſt and praiſed them as their new-acquired Friends; with which Information the Noiſe was the better born, it being neceſſary then to ſuffer thoſe Applauſes with Patience.

THE Senators came a conſiderable Way out of the City to receive the *Spaniards*, with all the Oſtentation and Pomp accuſtomed upon publick Solemnities, aſſiſted by the Nobles, who thought it an Honour on thoſe Occaſions, to ſupport the Miniſters of the Republick. When they came up, they paid their Reſpects, and without ſtopping marched on before; ſignifying by this haſty Reſpect, how much they deſired to forward the March, without detaining thoſe they accompanied.

AT their Entrance into the City, it reſounded with Shouts and Acclamations, making a much greater Noiſe than before, becauſe mixed with the diſagreeable Muſick of their Flutes, Drums, and Horns. So great was the Concourſe of People, that the Officers of the Senate had much Trouble to manage the Multitude, that the Paſſage of the Street might be left free. The Women threw various Sorts of Flowers on the *Spaniards*; thoſe who were bolder, and leſs reſerved, drew near, and put the Flowers into their Hands. The Prieſts, dragging after them their long Garments in which they ſacrificed, came out with their Copper Cenſers, and without knowing whether they did Right or Wrong, expreſs'd their Joy by the Smoke.

THEY

THEY all ſhewed in their Countenances the Sincerity of their Hearts, but variouſly affected; for Admiration and Satisfaction were mixed together, and Joy was tempered with Veneration. The Quarters provided, which contained all Things neceſſary for their Conveniency and good Entertainment, was the beſt Houſe in the City, which had three or four ſpacious ſquare Courts, with ſo many, and ſuch large Chambers, that *Cortez*, without any Difficulty, kept all his People together there in one Body. He carried with him the Ambaſſadors of *Motezuma*, though they were unwilling, and lodged them near himſelf; becauſe, in reſpect to him, their Perſons were ſecure, and they ſeemed afraid of ſome Violence.

THE Entry into, and laſt Reduction of *Tlaſcala*, was on the Twenty third of *September* of the ſame Year 1519; a Day on which the *Spaniards* gained a Peace, with the Circumſtances of a Triumph, ſo durable, and of ſo great Conſequence for the Conqueſt of *New Spain*, that to this Day they enjoy ſeveral Privileges and Exemptions in that Province, as a Reward of that firſt Friendſhip, and are an honourable Monument of their antient Fidelity.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Description of the City of Tlascala. *The Senators complain of the* Spaniards *going armed, being grieved at their Distrust.* Cortez *satisfies them; and endeavours to make them quit their Idolatry.*

TLASCALA was in those Days a very populous City, founded upon four Eminences of different Largeness, little distant from each other, which ran in Length from East to West, and secure in the natural Strength of their Rocks, contain'd within them all the Buildings, forming four Commands, or distinct Wards, which were united, and had a Communication by several Streets with very thick Walls, which served as a Defence to the Town. These Wards were governed by four Caziques, who held them as Fiefs, being descended from the first Founders, but depended on the Senate, in which they commonly assisted, yet under an entire Subjection to its Orders in all State-Affairs, and Appeals made to it by their Vassals. The Houses were raised moderately high, for they had no second Story: The Building was of Stone, or Brick; and instead of cooping Roofs of Tiles, they were flat at the Top with Galeries. The Streets were narrow and crooked, as the Steepness and Ruggedness of the Mountain would allow: A very extraordinary Situation and Architecture, more for Defence than Commodiousness.

THE whole Province was about thirty Leagues in Circumference; the Length, ten from East to West; the Breadth, four from North to South. A broken Mountainous Country, but very fertile, and well cultivated in all Parts, where the Plenty of Streams enabled them to improve the Land. It was surrounded on all Sides with Provinces depending on *Motezuma*; only on the North,

North, the great *Cordillera*, or Ridge of Mountains, rather clos'd them in, than divided their Limits; by whose inaccessible Craggs they had Communication with the *Otomies*, *Totonaques*, and other barbarous Nations of their Confederacy. The Towns were many, and near to each other: The People from their Childhood inclined to Superstition, and the Use of Arms; in the Management of which they exercised themselves with great Emulation, whether it was the Climate or Necessity that made them valiant. They abounded in Maiz, or *Indian* Wheat; and this Grain so well answered the Labour of the Husbandman, that it gave the whole Province the Name of *Tlascala*, a Word which, in their Language, signifies the Land of Bread. They had great Variety of Fruit, and very delicious; Game of all Sorts; and one of their plentiful Productions, was the *Cochinilla*, the Use of which they understood not till they were taught it by the *Spaniards*. It is likely it was so called from the *Coccinean*, or Scarlet Grain, whence our *Grana*, or Scarlet-Dye likewise took its Name; but in these Parts it is a kind of Insect, like a small Worm, which is bred, and continues to the last upon the Leaves of a wild Thorny Tree, which they called then the wild *Tuna*, or the *Wood-Thistle*. Now they take great Care of it, as of a Fruit-Tree, as owing their greatest Commerce and Profit to the precious Dye of those Worms, nothing inferior to the Purple discovered by the Antients in the Blood of the *Murex*, so much celebrated for being us'd in the Robes of their Kings.

BUT the natural Felicity of this Country was not without an Allay; for the Neighbourhood of the Mountains made it subject to great Tempests, horrible Hurricans, and frequent Inundations of the River *Zahual*, which not contented some Years with the Destruction of their Harvest, and taking away Trees by the Roots, was wont to endanger Houses on the Tops of Eminences. 'Tis said, that *Zahual*, in their Language, signifies the *River of the Itch*; for that those who drank the Waters, or bath'd in them, were cover'd with that Distemper; a second Malignity of the River. Nor was the want of Salt the least Misfortune that *Tlascala* suffer'd, which made them disrelish all their Abundance; and tho' they might have brought it easily from the Lands of *Motezuma*, in Exchange for their Wheat, they held it less inconvenient to eat their Victuals without seasoning, than to have an open

Commerce

Commerce with their Enemies. These, and other Observations of their Government, (which indeed were remarkable in that unpolish'd People,) caused Admiration in the *Spaniards*, and made them act with Caution.

Cortez dissembled his Concern, but continued the Guards in his Quarters; and when he went out into the City with the *Indians*, he took Part of his Men with him, not forgetting their Fire-Arms. The Soldiers also went together in Companies, provided after the same Manner; endeavouring to make them all believe he reposed a Confidence in them, yet after such a Manner, that he should not seem regardless of himself. But the *Indians*, who desired the Friendship of the *Spaniards* without any Artifice or Affectation, were grieved upon a Point of Honour, that they did not lay aside their Arms, and give entire Credit to their Fidelity; a Point which was debated in the Senate; by whose Order *Magiscatzin* came to signify their Opinion to *Cortez*; and layed before him, How unsuitable those warlike Precautions were to a People who were subject, obedient, and desirous to please; that the great Vigilance with which they lived in their Quarters, shewed how little they thought themselves secure; and that the Soldiers, who passed thro' the City with Lightning always upon their Shoulders, tho' they did no Hurt, offended more by that Distrust, than if they really oppressed them. He added, That Arms should be looked upon as an useless Load where they were not necessary; and that it appeared ill among those who were sincerely their Friends, and disarmed: And concluded, intreating *Cortez*, after a most friendly Manner, in the Name of the Senate, and all the City, that he would command those Precautions and disagreeable Appearances to cease, which seemed to preserve Signs of an unfinish'd War, or were, at least, Indications of a scrupulous Friendship.

Cortez answered him, That he was well acquainted with the good Will of their Citizens, and without the least Suspicion, that any Thing could happen in Breach of that Peace, which they had so much desired; that the Guards they used, and the Vigilancy they observed in his Quarters, was conformable to the Custom of his Country, where the Soldiers lived always after a Military Manner, and ennured themselves in Times of Peace to the Fatigues of War, by which Means they learned Obedience, and were accustomed to Vigilance: That their Arms were an

Ornament,

Ornament, and Part of their Habit, which they wore as a Peice of Finery belonging to their Profeſſion; for which Reaſon he deſired them to remain aſſured of his Friendſhip, and that they ſhould not think ſtrange of thoſe Things which were proper to the Soldiery, and conſiſtent with the Peace he had made with their Nation.

HE found the Way to ſatisfy his Friends, without abating any Part of his Caution; and *Magiſcatzin*, a Man of a warlike Spirit, who had in his Youth commanded the Arms of the Republick, was ſo well pleaſed with this laudable Cuſtom, that he not only returned without Complaint, but was deſirous to introduce in their own Armies this Kind of Vigilance and Diſcipline, which diſtinguiſhed and made good Soldiers.

WITH this Account the People were quieted, and all aſſiſted the *Spaniards* with a diligent Obſequiouſneſs, and even Servitude. Every Day diſcovered more of their good Will. Their Preſents were many, all Sorts of wild Fowl and extraordinary Fruits, with ſome Cloaths, and Curioſities of little Value. However, it was the beſt the Penury of thoſe Mountains could afford, which debarred them the Commerce of thoſe Regions which produced Gold and Silver.

THE beſt Hall of the Quarters was reſerved for a Chapel; in which, upon certain Steps, they raiſed an Altar, and placed ſome Images with all poſſible Decency. They celebrated every Day the holy Sacrifice of the Maſs, in the Preſence of the principal *Indians*, who were ſilent either out of Reſpect or Admiration; and tho' they were not devout themſelves, they took Care not to diſturb the Devotion of others. They remarked all that paſſed; and all was a Novelty to them, and cauſed greater Eſteem of the *Spaniards*, whoſe Virtues they were ſenſible of and reverenced, rather for that they procure Love, than for that the *Indians* either knew the Names, or excerciſed any of them.

ONE Day *Magiſcatzin* aſked *Cortez*, whether he was mortal; becauſe his Actions, and thoſe of his People, ſeemed more than natural, and contained that ſort of Goodneſs and Greatneſs which they conſidered in their Gods: But he did not underſtand thoſe Ceremonies, with which it appeared they acknowledged a ſuperior Deity; for they made Preparations for a Sacrifice, but he did not perceive any Victim or Offering, with which to appeaſe the Gods, nor did he underſtand they could have any Sacrifice, unleſs ſome one

died

died for the Sake of the reſt. *Cortez* took hold of this Opportunity; and ſatisfying his Queſtions, ingeniouſly confeſſed, That his Condition, and that of his People, was mortal; for he durſt not temporize with the Deceit of thoſe People, when the infallible Truth of his Religion was in Queſtion. But he added, That as they were born in a better Climate, they had more Underſtanding, and were of greater Strength than the reſt of Men; and without admitting the Attribute of Immortal, he remained with the Reputation of Invincible. *Cortez* told him likewiſe, That he not only acknowledged a Superior in Heaven, where Men adored the only Lord of the Univerſe, but beſides, they were Subjects and Vaſſals to the greateſt Prince upon Earth, under whoſe Dominion, they alſo of *Tlaſcala* then were, and that being Brothers to the *Spaniards*, they could do no other than obey the ſame Prince. He immediately from that went on to diſcourſe of the Point moſt eſſential; and tho' he ſpoke moſt fervently againſt Idolatry, finding in his own good Senſe, ſufficient Foundation to oppoſe and deſtroy the Multiplicity of their Gods, and the abominable Horror of their Sacrifices; yet when he came to touch upon the Myſteries of Faith, he thought they deſerved a better Expoſitor; and as he knew when to be ſilent, he then gave an Opportunity to Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* to ſpeak. That Religious Perſon endeavoured to bring them by Degrees to the Knowledge of the Truth, explaining like a learned and prudent Man the principal Points of the Chriſtian Religion, after ſuch a Manner, that he might gain their Wills, without overcharging the Underſtanding; for 'tis by no Means convenient to ſtrike with a Blaze of Light upon the Eyes of thoſe who are juſt come out of Darkneſs. *Magiſcatzin*, and the reſt who attended him, gave at that Time but very ſmall Hopes of their being reduced; ſaying, That the God whom the *Spaniards* adored, was very great, and muſt be greater than theirs; but that each of them was powerful in his own Dominion: For that in one Place there was Occaſion for a God againſt Lightning and Tempeſts; in another, for Water and Harveſts; and again, another for War; and ſo on for all other human Neceſſities: For that it was impoſſible for any one to take Care of the Whole. They admitted the Propoſition of their Temporal Lord with more Eaſe; for they immediately conſented to be his Subjects, and aſked if he would defend them

from *Motezuma*, placing in that the Foundation of their Obedience; but at the ſame Time deſired him, with Humility and Earneſtneſs, that there might be no mention of changing their Religion: For ſhould it come to the Knowledge of their Gods, they would call down their Tempeſts, and ſtop the Waters to annihilate them. In ſuch Manner did Error poſſeſs them, and the Devil keep them in Fear.

ALL that could be obtained of them at that Time, was, to lay aſide Sacrifices of human Blood; for they were convinced they acted againſt the Law of Nature: And immediately they ſet at Liberty thoſe miſerable Captives which were to die on their Feſtivals, and broke up ſeveral Priſons and Cages where they were kept, and well fed, to prepare them; not ſo much that they ſhould come decent to the Sacrifice as that they ſhould not come in bad Order to the Table. *Hernan Cortez* was not ſatisfied with this Demonſtration; but on the contrary he propoſed to his People, that they ſhould deſtroy all their Idols; forming a Conſequence from the Action and good Succeſs at *Zempoala*, as if it had been the ſame Thing to undertake ſuch an Affair in a Town that was ſo much larger. His Zeal deceived him, and not his Reaſon. But Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* convinced him, by laying before him with a Religious Concern, That he was not without ſome Scruples concerning the Force which was uſed to the People of *Zempoala*; that Perſecution and the Goſpel did ill agree; and, that in Effect, it would only overturn their Altars, and leave the Idols in their Hearts: To which he added, that the Deſign to reduce thoſe Infidels required more Time, and gentle Uſage; that it was by no Means a good Method of bringing them to the Knowledge of their Errors, by vexing them after that Manner, which would only ſerve to make them diſlike the Truth; and that before they introduced God, they ought to baniſh the Devil, a War of another Kind, and different Arms. To whoſe Perſwaſion and Authority *Cortez* ſubmitted his Opinoin, and moderated his Zeal; and from that Time forwards they only endeavoured to gain and diſpoſe the Minds of the *Indians*, by making Religion appear aimable in her Works, that upon the View of them, they might be ſenſible of the Difference, and Abomination of their own Cuſtoms, and in them ſee the Deformity and Filthineſs of their Gods.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Hernan Cortez *dispatches the Ambassadors of* Motezuma. Diego de Ordaz *views the Burning Mountain of* Popocatepec; *it is resolved to march to* Cholula.

THREE or four Days being passed in these first Affairs of *Tlascala*, *Cortez* began to think of dispatching *Motezuma*'s Ambassadors. He had detained them purposely, that they might see those People entirely reduced, whom they accounted untameable, and the Answer he gave them was short and artful. He desired them to inform *Motezuma* of what they had heard, and what had passed in their Presence; the Earnestness and Methods by which the People of *Tlascala* had sollicited Peace, and deserved it; together with the Affection and good Correspondence with which they maintained it: That now they were so much at his Disposal, and he had such an entire Command over them, that he hoped he should reduce them to the Obedience of *Motezuma*: This being one of the good Consequences which would attend the Embassy, among others of greater Importance, obliged him again to sollicite his Permission to continue his Journey, that he might afterwards deserve his Acknowledgements. With this Dispatch, and the necessary Guard, the Ambassadors immediately departed, more convinced of the Truth than satisfied with the Answer.

HERNAN CORTEZ found himself engaged to stay some Days in *Tlascala*, to receive the Obedience of the principal Towns of the Republick and their Confederates; which Act was made valid by a publick Instrument, and authorized with the Name of the King *Don Carlos*, already known and reverenced among the *Indians*, with such Sincerity in their Subjection, as appeared in the Respect of the Subjects.

AT

AT this Time there happened an Accident which ſurprized the *Spaniards*, and ſtruck a Terror among the *Indians*. The Burning Mountain of *Popocatepec* is to be ſeen from the higheſt Part of the City of *Tlaſcala* on the Top of a Mountain, which, at the Diſtance of eight Leagues, riſes conſiderably above all the reſt of the Hills. At that Time the ſaid Burning Mountain began to darken the Day, with great and frightful Flights of Smoke, ſo rapid and violent, that it went up a great Way into the Air direct, without giving Way to the Force of the Wind, until having ſpent its Fury in the Heighth, it ſcatter'd and diſpers'd it ſelf all round, forming a Cloud, more or leſs obſcure, according to the Quantity of Aſhes it carried along with it. Every now and then it ſhot forth Flames, or Globes of Fire, which ſeemed to divide themſelves into Sparks, and probably were the burnt Stones which the Mountain threw out, or ſome other Pieces of combuſtible Matter, which laſted as long as it was fed. The *Indians* were not frighted at the Sight of the Smoke, becauſe 'twas frequent, and an ordinary Thing in that Place: But the Fire (which rarely appeared) made them ſorrowful, and put them in Fear, as Preſages of future Ills; for they apprehended that thoſe Sparks which were ſcatter'd through the Air, and did not fall down again into the Burning Mouth, were the Souls of Tyrants that came abroad to chaſtiſe the Earth; and that their Gods, when they were angry, made uſe of them as Inſtruments, in Proportion to the Puniſhments they deſigned.

MAGISCATZIN, and ſome of the chief Men, who generally attended him, were entertaining *Hernan Cortez* with thoſe wild Fancies of theirs; and he (obſerving the rude Notion they had of the Immortality, Rewards, and Puniſhments of the Soul,) endeavour'd to make them ſenſible of the Errors with which they diſfigured the Truth. At that Time *Diego de Ordaz* came to aſk his Leave to go to take a nearer View of the Burning Mountain, offering to go up to the Top of the Hills, and obſerved that great Secret of Nature. The *Indians* were amaz'd to hear ſuch a Propoſal, and endeavour'd to diſſwade him from his Intention, by informing him of the Danger, ſaying, That the moſt valiant of their Nation, had only the Boldneſs once to viſit ſome Hermitages of their Gods about the Middle of the Eminence; but that above that he would not find the Mark of a human

human Foot; nor were the Trembling to be endur'd or the Roarings, which forbid all Approach to the Top of the Mountain. The Account of these Difficulties did but make *Diego de Ordaz* the more eager; and tho' *Hernan Cortez* thought it a Piece of Rashness, yet he gave him Leave to try, that the *Indians* might see what they thought impossible was not so, to the Courage of the *Spaniards*. So zealous was he at all Times for his own Reputation, and that of his People.

Diego de Ordaz upon this Occasion was accompanied by two Soldiers of his Company, and some of the principal *Indians*, that offered to go with him as far as the Hermitage, very much lamenting that they were going to be Witnesses of his Death. The Beginning of the Mountain is very delightful, being beautified on all Sides with Trees full of Leaves, which, for a considerable Way, cover'd the Side of the Hill, and make the Ascent appear the less tedious, seeming, in a deceitful Manner, to allure Men with Pleasure into them. When that is passed, the Earth grows barren by Degrees, partly by Reason of the Snow, which lies all the Year in those Places, where either the Sun or the Fire do not come, and partly by Reason of the Ashes, which looks white at a Distance, because of the Thickness of the Smoke. The *Indians* stopp'd at the Habitation of the Hermits; and *Diego de Ordaz*, with his two Soldiers, went on, climbing courageously up the Rocks, very often making use of Hands as well as Feet. But when they came within a small Distance of the Top, they felt the Earth move under them with Violence and repeated Rockings, and heard the violent Roaring of the Burning Mouth, which in a short Time discharged, with a much greater Noise, a vast Quantity of Fire, wrapped up in Smoke and Ashes; and tho' it went directly upwards, without heating the Air about it, it afterwards spread when it was at the Heighth, and came down upon the three *Spaniards* in such Showers of Ashes, so thick and hot, that they were obliged to seek for Shelter in the Hollow of the Rock, where they were almost stifled, and desired to return. But *Diego de Ordaz* perceiving the Earthquake

was over, that the Noiſe leſſened, and the Smoke came out leſs thick, encouraged them by his Example; for going on before them, he paſſed with Intrepidity to the very Mouth of the Mountain, at the Bottom whereof he obſerved a great Maſs of Fire, which ſeemed to boil like ſomething liquid, and ſhining. He alſo took Notice of the Largeneſs of the Mouth, which took up all the Top of the Mountain, and might be about a Quarter of a League in Circumference. They returned with this Account; and received a Welcome back from their bold Undertaking, with great Aſtoniſhment of the *Indians*, and Encreaſe of their Eſteem for the *Spaniards*.

THE Gallantry of *Diego de Ordaz* was at that Time no other than a raſh Curioſity; but Time made it of Importance and ſerviceable to this Undertaking; for the Army being in Want of Powder, (the ſecond Time they marched to *Mexico* by Force of Arms,) *Cortez* remember'd the Boilings of liquid Fire which were diſcovered in this Mountain, and in it found a ſufficient Quantity of very fine Sulphur, for the making of Gun-Powder. On which Account this Action of *Diego de Ordaz* recommended it ſelf, and became neceſſary; and his Diſcovery was ſo uſeful in the Conqueſt, that the Emperor afterwards rewarded him with ſome Favours, and enobled the Action by giving him the Burning Mountain for his Arms.

TWENTY Days the *Spaniards* continu'd in *Tlaſcala*, partly on Account of Viſits paid them by the neighbouring Nations, and partly to ſatisfy the Inhabitants themſelves; who agreed ſo well with the *Spaniards*, that they endeavoured to put off the Time appointed for removing, with various Feſtivals and publick entertainments, Dances after their Manner, and Acts of Agility.

THE Day being fixed for the March, there aroſe a Diſpute about the Choice of the Road: *Cortez* inclined for *Cholula*, a City (as we have ſaid) very large, in whoſe Diſtricts the Veterane Troops of *Motezuma* uſed to quarter.

THE *Tlaſcalans* oppoſed this Reſolution, adviſing them to take their March by *Guajozingo*, a Country plentiful and ſecure; for the People of *Cholula*, beſides their

their natural Cunning and Treachery, obeyed *Motezuma* with a ſervile Fear, being the Vaſſals in whom he moſt confided for their known Fidelity. To which they added, That City had the Reputation amongſt all the Diſtricts thereabouts, of being a Country ſacred and religious, containing above four hundred Temples, with ſuch ill-conditioned Gods, that they aſtoniſhed all the World with their Prodigies; for which Reaſon it was by no Means ſecure to enter their Territories, without having ſome Aſſurances of their good Diſpoſition. The *Zempoalans* leſs ſuperſtitious now by their Acquaintance with the *Spaniards*, deſpiſed thoſe Prodigies; but were of the ſame Opinion, remembring and repeating the Reaſons they had given at *Zocothlan*, for the Army's avoiding that City.

BUT before they came to any Reſolution on this Point, new Ambaſſadors arrived from *Motezuma*, with another Preſent, and Advice that their Emperor would now ſuffer himſelf to be viſited by the *Spaniards*, and vouchſafe to receive their Embaſſy after a favourable Manner; and among other Things they diſcourſed of relating to the March, they acquainted him they had provided Quarters at *Cholula*. So that now it was become neceſſary to march by that City; not that they plac'd any Confidence in this unlooked for and ſudden Change of *Motezuma*, or that ſuch Facility, after ſo much Reſiſtance, did not appear unſeaſonable and ſuſpicious: But *Hernan Cortez* took great Care that theſe *Mexicans* ſhould not perceive him concerned; for in their Fear he placed his greateſt Security. As ſoon as the Chiefs of the *Tlaſcalans* underſtood the Propoſal of *Motezuma*, they took it for granted, that Treachery was deſigned at *Cholula*, and renewed their Inſtances, being ſincerely concerned for the Danger of their Friends. And *Magiſcatzin*, who had the greateſt Regard for the *Spaniards*, and a paſſionate Inclination in particular for *Cortez*, preſſed him very much that he ſhould not march to that City. *Cortez*, who was deſirous to give him all the Satisfaction he could, as being much obliged for the Care he took of him, and eſteeming very much his Advice, immediately aſſembled his Captains, and in his Preſence propoſed the Queſtion, weighing the Reaſons

that

that offered both on the one Side, and on the other; and the Resolution was, That now they could not possibly avoid marching to those Quarters proposed by the *Mexicans*, unless they would discover that they were suspicious before; and tho' their Suspicions were certain, they were still obliged to proceed into the greater Danger, and not to leave the Traytors behind them: Therefore it was necessary for them to go to *Cholula*, to discover the Intentions of *Motezuma*, and give a new Reputation to their Arms by the Chastisement of his Perfidy. *Magiscatzin* acquiesced in that Opinion, reverencing (with great Docility) the superior Judgment of the *Spaniards*; but never quitting his Jealousy, which obliged him to judge the contrary. He desired Leave to call together the Troops of his Republick, and assist his Friends in such evident Danger; for that it was not reasonable, tho' the *Spaniards* were invincible, to deprive the *Tlascalans* of the Honour of performing their Duty. *Hernan Cortez* (notwithstanding he was sensible of the Danger, and well pleased with the Offer) refused to admit them; for it was disagreeable to him to begin so soon to receive Succour from a Nation so lately reduced; and therefore he answered him, by making great Acknowledgements for his Care; and lastly told him, That at the present the Offer was not necessary; yet he refused it so faintly, as if he desired they should do it, without his being obliged to let them know it; a Kind of Refusal, which is little better than asking.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

They discover new Signs of Treachery in Cholula. *The Army marches for that City, being reinforced with some Companies of* Tlascalans.

IT was most certain, that *Motezuma*, without coming to any Resolution of taking up Arms against the *Spaniards*, contriv'd to destroy them, rather by Subtilty than Force. The Answers of his Oracles had frighted him anew; and the Devil, (who was much disturbed by the Neighbourhood of the Christians) pressed him with horrible Threats to keep them at a Distance from him. Sometimes he enrag'd the Priests and Magicians, that they might provoke and incense the King, and make him furious; at other Times he appeared to him, assuming the Figure of his Idol, and spoke to him, the more to inspire him with the Spirit of Anger: But he always left him inclined to Treason and Deceit, without ever proposing to him to make use of his mighty Power and Force. Whether he had no Permission to use Violence, or that he never uses to advise the best, he took him off from Ways that were generous, and discouraged him by the same Means with which he thought to animate him. On the one Side, he had not Courage to shew himself to those prodigious People; and on the other, he thought their Army too contemptible, and too small in Number, for him to engage publickly with his Arms; and finding it agreeable to his own Notion of Honour to deceive them, he endeavoured wholly to draw them from *Tlascala*, where he could not lay his Plots, and bring them to *Cholula*, where they were already contriv'd, and ready to be executed. *Hernan Cortez* took notice, that those of the Government did not come to visit him; and he communicated his Observations to

the *Mexican* Ambaſſadors, very much wondering at the Diſreſpect of thoſe Caziques who had the Charge of providing his Quarters; who could not be ignorant that he had been viſited by all the Towns of the Country round, that were under leſs Obligations. The Ambaſſadors endeavoured to excuſe the People of *Cholula*, but confeſſed their Inadvertency, and ſeemingly endeavoured to have the Fault mended, by giving Notice of it; for it was not long before there came from that City four *Indians* ill cloathed, People of very ſmall Conſideration for Ambaſſadors, conſidering the Cuſtom of thoſe Nations: A Diſrepect which the *Tlaſcalans* urged, as a new Sign of their evil Intentions, upon which *Hernan Cortez* refuſed to admit them, ordering them immediately back; ſaying, (in the Preſence of the *Mexicans*,) That the Caziques of *Cholula* underſtood very little Civility, for inſtead of making Amends for a Neglect, they added one Diſcourteſy to another. The Day for the March came; and tho' the *Spaniards* took the Morning to draw up their own Men, and thoſe of *Zempoala*, they found already in the Field an Army of *Tlaſcalans*, provided by the Senate, at the Inſtance of *Magiſcatzin*, whoſe Captains acquainted *Cortez*, That they had received Orders from the Republick, to ſerve under his Command, and follow his Banner in the Journey, not only to *Cholula*, but as far as *Mexico*, where they ſuppoſed was the greateſt Danger of his Undertaking.

THEY were all drawn up in Order; and notwithſtanding they were very cloſe, (according to their Diſcipline,) they took up a great Space of Ground; for they had joined all the Nations which were confederate with them, and got together an extraordinary Force for the Defence of their Friends, believing it would happen ſo, that they ſhould be obliged to face the Armies of *Motezuma*. Their ſeveral Commands were diſtinguiſhed by the Colour of their Feathers, and the Difference of their Enſigns,

Enſigns, Eagles, Lyons, and other fierce Animals raiſed on high, which, as Hieroglyphicks and Devices, had a Signification, and put the Soldiers in Mind of the Military Honour of their Nation. Some of our Writers enlarge ſo far, as to ſay, that the whole Groſs of their Army conſiſted of an hundred thouſand armed Men; others are more reſerved in the Account; but with the leaſt Number the Action was great in the *Tlaſcalans*, and is truly worthy of Remembrance, both for the Thing it ſelf, and the Manner of doing it. *Cortez* thanked them, and acknowledged this Proof of their Affections with very endearing Expreſſions, and was forced to take ſome Pains to convince them it was inconvenient he ſhould carry ſo great a Number, when he went in Peace; but at laſt he gained his Point, leaving them ſatisfied, by permitting ſome Companies, with their Captains, to follow him, reſerving the Groſs to march to his Succour when Neceſſity required.

OUR *Bernal Diaz* writes, that he took with him two thouſand *Tlaſcalans*; *Antonio de Herrera* ſays, three thouſand: But *Hernan Cortez* himſelf confeſſes, in his own Relation, that he took ſix thouſand; and he was not ſo laviſh of his own Honour, as to make the Number greater than it was, which of Courſe would have made his Reſolution the leſs admired.

BUT we muſt not paſs over in Silence, an Accident which deſerves Conſideration, and belongs properly to this Place. There remained in *Tlaſcala*, when the *Spaniards* left that City, a Croſs of Wood fixed by the *Spaniards*, the Day of their Entrance, on a Place both high and open to the View; and *Hernan Cortez* was unwilling they ſhould deſtroy it, on the contrary, he left the Veneration of it in Charge with the Caziques: But it was neceſſary there ſhould be a more powerful Recommendation, to make that remain with Security among the Infidels; For ſcarce were the Chriſtians out of the City, when

(in

(in ſight of all the *Indians*) a prodigious Cloud deſcended from Heaven to take Care of its Defence. It was of a pleaſing and exquiſite Whiteneſs, and deſcended through the Region of the Air, till being dilated in Form of a Pillar, it ſettled perpendicularly upon the ſame Croſs, where it continued more or leſs diſtinct, (a marvelous Providence,) for three or four Years, until by various Accidents Chriſtianity ſpread through that Province. There proceeded from the Cloud a moderate Splendor, which infuſed Veneration, and never mixed with the Darkneſs of the Night. The *Indians* at firſt were much afraid, being ſenſible of the Prodigy, without conceiving the Myſtery: But after they had better conſidered the Novelty, they laid aſide their Fear, without leſſening their Admiration. They ſaid publickly, that that holy Sign contained within it ſome Deity, and that 'twas not in vain their Friends the *Spaniards* ſo much worſhipped it. They endeavoured to imitate them, bending the Knee before it, and repairing thither in their Neceſſities, without thinking on their Idols, and frequenting their Temples much leſs than they were wont. Which Devotion (if we may call that ſo, which was indeed the Influence of an unknown Cauſe) increaſed with ſo much Fervour, both among Nobles and Plebeians, that the Prieſts and Magicians, began to be jealous of their Religion, and endeavoured ſeveral Times to pluck up the Croſs, and break it in Pieces: But they always returned frighted, without daring to tell what had happened to them, leſt they ſhould looſe their Reputation with the People. Thus do Authors of Credit report it; and after this Manner did Heaven take Care to diſpoſe the Minds of thoſe People, that they might afterwards, with leſs Reſiſtance, receive the Goſpel, as the Husbandman, before he ſows his Seed, prepares the Earth to facilitate the Production.

NOTHING

Nothing extraordinary happened the first Day's March; for now that ennumerable Concourse of *Indians* that appeared on the Roads, and those Shouts which passed for Acclammations, were no Novelty. They marched four Leagues of the five *Cholula* was then distant from old *Tlascala*; and it was thought fit to halt near the Bank of a pleasant River, to avoid entring by Night into so populous a Town. Soon after they were fixed in their Quarters, and had distributed such Orders as were necessary for their Defence and Security, there arrived second Ambassadors from the City, People of greater Rank, and better dressed. They brought a Present of several Sorts of Provisions, and delivered their Embassy with much Ceremony and Respect. The Effect was to excuse the Backwardness of their Caziques, for not waiting on the General at *Tlascala*, those People being their Enemies, to offer the Quarters provided by their City, and withal, to acquaint them how much the Citizens rejoiced at their good Fortune, in deserving to entertain such Guests, so much applauded for their noble Actions, and so deserving to be belov'd for their Goodness. These Words were delivered with a seeming Sincerity, such as very well covered the Artifice. *Hernan Cortez* graciously admitted of the Excuse, and the Present, taking Care at the same Time to appear without the least Distrust; and the next Day (by the Rising of the Sun) he continued his March with the same Order, but not without some Concern, which obliged him to greater Vigilance; for the City was slow in coming out to receive them, and this Remark, among others, made some Noise. But as the Army drew near the City, with their Arms in Readiness for a Combat, the Caziques and Priests appeared, with a numerous Attendance of unarmed People. *Cortez* gave Orders to halt, to receive them, and they performed their Parts, with so much Reverence and Joy, that they left no room for Jealousy, at that

present, of any Thing which had been before observed of their Actions and Management: But as soon as they perceived the Body of *Tlascalans* that marched in the Rear, they changed their Countenances; and among the Principal of those who came to receive them, there arose a disagreeable Rumour which did again awaken the Jealousy of the *Spaniards*. *Donna Marina* was ordered to enquire into the Cause of that Novelty; and the Answer they gave by her was, That the *Tlascalans* could not enter into their City with their Arms, being Enemies to their Nation, and Rebels to their King; and they were very earnest with *Cortez* that they should halt, and immediately return to their Country, as Impediments to the Peace which was going to be published; and represented the Inconveniences, without receding, or being discompos'd, being positive that it was not to be allowed; but that Resolution was confin'd within the Limits of a Request.

CORTEZ was somewhat uneasy at this Demand, which seem'd reasonable, but was not consistent with his Security: He endeavoured to quiet them, by the Hopes of finding some Way to compose their Differences; and communicating the Matter briefly to his Captains, it was judged adviseable to propose to the *Tlascalans* to take their Quarters without the City, till such Time as they could penetrate into the Designs of the Caziques, or proceed on their March. This Proposition (which seemed to have something of Hardship in it) was carried by the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Christoval de Olid*, who made use both of Perswasion, and Authority, as being an Order which was to be obeyed, and acquainted them with the Reason. They were so very complying, that they cut him short, saying, They did not come to dispute, but obey; and that they would presently make their Barracks without the Town, in a Place where they might quickly come to the Defence of their Friends, seeing they resolved to adventure contrary to all Reason,

confiding

confiding in Traytors. The People of *Cholula* were immediately acquainted with this, which they readily agreed to, both Nations remaining not only ſatisfied, but with ſome Vanity from their Oppoſition; the one, partly becauſe they perſwaded themſelves they had got the better, by leaving their Enemies diſcontented, and ill accommodated; the other Party, becauſe they looked upon their refuſing to admit them within their City as a manifeſt Acknowledgement that they ſtood in fear of them. Thus does the Imagination of Men vary the Nature and Appearance of Things, which are generally valued as they are taken, and they are taken as we would have them.

CHAP. VI.

The Spaniards *make their Entry into* Cholula; *where the People endeavour to deceive them by their outward good Entertainment. Their Treaſon is diſcovered; and the* Spaniards *make a Diſpoſition to chaſtiſe them.*

THE Entry of the *Spaniards* into *Cholula* was like to that of *Tlaſcala*: A Concourſe of ennumerable People, which they paſſed through with Difficulty; tumultuous Acclamations; Women that flung and beſtowed Noſegays of Flowers; Caziques and Prieſts, with repeated Reſpects and Perfumes; Variety of Inſtruments, which made more Noiſe than Muſick, diſperſed about the Streets; and their Joy ſo well counterfeited, that the *Spaniards*, who came thither full of Jealouſy, began to think them ſincere.

THE

THE City was ſo beautiful to behold, that it was compared to our *Valladolid*; ſituate in a Plain, the Horizon on all Sides open, and very delightful. They ſay it contained within the Walls twenty thouſand Inhabitants, and that the Number was greater of thoſe who lived in the Suburbs. 'Twas generally frequented by many Strangers; partly as a Sanctuary of their Gods, and partly as the great *Emporium* of Merchandize. The Streets were wide, and well laid out; the Buildings greater, and of better Architecture than thoſe of *Tlaſcala*; and their Wealth, made it appear more noble, with the Towers, which ſhewed the Multitude of their Temples. The Inhabitants were more cunning than warlike, Merchants and Mechanicks, abundance of People, and but few of Diſtinction.

THE Quarters provided for the *Spaniards* were three or four large Houſes contiguous to each other, which contained the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*; where they could both fortify themſelves, as Occaſion required; and their Cuſtom ſo to do, made it not ſeem ſtrange. The *Tlaſcalans* choſe a Place for their Quarters a little diſtant from the Town, ſecuring it with ſome Works; they formed their Guards, and placed their Centinels, being now improved in Military Affairs by the Imitation of their Friends. The firſt three or four Days were all quiet, and good Uſage. The Caziques were punctual in paying their Reſpects to *Cortez*, and endeavoured to be acquainted with his Captains. Proviſions were given liberally, and in abundance; all outward Appearances were favourable, inſomuch that the *Spaniards* began to think what they heard was falſe, and that they had upon too ſlight Foundations believed the former Rumours; ſo readily diſpoſed is the Mind always to make it ſelf eaſy. But it was not long before the Truth appeared; nor could thoſe People continue in their Artifice till they had compaſſed what they intended: Deceit-

ful

ful both by Nature and Cuſtom, but not ſo watchful and cunning as their Diſſimulation and Malice requir'd.

Provisions by little and little grew ſcarce, the Entertainments and Attendance of the Caziques ceaſed at once. *Motezuma*'s Ambaſſadors held private Conferences with the Prieſts, and the People diſcover'd a falſe Joy in their Countenances. All Things gave Signs of ſome Novelty, and awaken'd the ill-lull'd Jealouſy of the *Spaniards*. *Cortez* contriv'd to find out ſome Means to be inform'd of the Intentions of thoſe People; and at the ſame Time the Truth diſcover'd it ſelf; the Providence of God, ſo often known by Experience in this Conqueſt, anticipating all the Contrivances of Men.

An antient *Indian* Woman of Note, who had great Relations in *Cholula*, had contracted a Friendſhip with *Donna Marina*: She often viſited her with Familiarity; and *Donna Marina* very well deſerv'd it from her, for her natural Courteſy and Diſcretion. She came that Day earlier, and ſeem'd to be fuller of Thought and Trouble than uſual. She drew her aſide privately from the *Spaniards*, and charging her with Secrecy, even by the manner of her Delivery, began to bemoan her Captivity, and to perſwade her to forſake thoſe abominable Strangers, and come to her Houſe, where ſhe offer'd her Entertainment and Protection from the *Spaniards*. *Donna Marina*, who was ingenious enough, compar'd this Offer with the other Signs, and pretending that ſhe was under Oppreſſion, and came againſt her Will with thoſe People, ſeem'd to facilitate the Eſcape, and accepted of her Entertainment with ſo many grateful Acknowledgments, that the *Indian*, believing her ſincere, diſcover'd her whole Heart; telling her, "It was abſolutely ne-
"ceſſary ſhe ſhould go immediately, for that the Time
"appointed among their People for the Deſtruction of
"the *Spaniards* drew near; and that 'twas unreaſonable
"ſo valuable a Woman ſhould periſh with them: That

" *Motezuma* had provided twenty thousand Men at a " small Distance, to make sure of the Design: That " six thousand chosen Men of that Number had already " enter'd the City in small Parcels: That Abundance of " Arms had been distributed among the People, Quanti- " ties of Stones carried up to the Tops of the Houses, and " deep Trenches were cut a-cross the Streets, with sharp " Stakes fix'd in the Bottom, covering the same at Top " with Earth on slight Supporters, that the Horses " might fall in, and be wounded: That *Motezuma* did " design to make an End of all the *Spaniards*; but had " commanded some of them to be brought alive, to " satisfy his Curiosity, and his Regard for his Gods: " And that he had presented the City with a Drum " made of Gold, curiously hollow'd, to excite their " Minds with this military Favour." In short, *Donna Marina* (expressing how much she rejoiced at the good Disposition of their Undertaking, and asking some Questions as one that was pleased with what she enquir'd after) found her self fully inform'd of the whole Conspiracy. She pretended she would immediately go with her; and under Colour of getting together her Jewels, with some other valuable Things, she found the Means of leaving her without Suspicion, and immediately gave an Account to *Cortez*. He order'd the *Indian* to be seiz'd; who, after a few Threats, between Confusion and Conviction, discover'd the whole.

SOON after came some *Tlascalan* Soldiers, dress'd like Peasants, and told *Cortez* from their Commanders, " That he should take care of himself, for that from " their Quarters they had seen the People of *Cholula* " carry their Women and Goods to the neighbouring " Villages:" A sure Sign they were hatching some Treason. They understood likewise that they had celebrated that Morning, in the great Temple of their City, a Sacrifice of ten Children of both Sexes; a Ceremony they

used

uſed when they deſigned to undertake any military Action. At the ſame time arriv'd two or three *Zempoalans*, who going about the City, by Accident had diſcover'd the Deceit of their Trenches, and had ſeen in the Streets, on the Sides, ſome Works and Paliſades, which they had made to guide the Horſes to the Precipices.

There was no occaſion for any greater Confirmation of the Intentions of thoſe People: But *Hernan Cortez* was reſolv'd to make the Matter appear clearer, and ſo to juſtify his Proceedings, that none ſhould be able to blemiſh them, by procuring ſome principal Witneſſes of the ſame Nation, who ſhould confeſs the Crime. To which End he order'd the Chief Prieſt to be called, on whom the reſt depended, and two or three more of the ſame Profeſſion; Men who were of great Authority with the Caziques, and the Generality of the People. He examined them ſeparately, not as one who doubted their Intention, but as one who was ſorry for their Treaſon, acquainting them with all the Circumſtances he knew; but concealing the Manner how he came by that Knowledge, to make them admire, and the Matter ſeem more myſterious, leaving them puzzled in their Notion of his Knowledge. They believ'd they were talking to a Deity, that penetrated the Secrets of Mens Hearts, and durſt not carry on the Deceit, but immediately confeſſed the Treaſon with all the Circumſtances; blaming *Motezuma*, by whoſe Order every Thing was diſpoſed and provided.

Cortez order'd them to be ſecretly impriſon'd, to avoid raiſing any Diſturbance in the City. He likewiſe order'd Care to be taken of *Motezuma's* Ambaſſadors, without ſuffering them to go out, or have any Communication with thoſe of the City; and calling his Captains together, he acquainted them with the whole Affair, and how much it concern'd them not to let this Treachery go unpuniſh'd; making it appear eaſy, and weighing the Conſequences with ſo much Energy and

Reſolution,

Resolution, that they all resolv'd to obey, leaving the Direction and Success to his Prudence.

THIS being done, he sent for the Caziques who govern'd the City, and publish'd his March for the next Day; not that he design'd it, or that it was possible; but only to streighten them in Time for what they were about to do. He demanded Provisions for the March, *Indians* of Burden for his Baggage, and two thousand Men armed to accompany him, as the *Zempoalans* and *Tlascalans* had done. They offer'd the Provisions and *Tamenes* faintly, but the armed Men which he demanded with greater Readiness; in which their Designs ran counter; for *Cortez* desir'd them to disunite their Forces, and to have in his Power a Part of the Traytors who were to be chastiz'd; and the Caziques offer'd them, that they might introduce among the Troops of *Cortez* those conceal'd Enemies, and make use of them when Occasion offer'd. Both Policies of War, and both supported by military Reasons, if those Kinds of Deceit may be allow'd for Reason which War has made lawful, and Example has dignify'd.

NOTICE was given to the *Tlascalans* of all that happen'd, with Orders to be in a Readiness; and that at the first Dawning of the Day they should draw near the City, as if they were moving to follow the March; and that at the first Discharge of the Fire-Arms they should advance with all Speed into the City to join the Army, bringing with them all the People they found armed. He took care also that the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans* should have their Arms in Order, and be acquainted with the Business they were to be employ'd in. As soon as it was Night (the Quarters being secur'd by Guards, and such Centinels as the present Occasion requir'd) *Cortez* sent for *Motezuma*'s Ambassadors, and with much Shew of great Intimacy, as one that imparted to them what they did not know, told them,

" That

" That he had discover'd, and had Proofs of a very " great Conspiracy, form'd against him by the Caziques " and Citizens of *Cholula*: He acquainted them with " what Measures they had taken against his Person and " Army: He laid before them how much they had " been wanting to the Laws of Hospitality, the Esta- " blishment of the Peace, and the Word of their Prince." And added, " That he had not only come to the Know- " ledge of this, by his own Speculation and Vigilance; " but that the principal Conspirators had likewise con- " fessed it, and excused their Treachery by a greater " Crime; for they had the Boldness to say they had re- " ceiv'd Orders and Assistance from *Motezuma* to destroy " his Army after so infamous a manner; which was not " likely, nor could he entertain so mean a Thought of " so great a Prince; for which Reason he had resolv'd " to take Satisfaction for the Offence with the utmost " Rigour of his Arms: That he communicated this to " them, that they might be appriz'd of his Reasons, " and understand that he was not so angry with them " for the Crime committed against himself, as for the " Circumstance those seditious People made use of, by " authorizing their Treason with the Name of the " King."

The Ambassadors pretended, as well as they could, that they knew nothing of the Conspiracy, and endeavour'd to save the Credit of their Prince, following the Path which *Cortez* had purposely chalk'd them out to lessen the Force of his Complaint.

It was not convenient at that Time publickly to seem to distrust *Motezuma*, and make a powerful Prince, who was resolv'd to dissemble, a powerful open Enemy: Upon which Consideration it was resolv'd to overthrow his Designs, without giving him Reason to believe they knew them; punishing only his Actions in the Persons of those he employ'd, and contenting themselves to

avoid the Blow, without any regard to the Arm that guided it. *Cortez* thought it a Matter of ſmall Difficulty to break that Body of Men provided to ſupport the Seditious, as one accuſtom'd to greater Deeds with a ſmaller Force; and he was ſo far from doubting the Succeſs, that he eſteem'd it a Happineſs (or, at leaſt, he ſaid ſo among his own People) to find this Opportunity of raiſing the Reputation of his Arms among the *Mexicans*; and, in Truth, he was not diſpleaſed to find *Motezuma* ſo much at a Loſs in Stratagems; believing that he would ſcarce raiſe his Thoughts to very great Matters, who durſt not attack him openly, and diſcover'd in his very Deceits the Weakneſs of his Reſolution.

CHAP. VII.

Cortez *chaſtiſes the Traytors of* Cholula; *reduces and pacifies the City; and eſtabliſhes a Friendſhip betwixt them and the* Tlaſcalans.

AS ſoon as it was Day the *Indians* of Burden came, as had been demanded, and ſome Proviſions; but the former fewer in Number, and the other leſs in Quantity, than was expected. Afterwards came the armed *Indians*, in broken Troops, who, under Pretence of accompanying them in the March, had their Counter-Orders to fall upon the Rear, when Occaſion requir'd; of whoſe Numbers the Caziques had been no Niggards, but gave another Signal of their evil Intention, by ſending more than were deſired. *Hernan Cortez* diſtributed them into the ſe-

veral

veral Courts of the Quarters, where he very artfully ſecured them; telling them that he was obliged to ſeparate them, in order to form his Squadrons as he was accuſtomed. He preſently put his Men in Order, well inſtructed in what they were to do; and mounting his Horſe, with thoſe that were to follow him in the Action, cauſed the Caziques to be called, to juſtify to them his Reſolutions; of whom ſome came, and others excuſed themſelves. He told them with a loud Voice, (and *Donna Marina* explain'd it with the ſame Vehemence,) That now their Conſpiracy was diſcover'd, and their Puniſhment reſolv'd on; by the Rigour of which they ſhould know how much it imported them to maintain that Peace which they intended ſo treacherouſly to break. Scarce had he begun to proteſt the Damage they ſhould receive, when they retir'd to join their own Forces, flying with more than ordinary Diligence, and beginning the War with ſome Injuries and Threats, which were heard at a good Diſtance. Then *Hernan Cortez* commanded that the Foot ſhould fall upon thoſe *Indians* he kept divided in the Squares; and tho' they were all provided with Arms to execute their Treachery, and endeavoured to join, in order to defend themſelves, they were all deſtroy'd with ſmall Difficulty, none eſcaping with Life, but ſuch as could hide, or fling themſelves from the Walls, making uſe of their Agility and Lances to leap to the other Side.

Having ſecur'd all at his Back with the Slaughter of his concealed Enemies, he gave the Signal for the *Tlaſcalans* to move, and the Army advanced leiſurely to the principal Street, leaving in the Quarters ſuch a Guard as was neceſſary. He detached ſome *Zempoalans* before to diſcover the Trenches, that the Horſe might not be endanger'd. The *Cholulans* at the ſame Time were not idle, for finding themſelves now engaged in open War, they call'd in the reſt of the *Mexicans*; and joining

ing in a great Square, where they had three or four Temples, they placed a Part of their People on the Top of their Towers, and in the Porches; the reſt they divided into ſeveral Bodies, to engage the *Spaniards*. But at the ſame Time that *Cortez*'s Troops enter'd the Square, and the Charge was given on both Sides, the Body of *Tlaſcalans* clos'd with the Enemies Rear; which unexpected Accident put them in ſo much Dread and Diſorder, that they could not fly, and knew not how to defend themſelves; ſo that the *Spaniards* were rather encumber'd than oppos'd by their Enemies, who ran from one Danger to another with little or no Choice; People void of Counſel, who only advanc'd in Hopes to eſcape, and very often preſented their Breaſts to the Points of their Enemies Weapons, without remembring to make the leaſt Uſe of their Hands. Many were killed in this ſort of Engagement; but the greateſt Part eſcaped to the Temples, on whoſe Steps and Terraces the *Spaniards* diſcover'd a Multitude of armed Men, but ſuch as rather filled than defended the Eminences of thoſe great Buildings. The *Mexicans* took upon them the Defence of thoſe Places, but found themſelves ſo encumber'd and oppreſs'd by the Crowd of the Inhabitants, that they could hardly turn themſelves, and had ſcarce Room to diſcharge their Arrows. *Cortez* approached the greateſt of the Temples with his Troops, and commanded his Interpreters with a loud Voice, to offer free Paſſage to all ſuch as would voluntarily come down and ſurrender; which was perform'd the ſecond and third Time; and then perceiving that no one moved, he order'd the Tower of the Temples to be fired, which, 'tis agreed, was executed, and that a great many periſh'd in the Fire and Ruins. It did not appear an eaſy Matter for them to have fired thoſe high Buildings, without firſt opening the Paſſage of the Stairs, if *Cortez* himſelf had not hit upon it, by making uſe of the flaming Arrows, with which the

the *Indians* at a great Diſtance threw their artificial Fires; but nothing was ſufficient to diſlodge the Enemy, till they ſhorten'd the Attack by making way with the Artillery, and it was worthy of Remark, that only one, out of ſo many as were deſtroy'd in this Temple, ſurrender'd voluntarily to the Courteſy of the *Spaniards*: A notable Token of their Obſtinacy.

The ſame Method was uſed at the other Temples, and afterwards they rang'd thro' the whole City, which was left entirely diſpeopled, and War ceaſed for want of Enemies. The *Tlaſcalans* were diſorderly to Exceſs in the Pillage, and it coſt ſome Difficulty to make them retire. They made a great many Priſoners, loaded themſelves with Clothes, and Merchandizes of Value; and particularly they fell upon the Salt-Houſes, of which they immediately ſent ſome Loads to their City, conſidering the Neceſſities of their Country in the very midſt of their Plunder. Above ſix thouſand Men were left dead in the Streets, Temples, and ſtrong Houſes, between Natives and *Mexicans*; an Action well-diſpos'd, and perform'd without any Loſs on our Side; and, in Truth, it was rather a Chaſtiſement than a Victory.

Hernan Cortez retir'd immediately to his Quarters with the *Spaniards* and *Zempoalans*; and, aſſigning Quarters for the *Tlaſcalans* within the City, order'd the Priſoners of both Nations to be ſet at Liberty; which were indeed the principal People, whom the *Tlaſcalans* had preſerved as their moſt valuable Prize. *Cortez* firſt order'd them to be brought into his Preſence, and then commanded that the Prieſts ſhould come forth from their Retirements, with the *Indian* who diſcover'd their Deſigns, and the Ambaſſadors of *Motezuma*: Then he made them a ſhort Diſcourſe, complaining, That the People of that City had obliged him to ſo ſevere a Puniſhment; and after laying before them the Crime, and aſſuring all that he had laid aſide his Diſpleaſure, and ſatisfy'd his

 juſt

juſt Revenge, he commanded a general Pardon to be publiſhed, without any Exception; and made it his Requeſt to the Caziques, That they would endeavour to repeople the City, by calling back the Fugitives, and encouraging thoſe to come forth who were conceal'd.

THE *Indians* could ſcarce believe they were at Liberty, knowing with what Rigour they uſed to treat their own Priſoners; but kiſſing the Earth in token of their great Acknowledgment, they offer'd, with the moſt humble Submiſſion, to execute the Orders given them. The Ambaſſadors endeavour'd to conceal their Confuſion, applauding the Succeſs of that Day; and *Hernan Cortez* congratulated them on the ſame, ſuffering Diſſimulation to take Place for the preſent, that he might keep them free from Suſpicion, and oblige *Motezuma*, by this outward Shew, to intereſt himſelf in the Chaſtiſement of his own Artifice.

THE City was in a little Time repeopled; for this Demonſtration of ſetting at Liberty the Caziques and Prieſts ſo ſoon, with the Impreſſion this great Clemency of the *Spaniards* made on them, after ſo juſt a Provocation, was ſufficient Aſſurance to the People who were ſcatter'd among the neighbouring Villages. The Citizens return'd immediately to their Houſes with their Families, open'd their Shops, ſhewed their Wares, and the Tumult was at once converted into Obedience and Security: An Action which did not ſo much ſhew the natural Facility with which thoſe *Indians* ran from one Extreme to another, as the great Opinion they had of the *Spaniards*; for they found in the very Juſtification of their Puniſhment ſufficient Reaſon be ſecure, on their Amendment.

THE Day after the Action *Xicotencal* arriv'd with an Army of twenty thouſand Men, which, upon the firſt Notice from their People, the Republick ſent to the Succour of the *Spaniards*. They had kept their Forces on Foot, doubting the Succeſs; and upon all Occaſions the *Spaniards* experimented the Diligence of that Nation. They halted without the City, where *Hernan Cortez* viſited and entertain'd them with the greateſt Acknowledgments for their Care and Zeal to ſerve him; but at the

ſame

ſame Time prevail'd on them to return, telling *Xicotencal* and his Captains, " That now their Aſſiſtance was " not neceſſary for the Reduction of the City; and that " having reſolv'd ſhortly to march for *Mexico*, it was " not convenient to awaken the Power of *Motezuma*, " and provoke him to War, by bringing into his Domi- " nions ſo numerous a Body of *Tlaſcalans*, declared Ene- " mies of the *Mexicans*." They made no Objections to theſe Reaſons; on the contrary, they ingenuouſly confeſſed and acknowledg'd that they were juſt, offering to have Troops in Readineſs, and to come to his Aſſiſtance whenſoever Occaſion required.

Cortez endeavour'd, before they returned, to reconcile the two Nations of *Tlaſcala* and *Cholula*. He ſet on foot a Treaty, removed the Difficulties, and, as his Authority was now well confirm'd with both Parties, he effected it in a few Days; and the Act of Confederacy and Alliance between the two Cities and their Diſtricts, were celebrated with the Aſſiſtance of their Magiſtrates, and the accuſtomed Solemnities and Ceremonies. This was a wiſe Mediation; to which he was obliged, for the ſake of the Conveniency of opening a Way for the *Tlaſcalans* to ſupply him the more eaſily with ſuch Succours as he ſhould have Occaſion for, and likewiſe not to leave this Impediment to his Retreat, in caſe the Succeſs ſhould not be anſwerable to his Hopes.

Thus happen'd the Chaſtiſement of *Cholula*, ſo much talked of in the Books of Strangers, and in one of our own People, who by this Means obtain'd the miſerable Applauſe of ſeeing himſelf quoted againſt his Country. They place this Action among the barbarous Cruelties related of the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, and enlarge very much upon it, to diſcredit and reflect on the Conqueſt. They would give up all the Glory of our Arms to a covetous Impulſe and Thirſt of Gold, without remembring we open'd the Way to Religion, with the concurrent ſpecial Aſſiſtance of the Arm of God throughout the whole Undertaking. They very much lament the *Indians*, treating them as a defenceleſs and ſimple People, that their Sufferings might appear the greater, and by a wicked Compaſſion ſhew their Hatred and Envy.

The

THE Case of *Cholula* needs no other Defence than the bare Narration. That sufficiently shews the Malice of those Barbarians, and how well they knew to make use both of Force and Fraud, and with how much Justice their Treachery was punish'd; from whence may be gather'd how passionately they relate other Cases of horrible Inhumanity, which they consider with the same Partiality. We are not ignorant that in some Part of the *Indies* Actions have been seen worthy of Reprehension, indeed contrary both to Piety and Reason; but in what just and holy Undertaking have they not passed by some Inconveniences? From what well disciplin'd Army could they ever entirely banish those Abuses and Disorders which the World calls military Liberty? And what Proportion do these lesser Inconveniences bear with the principal Point of the Conquest? Those who are envious of the *Spanish* Glory, must confess, that from this Beginning resulted, and with these Instruments was perfected, the Conversion of this Body of *Gentiles*, and so great a Part of the World at this Day restored to their Creator. But to think that this Conquest of the *Indies* should not be agreeable to God, and his most high Decree, for this or that Crime of the Conquerors, is to confound the Substance with Accidents; which even in the ineffable Work of our Redemption, presupposes (as necessary for universal Salvation) the Malice of those permitted Sinners, who were the Instruments of working the greatest Remedy with the greatest Iniquity. The Ends of God may be known in some of his Dispositions, which carry along with them the Signals of his Providence; but the Proposition and Agreement of the Means by which they are directed, is a Point reserv'd to his eternal Wisdon, and so conceal'd from human Knowledge, that all such prejudiced Opinions, whose Subtleties would pass on the World for Strength of Understanding, ought to be heard with Contempt, as being, in Truth, no more than a daring Ignorance.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Spaniards *march from* Cholùla; *they meet with new Difficulties on the Mountain of* Chalco: Motezuma *endeavours to ſtop them by means of his Magicians.*

THE Day prefix'd for the March was now drawing near, when ſome *Zempoallans* who ſerv'd in the Army (whether they fear'd the Danger of marching to the Court of *Motezuma*, or that the Love of their Country weighed more with them than Reputation) deſired Leave to return Home; which *Cortes* granted without Difficulty; thanking them for the good Services they had done him: And by this Opportunity ſent ſome Preſents to the Cacique of *Zempoalla*; recommending again to his Care, thoſe *Spaniards* he had left in his Diſtrict, upon the Confidence repos'd in his Friendſhip and Alliance. He wrote at the ſame Time to *Juan de Eſcalante*, with particular Earneſtneſs, to ſend him ſome Meal for the Hoſt, and Wine for the Maſs; which began to grow ſcarce, and the want of which would very much diſtreſs him and his Troops. He gave him a ſhort Account of his Progreſs, that he might thereby encourage him to ſtrengthen the Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz* by additional Fortifications; not ſo much on account of the *Indians*, as of what they might ſuſpect from *Diego Velaſquez*, whoſe reſtleſs Spirit added to the General's Anxiety.

At this Time arrived new Embaſſadors from *Motezuma*, who having been inform'd of what paſs'd at *Cholùla*, began to think of treating with the *Spaniards*: Accordingly, theſe Embaſſadors return'd Thanks to *Cortes* for chaſtizing the Seditious; they trifled ſo far, as to enlarge upon the Indignation of their King, and to brand thoſe with the Name of Traitors, who had merited it no otherwiſe than by Obedience to his Commands. This Meſſage was accompanied with a Preſent of equal Value and Pomp; and by what happen'd afterwards, it appears, that the Deſign of it was to make *Cortes* think himſelf ſecure of their good Intentions, that he might be the leſs circumſpect in his March, and fall into another Ambuſh, prepared for him. In

 fine,

fine, after fourteen Days Stay, during which Time they were employed in the Manner we have related, they began their March; and the first Night the Army quartered in a Village in the Jurisdiction of *Guacocingo*, to which the Chiefs of that Government, and of other neighbouring Towns, immediately repaired with sufficient Quantity of Provisions, and some Presents of small Value, but enough to shew the Affection with which they expected the *Spaniards*. Among these People *Cortes* found the same Complaints of *Motezuma* as in Provinces more remote; nor was he sorry to see those Humours extend so near the Heart, perswading himself, that a Prince could not be very powerful with so many Marks of a Tyrant, who by losing the Love of his Vassals, is destitute of the surest Defence of a King.

The next Day they prosecuted their March over a very craggy Mountain, which join'd to the *Voleano*. *Cortes* marched with Caution, having been advised by one of the Caciques of *Guacocingo* at parting, not to confide in the *Mexicans*, who had placed a great Ambuscade on the other Side of the Mountain, and stopped up the Royal Road, which goes down from the Top to the Province of *Chalco*, with great Stones, and Trees, opening another more impracticable Passage, and smoothing it at the Top of the Hill, where they had augmented the natural Precipices of the Place, with some they had cut, that the Army by degrees might be entangled in Difficulties, and be charged on a sudden, when their Horses could not turn themselves, nor the Foot stand firm. They had reach'd the Top of the Mountain, (not without Fatigue, for it snowed and blew hard) and in the very highest Part, at a little Distance from each other, they found the two Roads, with the Marks that had been related, one stopt up, and covered; the other inviting to the View, and newly made.

Although *Hernan Cortes* was highly incens'd to find the Intelligence of this Piece of Treachery prove true, he was so much Master of himself, that without shewing Resentment, or making any Disturbance in the Army, he asked *Motezuma's* Embassadors, who marched near his Person, what those two Roads meant? They answered, That the best was levelled for him to march: The other stopt up, as more craggy and difficult. *Cortez* replied, without changing either Voice or Countenance, You are but little acquainted, said he, with those of my Nation; they will march in this Road that you have stopt up, for no other Reason, than its Difficulty: For the *Spaniards*, whensoever they have it in their Choice, incline to that which

is

is the leaſt eaſy. Then, without making any Stop, he commanded his *Indian* Friends to march foremoſt, and clear the Way, by removing to each Side thoſe Obſtacles to his Paſſage, the Artifice whereof they had diſcover'd to him: This was preſently put in Execution, to the great Surprize of the Embaſſadors; who not ſuſpectiug the Stratagem of their Prince to be diſcovered, believed it a Piece of Divination, and found Matter both of Admiration and Fear in the Gallantry of his Reſolution. *Cortes* made this artful Uſe of the Notice he had received, to avoid the Danger, without loſing his Reputation: Nor did he care to have them think that he diſtruſted *Motezuma*; but dextrouſly diſappointed his Stratagem, without ſeeming to know it.

So ſoon as the *Indians* in Ambuſcade perceived the *Spaniards* to march wide, and follow the Royal Road, they took it for granted that they were diſcovered, and began to retire in as much Conſternation and Diſorder, as if they had been overcome in Battel: So that our Army deſcended into the Plain, without Oppoſition: They quartered that Night in ſomeHouſes on the Skirts of the Mountain, built for the Entertainment of *Mexican* Merchants, who frequented the Fairs of *Cholùla*; there they ſecured themſelves with doubled Guards, and ſuch other Precautions as were neceſſary in a Country where they marched in ſo little Security. *Motezuma*, in the mean Time, diſpirited by the Diſappointments he had met, loſt his Reſolution, and durſt not make uſe of Force. This want of Courage made him devout: He was more converſant with his Gods, frequented their Temples, and redoubled his Sacrifices, till he had ſtain'd all their Altars with human Blood: His Cruelty increaſed with his Afflictions; and the contradictory Anſwers of his Idols, added to his Confuſion, and made him entirely diſconſolate: Thoſe unclean Spirits diſagreeing in their Advice; ſome bad him open the Gates of the City to the *Spaniards*, that he might ſecure them all for Sacrifice, without their being able either to defend themſelves or to eſcape: Others adviſed, that he ſhould keep them at a diſtance, without ſuffering himſelf to be ſeen, and endeavour to deſtroy them; and to this Opinion he moſt inclined: For he was extremely offended, that they were ſo bold as to enter into his Court againſt his Will: He regarded this Obſtinacy of theirs, in Contradiction to his Orders, as an Invaſion of his Power, diſguiſing his Pride under a pretended Concern for the Preſervation of his Authority.

But

But when he underſtood that the *Spaniards* were already arrived in the Province of *Chalco*, and that his laſt Ambuſh in the Mountain had no manner of Effect, he grew uneaſie, and impatient to the laſt Degree, not knowing what Meaſures to take: And his Counſellors left hm in the ſame Uncertainty into which his Oracles had led him. At laſt he ſummoned all his Magicians and Sorcerers, whoſe Profeſſion was much eſteemed in that Country, and of whom many had Communication with the Devil; the want of Knowledge of the true God giving a Reputation of Wiſe to thoſe Men who were the moſt deceived. He acquainted them what Occaſion he had for all their Skill, to check the Progreſs of theſe Strangers, of whoſe Deſigns he was ſo juſtly jealous. He commanded them to take the Field, and put the *Spaniards* to flight, or ſtupify them by the Force of their Enchantments, and work ſome extraordinary Effect, as they had been accuſtomed to do on Occaſions leſs important: If they accompliſhed this, he promiſed them great Rewards; and threaten'd them with Death, if they returned into his Preſence without Succeſs. This Order was put in Execution with ſo much Zeal, that ſeveral numerous Companies of Negromancers were aſſembled and ſet out againſt the *Spaniards*, confiding in the Force of their Conjurations, and the Power which they believed they had over all Nature. Father *Joſeph de Acoſta*, and other creditable Authors report, That when they came to the Road of *Chalco*, by which the Army was marching, and there began their Invocations, and drew Circles, the Devil appeared to them, in the Form of one of their Idols, called *Telcatlepuca*, a God malignant and terrible, from whom they ſuppoſed Plagues, Sterility, and other Chaſtiſements of Heaven to proceed. He came like one deſpighted and enraged; and with his lowring angry Look, outdid the very Fierceneſs expreſs'd in the Countenance of the Idol. His Garments were girt with a Rope of Wicker, which bound his Breaſt in different Rounds, either for the better Expreſſion of his Anguiſh, or to ſhow, that he was dragg'd by an inviſible Hand. They proſtrated themſelves to adore him; and he, without ſhewing the leaſt Regard to their Humiliations, imitated the Voice as well as he had done the Figure of the Idol; and ſpoke to them after this Manner: '*Unhappy* Mexicans, *the Time is come wherein your Conjurations have loſt their Force, and our League is entirely diſſolved. Tell* Motezuma, *that for his Tyranny and Cruelty, Heaven hath decreed his Ruin: And that you may after a more lively Manner repreſent to him the Deſolation of his Empire, turn your Eyes upon that miſerable City, already forſaken by your Gods.* Having ſaid this, he diſappeared; and they

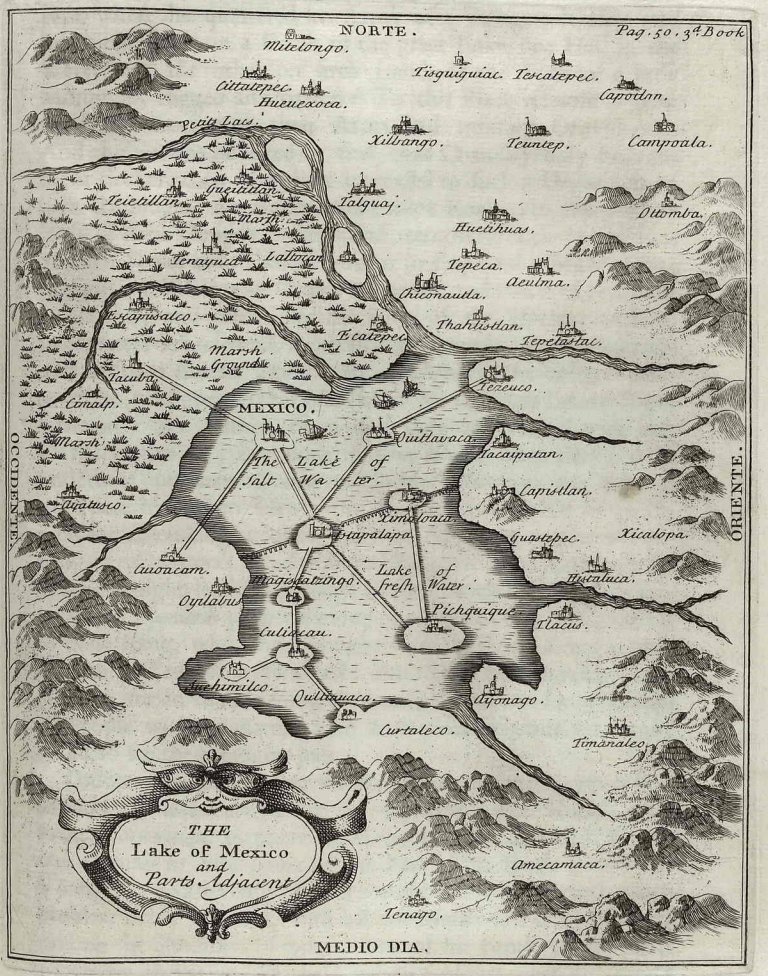
they beheld the whole City in a dreadful Flame, which lessening by Degrees, at length vanish'd, and left the Buildings untouched.

The Magicians returned to *Motezuma* with this Account, which they thought sufficient to acquit them; notwithstanding their Apprehensions of his Cruelty. But he was so astonished with the Menaces of this unfortunate and calamitous God, that he remained speechless for a while, like a Man in deep Thought, and summoning all his Spirits to his Support; and from that Instant laying aside his native Fierceness, he cast his Eyes on the Magicians, and the rest who were present: *What can we do, said he, if our Gods forsake us? Let the Strangers come, and the Heavens fall upon us: To abscond, or turn our Backs upon Misfortune, would be dishonourable.* (And a little after he added) *I only lament the old Men, Women, and Children, who cannot defend themselves.* And in making this Reflection it was with Difficulty that he with-held his Tears. It cannot be denied, but that there was something very Noble in his Resolution to meet that Calamity which he now regarded as inevitable; nor was it a Tenderness unbecoming a Royal Mind, which he express'd in reflecting on the Oppression of his Vassals: Such Sentiments are worthy of a King, among whose Virtues, Humanity and Compassion are no less heroical than Fortitude. They began from this Moment to think of the Entertainment which *Motezuma* was to give the *Spaniards*, of the Solemnity and Preparations for their Reception: And from thence took Occasion to discourse on the great Actions they had done, and the Prodigies with which Heaven had prepared their Way, the Marks they bore of those Oriental Men, promised to their Ancestors, and the Dispondency of their own Gods, who seemed to confess themselves vanquish'd, and to abandon the Dominion of these Countries, as Divinities of an inferiour Hierarchy. And there was sufficient need of all this Prepossession, to make it possible for such a handful of Men to penetrate (against such obstinate Resistance) to the very Court of a Prince so potent and absolute; whose Vassals were bred up in a Dread of him, and reverenc'd him even to Adoration.

CHAP. IX.

MOTEZUMA *sends his Nephew the Lord of* Tezeuco *to visit* CORTEZ *in his Quarters: He continues his March, and halts at* Quitlavaca, *within the Lake of* Mexico.

FROM the Houses where the Army quartered on the other Side of the Mountain, they passed the Day following to a small Village in the Jurisdiction of *Chalco*, scituate on the Royal Road, somewhat more than two Leagues from their former Encampment; where the principal Cacique of the Province, and others of the Neighbourhood immediately arriv'd: They brought Presents with some Provisions: *Cortes* entertained them with great Humanity, and made them Presents in Return for theirs: But he quickly discovered by their Conversation, that they were very circumspect, and cautious of speaking before the *Mexican* Embassadors: For they stopped out of Season, and seemed embarassed; and even in what they said, explained what they would conceal. *Hernan Cortes* took them aside, and by the Help of his Interpreters, discovered all the Venom of their Hearts. They complained immoderately of the Cruelties and Tyrannies of *Motezuma:* They represented the intolerable Load of his Imposts, extended even to their Persons; for he obliged them to labour without Wages, in his Gardens, and other Works of Vanity: They added with Tears, That they were forced to give up their Women as a Tribute to his Lust, and that of his Ministers; who chose and rejected them at Pleasure; nor were the Mother's Arms a Security to her Daughter, or the Bed of a Husband any Protection to his Wife. They represented this to *Cortes*, as to the Person who was to apply a Remedy; beholding him as a Deity descended from Heaven, to exercise Jurisdiction over Tyrants. He hearkened to them with Compassion, and endeavoured to support them with the Hopes of Relief; permitting the Opinion they had entertained of him, to pass at that Time without undeceiving their Ignorance. He did not willingly suffer his Politics to carry him beyond the Bounds of Modesty; and as little did he care to lessen the advantagious


NORTE.
Pag. 50. 3d. Book
Mitelongo.
Tusguiguiac.
Tescatepec.
Capodlnn.
Cittatepec.
Hueuexoca.
Potly Lais.
Xilbango.
Teuntep.
Campoala.
Teietillan.
Guetitlan.
Marsh.
Talquaj.
Ottomba.
Huetihuas.
Tenayuca.
Lallitlan.
Tepeca.
Acuima.
Chicomautla.
Thahtistlan.
Tepetlastat.
Tecapusalco.
Marsh.
Grounds.
Tacubba.
Cimalp.
Marsh.
MEXICO.
Texcuco.
Quitlavaca.
Tacaipatan.
The Lake of Salt Water.
Capistlan.
Ayatusco.
Zumpanco.
Ytapalapa.
Guastepec.
Xicalopa.
OCCIDENTE.
ORIENTE.
Cuoacam.
Magiscatzingo.
Lake of fresh Water.
Hitatlaca.
Oytlabuc.
Pichquique.
Tlacus.
Culiacau.
Huchimilco.
Quitlauaca.
Atyonago.
Curtaleco.
Timanaleo.
THE
Lake of Mexico
and
Parts Adjacent
Amecamaca.
Tenago.
MEDIO DIA.

Notion these People had of him, which he consider'd as a Point of the utmost Importance.

He pursued his March the next Day for four Leagues, thro' a more temperate and pleasant Country, which discovered its Beauty in Groves and Gardens. He made a Halt in *Amêmeca*, where he quartered his Army in a Village tolerably well inhabited, built on a Creek of the great Lake, one Half in the Water, and the other on firm Land, at the Foot of a little Mountain, rugged and barren: To this Place resorted a great many *Mexicans*, with their Arms and military Ornaments: And tho' it was believed at first, that Curiosity only brought them thither, their Numbers increased to such a Degree, as to give Umbrage; nor wanted there some Reasons to create a Jealousy of their Designs. *Cortes* had recourse to such Impressions on their Senses as he thought proper to stop and affright them; making a Discharge of some Fire-Arms, and Pieces of Artillery in the Air, and provoking the Fury of the Horses; and the Interpreters represented those strange Sounds, as the Forerunners of some sinister Event: By which Means he obliged them to retire to a greater Distance from his Quarters before Night came on. We cannot affirm that they approach'd with any hostile Intentions; nor doth it seem likely, that they should undertake any new Conspiracy, when *Motezuma* was reduced to expose himself to View; tho' the Centinels kill'd some *Indians* for advancing too near, under an Appearance of reconnoitring the Quarters: And it is possible, that some Chief of the *Mexicans* might lead his Troops thither, with a Design to surprize the *Spaniards*; as believing it might not be disagreeable to their King, who, they thought, was making a Peace repugnant to his Temper and Interest: But this is no more than Conjecture; for in the Morning they only discovered some Troops of People without Arms, who had placed themselves in the Road to see the Strangers pass.

Orders were now giving for the Army to march, when four *Mexican* Cavaliers arrived at the Quarters, with Notice, that Prince *Cacumatzin*, Nephew to *Motezuma*, and Lord of *Tezeuco* was coming to visit *Cortes* on the Part of his Uncle; nor was it long e'er he arrived: He was accompany'd by a great many Nobles, richly adorned, with all the Marks of Peace, and carried on the Shoulders of some *Indians* of his Family, in a Chair covered with various Feathers, whose Colours were diversify'd with Design and Proportion. He was a young Man of about 25 Years of Age, of an agreeable Presence. So soon as he alighted, some of his Servants went before to sweep the Ground

where

where he was to tread, putting back the People on each Side with much Civility; Ceremonies, which, howſoever ridiculous, carried a Shew of Authority. *Cortes* went to receive him as far as the Door of his Apartment, having adorned himſelf as uſual on ſuch Occaſions; and at his Approach, made a profound Reverence: Which the Prince returned, touching the Earth, and afterwards his Lips with his right Hand: He took his Place with a free eaſy Air, and ſpoke with the Compoſure of a Man, who knew how to look on Novelties without Surprize. The Subſtance of his Diſcourſe was, in proper Expreſſions to welcome *Cortes*, and all the Captains of his Army; and to inform him of the amicable Diſpoſition with which the great *Motezuma* expected them, how much he deſired to eſtabliſh a firm Correſpondence and Friendſhip with the Puiſſant *Eaſtern* Prince who ſent him; whoſe Power he was obliged to acknowledge, for ſome Reaſons, which they ſhould underſtand from his own Mouth: And then, by Way of private Diſcourſe, entertain'd him (as the other Embaſſadors had done before) with the Difficulties that oppos'd his coming to *Mexico*, pretending that the People were much diſtreſs'd by that Year's Barrenneſs all over the Country; and telling him (as a Point that gave the King much Concern) how ill the *Spaniards* muſt be accommodated, where the Inhabitants themſelves wanted neceſſary Subſiſtance. To this *Cortes* reply'd in that myſterious Manner, by which he conſtantly maintain'd the Reſpect and Awe he had imprinted on the People; That the King his Maſter, being a Monarch without Equal in the other World where the Sun riſes, had likewiſe ſome Reaſons of high Import to offer his Friendſhip to *Motezuma*, and communicate ſeveral Affairs which eſſentially regarded his Perſon and Dignity, and ſuch as would not be undeſerving of his Acknowledgment: And that for his own Part, he did with a moſt particular Reſpect receive the Liberty he gave him, to deliver his Embaſſy, without being the leaſt in Pain for the preſent Scarcity of the Country: That the *Spaniards* required but little Nouriſhment to ſupport their Vigour, and were inured to ſuffer, and even diſpiſe thoſe Inconveniencies and Fatigues, which diſtreſs'd Men of an inferiour Species. *Cacumatzin* ſaid no more to divert his Reſolution; but received ſome ſmall Jewels of an extraordinary Glaſs, which *Cortez* preſented him, with abundance of Joy and Acknowledgment; accompanying the Army as far as *Tezeuco*, the Capital of his Dominion; from whence he proceeded to *Mexico*, with the Anſwer to his Embaſſy.

Tezeuco was in those Days one of the greatest Cities of that Empire: Some say 'twas as big as *Sevil*, and others, that it vied with *Mexico* itself for Grandeur, and pretended (not without Reason) to be superior to it in Point of Antiquity. The principal Front of the Buildings was extended on the Border of a spacious Lake, in a delightful Scituation, where the Causey of *Mexico* began: And by that *Cortes* pursued his March, without stopping at *Tezeuco*; for his Intention was to advance to *Iztacpalapa* three Leagues forward; from whence he could with Ease the next Day enter *Mexico* in good Time. In this Part the Causey was about twenty Foot broad, made of Stone and Lime, with some Works on the Surface: In the Middle of the Way upon the same Causey, there was another Town of about two thousand Houses, called *Quitlavaca*; and because it was founded in the Waters, they called it *Venuzuela*, or little *Venice*. The Cacique went out with a great Retinue to receive *Cortes*, and desired he would honour his City that Night with his Presence; this he did so earnestly, and with such an Appearance of Affection, that *Cortes* judged it necessary to yield to his Entreaties, for fear of disobliging him: Besides that he found his Stay would be of Advantage in order to the making his Observations, more particularly with regard to any Difficulties, which might happen in his Way; for he was jealous of their breaking the Causey, or taking away the Bridges to obstruct his March. From this Place he discovered the largest Part of the Lake, and various Towns and Causeys; the Towers adorn'd by Pinacles, seemed to swim upon the Waters, with Trees and Gardens out of their proper Element; besides a Multitude of *Indians*, who were approaching in their Canoes to behold the *Spaniards*: And much greater was the Number of those, who shewed themselves on the Battlements of the Houses, and in the most distant Galleries; a Sight extremely beautiful, and a Novelty surprizing beyond Imagination.

The Army was sufficiently accommodated in these Quarters; for here the People entertained their Guests with Civility, and a cheerful Aspect; and their Politeness was a Proof that they liv'd in the Neighbourhood of *Motezuma*'s Court: But the Cacique was not able to refrain from manifesting the little Affection he bore that Emperor, and the same Desire with the rest, to free himself from the intolerable Yoke of his Government: For he incouraged the Soldiers to the Enterprize, which he represented as very easy; and told the Interpreters (as desiring that all should know it) that the Causey from thence to *Mexico*, was more capacious, and better, then what they had passed; that they had nothing to apprehend on the Way,

nor from the Towns on both Sides; that the City of *Iztacpalapa* (thro' which they were to pass) was peaceably inclin'd, and had Orders to receive, and entertain the *Spaniards* as Friends: And notwithstanding the Lord of that City was a Relation of *Motezuma*'s, they had no Occasion for Fear on that Score; for the Prodigies from Heaven, the Answers of his Oracles, and the Accounts he had received of the *Spanish* Army's Exploits, had render'd him humble and dispirited; for which Reason they would find him desirous of Peace, and rather disposed to suffer, than provoke. The Cacique spoke Truth, but with some mixture of Passion, and Flattery: And tho' *Cortes* was sensible of that Defect in his Discourse, yet he published and enlarged it among the Soldiers; and it must be confessed it came in Season, that those who were not over forward in the Pursuit of this Enterprize, might not be discouraged at the great Variety of wonderful Objects, which they had in View, from whence they might form Apprehensions of the Grandeur of that Court, and the formidable Power of the King: But the Cacique's Intelligence, with the Reflections they made on *Motezuma*'s Perplexity, and his want of Spirit, had such an Effect at this Juncture, that all the Soldiers were transported with Joy where they found Cause of Astonishment; and their Hopes of Success were rais'd in Proportion to their Admiration of what they saw.

CHAP. X.

The Army marches to Iztacpalapa; *they make a Disposition for their Entry into* Mexico. *A Description of the Pomp in which* MOTEZUMA *went to receive the* Spaniards.

THE next Morning, a little after Break of Day, they formed themselves upon the same Causey, as well as it would allow, being in that Part wide enough for Eight Horses to march in Front. The Army consisted then of about Four Hundred and Fifty *Spaniards*, and Six Thousand *Indians*, *Tlascallans*, *Zempoallans*, and other Confederates. They continued their March (without any remarkable Adventure) to the City of *Iztacpalapa*, where they intended to Halt; a Place far exceeding the rest, in the Height of its Towers and

Manner of Building: The City consisted of near Ten Thousand Houses, of two and three Story high, Part of which were built upon the Lake, and stretched along the Shore, in a delicious and fruitful Soil. The Lord of this Place went out with a numerous Train to receive the Army; and was assisted on this Occasion by the Princes of *Magiscatzingo* and *Cuyoacan*, which were Towns bordering upon the same Lake: They brought their three separate Presents of various Fruits, Fowls, and other Provisions, with some Pieces of Gold, worth near Two Thousand Peso's: They presented themselves together, and made themselves known, by telling each his Name and Dignity, relying on the different Value of their Presents, to explain what could not be so well apprehended from their Discourse. The Entry of the *Spaniards* into this City was welcom'd with loud Acclamations of the People, whose unruly Joy, on that Occasion, assur'd the most jealous Spirits of their Sincerity: The Lodging of the *Spaniards* was prepared in the Prince's own Palace, where they were all under Cover; the rest in the Courts and Porches were sufficiently accommodated for one Night, which they had Reason to pass without any Apprehension of Danger. The Palace was large, and well built, with distinct Apartments both above and below; among which were many Chambers, whose Roofs were flat, and of Cedar, and not without Furniture; for some had Cotton Hangings, of various coloured Painting, well proportion'd. There were in *Iztacpalapa* many Fountains of sweet and wholsome Water, convey'd by several Aqueducts from neighbouring Mountains, thro' a great Number of Gardens, large and well cultivated: Among which there was one far more spacious and beautiful than the rest, which the Cacique had for his own Diversion: To this he carryed *Cortes* that Evening, with some of his Captains, and Soldiers; as desirous to omit nothing that might entertain his Guests, and at the same Time gratify his own Pride and Vanity. There he had Fruit-Trees disposed into very large Walks, leaving Room for smaller Plants, and a Parterre with Divisions made of Canes interwoven, and covered with odoriferous Herbs; besides several Squares cultivated with great Industry, and adorned with Variety of Flowers: In the Middle of the Garden was a Pond of fresh Water, encompass'd with a Wall of quadrangular Form, made of Stone and Lime, with Stairs on all Sides to the Bottom: It was so large, that each Side contained Four Hundred Paces; and here Fish of the nicest Relish were bred, and several Sorts of Water-Fowl resorted hither, some known in *Europe*, and others of beautiful Figure, and extraordinary Feathers: A Work

well

well worthy of a Prince, and which belonging to a Vassal of *Motezuma*'s, afforded an Idea of the greater Magnificence of his Sovereign. The Night passed very quietly, and the People returned with Pleasure, and a frank open Behaviour to the Entertainment of the *Spaniards*; but it was observed, they spoke here after another Manner concerning the Affairs of *Motezuma*, than the rest of his Subjects: For they all praised his Government, and extolled his Grandeur; whether the Honour the Cacique had of belonging to him, had imprinted that Idea on their Minds, or that they were intimidated by the Neighbourhood of the Tyrant.

They had two Leagues of Causey from hence to *Mexico*, and took the Morning before them: For *Cortes* was desirous to make his Entry, and pay his Compliments to *Motezuma*, and to have some Part of the Day left to reconnoitre and fortify his Quarters. He continued his March in the accustomed Order, and leaving on the one Side the City of *Magiscatzingo*, scituate on the Water, and on the other, that of *Cuyocan*, upon the Causey, besides a great many Towns, which they saw at a Distance upon the Lake; they discovered as they drew somewhat nearer (and not without Admiration) the great City of *Mexico*, elevated to a vast Degree above all the rest, and carrying an Air of Dominion in the Pride of her Buildings. They had marched little less than half way, when they were met by more then Four Thousand Nobles and Officers of the City, who came to receive them; and whose Compliments delayed their March a considerable Time, tho' they only paid their Obeysance, and then advanc'd before the Troops towards *Mexico*. In the March, a little before the City, was a Bulwark of Stone, with two small Castles on the sides, which took up all the Causey; the Gates opened on another Part of the Causey, terminated by a Draw-Bridge, which defended the Entrance of the City with a second Fortification.

As soon as the Nobles who accompanied them had passed to the other side of the Bridge, they made a Lane for the Army to march, falling back on each Side; and then there appeared a very large and spacious Street, with great Houses uniformly built; the Windows and Battlements were full of Spectators, but the Street entirely empty. And they informed *Cortes*, that it was so order'd, because *Motezuma* resolv'd to receive him in Person, in order to distinguish him by a particular Mark of Favour: A little after which *Cortes* saw the first Troop of the Royal Retinue, which consisted of about Two Hundred Noblemen of *Motezuma*'s Family, cloathed in one Livery, with great

Plumes of Feathers, alike in Fashion and Colour. They came in two Files, with remarkable Silence and Composure, barefooted, without lifting their Eyes from the Ground, in Manner of a Procession. So soon as they approached the *Spaniards*, they fell back on each Side, in the same Order with the rest; and then there appeared a far off, a larger Company, better dressed, and of greater Dignity; in the midst of which was *Motezuma*, carried upon the Shoulders of his Favourites, in a Chair of burnish'd Gold, which glittered thro' the various Works of Feathers, placed in handsome Proportion about it; the nice Distribution of which in some measure seemed to outvie the Cost of the Metal. Four Persons of great Distinction followed his Chair, holding over him a Canopy, made of interwoven green Feathers, so put together, that they form'd a kind of Web, with some Ornaments of Silver: A little before him went three Officers, with golden Rods in their Hands, which they lifted up on high from Time to Time, as a Signal of the King's Approach; that all might prostrate themselves before him, and not presume to look up, which was an Irreverence punished as Sacrilege. *Cortes* dismounted before he came up with him, and *Motezuma* at the same Time alighted from his Chair: Some *Indians* went before spreading Carpets, that his Feet might not touch the Ground, which in their Opinion was unworthy of the Honour. He came forward to the Ceremony with a slow solemn Pace; leaning with his Hands on the Arms of the Princes of *Iztacpalapa* and *Tezeuco*, his Cousins, and advanced some Steps to receive *Cortes*. He was of a good Presence, about Forty Years of Age, of a middle Stature, and a Constitution rather delicate than strong; his Nose was aquiline, and he had a fairer Complexion than the generality of the *Indians*; his Hair came just below his Ears, his Eyes were lively, his Look majestick and thoughtful. For his Apparel, he wore a Mantle of the finest Cotton, tyed carelessly on his Shoulders, covering the greatest Part of his Body, with the End trailing on the Ground, adorned with different Jewels of Gold, Pearls, and Precious Stones, in such Number that they seemed rather a Weight than an Ornament. His Crown was a Mitre of light Gold, ending in a Point before; the hinder Part was made rounder: On his Feet he wore Shoes of hammered Gold, whose Straps, studded with the same, bound them to his Feet, and came round part of his Leg, like the *Roman* military Sandals. *Cortes* advanc'd with all becoming Haste, and made a profound Reverence; which *Motezuma* answered, by laying his Hand upon the Ground, and raising it afterwards to his Lips: A new and unheard of

Condescension among those Princes, but much more so in *Motezuma*, who would scarcely bend his Neck to his Gods, and affected an Excess of Pride, which it may be he knew not how to distinguish it from Majesty. These Demonstrations of Respect, and his going out in Person to receive *Cortes*, occasion'd great Admiration among the *Indians*, and added to their Esteem of the *Spaniards*; for they could not be perswaded, but that the King had well considered what he did, submitting their own Reason to his, with an implicit Resignation. *Cortes* had put upon his Coat of Maile, a Chain of Glass, curiously set together, in imitation of Diamonds and Emeralds, which he had reserved as a Present for the first Audience; and being close to *Motezuma*, he put it on his Shoulder: But the two Princes who supported him, would have stopped *Cortes*, with some Concern letting him understand, that it was not lawful to approach so near the Person of the King: But he reprimanded them, and was so well pleased with the Present, that he placed it among his Jewels, as a Thing of inestimable Value; and to return his Acknowledgment in a Manner remarkably generous, while the rest of the Officers came up to be presented, he ordered a Collar to be brought, the richest Piece he had among his Jewels; it was of Crimson Shells, extremely valued in that Country, set together with such Art, that at every one of them hung four Crabs of Gold, very much to the Life; and he himself put it on *Cortes*'s Neck; a Favour which occasioned a second Wonder among the *Mexicans*. The Speech of *Cortes* was short, and fitted to the Occasion: *Motezuma*'s Answer was likewise in few Words, discreet and decent: He immediately commanded one of the two Princes who went by his Side, to conduct and accompany *Hernan Cortes* to his Lodging; and leaning on the other, went to his Chair, and returned to his Palace with the same Pomp and Gravity.

The Entry of the *Spaniards* into *Mexico* was on the Eighth of *Nov.* in the Year 1519. the Day of the four Crowned Martyrs. The Lodging provided for them was one of the Royal Houses, built by *Axayaca* the Father of *Motezuma*: In Largeness it vied with the principal Palaces of Emperors, and had the Appearance of a Fortress, thick Stone Walls, and some Towers upon the Flanks, which made the Defence of it easy: It contained all the Army, and the first Care of *Cortes* was to view every Part of it for the better Distribution of his Guards, and Lodgment of his Artillery, and to secure his Quarters: Some Chambers designed for the superior Officers were furnish'd with Cotton Hangings of various Colours, which was the chief Part of their Manufacture,

facture, more or less fine: The Chairs were of Wood, all of one Piece: The Bedsteads had Curtains like Pavilions; but the Bottoms of the Beds were of Palm-Mats, and the Bolsters of the same rolled up. The greatest Princes there had no better Beds, neither did the People much consult their Ease; for living according to the Rules of Nature, they were content with what was necessary: And we know not whether Ignorance of Superfluity in those *Barbarians* may not be esteem'd a Happiness.

CHAP. XI.

Motezuma *comes the same Day in the Evening to visit* Cortes *at his Lodging; the Speech he made before he heard the Embassy: And the Answer of* Cortes.

It was but little past Mid-day when the *Spaniards* enter'd the House appointed for their Lodging, where they found a splendid Banquet prepar'd for *Cortes*, and the Captains of his Army; and great Abundance of Provisions less delicate for the Soldiers, with many *Indian* Servants, who serv'd them with Meat and Drink, in profound Silence and exact Order. In the Evening came *Motezuma* with the same Pomp and Attendance as before, to visit *Cortes*; of which being advertis'd, he went out to receive him in the principal Square of the House, with all the Respect due for such a Favour. He accompanied him as far as the Door of his Appartment, where he made him a profound Reverence: *Motezuma* pass'd by him, and took his Seat with an Air of Negligence and Majesty: He presently commanded a Chair to be brought for *Cortes*; and made a Signal to the Cavaliers who attended him, to retire to the Wall. *Cortes* did the same to his Officers: The Interpreters came, and when *Cortes* was preparing to begin his Speech, *Motezuma* stop'd him, and signified, that he had somewhat to say before he gave him Audience; and Authors report, that he spoke in the following Manner.

Motezuma's

Motezuma's Discourse to *Hernan Cortes.*

'BEfore you deliver the Embassy of the Great Prince who 'sent you, illustrious Captain, and valiant Stranger, 'both You and I must pass by, and bury in Oblivion, 'what Fame hath published of our Persons and Conduct, a-'busing our Ears with idle Rumours, which prepossess us against 'Truth, and render her obscure by the Impressions of Flat-'tery, or Reproach. In some Places you have been informed, 'That I am one of the immortal Gods; my Power and my 'Person, are exalted to the Heavens: In others they tell you, 'that the Business of Fortune is to enrich me; that the Walls and 'Coverings of my Palace are all Gold, and that the Earth 'groans beneath the Weight of my Treasure: You have heard, 'that I am a Tyrant, Cruel, and Proud; abhorring Justice, and 'a Stranger to Mercy; but both the one and the other have 'equally impos'd upon you by their Exaggerations: And 'that you may not imagine me a God, but be sensible of the 'Folly of those who suppose me to be so, this Part of my 'Body (said he, uncovering his Arm) will undeceive you; 'and prove that you talk to a Mortal, of the same Species 'with the rest of Men; but more noble, and more powerful. 'My Riches, I deny not, are great; but the Account of my 'Vassals makes them much greater than they are. This 'House, wherein you lodge, is one of my Palaces: Behold 'the Walls made of Stone and Lime, ordinary Materials, 'which owe their Value to Art: Now from both these Ac-'counts, imagine how likely it is that my Tyrannies have been 'magnified in the same Manner. Suspend your Judgment 'at least, till you enter into my Reasons; and lay no Stress 'on the Accusations brought against me by my rebellious Sub-'jects, till you have first inform'd your self, whether that which 'they call Oppression be not Chastisement; and if they can 'censure my Severity without having deserv'd it.

'After the same Manner have we received Information of 'your Nature and Actions: Some have told me, you are 'Gods; that the wild Beasts obey you; that you grasp the 'Thunder in yonr Hands, and command the Elements: 'Others have reported that you are wicked, revengeful, proud, 'Slaves to your Vices, and transported with an insatiable 'Thirst of the Gold which our Country produces. But now 'I see you are of the same Composition and Form with the

'rest of Men; tho' you are distinguished from us by some 'Accidents, which the Difference of Countries occasions among 'Mortals. These Beasts which obey you, I find are large 'Deer, which you have tamed, and bred up in such imperfect 'Knowledge, as may be attain'd to by the Instinct of 'Animals. Your Arms, which ressemble Lightening, I 'conceive to be Barrels of unknown Metal; whose Effect 'like that of our Sarbacans, proceeds from Air compress'd, 'which strives for a Vent, and forces its Way thro' all 'Impediments: The Fire, which your Barrels discharge 'with greater Noise, is some Secret more than natural of 'that Science, which our Magicians understand. For the 'rest, which has been related of your Proceedings, I find like-'wise, according to the Observation of my Embassadors and 'Servants, that you are Courteous, and Religious; that your 'Resentments are founded on Reason: Hardships you bear 'chearfully; and among your other Virtues, discover Libera-'lity, which rarely accompanies a covetous Mind. So that we 'must on both Sides forget all past Reports, and be thankful 'to our Eyes for undeceiving our Imaginations: Which taking for 'granted, I would have you understand, before you begin 'your Discourse, that we are not ignorant, or stand in need of 'your Persuasions, to believe, that the Great Prince you obey, 'is descended from our ancient *Quezalcoal*, Lord of the Seven 'Caves of the *Navatlaques*, and lawful King of those Seven Na-'tions, which gave Beginning to the *Mexican* Empire. By 'one of his Prophecies, which we reverence as an infallible 'Truth, and by a Tradition of many Ages, preserved in our 'Annals, we know, that he departed from these Countries to 'conquer new Regions in the *East*; leaving a Promise, that 'in Process of Time, his Descendants should return to model 'our Laws, and amend our Government. And, because the 'Marks you carry agree with this Prophecy, and the Prince of 'the *East*, who sends you, manifests in your very Actions, the 'Greatness of so illustrious a Progenitor; we have already de-'termined, that all Things shall be done for his Honour, 'to the utmost of our Ability; of which I have thought fit to 'advertise you, that without any Constraint you may declare 'what you have to propose, and attribute to so noble a Cause, this 'Excess of my Goodness.' *Motezuma* in this manner ended the Discourse, which he had calculated to prepossess the *Spaniards* with an Opinion of his Integrity, and which he deliver'd in a Style of Majesty: The Substance of it gave

ſufficient Ground to *Cortes* (without diſputing the Illuſions which he found ſo univerſally eſtabliſh'd in the Minds of the *Indians*) to anſwer in theſe or the like Terms.

SIR,

'AFter rendering Thanks for the extream Goodneſs with 'which you condeſcend to hearken to our Embaſſy, 'and the ſuperiour Knowledge which you employ in our Fa- 'vour, by contemning (to our great Advantage) the Miſre- 'preſentations of common Fame, I muſt likewiſe acquaint 'you, that your Embaſſadors have been received by us with 'that Reſpect and Veneration which is agreeable to your 'Greatneſs. Much we have heard concerning you in theſe 'Countries, under your own Dominion; ſome vilifying your 'Actions, others placing you among the Gods: But this Way 'of enlarging is prejudicial to the Truth; for as the Voice of 'Man is the Trumpet of Fame, ſo is it influenc'd by his Paſ- 'ſions; and theſe either do not underſtand Things as they 'are, or do not relate them as they are underſtood. The *Spa-* 'niards, Sir, have that penetrating View, which diſcovers the 'different Colours of Diſcourſe, and in them the Deceit of the 'Heart. We have given no Credit either to your Rebels, or 'Flatterers: We are come into your Preſence, with certain Aſ- 'ſurance of your being a great Prince, and a Friend to Reaſon, 'without any neceſſity of being convinc'd by our Senſes that 'you are mortal. We *Spaniards* alſo are Mortal, but more Va- 'liant, and of greater Underſtanding than your Vaſſals, born in 'a Climate of more powerful Influences than yours: The Beaſts 'which obey us, are not like your Deer, but of a Kind more 'fierce and generous; Brutes inclined to War, and which know 'how to aſpire with a ſort of Ambition, to the Glory of their 'Maſters. Our Fire-Arms are the Effect of humane Induſtry, 'without owing any Part of their Production to the Skill 'of Magicians; a Science abominable among us, and 'more contemned, than Ignorance itſelf. I thought it my 'Duty to eſtabliſh theſe Principles, that I might the better com- 'ply with the Commands you have laid upon me. I am now 'to acquaint you, with all due Reverence to your Majeſty, 'that I come as Embaſſador from the moſt powerful Mo- 'narch the Sun ſhines on from his firſt Riſing: He deſires to 'be your Friend, and Confederate, not by Virtue of thoſe 'ancient Rights, which you have declared, nor for any other

'Reaſon,

'Reason, than to open a Communication between the two 'Monarchies, that by this Means he may have the Plea- 'sure to free you from your Errors. And tho' he might (ac- 'cording to the Tradition of your own Histories) pretend to 'be more absolute in these Dominions, he only desires to make 'use of his Authority, to gain your Credit of Things entirely 'to your own Advantage; and to inform you, Sir, and you '*Mexicans*, who hear me, that you live in Error, with Regard to 'the Religion you profess; adoring insensible Pieces of Wood, 'the Work of your own Hands and Fancies: Forasmuch as 'there is but one true God, the eternal Cause of all Things, with- 'out Beginning or Ending; whose infinite Power created out of 'Nothing the wonderful Fabrick of the Heavens, the Sun which 'enlightens us, the Earth which sustains us, and the first 'Man from whom we all proceed, and whom we are 'therefore all under equal Obligation to acknowledge and 'adore. This very Obligation is imprinted in your Souls, 'of whose Immortality you are not ignorant; but which 'nevertheless you debase and destroy, by paying Adoration to 'Devils, unclean Spirits, Creatures of the same God, who for 'Ingratitude and Rebellion are cast into Subterranean Fires, of 'which you have some imperfect Image in your Volcanos. 'These, who thro' their Envy and Wickedness, are mortal Ene- 'mies to Mankind, endeavour your Perdition, by causing 'themselves to be adored in your abominable Idols: Theirs 'is the Voice you sometimes hear in the Answers of your Ora- 'cles; theirs the Illusions which impose on your Reason the 'Errors of Imagination. I am sensible, Sir, that such high 'Misteries are not to be explain'd at this present Juncture: 'But the King, whose ancient Superiority you acknowledge, 'exhorts you to hear me on this Subject with an unprejudiced 'Mind, that you may taste of that Repose which your Spirit 'will find in Truth, and be sensible how often you have 'resisted natural Reason, which has afforded you Light suffi- 'cient to discover your Errors. This is the first Thing which 'the King my Master desires of your Majesty, and the chief 'Proposal I have to make to you, as the most effectual Means 'to establish by a lasting Amity the Confederacy of both 'Crowns on the solid Foundation of Religion, which uniting 'us in Principles, may introduce and fix a voluntary Friend- 'ship in our Minds.' Thus did *Hernan Cortes* endeavour to maintain, in *Motezuma*'s Belief, the Reputation of his Forces, without departing from the Truth; making a dext'rous Use of the Original they had bestow'd on his King; and not contra-

dicting

dicting what they imagin'd, that he might give the greater Authority to his Embassy. But *Motezuma* heard the Point of Religion without any Mark of Conviction; continuing superstitiously obstinate in his Pagan Errors: And rising from his Seat, 'I do accept, (said he) with all Acknowledgment, the Confederacy and Friendship you propose from the great Descendant of *Quezalcoal*; but all Gods are good, and yours may be what you say, without Offence to mine. Repose your selves now, you are in your own House, where you shall be serv'd with all the Regard that is due to your Valour, and to the great Prince who sends you.' He then immediately gave Orders for some *Indians* attending without to enter, and before he went away, presented *Hernan Cortes* with several Pieces of Gold, a Quantity of Cotton Cloaths, and several Curiosities of Feathers; a considerable Gift both for the Value and Fashion: He distributed at the same Time some Jewels and Things of the like Kind among the *Spaniards*, who were present, without seeming to think he laid them under any Obligation, and doing all with a cheerful Generosity: He regarded *Cortes* and his Soldiers with a sort of Satisfaction, in which one might perceive, the Disquiet he had lain under before; in the same manner as a Man shews how far his Fears have prevail'd over him, by the Joy he discovers in being deliver'd from them.

CHAP. XII.

CORTES *visits* MOTEZUMA *in his Palace; the Greatness and Furniture of it are described: An Account of what passed in that Conference, and in others which they had afterwards upon the Subject of Religion.*

THE following Day *Hernan Cortes* desired an Audience, which was granted with such readiness, that the same Persons who were to accompany him, returned with the Answer: These were particularly appointed to attend Embassadors, as Masters of the Ceremonies of that Country. The General put on a gay Habit, without quitting his Arms (for he had a mind to be introduced in his Military Dress)

Dreſs) and carried with him the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, *and Diego de Ordaz*, with ſix or ſeven favourite Soldiers; among whom was *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, who had already began to make Obſervations, in order to compile a Hiſtory.

The Streets were all filled with an innumerable Concourſe of People, who crowded to behold the *Spaniards*, but yet without hindering their Paſſage; and among their Compliments and Acclamations, the Word *Teule* was often diſtinguiſhed, which in their Language ſignifies a God: A Word, the Importance whereof was underſtood; and which had no ill Sound in the Ears of thoſe who founded part of their Courage on the Reſpect that was paid them.

At a conſiderable Diſtance appeared the Palace of *Motezuma*, which ſufficiently ſhewed the great Magnificence of their Kings: The Pile was ſo very large, that it opened with Thirty Gates, to as many different Streets: The principal Front took up one whole Side of a very ſpacious Parade, and was of Jaſper, black, red, and white, well poliſhed and skilfully placed: Over the Gate, in a large Shield, were ſeen the Arms of *Motezuma*, a Griffin, half Eagle, and half Lion, with the Wings extended for Flight, and a Tyger in his Talons. Some maintain, that this Griffin was an Eagle, becauſe there were no Griffins in that Country, as if there were Reaſon to believe, that other Parts of the World produc'd them; whereas Naturaliſts place them in the Number of fabulous Birds; and we ſhall rather chooſe to ſuppoſe theſe ſort of Monſters, the Production of Fancy, by a Liberty allowed to Poets and Painters. As they approached the principal Gate, the Officers of *Motezuma*, who accompanied *Cortes*, walked up to one Side of it; and then retiring with a Shew of ſome Myſtery in their Motions, formed a Semi-circle, that they might enter the Gate by two and two: This Ceremony argued Reſpect; for they thought it an Irreverence to enter the Royal Palace in a Crowd; and by their ſtepping back, they ſhowed how much they feared to tread ſo ſacred a Place. After having paſſed three Squares, built and adorn'd in the ſame manner as the Front of the Palace, they came to *Motezuma*'s Appartment, where they equally admired the Largeneſs of the Rooms, and the Furniture: The Floors were covered with Mats of different Work; the Walls with Hangings of Cotton Cloth, and Furrs of Rabits interwoven; and the innermoſt Room with Hangings of Feathers, both the one and the other beautified with lively Colours and various Figures. The Roofs were of Cypreſs, Cedar, and other odoriferous Woods, with

different Foliages and Relievos; and in this Building it was remarkable, that without having found the Use of Nails, they form'd large Ceilings, fixing the Timber-Work and Planks in such manner, as to make them sustain one another. In each of these spacious Rooms, there was a great Number of Officers of different Rank, who kept the Entrance according to their Quality and Office: And at the Door of the Anti-Chamber waited the Nobility and Magistrates, who received *Cortes* with much Civility; but made him stop till they had taken off their Shoes, and the costly Cloaths with which they were adorned, and put on others of less Finery: For it was thought a great Indecency among these People, to appear in their richest Habits before the King. These Fashions were observed by the *Spaniards*. All they saw appeared new to them; the Greatness of the Palace, the Ceremonies, the Attendance, and even the profound Silence of so numerous a Train of Domesticks, concurr'd to imprint a Respect. *Motezuma* was standing with all his Ensigns of Royalty about him, and advanced some Steps to receive *Cortes*; who approaching with a low Bow, he laid his Arms upon his Shoulders, and saluted the rest of the *Spaniards* who waited on him with an obliging Look: Then seating himself, he commanded *Cortes* to sit, and all those who came with him, without suffering any Reply. The Visit was long, and the Conversation familiar. The Emperor asked *Cortes* several Questions concerning the Nature and Politics of the *Eastern* Countries: Sometimes approving what he thought right; and letting him see, that where he doubted he knew how to support his Objections by proper Arguments. Then he touched upon the Dependancy and Obligations of the *Mexicans* to the Descendant of their first King: And expressed his particular Satisfaction, that the Prophecy concerning the Strangers, who had been promised to his Ancestors so many Ages past, was compleated in his Time: And if he spoke not with Sincerity, he understood very well how to hide his Thoughts. And tho' this was a Notion, vain and despicable in its Original and Circumstances, yet it was of great Importance to the *Spaniards* upon this Occasion; for by the help of it they found the Way open for their Entrance. And thus, many times from Things trivial in their Beginning, proceed Consequences of the greatest Importance. Then *Hernan Cortes* dextrously led him to the Topic of Religion; enlarging (among other Things, he told him of his Country) upon the Rites and Customs of the Christians, to the end that the Vices and Abominations of his Idolatry might appear the more detestable by such a Contrast. He made use of this Opportunity, to

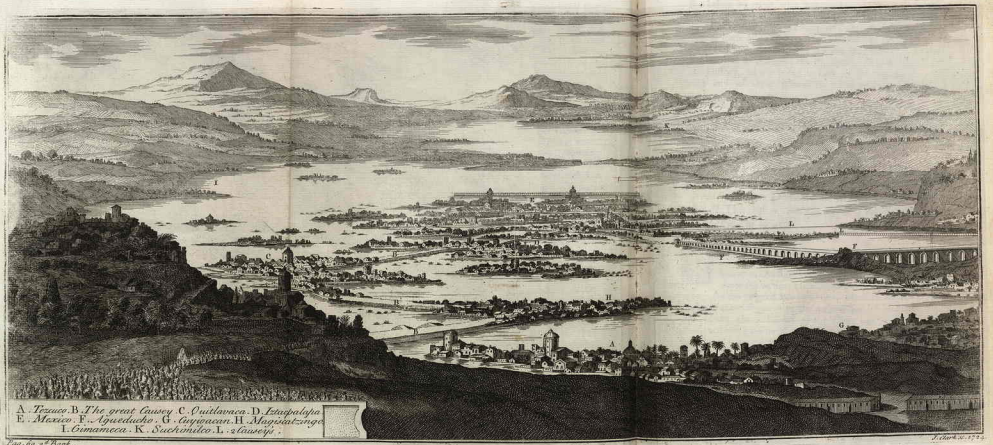
exclaim against Sacrifices of humane Blood, and to shew how horrible and contrary to Nature it was, to eat the Men they sacrificed: A brutish Custom prevailing in this Court, proportionably to the vast Number of Sacrifices which aggravated the Crime of these infamous Repasts!

This Conference was not altogether useless, for *Motezuma* yielding in some degree to the Force of Reason, banished from his Table all Dishes of Humane Flesh; but did not dare all at once to forbid his Subjects the use of it: Nor was he convinced as to the Point of Sacrifices: Saying, *It was no Cruelty to offer to his Gods, Prisoners of War, already condemn'd to dye; nor did he think it reasonable to extend the Denomination of Neighbour to our very Enemies.* He gave but small Hopes of his Conversion; tho' *Hernan Cortes*, and Father *Bartholomè de Olmedo*, endeavoured several Times to lead him into the Way of Truth. He had Capacity enough to comprehend some Advantages of the Catholick Religion, and not entirely to overlook the Abuses of his own; but he presently returned to his old Theme, *That his Gods were good in that Country, as the Christian God was in theirs*: And he was obliged to put a Force on himself to conceal his Anger, when the Argument was press'd too hard against him. He was much disturbed within himself at these Conferences; for on the one hand he endeavour'd to oblige the *Spaniards*, by a Complaisance which hardly became his Dignity; and on the other was press'd by a necessary Affectation of Religion, which had acquired, and, as he believed, preserv'd his Crown: This made him apprehend the Contempt of his Vassals, in case they should find him less zealous than formerly for the Worship of his Gods: A miserable Policy, and proper to Tyrants; to command with Pride, and reflect with a slavish Fear!

He made such an Ostentation of his Obstinacy, that in very few Days, as he took *Hernan Cortes* and Father *Bartholomè*, with some Captains and particular Soldiers along with him, to see the Grandeur of his Court, he resolv'd, upon a Principle of Vanity, to shew them the greater Magnificence of his Temples. He commanded them to stop a little at the Entrance, and went forward himself to consult the Priests, whether it were lawful for him to bring into the Presence of his Gods, those who refus'd to adore them? It was concluded, that they might enter; but that he should first admonish them, to behave themselves with Respect: And two or three of the most ancient Priests went out with the Permission and the Request. Immediately all the Gates of this spacious Edi-

fice were opened; and *Motezuma* took upon himself to explain all the secret Places of Worship, the Use of the Vessels, and other Instruments and Images of the Temple, with so much Ceremony and Reverence, that the *Spaniards* could not refrain from Laughter, which he did not seem to take Notice of; but turned and looked upon them, as desiring to keep them within Bounds. Here *Hernan Cortes* suffering himself to be transported with the Zeal which burnt within his Breast, addressed himself to *Motezuma*, and said, *Permit me, Sir, to fix the Cross of Christ before these Images of the Devil, and you shall see whether they deserve Adoration or Contempt.* At the hearing of this Proposition, the Priests grew enraged, and *Motezuma* found himself in the greatest Confusion and Perplexity; wanting Patience to bear it, and Resolution to shew his Displeasure: But recollecting himself, and endeavouring to hide his Resentments; *You might at least* (said he to the *Spaniards*) *have shewed this Place the Respect you owe to my Person.* On which he immediately went out of the Temple, that they might do the same; but stop'd on the Threshold, and added, with somewhat more of Calmness, *You may return to your House, my Friends, for I shall remain here to ask Pardon of my Gods, for having suffered you to proceed thus far.* In this Manner he disengag'd himself from the Perplexity he was in, with few Words, but worthy of Regard; as informing them of his Resolution, and how hard a Task he found it to command his Temper.

From this, and other Experiments of the same Kind, *Cortes* took a Resolution (with the Advice of Father *Bartholomè de Olmedo*, and the Licentiate *Juan Diaz*) not to talk any more then on the Subject of Religion, which only seemed to provoke and harden the Heart of *Motezuma*; but at the same Time, they obtained his Leave, to worship God in Public; and he himself sent his Master-Builders to erect a Chapel at his own Expence, according to the Direction of *Cortes*. So much did he desire to be left in the quiet Possession of his Errors! The *Spaniards* presently cleared one of the principal Rooms of the Palace: they white-wash'd it, and raised an Altar; and in the Front, upon Steps richly adorned, they placed the Image of our Lady, and fixing a large Cross near the Gate, formed a very decent Chappel, where they celebrated Mass every Day, and recited their Rosary, with other Acts of Piety and Devotion: *Motezuma* with his Princes and Ministers were often present; and praised the Humanity of the Christian Sacrifice, without discovering the Barbarity and Abomination of their own. A People blind, and superstitious, who tho' sensible of their Errors, yet suffered Custom to get the better of their Reason! But



Pag. 69 of Book.

Fellows sc. 1772.

Custom to get the better of their Reason! But

S proceeded

Cuſtom to get the better of their Reaſon ! But

But before we relate what happened to the *Spaniards* in this Court, 'tis proper to give a Deſcription of *Mexico*, the Magnificence of its Buildings, its Form of Government and Policy, and make ſome other Obſervations requiſite for the right conceiving and underſtanding the Events themſelves. For tho' ſuch Deſcriptions interrupt the Narration, they are neceſſary to the Hiſtory, as not being foreign to the Argument, nor having any of thoſe Blemiſhes which make a Digreſſion vicious.

CHAP. XIII.

A Deſcription of the City of Mexico; *the Temperateneſs of its Climate; its Scituation; the Market of* Tlatelulco, *and the great Temple dedicated to the God of War.*

THE great City of *Mexico*, which was anciently known by the Name of *Tenuchtitlan*, or ſome other of a like Sound (a Queſtion canvas'd by Authors to very little Purpoſe) at this Time contained Sixty thouſand Families, and was divided into two Parts; of which one was called *Tlatelulco*, the Habitation of the meaner Sort of People: The other *Mexico*, the Reſidence of the Court and Nobility, and which therefore gave its Name to the whole.

It was ſcituated in a ſpacious Plain, ſurrounded with very high Rocks and Mountains; by whoſe Streams and Rivulets, rowling into the Valley, were formed ſeveral Lakes, and two of a larger Size in the deepeſt Part, where the *Mexicans* had above fifty Towns. This little Sea was about thirty Leagues in Circumference: And the two Lakes which compoſed it, had a Communication thro' a Wall of Stone which divided them; ſome Openings being left, with Wooden Bridges over them, and Sluices on each Side to ſupply the lower Lake, when there was Occaſion to make good the want of Water in one with the Redundance of the other. The uppermoſt was clear ſweet Water, where they had ſome ſorts of Fiſh, of very agreeable Taſte: The lower Lake was ſalt like the Sea; not that the Rivulets that fed it were of different Quality, but it

proceeded from the natural Quality of the Soil which receiv'd them, and which in this Part is fat and nitrous, but very useful for the making of Salt, all along the Borders of the Lake, where the Sun purified and refined the Scum that was left by the beating of the Waves.

In the middle almost of this salt Water Lake stood the City of *Mexico*, in 19 Deg. and 13 Min. *North* Lat. within the *Torrid Zone*, by the ancient Philosophers imagined uninhabitable, which may instruct us by Experience, how little we can rely on humane Wisdom when the Reasonings of the Understanding are not supported by the Evidence of the Senses. The Climate was mild and healthy, with seasonable Vicissitudes of Heat and Cold: And the Moisture, which might have prov'd unwholsome by the natural Scituation of the Place, was corrected by the Favour of the Winds, and qualified by the Benefit of the Sun.

This great City had most beautiful Prospects in the midst of the Waters, and was joyned to the Land by its Dykes, or principal Causeys; a sumptuous Work, of noless Ornament than Use: One was to the *South* two Leagues long (by which the *Spaniards* made their Entrance) another one League long, looking to the *North*, and the Third somewhat less, to the *West*. The Streets were all large and straight, as if they were drawn by a Line: Some were of Water, with Bridges, for the Communication of the Inhabitants: Others were of Earth alone, rais'd by Art; and others again were compos'd of Earth and Water, the Earth on each Side for the People to pass on Foot, and Canals in the Middle for the Canoes and Barks of different Bulk, which served for Commerce, and other Conveniencies about the City, and the Number whereof was almost incredible: Some said above Fifty thousand, without counting little Vessels, which were called *Acales*, made of the Trunk of a Tree, and capable of holding but one Man.

The publick Buildings and Houses of the Nobility, which made up the greatest Part of the City, were of Stone, and well built: The Houses of the common Sort, low, and unequal; but both the one and the other so laid out, that they formed several Parades, where they exposed their Merchandize.

Among the rest, that of *Tlatelulco* was of prodigious Extent and Resort, on the account of its Fairs, held there some certain Days of the Year, and frequented by all the Merchants and Traders of the whole Kingdom, with their most valuable Fruits and Manufactures: And they flock'd hither in such mighty Numbers, that tho' this Square was (according to *Antonio*

de

Pag. 70. 3d Book.

J. Clark sc. 1743.

de Herera) one of the largeſt in the World, it was nevertheleſs filled with Tents, placed in Ranks, and ſo near together, that there was ſcarce Room left for the Buyers to paſs. All knew their Poſts, and ſecured their Shops with portable Frames, covered with courſe Cotton Cloth, which were Proof both againſt the Sun and Rain. The *Spaniſh* Writers make no End of reflecting on the Order, Variety, and Riches of thoſe Fairs: There were Rows of Silverſmiths, who ſold Jewels, and Chains of extraordinary Faſhion; ſeveral Figures of Beaſts, in Gold and Silver, wrought with ſo much Art, as rais'd the Wonder of our Artificers: And particularly, ſome Skillets with moving Handles that were ſo caſt, and other Pieces of the ſame Kind, with Moldings and Relievos, without any Signs of a Hammer or Graver. There were alſo Rows of Painters, with fine Figures and Landskips made of Feathers, ſo curiouſly placed, as to give both Colour and Life to the Piece; and in this Kind there were extraordinary Proofs, both of the Patience and Skill of the Workman. They brought to this Fair all the different Sorts of Cloths made throughout this vaſt Empire, of Cotton and Rabit Furr, which the Women of this Country (Enemies to Idleneſs) ſpun extremely fine, being very dextrous in this Manufacture. They had Drinking-Cups exquiſitely made of the fineſt Earth, different in Colour, and even in Smell: And of this Kind they had all Sorts of Veſſels neceſſary, either for the Service or Ornament of a Houſe: For they us'd no Veſſels either of Silver or Gold, which were only ſeen at the Royal Table, and that on extraordinary Days. This Fair likewiſe afforded in the ſame Order and Plenty, all Sorts of Fruit, Fleſh, and Fiſh; and in a Word every Thing which could contribute to the Pleaſures or ſupply the Neceſſities of Life.

The Way of Buying and Selling was by bartering one Thing for another: And every one parted with what he had too much of, for what he wanted; and Maiz or Coco, ſerved as Money for Things of ſmall Value. They did not know what belonged to Weight; but they had different Meaſures, with which they diſtinguiſhed Quantity: And they had their Numbers and Characters, by which they adjuſted the Prices of Goods, according to the Taxes laid upon them.

They had a Houſe appointed for the Judges of Commerce, before whoſe Tribunal were decided all Differences between the Merchants: There were other inferior Officers who went about the Fair, to prevent Frauds in Contracts; and made their Report to the principal Tribunal, of all Irregularities of

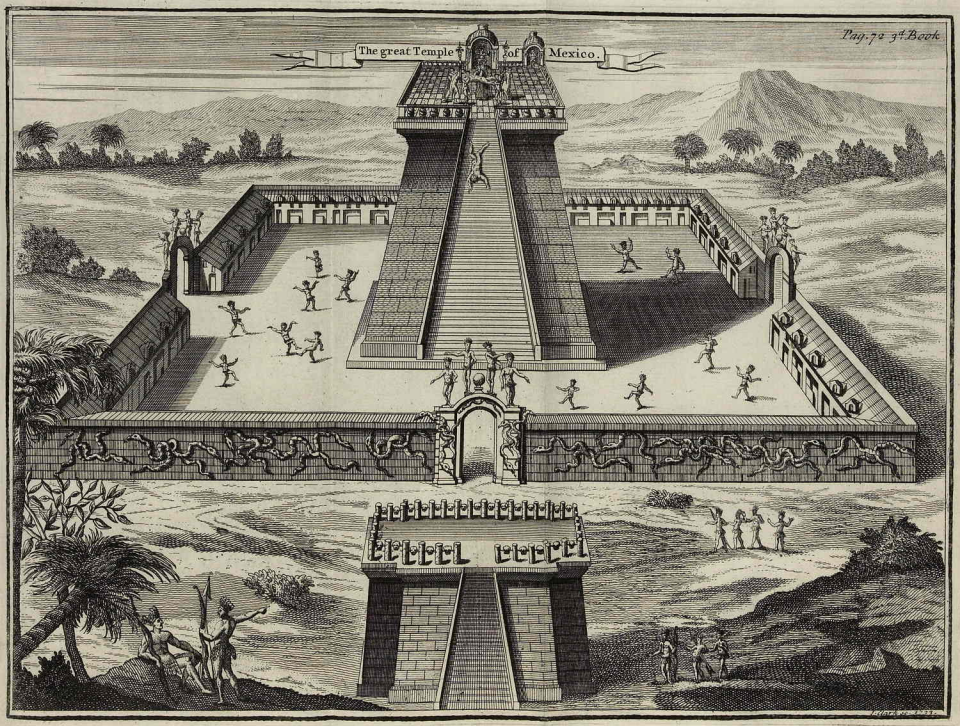
that

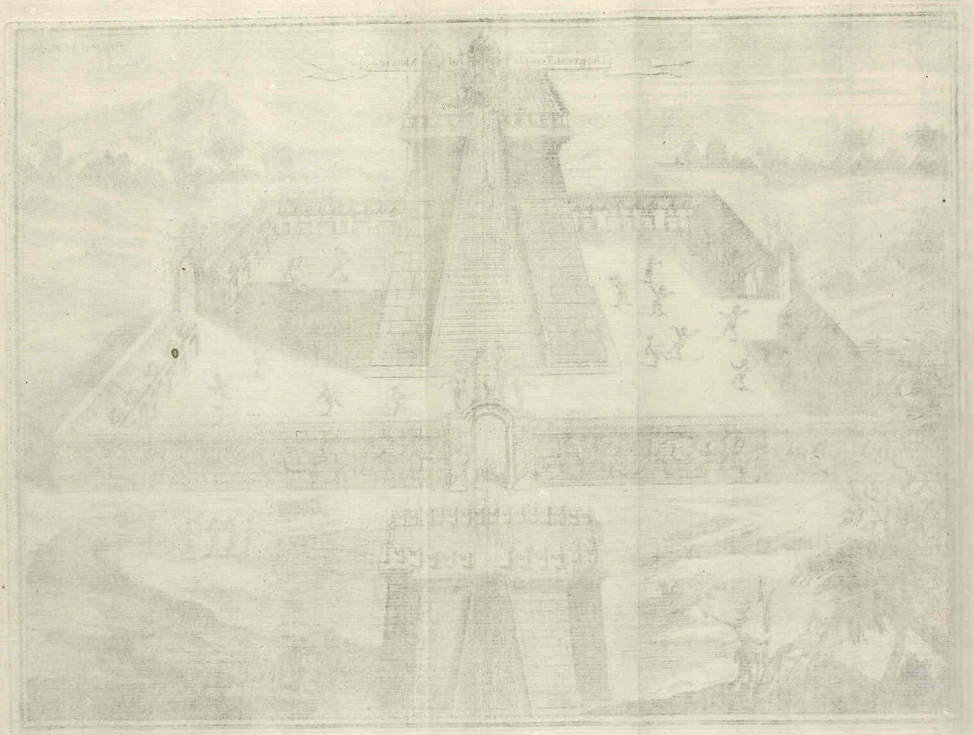
that Sort, which deserv'd any kind of Punishment. The *Spaniards* were amazed (and with Reason) upon the first Sight of this Fair, at its Abundance, and Variety, with the good Order, and Peace that was preserv'd in so vast a Multitude. A Spectacle worthy of Admiration; as it discovered at one View, the Grandeur and good Government of this Empire.

The Temples (if it be lawful to give them that Name) raised their stately Heads above the rest of their Buildings: And the largest where the chief of those unclean Priests resided, was dedicated to the Idol *Viztzlipuztli*, which signified the God of War, and was held to be the supreme of all their Deities: By the Supremacy of this God, it may be judged, how much they esteem'd the Military Art. The *Spanish* Soldiers called this Idol, *Huchilobos* by a corrupt Pronunciation: And so *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* writes it; making the same Slip with his Pen, as they did with their Tongues. Our Authors very much vary in the Description of this magnificent Edifice. *Antonio de Herrera* follows too closely *Francisco Lopez de Gomara*: Those who saw it at this Time had other Things to mind; and the rest drew the Plan of it according to their Fancies. We shall follow Father *Joseph de Acosta*, and other Authors, who were more exact and better inform'd.

The first Part of the Building was a great Square, with a Wall of hewn Stone, wrought on the outside with various Knots of Serpents inter-twisted, which gave a Horror to the Portico, and were not improperly plac'd there. At a little Distance from the principal Gate was a Place of Worship, not less terrible: It was built of Stone with thirty Steps of the same, which went up to the Top, where was a kind of long flat Roof, and a great many Trunks of well grown Trees, fixed in it, in a Row, with Holes bored in them at equal Distances; and thro' which, from one Tree to another, passed several Bars run thro' the Heads of Men who had been sacrificed; of whose Number (which cannot be repeated without Horrour) the Priests of the Temple took exact Account, placing others in the Room of those which had been wasted by Time. A lamentable Trophy, in which the Enemy of Mankind display'd his Rancour; and which these *Barbarians* always had in View, without the least Remorse! For Inhumanity put on the Mask of Devotion, and Custom had render'd Death in all its Terrors familiar to their Eyes.

The four Sides of the Square had as many Gates opening to the four Winds. Over each of these Gates were four Statues of Stone, which seemed to point the Way, as if they were de-


The great Temple of Mexico.
Pag. 72 3d Book



ſirous to ſend back ſuch as approach'd with an ill Diſpoſition of Mind. Theſe were preſum'd to be *Threſhold-Gods*, becauſe they had ſome Reverences paid them at the Entrance. Cloſe to the Inſide of the Wall, were the Habitations of the Prieſts, and of thoſe who, under them, attended the Service of the Temple, with ſome Offices, which all together took up the whole Circumference, without retrenching ſo much from that vaſt Square, but that Eight or Ten Thouſand Perſons had ſufficient Room to dance in upon their ſolemn Feſtivals.

In the Centre of this Square ſtood a Pile of Stone, which in the open Air exalted its loſty Head, overlooking all the Towers of the City, gradually diminiſhing till it form'd a half Pyramid; Three of its Sides were ſmooth, the Fourth had Stairs wrought in the Stone; a ſumptuous Building, and extremely well proportioned: It was ſo high that the Stair-Caſe contain'd a Hundred and Twenty Steps, and of ſo large a Compaſs, that on the Top it terminated in a Flat, Forty Foot ſquare: The Pavement was beautifully laid with Jaſper Stones of all Colours: The Rails which went round in nature of a Baluſtrade, were of a Serpentine Form, and both Sides cover'd with Stones reſembling Jett, plac'd in good Order, and join'd with white and red Cement, which was a very great Ornament to the Building.

Upon the two Sides of the Rails, where the Stairs ended, were two Marble Statues, which ſupported, in a Manner which admirably well expreſs'd the ſtraining of the Arms, Two huge Candleſticks of an extraordinary Make. A little farther was a greenStone, Five Spans high from the Ground, which terminated in an Angle, and whereon they extended on his Back the miſerable Victim they were about to Sacrifice, and open'd his Breaſt to take out his Heart. Above this Stone, fronting the Stair-Caſe, ſtood a Chappel of excellent Workmanſhip and Materials, cover'd with a Roof of precious Timber. Here the Idol was plac'd on a high Altar, behind Curtains: It was of Humane Figure, ſitting in a Chair which had ſome Reſemblance of a Throne, ſuſtain'd by a blue Globe, which they call'd Heaven, from the Sides whereof came four Rods, with their Ends reſembling the Heads of Serpents, which the Prieſts plac'd upon their Shoulders when they expos'd their Idol to publick View. It had on its Head a Helm compos'd of Plumes of various Colours, in Form of a Bird, with a Bill and Creſt of burniſh'd Gold: Its Countenance was ſevere and horrible, and ſtill more deform'd with Two blue Bands, which bound its Forehead and its Noſe. In the right Hand

it held a curling Serpent, which serv'd for a Staff, and in the Left Four Arrows, which they venerated as a Present from Heaven; and a Shield with Five white Plumes plac'd in the Form of a Cross: And concerning these Ornaments, these Ensigns and Colours, they related many remarkable Extravagances, with a Seriousness deserving to be pitied.

On the left Hand of this Chappel was another of the same Make and Bigness, with an Idol called *Tlaloch*, in every Respect resembling his Companion. They were esteem'd Brothers, and Friends to such a Degree, that they divided between them the Patronage of War, equal in Power, and unanimous in Inclination: For which Reason they address'd them both with the same Prayers, the same Sacrifices, and the same Thanksgivings.

The Ornaments of both Chappels were of inestimable Value; the Walls were hung, and the Altars cover'd with Jewels and Precious Stones, plac'd on Feathers of various Colours: And they had Eight Temples in the City of almost the same Architecture, and of equal Wealth: Those of a smaller Size amounted to Two Thousand, and were dedicated to as many Idols, of different Names, Forms, and Attributes. There was scarce a Street without its Tutelar Deity; nor was there any Calamity incident to Nature without its Altar, to which they might have Recourse for a Remedy. In a Word, their Gods were deriv'd from their Fears; nor did they reflect how they lessen'd the Power of some, by what they attributed to others. Thus did the Devil continually enlarge his Dominion, and exercise a most deplorable Tyranny over Rational Creatures, in the Possession of which he remain'd for so many Ages, by the incomprehensible Permission of the most High.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the different Pleasure-Houses which Motezuma *had for his Recreation: His Armories, Gardens, and Country Retirements; with other remarkable Buildings, both within and without the City.*

BESIDES the principal Palace, before describ'd, where *Motezuma* kept his Court, and where, as we have already observ'd, the *Spaniards* were entertain'd, this Emperor had several Houses of Pleasure which adorn'd the City, and display'd his Grandeur. In one of them, a magnificent Structure, with great Galleries, supported by Pillars of Jasper, he had all sorts of Birds which *New-Spain* produc'd of any Value, either for their Feathers, or Singing; in which Diversity there were some very extraordinary, and till then unknown to *Europeans*. The Sea-Fowl were preserv'd in Salt Water Pools, and those which were bred in Rivers and Lakes, in others of Fresh Water. It is said they had Birds of Five or Six Colours, which they stripp'd of their Feathers in the proper Season, letting them live, that their Owners might again reap the Advantage of the new ones when grown. These were a Merchandize of great Value among the *Mexicans*; for they work'd them in their Cloaths, in Pictures, and in all their Ornaments. These Birds were in such Numbers, and the Care of preserving them was so great, that it gave Employment to above Three Hundred Men, skilful in the Knowledge of their Diseases, and oblig'd to supply them with such Food as they us'd to eat when they were at Liberty.

At a little Distance from this House, *Motezuma* had another of greater Extent and Variety, with Apartments capable of receiving himself and his whole Court. There his Huntsmen resided, and there the Birds of Prey were kept; some in Cages neat and well made; and these were only to please the Eye: He had others on Perches, that were obedient to the Jesses, and tam'd for the Diversion of Hawking, for which Sport they have Birds of an excellent Kind in that Country, like our Hawks, and no way inferior to them for their Docility in returning to their Lure, or for the Vigour with which they

ſouſe upon their Prey. Among their Birds in Cages were ſome ſo extremely fierce and large, that they appeared to be Monſters; and particularly the Royal Eagles, of an extraordinary Size, and prodigious Voracity. An Author reports, that one of theſe Eagles would devour a Sheep at a Meal: He is oblig'd to me, that I do not vouch him by Name for a Story which in my Opinion he ſwallow'd with too little Difficulty.

In the ſecond Square of the ſame Houſe were the Wild Beaſts, which were either Preſents to *Motezuma*, or taken by his Hunters, in very ſtrong Cages of Timber, rang'd in good Order and under Cover: Lions, Tygers, Bears, and all others of the ſavage Kind which *New-Spain* produc'd; among which, the greateſt Rarity was the *Mexican* Bull; a wonderful Compoſition of divers Animals: It has crooked Shoulders, with a Bunch on its Back like a Camel; its Flanks dry, its Tail large, and its Neck cover'd with Hair like a Lion: It is cloven footed, its Head armed like that of a Bull, which it reſembles in Fierceneſs, with no leſs Strength and Agility. This Amphitheatre ſeem'd to the *Spaniards* worthy of a great Prince; it being a Cuſtom eſtabliſh'd from all Antiquity, by the Number of Wild Beaſts any Prince had in his Poſſeſſion, to make an Eſtimate of the Grandeur of the Poſſeſſor.

In another Part of this Palace, ſay ſome of our *Spaniſh* Writers, they daily fed a horrible Multitude of venomous Animals, preſerv'd in different Veſſels and Caverns, as Vipers, Rattle-Snakes, Scorpions, and even Crocodiles: But they add, that the *Spaniards* were not Eye-Witneſſes of this poiſonous Article of Magnificence, but only ſaw the Places where theſe Creatures were reported to be bred; which is ſufficient Reaſon for me to regard this Part of the Story as improbable; believing rather, that it had no other Foundation than the Opinion of the *Indians*, and that this was a Sort of a Bugbear, invented by the Vulgar, to repreſent the ſavage Diſpoſition of a Tyrant; particularly, when he is obey'd by Conſtraint, and cannot be mention'd without Fear.

Over the Place where the Beaſts were kept, was a very large Apartment for the Reſidence of Buffoons, and other Vermin of the Court, who ſerv'd for the Diverſion of the King: Even Monſters had a Place in this Set of Men; ſuch as Dwarfs, Crooked, or Hump-back'd, and other Errors of Nature: Every Kind had their ſeparate Habitations, and Maſters apart to inſtruct them; and Perſons employ'd to provide their Meals and to attend them: And they were ſo punctually ſerv'd, that

ſome

ſome Fathers, among the poorer Sort, would disfigure their Children for the ſake of that Conveniency, their Deformity being a ſufficient Recommendation to introduce them.

Nor was the Grandeur of *Motezuma* leſs conſpicuous in Two Houſes for his Arms; one where they were made, and the other where they were laid up in Store. In the firſt, the ſeveral Maſters liv'd and work'd, diſtributed into different Shops, according to their Employments: In one Part they made the Sticks for the Arrows; in another they worked Flint Stones for the Points: And all Sorts of Arms, offenſive and defenſive, had Workmen, and diſtinct Shops, with Overſeers, who kept Account, according to their Manner, of the Quantity and Price of the Arms. The other Houſe, which made a better Appearance, ſerv'd for a Magazine to hold the Arms that were finiſh'd; every Kind apart: And from thence they were given out to the Armies, and Frontier Towns, as Occaſion requir'd. In the higheſt Part they plac'd the Arms belonging to the King, which were hung round the Walls in excellent Order: On one Side the Bows, Arrows, and Quivers, with various emboſs'd Work of Gold and precious Stones: On another, Two-Handed Swords, and others of extraordinary Wood, with flint Edges, and moſt curious and coſtly Handles. In another Place the Darts, and miſſive Weapons were ſo well rang'd and ſo neatly kept, not excepting even the Slings, that the Exactneſs of their Diſpoſition was admirable. There were Head-Pieces and Breaſt-Pieces, plated overwith curious Leaf-Work of Gold; great Number of Quilted Jackets whichwere Arrow proof; beautiful Inventions of Shields orBucklers made of impenetrable Skins, which cover'd the whole Body, and which they carry'd roll'd up upon their Left Shoulders 'till they were ready to engage. The *Spaniards* greatly wonder'd to behold ſuch a prodigious Quantity of Arms, which appear'd to be the Furniture not only of a Prince but of a Martial Prince, and made an honourable Diſcovery as well of his Opulency as of his Genius.

To all theſe Houſes he had ſpacious Gardens, moſt nicely cultivated. He was no Admirer of Fruit-Trees, nor Kitchin Plants in his Gardens of Pleaſure: For he uſed to ſay, That ſuch kind of Gardens were for the inferior Rank of People; it being his Opinion, That Princes ſhould have Regard to their Pleaſure without any Mixture of Profit. There was nothing to be ſeen but Flowers of delightful Variety and Fragrancy, with Medicinal Herbs, ſet in Squares, and Summer-Houſes where he uſed to ſup. He took a particular Care to tranſplant

into his Gardens all the choice Simples that benign Climate produc'd, where the only Study of the Physicians was to attain to the Knowledge of their Names and Properties. They had Herbs for all Kinds of Pains and Infirmities; and in the Juices and Application of those Herbs consisted all their Remedies, and with which they effected surprizing Cures, having by long Experience found out their Virtues, which, without distinguishing the Cause of the Distemper, they apply'd to the Patient's great Benefit and Recovery.

The King freely distributed to all who had Occasion for them such of his Simples as were prescrib'd by the Physicians, or desir'd by the Sick; and was wont to inquire if the Patient had receiv'd any Benefit therefrom, either gratifying a sort of Vanity he had in the successful Operation of his Medecines, or believing that he fulfill'd the Obligation of a Sovereign, in taking such Care of the Health of his Vassals.

In all these Gardens and Pleasure-Houses, he had many Fountains of sweet and wholesome Water, convey'd from the neighbouring Mountains by different Canals as far as the Causeys, whence in cover'd Pipes it was introduc'd into the City, for the Use whereof there were some publick Fountains; and he permitted some of the meaner Sort of the People, tho' not without paying a considerable Tribute, to sell about the Streets what Water they brought from other Springs. The Conveniency of Fountains was very much increas'd in the Time of *Motezuma*; for the great Conduit, which conveys a Current of fresh Water to *Mexico* from the Mountain of *Chapultepec*, about a League distant from the City, was a Work of his; and by his Order and Contrivance a vast Cistern of Stone was made for a Reservatory; raising the same to such a Height as the Declivity for the Current requir'd: After this he gave Orders for a very thick Wall, with two open Canals made of Stone and Lime, of which one was always in Use, whenever the other requir'd cleaning: A Building extremely useful; and *Motezuma* valued himself so much upon the Invention, that he order'd his own Effigies and that of his Father, which bore a pretty near Resemblance to his, to be engrav'd on Two Stones, with an Ambition to perpetuate his Memory by so signal a Benefaction done to the City.

Amongst all the Works of *Motezuma*, what surpriz'd the *Spaniards* most, was that call'd *the House of Sorrow*, to which he was wont to retire on the Death of his Relations, or in Case of any Calamity, or ill Success, which requir'd publick Demonstration of Grief. The Building inspir'd a kind of Horror; the

the Walls, Roofs, and Ornaments were all black, and had certain Slits in the Wall, or little Windows, which ſcarce gave any Light, or at leaſt no more than was ſufficient to diſcover the Obſcurity. In this diſmal Habitation he us'd to continue till the Time of Mourning was over, and often here the Devil appear'd to him; whether it be that the Prince of Darkneſs took Delight in this Abode of Horror, or for the Sympathy there is between that malignant Spirit and a melancholy Humour.

Without the City he had divers Country Retirements and Houſes of Pleaſure, with many and large Fountains, which ſupplied the Bagnios and Fiſh-ponds with Water, and near them ſeveral Woods for different Kinds of Game: A Diverſion he frequently us'd, and underſtood well, being very dext'rous at his Bow and Arrow; and indeed Hunting was what principally delighted him, for he was accuſtomed to go with his Nobles to a very ſpacious and pleaſant Park, fenc'd round with a Canal of Water, where they brought and inclos'd the Game of the neighbouring Mountains; among which generally came ſome Lions and Tygers. He had a great Number of Men in *Mexico* and the Villages round about, whoſe Buſineſs it was to go before, and by forming a great Ring and contracting it by Degrees, to drive the Game into the appointed Place, not much unlike the Manner of our Huntſmen. Theſe *Mexican Indians* were extremely bold and active in purſuing and overcoming the fierceſt Animals, and *Motezuma* took great Delight in beholding the Combats of his Huntſmen with thoſe Creatures, and ſometimes he would let fly an Arrow, which was always applauded as a very great Action. But he never quitted his Chair unleſs he was upon ſome commodious Eminence, with good Store of Darts and Arrows by him for the Security of his Perſon; not that he wanted perſonal Courage, or was any Thing inferior in Strength or Dexterity to the beſt of his Subjects; but becauſe he look'd upon thoſe voluntary Hazards as unbecoming his Majeſty, believing, and not without a true Senſe of his own Dignity, that no Dangers but thoſe of War were worthy of a King.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Pomp, Ceremony and Exactness with which MOTEZUMA *was serv'd in his Palace: Of the Expences of his Table, of his Audiences and other Particulars relating to his Oeconomy, and Diversions.*

AGREEABLE to the Statelines, Pride and Magnificence of the Buildings, was the Oeconomy of his House, and the Apparel, wherewith he us'd to adorn his Person, for the better maintaining the Reverence and Dread of his Vassals; to which he invented new and excessive Ceremonies; laying aside, as a Fault, the great Humanity and Indulgence with which the *Mexican* Kings were wont to treat their Subjects. He augmented, as we have said in the Beginning of his Reign, the Number, Quality and Splendor of the Royal Family; composing it wholly of the Nobility, of greater or lesser Distinction, according to their several Employments: A Point which was at first much opposed by his Council, who represented to him, That it was by no means proper to dissatisfy the Common People by intirely excluding them from his Service; notwithstanding which, he executed what his Vanity suggested: And it was one of his Maxims, That Princes ought to favour at a Distance those who either had no Sense of a Benefit, or wanted the Power to return it; and that Plebeian Minds were not fit to enter into the Confidence of a Soveraign.

He had Two Sorts of Guards, the One of Soldiers, so numerous that they fill'd the Courts of the Palace, and were posted in Bodies at the principal Gates: The other of Noblemen, introduc'd also in his Time, consisting of Two Hundred Men, of distinguish'd Quality, who were oblig'd to be every Day at the Palace, both to guard his Royal Person, and to make up the Number of his Courtiers. This Attendance of the Nobility was divided into *Tours*, and every Division had their set Days for entring upon Duty; and the Disposition was such, that it comprehended not only the Nobility of the City,

City, but of the whole Kingdom: And when it was their Turns, they came to Court to discharge this Obligation from the most remote Parts of the Realm. Their Attendance was in the Anti-chambers, and they eat what was left at the King's Table. He us'd to permit some of them to enter into his Chamber, commanding them to be call'd, not so much for any particular Mark of his Favour to them as to be satisfy'd if they attended, and to keep them all on their Duty. He valu'd himself upon having introduc'd that kind of Guard, and seem'd to have done it with Views of no ordinary Policy: For he us'd to tell his Ministers, that it serv'd to exercise the Obedience of the Nobility, and to keep them in a greater Dependency; besides, it gave him an Opportunity of knowing his Subjects, and employing them according to their several Capacities.

The *Mexican* Emperors marry'd with Daughters of other Kings their Tributaries: And *Motezuma* had Two Wives of this Quality, who bore the Title of Queens, lodg'd in separate Apartments with equal Splendor and Magnificence. The Number of his Concubines was exorbitant and scandalous; for we find it written that there were more than Three Thousand Women in the Palace, including the Servants; and every Female of more than ordinary Beauty, that was to be met with throughout his whole Dominions, was brought thither, in order to gratify his lustful Appetite; for his Ministers and Tax-gatherers forc'd them from their Friends by Way of Tribute, and Vassalage, treating the Debauchery of their Prince as a Point of Importance to the State.

These Women he, without any Difficulty, got rid of, and provided for them in such Manner that others might supply his Place. They found Husbands among those of the best Quality; for they left the Court very rich, and, in the common Opinion, highly honour'd: So far was Chastity and Decency from being counted Virtues in a Religion which did not only permit, but even command the utmost Violence to natural Reason. He affected very much to have his Concubines lead a retir'd Life, and keep a strict Decorum in his House; and for that Purpose he had ancient Matrons, who narrowly observ'd the Behaviour of his Mistresses, without permitting the least Indecency to be acted amongst them; not that he set any Value upon Modesty, but because Jealousy was his predominant Passion. And this Care with which he endeavour'd to maintain a strict Decorum in his Family, (in it self so reasonable and praise worthy) was in him a Weakness without any Mixture

of true Honour or Generosity, but purely the Effect of his other darling Passion.

His Audiences were neither easily obtain'd, nor very frequent, but they lasted long; and upon these Occasions he appear'd with great Splendor and Solemnity. The Great Men who had Admission into the Royal Apartment, assisted at them, with Six or Seven Counsellors of State to advise him in Case any Point of Difficulty was started. And there were several Secretaries, who marked in Characters, which serv'd them instead of Letters, the Resolutions and Decrees, every one according to his respective Employment. The Person who obtain'd Audience enter'd barefoot, and made three Reverences, without lifting his Eyes from the Ground: Saying at the first, Lord! at the second, My Lord! and at the third, Great Lord! He spoke in the most humble and submissive Terms, and retir'd in the same Manner he advanc'd; repeating his Reverences, never turning his Back, and keeping his Eyes fix'd on the Ground; for there were certain Officers by who severely punish'd the least Omission, and *Motezuma* was extremely rigorous in exacting those Ceremonies: A Care by no means blameable in Princes, for therein consists one of those Prerogatives which distinguish them from other Men; and the Delicacies of Royalty infuse into the Subject an awful Dread, very essential in its Effects. He listen'd with Attention, and answered with Severity, seeming to proportion his Voice to his Look. If any one was at a Loss in his Delivery, he endeavour'd to recover him, or order'd one of his Ministers to assist him, that he might speak with more Assurance. And to such a Man he would give a more favourable Dispatch, as finding in that respectful Fear, a Sort of an agreeable Discretion, which flatter'd his Vanity. He valued himself much for the Gentleness and Humanity with which he suffer'd the Impertinencies of Petitioners, and the unaccountable Difference of their several Pretensions: The Truth is, upon these Occasions, he endeavour'd to correct the Impetuosity of his Temper; but it was not always that he could gain that Point: For the Violence he us'd would often give Way to his natural Bent, and indeed Pride under a Restraint but ill resembles Goodness.

He eat alone, and very often in publick; but always with equal State and Solemnity. His Table was ordinarily cover'd with above Two Hundred Dishes, of different Meats adapted to his Palate, and some of those so savoury and exquisitely well season'd, that they not only pleas'd the *Spaniards* then, but have since been imitated in *Spain*; for there is no Nation so barbarous,

barous, but that it can boast of some Ingenuity, and has some Invention or other to gratify an inordinate Appetite.

Before he sate down to Meat, he look'd over all the Dishes, to examine the different Dainties they contain'd, and having satisfy'd the Gluttony of his Eyes, he made Choice of those which pleas'd him most, and order'd the rest to be divided amongst the Nobles of his Guard. And this daily Profusion, was but a small Part of the ordinary Expence of his Kitchen, for he kept Tables for all who liv'd in his Palace, and for as many others as were oblig'd to resort thither, by Virtue of their Employments. His Table was large, but low, and he sate on a little Stool proportionable to the Table. The Cloths were of fine white Cotton, and the Napkins of the same, nothing near so broad as long. The Room where he eat was divided in the Middle by a Rail, which, without obstructing the Sight, kept the Crowd and his Domesticks at Distance.

Within the Rails, and near the Table waited Three or Four ancient Servants, of those he most favour'd: And near the Rails, one of his principal Officers receiv'd the Dishes, which were brought by about Twenty Women magnificiently apparrel'd, who serv'd his Meat and gave him the Cup, with the same Reverence us'd to their Idols in the Temples. The Dishes were of exceeding fine Earthen Ware, and were only us'd once, as were likewise the Table-Cloths, and Napkins, which were immediately divided amongst the Servants. He had Cups of Gold, and Salvers of the same; and sometimes he drank out of Cocoas, and natural Shells, very richly set with Jewels.

They had continually ready at Hand different Sorts of Liquors, which he call'd for as he fancy'd; some were finely perfum'd with the richest Odours, others mix'd with the Juices of salutiferous Herbs, nor did he ever want Confections of a less honest Quality, I mean Provocatives to Venery. He made Use of those Wines, or rather more properly speaking Beer, a Liquor which the *Indians* make by infusing *Maiz* in boiling Water, and which disturbs the Brain as much as the strongest bodied Wines: These he drank with Moderation. When he had done eating, he usually took a Kind of Chocolate, made after the Manner of the Country, that is the Substance of the Nut beat up with the Mill 'till the Cup was fill'd more with Froth than with Liquor; after which he us'd to smoak Tobacco perfum'd with liquid Amber. And this vicious Habit pass'd for a Medecine with the *Indians*, which withal had somewhat in it of Superstition; for the Juice of this Herb

was one of the Ingredients with which the Priests were work'd up into Madness and Fury, as often as they were oblig'd to prepare themselves, by losing their Understanding, to receive the Devil's Oracles.

He had generaly attending at his Table, Three or Four select Buffoons, who among that Sort of Vermin, were most remarkable for their Pranks; and these endeavour'd to divert him in a Manner agreeable to Persons of their Character, who centre their whole Felicity in having the Faculty to make others laugh; but too often cover their Want of Respect to their Company under Pretence of entertaining them. *Motezuma* us'd to say, That he suffer'd them near his Person only because they sometimes told him Truth: But he who seeks Truth among them discovers but little Relish of it, except he confounds it with Flattery. However this was a Sentence taken Notice of among the rest of his good Sayings: And it is so far remarkable, that even a barbarous Prince was sensible of his Fault in admitting them, since he endeavour'd at a Reason to justify his so doing.

After some little Repose his Musicians were wont to come in to divert him; and with a Sort of Flutes and Sea-Shells, notwithstanding the Difference of their Sounds, they form'd a Kind of Concert. They sung several Compositions, in various Sorts of Metre, which tho' unequal in their Measures, had somewhat like Cadence, varying the Tones, not without some Method, into a Musick adapted to their Ear. The ordinary Themes of the Songs were the Exploits of their Ancestors, and the memorable Actions of their Kings; and these were sung in their Temples, and the Children learn'd them by Heart, to preserve the Atchievements of the Nation from Oblivion, these Songs serving as a History to those who did not understand the Pictures and Hieroglyphicks of their Annals. They had likewise their merry Songs us'd in Dances, and accompanied with a strange confus'd Sort of Musick. They were so much addicted to this Kind of Diversion, and other Spectacles and Entertainments in which they succeeded very well, that they had almost every Night publick Festivals in some Quarter or other of the City, as well of the Nobility, as of the Common People; and now they were more frequent, and celebrated with greater Solemnity, to complement the *Spaniards*; *Motezuma* himself not only encouraging, but even assisting at them in Person, contrary to his accustom'd Austerity; as being ambitious, that these idle Diversions should, among the rest of his Ostentation, contribute to display his Grandeur, and the Magnificence of his Court.

The

The most remarkable of their Sports was a Dance they call'd *Mitotes*, compos'd of a prodigious Multitude of People, some of whom were most gorgeously attir'd, and others disguis'd under very extraordinary Figures. In this Dance the Nobles enter'd without any Distinction, mingling with the meaner Sort, to honour that Festival; nor were Examples wanting of their King's having done the like. Their Musick consisted of Two little Drums, made of a hollow Piece of Wood, different in Bigness and Sound; Base and Treble, and not without some Kind of Harmony. They enter'd Two and Two, and after certain Movements and Figures they form'd a Ring, all beating the Earth at once with their Feet, and keeping Time with their Hands, without ever being out; and when one Chorus was tir'd, another succeeded, with different Steps and Motions, like the *Tripudia* and *Chorus* celebrated by Antiquity; and in Conclusion they mingled altogether with confus'd Shouts of Joy, until by drinking to each others Healths, they were intoxicated with their heady Liquor, in which they indulg'd themselves; for they thought it an Honour to drink plentifully upon that Occasion, and then the Feast either was at an End, or converted to some other more extravagant Folly.

At other Times the People assembled in the principal Squares, or in the Porches of their Temples, for the Diversion of several Shews and Games. There were Challenges to shoot at a Mark, or to give other Proofs of their surprizing Dexterity in managing the Bow and Arrow. They us'd running at Races, and Wrestling for Wagers, and publick Rewards were likewise given to the Conqueror. Some of them were extremely active, and would dance on the Rope without a Pole; and others again who would dance after a most amazing Manner, with another of these Rope-dancers upon their Shoulders. They play'd likewise at Ball, divided into equal Numbers against each other, with a Kind of Bandy, which rais'd very high the Ball, which now and then was a long while in the Air to and fro, 'till some one of the Parties struck it to the Mark and thereby carry'd the Prize, which was disputed with so much Solemnity, that the Priests, with a ridiculous Superstition, produc'd the *God of the Ball*, and placing him in Sight, conjur'd the Puppet, with certain Ceremonies to correct the Hazards of the Play according to their fond Imagination, and to render Fortune impartial to both Sides. There were very few Days in which they had not some Sort or other of these Diversions in the City, and *Motezuma* was pleas'd with amusing the People in this Manner; not that he was so very fond of these Pastimes himself, or

that he was ignorant of the Inconveniencies, which ought to be forgiven or overlook'd in a disorderly Multitude; but he judg'd it necessary to divert those turbulent, unquiet Spirits whose Fidelity he suspected. A miserable Capitulation for a Tyrant to make with his Subjects, to indulge them in those Incitements to Vice that they may not reflect on their Misery. But a much greater Slave, is that Tyrant, who has Recourse to such Disorders that he may introduce Slavery under the Mask of Liberty.

CHAP. XVI.

An Account of MOTEZUMA'*s immense Riches; the Manner of his managing the Royal Revenues, and of his administring Justice; with other Particulars of the* Mexican *Government, both Civil and Military.*

SO great was the Wealth of *Motezuma*, that he was not only able to support the ordinary Expences and Diversions of his Court, but besides maintain'd constantly Two or Three Armies in the Field, either to subdue his rebellious Subjects, or cover his Frontiers; over and above all which, there remain'd a sufficient Fund for a most plentiful Reserve. Exceeding great Profit did the Crown receive from the Mines of Gold and Silver, the Salt-Works, and other Rights establish'd from Time immemorial: But the largest Fund of the Royal Revenue, was from the Contributions of the Subject, which were most exorbitantly increas'd in the Reign of *Motezuma*. All the Husbandmen of this vast and populous Empire gave to the King one Third of the Produce of their Land and Stocks: The Tradesmen one Third of their Manufactures, and the poor People were oblig'd to work for the Court without Wages, or to acknowledge their Vassalage by some other personal Service.

Several Officers took their Circuits round the Kingdom, who, being assisted by the ordinary Magistrates, receiv'd and remitted the Tributes. These Officers depended on the Tribunal of the Royal Revenue residing in the Court, and were oblig'd to give an exact Account of the minutest Matter which their

their Diſtricts produc'd; and the leaſt Fraud or Neglect was puniſhed with loſs of Life; from whence enſu'd abundance of Rigour in exacting the Dues of the Crown; for Favour or Compaſſion in a Collector was deem'd a Crime of as heinous a Nature as Theft itſelf.

Great were the Clamours of the People, nor was *Motezuma* ignorant of their Diſcontent; but the Oppreſſion of his Vaſſals was one of the chief Maxims of his Government. And he would frequently ſay, That he was no Stranger to their evil Diſpoſition, and was oblig'd to load them for his own Quiet; and that he ſhould not be able to govern them, if he ſuffer'd them to grow rich; being ſtill very ready at inventing Pretences and Colours which carry'd a Shew of Reaſon. All the Towns near the City furniſh'd Men for the King's Works, provided Fuel for the Royal Palace, or contributed otherways at the Expence of their Communities. The Tribute of the Nobility was to guard the Emperor's Perſon, or ſerve in his Armies with a certain number of their Vaſſals; beſides which, they were continually making him Preſents, which, tho' he receiv'd them as Gifts, it was ſtill without quitting his Pretences to them as Dues. He had different Treaſurers, according to the ſeveral Kinds of Contributions: And the Tribunal of the Crown Revenue, iſſued out all that was neceſſary for the Expence of the Royal Houſes, and Proviſions of War, and took Care to make the beſt Advantage of the Overplus, by reducing it into ſomething that would not decay, in order to preſerve it in the principal Treaſury, and particularly into Ingots of Gold, whoſe Value they well underſtood and eſteem'd, without ſuffering the Plenty of it to make it leſs valuable: On the contrary, the Great Men ſought after it, and hoarded it, either for the Excellency and Beauty of the Metal, or becauſe it was deſign'd by Deſtiny rather to ſatisfy the covetous Deſires, than relieve the Neceſſities of Mankind. The *Mexican* Government diſcover'd a remarkable Harmony between the Parts that compos'd it. Beſides the Council of the Revenue, which took Care, as we have ſaid, of the Royal Patrimony, they had a Council of Juſtice which receiv'd Appeals from inferior Tribunals; a Council of War for the forming of Armies and Military Proviſions; and a Council of State, which was generally held in the Preſence of the King, and treated Matters of the greateſt Importance. They likewiſe had a ſufficient Number of Judges of Commerce, and other different Officers; as Provoſts of the King's Court, who went their Rounds about the City to take up Delinquents. Theſe Officers, as did likewiſe the *Alguaziles*, or

or Lieutenants, carry'd a Staff in their Hands as a Mark of Distinction, that their Office might be known. They held their Tribunal in a certain Part of the Town, where they heard the Parties, and immediately determin'd the Cause. Their Judgments were summary and verbal; both Sides appear'd with their Claims and Witnesses, and the Cause was presently decided, except it happen'd to be a Case of Appeal to a superior Tribunal. They had no Written Laws, but were govern'd according to the Institutions of their Ancestors; Custom upon all Occasions supplying the want of Laws, where the Pleasure of the Prince did not interpose to make Innovations. All these Councils were compos'd of Men experienced both in War and Peace; and the Council of State, which was superior to all the rest, was form'd of the Electors of the Empire, which was a Dignity conferr'd upon the ancient Princes of the Royal Blood: And when Matters of great Consequence were discuss'd, they summon'd to the Council the Kings of *Tezcuco* and *Tacuba*, who were principal Electors, and had this Prerogative by Succession. The Four chief Counsellors always resided in the Palace, and attended near the King's Person, to declare their Opinions when occasion offer'd, which *Motezuma* did, to give his Decrees the greater Authority among the People.

Rewards and Punishments were dispens'd with equal Care. Murther, Theft, Adultery, or any light Disrespect towards the King, or their Religion, were Capital Crimes,. All other Misdemeanours were easily pardon'd; for their very Religion itself disarm'd Justice by tolerating Vice. Corruption in the Ministers was also punish'd with Loss of Life, and no Crime was look'd upon as Venial in those who serv'd in publick Employments: This Custom *Motezuma* observ'd with the utmost Rigour, having People of special Trust to examine into their Conduct, and even to offer them Bribes; and he who was found deficient in any Part of his Duty was infallibly punish'd with Death: A Severity worthy of a less barbarous Prince, and a better moral'd Common-wealth. However, it cannot be deny'd, but that the *Mexicans* had some Moral Virtues, and particularly that they administer'd, with great Integrity, that Kind of Justice with which they were acquainted, and which was sufficient to redress Injuries, and maintain Society among Fellow Citizens: For, notwithstanding their Abuses and Beastialities, they preserv'd some Knowledge of that primitive Equity which Nature bestow'd on Men, when as yet they had no Laws, because they were ignorant of Crimes.

One of the most laudable Articles of their Policy was the Education of Children, and the great Application with which they examin'd and form'd their Inclinations. They had publick Schools for the Instruction of the *Plebeians*, and Colleges, and other considerable Seminaries, well endow'd, where the Sons of the Nobility were educated from their very Infancy, and where they continu'd till they were in a Capacity to make their Fortunes, or follow their Inclinations. They had their respective Masters for Infants, Children, and Youths, who had the Authority of the King's Ministers, and were reputed as such; and not without Reason, as they took care of those Rudiments and Exercises which afterward fitted Men for the Service of the Common-wealth. They taught them to decypher those Characters and Figures of which they compos'd their Writings; and they made them learn by Heart their historical Songs which contain'd the Actions of their Ancestors, and the Praises of their Gods. From hence they went to another Class, where they were taught Modesty, Civility, and even a gentile Behaviour, according to some Authors. These second Masters, or Tutors, were of greater Reputation and Abilities than the first; for it lay upon them to contend with the Inclinations of Youth, which loves not to be corrected, nor to have its Passions broke. Being arriv'd to some Degree of Knowledge, and brought up in this Sort of Subjection, they pass'd on to the Third Class, where they employ'd themselves in more robust Exercises: They try'd their Strength in carrying Weights, and in Wrestling: They vied with each other in Leaping and Running: They were taught how to manage their Arms, use the Two-handed Sword, throw the Dart, and, with Force and Exactness, to shoot the Arrow. Then they made them suffer Hunger and Thirst, and resist the Inclemencies of the Weather, till they return'd to their Father's Houses well instructed and inur'd to Hardships, to be engag'd, according to the Information the Masters gave of their Inclinations and Capacities, either in the Employments of Peace, War, or Religion; Three Paths which Noblemen have to chuse, almost equal in Reputation, tho' that of War has the Precedence, as it raises Men to a higher Degree of Honour. They had also other Colleges of Matrons dedicated to the Worship of their Gods, in which they bred young Women of Quality; where they were plac'd from their Childhood under the Direction of these Women, and confin'd very strictly, till they went out to be settled in the World, with the Approbation of their Parents, and Licence of the Emperor; having arriv'd at a Perfection in every

Occupation suitable to their Sex. The Sons of Nobles, at parting from those Seminaries, who were inclin'd to War, pass'd another Trial worthy of Consideration; for their Fathers sent them to the Armies that they might become acquainted with the Hardships of a Campaign, and know what it was that they undertook before they enroll'd themselves in the Service: And they us'd to place them among the common Baggage-Men, with a Load of Provision on their Shoulders, to mortify their Vanity, and to inure them to Fatigue.

They admitted none to this Profession who changed Countenance at the Sight of an Enemy, or who did not give some Proofs of his Valour; so that these Novices did great Service in the Time of their Probation: For every one was desirous to signalize himself by some particular Action, throwing himself headlong into the greatest Dangers; being persuaded, that in order to their being rank'd with valiant Men, some Temerity was necessary for laying the Foundation of Fame.

In nothing did the *Mexicans* place their Felicity so much, as in Military Exploits; for their Kings regarded the Profession of War as the principal Foundation of their Power, and the Subjects, as a Virtue peculiar to their Nation: By that *Plebeians* rose to the Degree of Nobles, and Nobles to the greatest Employments of the Empire; which animated all to the Service, at least, all those aspir'd to Military Virtue who were born with Ambition, or had Spirit enough to push themselves above others. Every Town had a regulated *Militia*, with certain Privileges and Immunities which distinguish'd the Soldiers from the rest of the Inhabitants. Their Armies were form'd with Ease, for the Princes of the Empire, and *Caziques*, or Governors of Provinces, were oblig'd to repair to the Place of Arms appointed them, with their *Quota* of Men: And it is esteem'd a mighty Instance of the Grandeur of the *Mexican* Empire, that *Motezuma* had Thirty Vassals, so powerful, that each could bring into the Field a Hundred Thousand armed Men. They commanded their respective Armies in Person, under the Authority of a Captain-General, whose Orders they obey'd, as representing the Person of the Emperor, when he was not himself in the Field, which rarely happen'd: For those Princes esteem'd it as a lessening of their Authority to be absent from their Armies, and thought it very impolitick to trust their Force in the Hands of another.

Their Manner of Engaging was the same which we have describ'd in the Battle of *Tabasco*; but their Troops were better disciplin'd, and the Soldiers more obedient: They had more

Nobles to head them, and greater Hopes of Reward. They quickly discharg'd their missive Arms to make Use of their Swords, and very often of their Hands; for it was reckon'd a greater Action to make a Captive, than to kill an Enemy; and he was accounted the bravest Man who brought most Prisoners to the Sacrifice. The Military Employments were much esteem'd, and well supported; for *Motezuma* rewarded with great Liberality those who distinguish'd themselves in Battle, and had himself so Martial a Genius, and was so zealous for the Reputation of his Arms, that he invented honourable Rewards for the Nobles who serv'd in the Wars; instituting certain Military Orders, with their peculiar Habits and Marks, which gave both Honour and Distinction. Some were call'd Knights of the *Eagle*, others of the *Tyger*, and a third of the *Lyon*, and they bore the Device of their Order either painted on their Robe, or hanging to it. He founded also another Order of Knighthood superior to these, to which only Princes were admitted, or Nobles descended from a Royal Line: And to add thereto the greater Honour, he took the Habit himself. These Knights had Part of their Hair bound with a Red Ribband, and among the Plumes which adorn'd the Head, Tassels of the same Colour, which hung down upon the Shoulders, more or less, according to the Actions of the *Cavaliers*, which were known by the Number of Tassels which were augmented with great Solemnity, as they signaliz'd themselves by new Exploits; so that there was always Room to increase this Dignity by some fresh Atchievement in War.

We cannot but commend in the *Mexicans* the generous Ardour with which they aspir'd to these honourable Rewards, and in *Motezuma* the Merit of inventing them: For as this is Money the most easily coin'd, so it holds the first Rank among the Treasures of a Prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

An Account how the Mexicans *measur'd and computed their Months and Years. Their Festivals, Marriages, with other Rites and Customs worthy of Remark.*

THE *Mexicans* had dispos'd and regulated their Kalendar after a very notable Method. They adjusted it by the Motion of the Sun, making his Altitude and Declination the Measure of Times and Seasons. They allow'd their Year Three Hundred Sixty Five Days, as we do, but they divided them into Eighteen Months, assigning to each Month Twenty Days, which made Three Hundred and Sixty; the other Five, which were a Kind of Intercalary Days, they added at the End of the Year, to make it answer the Course of the Sun. During these Five Days, which they believe were left purposely by their Ancestors as vacant, and out of the Account, they gave themselves up wholly to Idleness, and only study'd how to lose that Overplus of Time. Tradesmen left off Work, and shut up their Shops; the Business of the Tribunals ceas'd, and the very Sacrifices in their Temples: They visited each other, and all People endeavour'd to entertain themselves with Variety of Diversions, signifying that by this Intermission they were preparing themselves anew for the Works and Labours of the ensuing Year, whose Beginning they plac'd on the First Day of the Spring, differing from the Solar Year, according to the Computation of Astrologers, only Three Days, which they took from our Month of *February*.

They had also their Weeks of Thirteen Days, with different Names, which they mark'd in their Kalendar by Images: Their Ages consisted of Four Weeks of Years; which Method of Imagery was a very artful and notable Invention, and was carefully preserv'd for a Memorial of all that happen'd. They made a great Circle, which they divided into Fifty Two Degrees, allowing a Year for every Degree. In the Centre they painted the Effigies of the Sun, from whose Rays proceeded Four Lines of different Colours, which equally divided the Circumference, leaving Thirteen Degrees to each Semidiameter,

and these Divisions serv'd as Signs of their *Zodiack*, upon which their Ages had their Revolutions, and the Sun his Aspects, prosperous or adverse, according to the Colour of the Line. In a larger Circle, inclosing the other, they mark'd, with their Figures and Characters, the Accidents of the Age, and all Occurrences which had happen'd worthy of Memory. And these secular Maps were as publick Instruments, which serv'd for a Proof of their History. It may be reckon'd among the wisest Instructions of their Government, that they had Historiographers capable of handing down to Posterity, the Exploits of their Nation.

They had a Mixture of Superstition in the Computation of their Ages; for they were taught that the World was in Danger of Destruction when the Sun had finish'd the Revolution of those Four greater Weeks; and when the last Day of the Fifty Two Years was come, all the People prepar'd themselves for that dreadful and ultimate Calamity. They took Leave of the Light with Tears, and expected Death without any previous Sickness: They broke their Houshold Vessels as unnecessary Lumber; they extinguish'd their Fires, walking about all the Night like distracted People, without daring to take any Rest, till they knew whether they were to be for ever consign'd to the Regions of Darkness. But upon the Dawning of the Day they began to recover their Spirits, with their Eyes fix'd towards the East; and at the first Appearance of the Sun, they saluted him with all their Musical Instruments, with Hyms, and Songs which express'd their confus'd Joy: Then they congratulated each other upon their being secure of the World's Duration for another Age, immediately crowded to their Temples to render Thanks to their Gods, and to receive from the Priests new Fires which they had burning with the greatest Violence before the Altars, being constantly fed with dry Wood. Next they made anew all Provision for their necessary Subsistence, and this Day was celebrated with publick Rejoycings, and the Dancing and other Diversions were dedicated thro' the whole City to the Renewal of Time, much after the same Manner wherewith *Rome* celebrated her *Secular Games*.

Their Emperors receiv'd the Crown upon Conditions very particular: For the Election being made after the Manner has been already observ'd, the new King was oblig'd to take the Field with the Forces of the Empire, and obtain some Victory over his Enemies, or subdue some Rebels, or some neighbouring Province before he was Crown'd, or permitted to ascend

the Royal Throne. A Custom worthy of Observation, and the chief Means by which this Monarchy rose to such a Height in so few Years. So soon as the Victorious Prince was found to be qualify'd for the Regal Dignity, by the Success of his Enterprize, he return'd triumphantly to the City, and made his publick Entry with great State and Solemnity: All the Nobility, Ministers, and Priests, accompany'd him to the Temple of the God of War, where he alighted from his Chair, and after having offer'd the customary Sacrifices, the Electoral Princes cloath'd him in Royal Robes, arming his Right-Hand with a Sword of Gold, edg'd with Flint, the Ensign of Justice; and his Left with a Bow and Arrows, signifying his Power and Command in War: Then the King of *Tezcuco* plac'd the Crown upon his Head, by a Privilege belonging to him as First Elector.

After this, one of the most eloquent Magistrates made a long Harangue, wishing him Joy of the Dignity, in the Name of the whole Empire; and added some Documents, representing the Troubles and Cares that attend a Crown, with the Obligations he lay under to regard the Publick Good of his Kingdoms; recommending to him the Imitation of his Ancestors. This Speech being ended, the Chief of the Priests approach'd him with great Reverence, and between his Hands the King took an Oath, with Circumstances very observable. First, he swore to maintain the Religion of his Ancestors: That he would observe the Laws and Customs of the Empire: That he would treat his Vassals with Lenity: That during his Reign they should have seasonable Rains: That no Inundations of Rivers, Sterility of Soil, or malignant Influences of the Sun should happen. A notable Compact between a King and his Vassals, and ridicul'd by *Justus Lipsius!* But we may venture to say, that by this Oath, they endeavour'd to oblige him to reign with such Moderation, that he might not by any Action of his own draw down the Indignation of Heaven; as not being ignorant that these Kinds of Chastisements and publick Calamities fall sometimes on the Subjects for the Sins and Exorbitances of the Prince.

For the rest of the Rites and Customs of this Nation, we shall only touch on those which deserve a Place in History, omitting their Superstitions, Indecencies, and Obscenities, which defile the Narration, tho' told without Offence to Truth.

Amidst such a Multitude of Gods, as we have before observ'd, and such Obscurity and Blindness in their Idolatry, they still acknowledg'd a Superior Deity, to whom they attributed

tributed the Creation of the Heavens, and the Earth: And this Original of all Things was, amongſt the *Mexicans*, a God without a Name, there being no Word in their Language whereby to expreſs him. They only ſignify'd that they knew him, by looking up towards Heaven with Veneration, and giving him, after their Way, the Attribute of Ineffable, with the ſame religious Uncertainty with which the *Athenians* worſhip'd the *Unknown God*. But this Knowledge of the firſt Cauſe which, in Appearance, ſhould have facilitated their being undeceiv'd, was of little Uſe upon that Occaſion; for it was impoſſible to make them believe that this ſame Deity could govern the whole Univerſe, without the Aſſiſtance of other Gods, tho' in their Apprehenſion he had the Power to create it; and they were perſwaded, that there were not any Gods in the other Parts of Heaven, till Men began to become miſerable in Proportion as they multiplied; looking on the Gods as favourable *Genij*, who produc'd themſelves when there was Occaſion for them, without being in the leaſt ſhock'd at the Notion that their Gods muſt have acquir'd a Being, and a Divinity from the Miſeries of humane Nature.

They believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, with eternal Rewards and Puniſhments in a future State; but very ill underſtood the Nature of Virtue and Vice: And this Truth was obſcur'd with other Errors; for they buried great Quantities of Gold and Silver with their Dead, to bear the Expences of their Journey, which they believ'd to be both long and troubleſome. They put to Death ſome of their Servants to accompany them; and it was a common thing for Wives to celebrate the Exequies of their Husbands with their own Death. Princes were oblig'd to have Monuments of a vaſt Extent, for the greateſt Part of their Riches and Family were interr'd with them; both the one and the other in Proportion to their Dignity and Grandeur. The whole Number of Servants were oblig'd to accompany the Prince into the other World, together with ſome Flatterers among them, who at that Time ſuffer'd for the Deceit of their Profeſſion. The Bodies were carry'd with great Pomp and Solemnity to the Temples, from whence their Prieſts came forth to receive them, with their Copper Cenſers, ſinging to the Sound of hoarſe and ill-tun'd Flutes, Hymns and Funeral Elegies, in a diſmal melancholy Tone. They often rais'd up on high the Bier, during the voluntary Sacrifice of thoſe miſerable Wretches who had devoted both Bodies and Souls to Slavery. A Ceremony of remarkable Variety, compos'd of ridiculous Abuſes, and deplorable Barbarities!

Their Marriages bore the Form of Contracts, with some religious Ceremonies. The preliminary Articles being all agreed upon, the Couple appear'd in the Temple, and one of the Priests examin'd their Inclinations by certain ceremonial Questions, appointed by Law for that Purpose: After that he took the Tip of the Woman's Veil with one Hand, and one Corner of the Husband's Garment in the other, tying the same together at the Ends, to signify the interior Tye of their Affections. Under this Sort of Nuptial Yoke, they return'd to their Habitation, accompany'd by the same Priest, where imitating the Superstition of the *Romans* with Regard to their *Dii Lares*, or Houshold Gods, they paid a Visit to the Domestick Fire, which they believ'd to be concern'd in the Union between the married Pair: They went round it Seven Times, following the Priest; after which they sat down to receive their equal Share of the Heat, and then the Marriage was thought to be accomplish'd. They register'd in a publick Instrument, the Portion brought by the Bride, every Part whereof the Husband was oblig'd to restore in Case they parted, which very frequently happen'd; for mutual Consent was judg'd a sufficient Cause for a Divorce: A Case in which the Law never interfer'd, but left it to the Parties concern'd, who best knew each other, to be their own Judges. The Girls remain'd with the Mother, and the Boys went with the Father; but when once the Marriage was thus dissolv'd, it was inevitable Death for them to come together again: So that notwithstanding the natural Inconstancy of that fickle Nation, the Danger of attempting to have any Cohabitation after a Divorce was no small Check upon them, and prevented many a Couple from parting. They were very careful of the Virtue and Conduct of their Wives, as a Point in which their Honour was nearly concern'd; and amidst that boundless Licentiousness and Liberty with which they indulg'd their sensual Appetites, they abhorr'd and punish'd Adultery with the utmost Rigour; not so much upon Account of the Atrocity of the Vice, as for the Inconveniencies which attended it.

Their new-born Infants were carry'd to the Temples with Solemnity, and the Priests receiv'd them with certain Admonitions, concerning the Troubles to which they were born. If they were the Sons of Nobles, they put a Sword into the Child's Right-Hand, and upon his Left Arm a Shield, kept in the Temple for that Purpose. If of Plebeian Extraction, they put into their Hands mechanical Instruments; and the Females of both Degrees had only the Distaff and Spindle, signifying

to each the Kind of Employment which Destiny had prepar'd for them. This First Ceremony being over, they were brought up to the Altar, and there with a Thorn of *Maguey*, or a Lancet of Flint, they drew some Drops of Blood from the Privy-Parts; after which they either sprinkled them with Water, or dipp'd them into it, using at the same Time certain Invocations. In which Ceremony it should seem that the Devil, the Inventer of these Rites, was ambitious to imitate Baptism, and Circumcision, with the same Pride with which he endeavour'd to counterfeit the other Ceremonies, and even the Sacraments of the Catholick Church; since he introduc'd among these Barbarians the Confession of Sins, giving them to understand, that thereby they obtain'd the Favour of their Gods. He instituted likewise a ridiculous Sort of Communion, which the Priests administred upon certain Days in the Year, dividing into small Bits an Idol made of Flower, mix'd up into a Past with Honey, which they call'd *The God of Penitence.* They had likewise Jubilees, Processions, Offerings of Incense, and other Forms of Divine Worship: Nay they even gave their Chief Priests the Title of *Papas* in their Language; by which we find, that this Imitation cost Satan a very particular Study and Application, whether with a Design to abuse and prophane the Sacred Mysteries and Ceremonies, by mingling them with his Abominations, or that he cannot yet repent of his Ambition, but is still aspiring and affecting to imitate the Omnipotent Creator.

The rest of the Rites and Ceremonies of these miserable Heathens were shocking and horrible, both to Reason and Nature: Beastialities and incongruous, stupid Absurdities, which seem'd altogether incompatible with the Regularity and admirable Oeconomy which was observ'd in the other Parts of that Government; and would scarce be believ'd, were not Histories full of Examples of the like Weaknesses and Errors of Human Capacities in other Nations, who are no less blind, tho' in Parts of the World where they have the Means of being more enlighten'd. Sacrifices of Human Blood began much about the same Time with Idolatry; and many Ages ago the Devil introduc'd them amongst those Nations, from whom the *Israelites* learn'd to sacrifice their Sons to the Idols of *Canaan.* The horrible and detestable Custom of Mens eating each other, has been seen practis'd many Ages since amongst other barbarous People of our Hemisphere, as *Galatia* confesses amongst her Antiquities, and *Scythia* must acknowledge the same in her *Antropophagi.* Logs of Wood worship'd for Deities, superstitious

Auguries, the furious Agitations of Priests, their Communication with the Devil by his Oracles, and other Absurdities equally abominable have been admitted, and reverenc'd by other Gentiles, who were otherwise endow'd with great Sense, and were perfectly well skill'd in Morality and Politicks. *Greece* and *Rome* wanted the Knowledge of the true Religion, tho' in every Thing else they gave Laws to the whole World, and left edifying Examples to Posterity. From all this we are oblig'd to confess the Deficiency and the small Extent of human Wisdom, which reaches but a very little farther than the superficial Knowledge it receives from the Senses and Experience, whenever that reveal'd Light, by which we discover the Essence of Truth it self, is wanting. The *Mexican* Religion was therefore no other than a detestable Compound of all the Errors and Abominations which had been received among the Gentiles in the different Parts of the World.

We shall not enter into the Detail of their particular Festivals and Sacrifices, their Ceremonies, Sorceries, and Superstitions; not only because we meet them at every Step, with tedious Repititions, in all the Histories of the *Indies*, but because it is our Opinion we cannot be too cautious how we give our Pen too large a Scope upon a Subject of this Nature, and at the best we look upon it as an unnecessary Lesson, as affording the Reader little Pleasure and much less Profit.

CHAP. XVIII.

MOTEZUMA *continues his Entertainments and Presents to the* Spaniards. *Letters brought from* Vera Cruz *with an Account of the Battle wherein* Juan de Escalante *lost his Life: Upon which* CORTES *resolves to secure the Person of* MOTEZUMA.

THE *Spaniards* observ'd all these Novelties not without great Admiration, tho' they endeavour'd to conceal and dissemble their Surprize; and it cost them some Pains to compose their Countenances upon these Occasions, that they might maintain the Superiority they affected to carry over those People. The first Days were taken up in various

Paſtimes and Diverſions. The *Mexicans* gave ſplendid and oſtentatious Proofs of their Performances, with a Deſire of entertaining their Gueſts, and not without an Ambition of diſplaying their Dexterity in the Management of their Arms, and their Activity in all their other Exerciſes. *Motezuma* encourag'd thoſe Shews, and Entertainments, laying aſide all Majeſty, contrary to his accuſtom'd Pride and Reſervedneſs, and upon all Occaſions took *Cortez* along with him, attended by his Captains, and treated him with a Deference and Reſpect full of Humanity, which appear'd monſtrous in one of his Character, and occaſion'd thoſe who knew him to have the greater Eſteem for the *Spaniards*.

Their Viſits were frequent and punctual; *Cortèz* went to the Palace, and *Motezuma* to the *Spaniſh* Quarters. The Emperor was continually admiring every Thing that came from *Spain*, believing it to be a Part of Heaven; and ſo high an Idea he had of the King, that it excluded the Conceptions he entertain'd of his own Gods. He was ever endeavouring to gain the Affection of the *Spaniards* by diſtributing Curioſities and Jewels amongſt the Captains and Soldiers, not without Diſcernment and Diſtinction of Merit; for he careſs'd moſt of the Officers of Diſtinction, and knew how to proportion the Gift to the Impoſtance of the Perſon whom he deſign'd to oblige.

The Nobility in Imitation of their King, were ambitious to render themſelves agreeable to all the Strangers, by treating them with a Reſpect that ſavour'd of Submiſſion: As for the Populace, they bent their Knees to the meaneſt of the *Spaniſh* Soldiers. In this Manner they enjoy'd an agreeable Repoſe, with ſomething continually new to divert, and nothing to diſturb them. But they were not long without Occaſion of Diſquiet; for about this Time there came two *Tlaſcallan* Soldiers to the City thro' By-Ways, diſguiſed in the Habits of *Mexicans*, who going privately to *Cortez*, gave him a Letter from *Vera-Cruz*, which chang'd the Face of Affairs, and forc'd him upon Reſolutions leſs pacifick.

Juan de Eſcalante, who, as we have ſaid before, had the Government of the New Colony, was employ'd in continuing his Fortifications, and preſerving his Correſpondence with thoſe *Indian* Friends whom *Cortez* had left him; and remain'd in this State of Tranquility without any Accident, till he receiv'd Advice that one of *Motezuma's* Generals was marching up and down in thoſe Quarters with a conſiderable Army, committing Hoſtilities upon ſome Towns with which he had ſettled an Alliance, which depending upon the Protection of the

the *Spaniards*, refus'd to pay their accustom'd Tribute. This General's Name was *Qualpopoca*, and commanded all the Forces that were cantoned upon the Frontiers of *Zempoalla*; and having assembled them to support the Commissaries appointed to gather the Tax, he committed great Disorders, Extortions, and Violences upon those People, accompanying the Rigour of the Officers with the Licentiousness of the Soldiery; both the one and the other a sort of People insatiably greedy, who commonly call pillaging the Subject, serving the Prince. The *Totonaques* who inhabit the hilly Country, and whose Dwellings those Troops were then destroying, were the first who complain'd. They beseech'd *Juan de Escalante* to take up Arms in Defence of his Confederates, and offer'd to assist in the Undertaking with their whole remaining Strength. He comforted them with the Assurance that he resented their Injuries as done to himself: But before he would proceed to Extremities he resolv'd to send Messengers to the *Mexican* General, desiring him in a friendly Manner, " That he would suspend " his Hostility, until such Time he should receive fresh Or- " ders from the Emperor, since it was not possible for him to " have authoriz'd a Proceeding of that Kind, when he had " admitted to his Court Ambassadors from the Eastern Mo- " narch, and had given them Leave to set on Foot a Treaty " of Peace and Confederacy between the Two Crowns". This Message was carry'd by Two *Zempoallans*, Men of good Address, residing in *Vera-Cruz*; and the Answer of the *Mexican* was insolent and injurious: " That he was very well able to " comprehend and execute the Orders of his Prince; and if " any one should pretend to divert him from the Chastisement " of those Rebels, he likewise knew how to maintain in the " Field what he had undertaken in the Cabinet.

Juan de Escalante could not dissemble his Resentment; nor ought he to refuse the Challenge in the View of all the *Indians*, who were interested in the Success of the *Totonaques*, who ran the same Risque, and had put themselves under the same Protection: Wherefore having informed himself that the Gross of the Enemies Body did not exceed Four Thousand Men, he immediately assembled Two Thousand *Indians*, the greatest Part of whom were *Totonaques* of the hilly Country; who being either such as had fled before *Qualpopoca*, or irritated by his Violences, came to shelter themselves under *Escalante*'s Protection; at the Head of which Number, well appointed after their Manner, and Forty *Spaniards*, Two of them arm'd with Arquibuses, and Three with Cross-Bows, and with Two Pieces of Artillery,

Artillery. He began his March towards those Towns which wanted his Assistance, leaving *Vera-Cruz* but weakly garrison'd.

Qualpopoca had Notice of his Motions, and advanc'd to receive him, with all his Troops in exceeding good Order, near a small Village, since called *Almeria*. A little after Day-break both Armies came in Sight of each other, and engag'd with equal Resolution; but in a little while the *Mexicans* gave Way, and began to retire in great Disorder. It happen'd at the same Time that the *Totonaques* of our Party, either not being inur'd to War, or, from the accustom'd Dread they had of the *Mexicans*, were dispirited, and lagg'd behind, till at last they betook themselves to Flight, and could not be prevail'd with to advance, either by Persuasion, Compulsion, or Example: A rare Accident, which must be reckon'd among the unaccountable Events which happen in War, when the Conquerors fly from the Conquered! The Enemy fled with Precipitation and Dread, and were so careful of their own Safety, that they did not observe how much our Troops were diminish'd, but only did what they could, in a disorderly Manner, to retire to the next Towns, whither *Juan de Escalante* pursu'd them, with little more than his Forty *Spaniards*, immediately commanding the Village to be fir'd in different Places, and engag'd them at the same Time with so much Resolution, that without giving them Leisure to discover the Smallness of his Numbers, he broke, and intirely dislodg'd them, obliging them to turn their Backs and disperse themselves in the Woods. The *Indians*, after the Action was over, affirm'd that they saw in the Air a Woman, resembling her whom the Strangers worship'd for the Mother of their God, who dazzled and astonish'd them in such a Manner, that she depriv'd them of Strength or Power to stand their Ground. This Miracle did not manifest itself to the *Spaniards*, but the Success they met withal made it credible; and the Soldiers were now all accustom'd to share with Heaven in the Glory of their Exploits.

This was a very signal Victory, but it cost the *Spaniards* dear; for *Juan de Escalante* was mortally wounded, with Seven other Soldiers, of which Number the *Indians* carry'd off *Juan de Arguillo*, a Native of *Leon*, a Man of an extraordinary Stature, and very great Strength, who fell, valiantly fighting, at a Time when he could not be succour'd: The rest all died of their Wounds at *Vera-Cruz*, within Three Days.

Of this Loss, with all its Circumstances, the Council of *Vera-Cruz* sent *Cortez* an Account, that he might name a Suc-

ceſſor to *Juan de Eſcalante*, and be appriz'd of the Poſture of his Affairs in thoſe Parts. *Cortez* read the Letter, with the Concern that ſuch a Piece of ill News requir'd. He communicated the ſame to his Captains, and without entering at that Time into all its Conſequences, or diſcovering the Whole of his Chagrin, he deſir'd them to reflect upon this Accident, and to give him Time for the forming ſuch a Reſolution as it ſhould pleaſe God to inſpire, recommending very particularly to Father *Bartolomew de Olmedo* to contribute to it by his Prayers, and to all in general to keep the News ſecret, that a Diſaſter of ſuch Importance might not come to the Ears of the Soldiers, and be made a Subject of common Diſcourſe.

He afterwards retir'd to his own Apartment, and began to reflect on all the Inconveniencies which might reſult from this Misfortune. He thought on ſeveral Expedients, and rejected them again: The Force of his Fancy even tir'd him with Variety, at once repreſenting to him the Remedies and Difficulties attending them. Authors report, that he walk'd about a great Part of the Night, and by mere Accident diſcover'd at that Time a Place newly plaiſter'd up, in which *Motezuma* conceal'd the Treaſures of his Father; and that after he had view'd them, he order'd the Place to be ſtop'd up again, without ſuffering any thing to be taken away. I ſhall not dwell upon the Diverſion which this Diſcovery might give to his Uneaſineſs, ſince it appears more clearly that it laſted not long, but ſoon gave Way to that Application of Thought, which ended in a ſteady Reſolution to take thoſe Meaſures which I am going to relate.

He ſent privately for the moſt ſenſible and beſt affected *Indians* of his Army, of whom he demanded "If they had obſerv'd any Alteration in the Minds of the *Mexicans*, and in what Eſteem the *Spaniards* were at the Preſent among them?" They anſwer'd, "That the Common People were taken up with their Feſtivals made for the Diverſion of the *Spaniards*, whom they reverenc'd, becauſe they ſaw them honour'd by their Emperor: But that the Nobility ſeem'd penſive and myſterious; that they had ſecret Conferences, the Reſult of which they kept very private." They ſaid, they had obſerv'd ſome Expreſſions which admitted a ſiniſter Interpretation; one of which was, *That it would be no difficult Matter to break down the Bridges of the Cauſey*, with others of the ſame Kind, which all together gave ſufficient Cauſe of Suſpicion. Two or Three of thoſe *Indians* heard it whiſper'd, that ſome few Days before, a *Spaniard*'s Head was brought as a Preſent to *Motezuma*; and

and that he commanded it to be taken away and conceal'd after he had viewd it with ſome Aſtoniſhment, it being of a very large Size, and the Face had a fierce Aſpect, Marks which agreed very well with that of *Juan de Arguillo.* This redoubled the Uneaſineſs of *Cortez*, for hence it appear'd, that *Motezuma* was privy to the Proceedings of his General.

Upon theſe Advices, and the Reflections he afterwards made thereupon, he ſhut himſelf up next Morning with his Captains, and ſome principal Soldiers, who, upon Account of their Merit or Experience, were wont to aſſiſt at the *Juntas*, where he laid the Caſe, with all its Circumſtances, before them, and acquainted them what Information he had receiv'd the Night before from his truſty *Indians*, weighing with Unconcern, and great Sedateneſs of Temper, the Danger with which they were threaten'd: He touch'd with great Addreſs upon the Difficulties which might occur; and then, without ſhewing which Way his own Sentiment inclin'd, he was ſilent, and gave them free Liberty to diſcuſs the Affair.

They were of different Opinions: Some were for deſiring *Motezuma*'s Paſsport, and marching immediately to the Relief of *Vera Cruz*: Others found great Difficulties in the Retreat, and were for going off privately, without forgetting the Riches they had acquir'd. But the greateſt Part were of Opinion, that they ſhould continue in *Mexico*, without ſeeming to have any Knowledge of what had paſs'd at *Vera Cruz*, till they could find ſome Means to retreat with Safety. But *Cortez* recapitulating the ſeveral Propoſals had been made, and highly commending the Zeal of endeavouring to hit the Point they had all expreſs'd, deliver'd himſelf thus,

I can by no Means agree to that Propoſition of deſiring a Paſſport from Motezuma; *for after having open'd the Way to his Court with our Arms in Spite of all Oppoſition, we muſt unavoidably ſink very low in the Opinion of the* Mexicans, *when once it ſhall be known, that we ſtand in Need of their Favour to retire. If* Motezuma *has ill Deſigns againſt us, he may grant the Paſſport, with no other View than to deſtroy us in our Retreat; and if he ſhould deny it, then we ſhall be oblig'd to march out by Force, and expoſe our ſelves to a certain Danger, after having declar'd our Weakneſs. Much leſs am I of Opinion, that we ſhould offer to retreat by Stealth, for by ſo doing we ſhall at once brand our ſelves with the infamous Epithet of Fugitives, and* Motezuma *can with the greateſt Eaſe imaginable poſſeſs himſelf of the Paſſes, by ſending Scouts before to give Notice of our March. And in ſhort, in my Opinion it is by no Means convenient at this Juncture, even to*

think of retiring, for after what Manner soever we attempt it, it will infallibly be at the Expence of our Reputation; and having once lost our Friends and Confederates, whom that and nothing else engages on our Side, we shall assuredly find our selves without one Foot of Ground to tread upon with any Security. For these Considerations, I conclude that they come nearest to the Point who vote for our continuing here, without taking Notice of any Thing till we can go off with Honour, and for trying in the mean while what may happen agreeable to that Hope. Both Resolutions, it is true, are equally hazardous, but not equally honourable; and it would be a Misfortune, unworthy of Spaniards, *to chuse to dye a dishonourable Death, when they have it in their Option to do the contrary. I make no Question but that it is necessary for us to stand our Ground where we are; the Manner how we shall effect it is what most employs my Thoughts. We are acquainted with the Rumours which begin to spread among the* Mexicans. *The Disgrace which has befallen us at* Vera Cruz *deserves your serious Reflections; and* Arguillo's *Head presented to* Motezuma, *is a plain Intimation that he was no Stranger to the Expedition of his General; nay, his very Silence upon that Article is a sufficient Reason for us to suspect his Intentions. Therefore upon considering the whole, I am of Opinion, that in order to maintain our selves in this City, with least Hazard, it will be expedient to resolve upon some great Action, that may give the* Indians *fresh Cause of Astonishment, and regain what Reputation they may imagine we have lost by these unfortunate Accidents. To which End, rejecting Projects of more Noise than Effect, I hold it absolutely necessary to seize the Person of* Motezuma, *and bring him Prisoner to our Quarters. A Resolution which I cannot help thinking will strike Terror into them, and must needs keep them within Bounds, and at the same Time will give us an Opportunity of capitulating after such a Manner both with the King and Vassals, as may be most for the Honour of our Soveraign and the common Security. The Pretence of his Imprisonment, according to my Judgment, must be the Death of* Arguillo, *to which he was privy, and the Breach of the Peace by one of his Generals; with which Two Offences we must give him to understand we have been acquainted, and for which we demand Satisfaction: For it would be to our Disadvantage that they should suppose us ignorant of any Thing which they themselves understand; when at the same Time they believe us superior to them in every Respect, and ignorant of nothing. These and such other Errors of their Imaginations we must encourage, or at least bear with, as extremely favourable to our bold Undertaking. I am very sensible of the Difficulties and Accidents which attend the resolving upon so daring an Enterprize; but great Actions have their Birth from great Dangers; and God will certainly support us, for many are the Wonders, I may venture to say the evident Miracles, which he hath wrought for us in this Expedition; and why*

should

should we not now believe, that this Perseverance of ours is the Effect of his Divine Inspiration? His Service is the principal Motive of our Enterprize; and I cannot be persuaded, that he has conducted us thus far by his extraordinary Providence, to plunge us into unsurmountable Difficulties, and in our greatest Necessity to abandon us to our own Weakness.

He enlarg'd with so much Energy upon this pious Consideration, that he communicated to the whole Council the Vigour of his own Spirit, and brought them over to his Opinion; first the Captains, *Juan Velazquez de Leon*, *Diego de Ordaz*, with *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and then all the rest applauded the judicious Arguments of their General, and judg'd the Goodness of the Remedy, by the heroic Gallantry of the Resolution. Upon this Foot the *Junta* broke up, having resolv'd upon the Imprisonment of *Motezuma*, and leaving the Management of the whole to the Discretion of *Cortez*.

Bernal Dias del Castillo, who loses no Oportunity of introducing himself as the Author of all great Resolutions, affirms, that he, and some other Soldiers, advis'd the Imprisonment of *Motezuma*, some Days before they had receiv'd any Intelligence of what had happen'd at *Vera Cruz*: But other Relations do not agree with his, nor was there Occasion, at that Juncture, to enter upon a Project of so violent a Nature. He should have kept himself within Bounds a little longer, and then his Advice would not have appear'd so improbable, and so much out of Season.

CHAP. XIX.

The Imprisonment of Motezuma: *An Account after what Manner it was effected, and how receiv'd amongst his Vassals.*

IT must be acknowledg'd, that this Resolution of a few *Spaniards*, to seize so powerful a Prince in his own Court, amidst all his Guards, was a Boldness without Example. The Recital of this Action, tho' true, seems wholly incompatible with the Sincerity of History, and even in a Romance would surpass the Exaggerations and the Licence of Fable itself. It might have been call'd Temerity, had it

been undertaken ſpontaneouſly, and with a greater Liberty of Choice: But a Manis not properly term'd raſh, who ſhuts his Eyes to a Danger which he cannot avoid. *Cortez* ſaw himſelf equally loſt if he made a Retreat, which would ruin his Reputation, or ſtood his Ground without retrieving his fading Honour by ſome extraordinary Exploit. The Mind, when it finds itſelf ſurrounded on all Sides with Difficulties, violently flies to that which leaſt preſſes it; but the Method taken by *Cortez* was in Truth the moſt difficult: Whether he was reſolv'd to end this Affair, one Way or other, at a Blow, or becauſe he could not accommodate himſelf to Meaſures of a middle Nature, we may ſay, that it was great Magnanimity in him to elevate his Views above the ordinary Level, or that the Military Prudence is not ſuch an Enemy to Extremes as the Civil: But better it is, that this Reſolution of his ſhould paſs without a Name, or that only regarding the Succeſs, we place it among thoſe imperceptible Means which God made Uſe of in this Conqueſt; excluding, in Appearance, all natural Cauſes or Impulſes.

The Hour when the *Spaniards* were accuſtom'd to wait upon *Motezuma* was choſen for the Execution of their Deſign, that no Alarm might be given by their making him an unſeaſonable Viſit. *Cortez* gave Orders to his Men to arm themſelves in their Quarters, to ſaddle their Horſes, and to hold themſelves in a Readineſs, without making any Noiſe or Movement till they receiv'd freſh Inſtructions. He poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the Avenues of the Streets leading to *Motezuma*'s Palace, with ſmall ſcatter'd Detachments of Soldiers, and went to the Palace, accompany'd by the Captains, *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Juan Velazquez de Leon*, *Franciſco de Luga*, and *Alonſo Davila*, having order'd Thirty private Men of his own chuſing to follow at a Diſtance.

It was no ſurprizing Sight to ſee them enter with their Arms, which they uſually carry'd as a Military Ornament. *Motezuma* as cuſtomary, came out of his Apartment to receive the Viſit, and they all took their Seats. His Servants, as by his Order they were always accuſtom'd to do, retir'd to another Part of the Palace; and when *Donna Mariana* and *Geronimo Aguilar* were come up, *Cortez* began his Complaint with a becoming Reſentment. Firſt he laid before *Motezuma* the Action of his General, who had the Inſolence to form an Army and attack his Confederates, in Violation of the Peace and Royal Safeguard, under which they thought themſelves ſecure. Then he urg'd as a Crime, for which he ought to make Satisfaction to God and Man, the ſpilling the Blood of a *Spaniard* by the *Mexicans*, after

after they had made him Prisoner, to revenge upon him in cold Blood the Ignominy of their own shameful Defeat. And lastly, he expos'd in proper Colours, as a Point of still greater Consideration, the Excuse made by *Qualpopoca*, and his Captains, who declar'd they had undertaken that unjustifiable War by the Emperor's express Order: Concluding, That he thought he ow'd so much to his Majesty, as not to give Credit to an Action so unworthy of his Greatness, as that of favouring the *Spaniards* in one Place, while he was endeavouring to destroy them in another.

Motezuma chang'd Colour at the hearing of this Charge; and with all the Marks of Conviction interrupted *Cortez*, denying, as well as he could, that he had ever given any such Orders: But *Cortez* reliev'd his Confusion by saying, That he did believe it to be undoubtedly true, and was fully convinc'd, that he had no Hand in so base an Action; but that the *Spaniards* would not be so satisfied, nor even his own Vassals be undeceiv'd after such a Declaration of his General, unless they saw him give some extraordinary Proof of what he affirm'd, that might intirely efface the Impression of such a Calumny; and that therefore he was come to intreat him, that, without making any Disturbance, but as if it was his own spontaneous Choice, he would immediately go with him to the *Spanish* Quarters, with a Resolution not to stir from thence till it should be made apparent to all, that he had not been concern'd in so perfidious an Action. To which Purpose he represented to him, "That by this generous Confidence, so well becoming a "Princely Mind, he would not only appease the just Resentment "of the great Monarch whose Servant he was, and the Jealousy "of his Companions and Followers; but that it would redound "to his own Honour, which at present suffer'd a greater Eclipse "by his General's Behaviour; giving his Word, both as a Gen-"tleman and a Minister to the most powerful Monarch in the "Universe, that he should be treated amongst the *Spaniards* with "all the Respect due to his Royal Character; since they only "desir'd to be secure of his good Will, that they might have it "in their Power to serve and obey him with the greater Venera-"tion". Here *Cortez* left off speaking, and *Motezuma* likewise remain'd silent for some Moments, as amaz'd at the Boldness of the Proposal. But *Cortez*, desirous to reduce him by Gentleness, before he would determine on other Ways, added, "That the Quar-"ters he had been pleas'd to assign them, were in one of his "Majesty's own Royal Palaces, where sometimes he was wont to "pass a few Days: That it could not seem strange to his Sub-

" jects that he ſhould change his Reſidence to clear himſelf of " an Aſperſion, which, being plac'd to his Account, was the " Complaint of one King againſt another; whereas if the Fault " were laid at his General's Door it might be redreſs'd by a pro- " per Correction, without puſhing it to that Extremity, and thoſe " Violences, which generally attend the Deciſion of Quarrels " which happen between Soveraigns".

Motezuma could no longer ſuffer *Cortez* to enlarge upon Motives to perſuade him to a Thing which he judg'd impracticable, and letting him know, he underſtood what it was he aim'd by ſuch a Propoſition; reply'd with ſome Impatience, "That " Princes of his Rank were not accuſtom'd to deliver themſelves " up to a Priſon, nor would his Subjects permit it, tho' he ſhould " forget his own Dignity ſo far, and ſtoop to ſo baſe a Com- " pliance". To which *Cortez* anſwer'd; " That provided he went " willingly, without obliging the *Spaniards* to forget the Reſpect " they had for him, he valu'd not the Oppoſition of his Sub- " jects, againſt whom he could employ a ſufficient Force, without " any Breach of their mutual Amity". The Diſpute laſted long, *Motezuma* ſtill refuſing to leave his Palace; and *Cortez* endeavouring to perſuade and ſecure him without proceeding to Extremities. *Motezuma* made ſeveral Offers, being ſenſible of the Hazard to which he was expos'd: He propos'd to ſend immediately for *Qualpopoca* and all his Officers, and give them up to *Cortez* to be chaſtiz'd as he ſhould think proper: He offer'd Two of his Sons as Hoſtages, to be ſent Priſoners to the *Spaniſh* Quarters, till ſuch Time as he ſhould perform his Promiſe; and repeated, with ſome Signs of Weakneſs, that he was not a Perſon who could hide himſelf, or flee to the Mountains. *Cortez* approv'd none of theſe Expedients; and *Motezuma* refus'd to ſurrender himſelf: But the Captains, who were preſent at this Diſpute, ſuſpecting the Danger that might enſue by this Delay, began to loſe Patience, intimating, that they muſt decide the Queſtion by Action; and *Juan Velazquez de Leon* ſaid aloud, *Let us leave off talking, and either ſeize or kill him.* *Motezuma* took Notice of thoſe Words, which were utter'd with great Paſſion, and demanded of *Donna Marina*, What it was that *Spaniſh* Captain ſpoke with ſo much Vehemence? And ſhe, with a Diſcretion which never fail'd her upon Occaſion, reply'd in ſuch a Manner as if ſhe apprehended being overheard by the *Spaniards*; *My Lord, You run a great Hazard by not giving Way to the Inſtances of theſe People: You already know their Reſolution, and the ſupernatural Power that aſſiſts them. I am your own Loyal Subject; my Thoughts have no other Employment than to do you Service, and I am*

likewise one of their Confidents, well acquainted with the Secret of their Intentions. If you go with them you will be treated with all the Respect that is due to your Person and Dignity; and by resisting longer, you endanger your Life.

This short Speech, deliver'd with Address, and well tim'd, prevail'd on *Motezuma*; who without entring into any fresh Contests, rose from his Seat, and said to the *Spaniards*; "I trust "myself into your Hands: Let us go to your Quarters, for "so the Gods will have it, since you have carried your Point, "and I am determin'd." He presently call'd for his Servants, and commanded them to get ready his Chair and Equipage; and told his Ministers, "That for certain Reasons of "State, which he had concerted with his Gods, he had re-"solv'd to pass some Days in the *Spanish* Quarters: That they "should understand, and publish to all his Subjects, that he "went of his own Accord, and for his own Advantage." He then gave Orders to one of the Captains of his Guards, to bring *Qualpapoca* Prisoner, with the other Officers concern'd in the Invasion of *Zempoala*; to which Purpose he gave him the Royal Signet, which he always carry'd ty'd to his Right Arm, and bad him take Troops along with him, that he might make sure of apprehending the Criminals. All these Orders were given publickly, and *Dona Marina* explain'd them to *Cortez*, and the rest of the *Spanish* Captains, that they might not take Umbrage upon hearing him talk to his Servants, or commit any unseasonable Act of Violence.

He left his Palace without any more Delay, taking with him all his usual Attendance: The *Spaniards* marched on Foot close by his Chair, surrounding it under Pretence of attending him. A Report was presently spread about the City, that the Strangers had carry'd off the Emperor; and the Streets were crowded in an Instant, with an Appearance of a general Insurrection; for they made great Outcries, throwing themselves upon the Ground like Men in Despair; and some discover'd the Tenderness of their Concern by their Tears: But *Motezuma*, with an Air of Gaiety and Composure, appeas'd the Tumult, and satisfy'd them in some Measure. He commanded them to cease their Cries; and at the first Motion of his Hand a profound Silence ensu'd. He then told them, "That he was "not going to a Prison, but, for his own Diversion, to pass a few "Days with his Friends the Strangers; and this anticipated Sa-"tisfaction, or answering a Question before it was ask'd, con-"firm'd what he endeavour'd to disown.

When he arriv'd at the Quarters, which, as we have obſerv'd, were in a Palace built by his Father, he gave Orders for his Guards to diſperſe the Populace, and to his Miniſters to puniſh, with Loſs of Life, any who ſhould occaſion the leaſt Tumult or Diſturbance. He courteouſly careſs'd the *Spaniſh* Soldiers who went out to receive him with reſpectful Acclamations. The Palace being ſufficiently large and convenient to receive him and all his Retinue, he pitch'd upon an Apartment, ſeparate from the *Spaniards*, to reſide in, which was inſtantly furniſh'd by his own Servants with the beſt Moveables of his Wardrobe; and *Cortes* plac'd a ſufficient Guard of *Spaniſh* Soldiers at the Avenues, and doubled thoſe of the Quarters, poſting Centinels in the neareſt Streets, and omitting no Precaution which an Action of that Conſequence requir'd. Orders were given to the Soldiers to permit the Entrance of thoſe of the Emperor's Retinue, who were now all known; as likewiſe of the Nobility and Miniſters who came to make their Court, with Reſerve to admit but a certain Number in the Room of others who went out, under Pretext of keeping his Majeſty from being crowded. *Cortes* went to viſit him the ſame Evening, firſt asking Leave, and obſerving the ſame Formalities and Ceremonies as when he waited on him in his Imperial Palace. The like Reſpect was ſhew'd him by the Officers and Soldiers of Diſtinction: They all gave him humble Thanks for the Honour he did that Houſe, as if he came thither by his own Choice; and he was as chearful and pleaſant to all, as if none of them were preſent who had been Witneſſes of the Reſiſtance he would have made. He diſtributed amongſt them ſeveral Jewels with his own Hand, which he brought on purpoſe to ſhew his good Humour; and for all that could be obſerv'd, either in his Behaviour or Expreſſions, he never once diſcover'd the leaſt Weakneſs under his Confinement, nor ceas'd to maintain the Grandeur of an Emperor in the Conſtancy with which he endeavour'd to unite thoſe two incompatible Extremes, Majeſty and Dependency. To none of his Servants or Miniſters, whoſe Attendance at all Hours was permitted, did he diſcover the Secret of his Confinement; either for that he was aſham'd to own it, or that he fear'd the Loſs of his Life, if they ſhould make the leaſt Diſturbance. At that Time this Retirement was regarded by all as his own voluntary Reſolution; for which Reaſon, the Preſumption of the *Spaniards* was not ſo much as talk'd of, being indeed ſo great, that it was conceal'd by the very Exceſs of it as a Thing impoſſible, and exceeding the Bounds of Imagination itſelf.

Thus was *Motezuma*'s Imprisonment carry'd on and executed, and in a few Days he became so easy, that he had scarce any Inclination to change his Condition. Nevertheless, his Subjects discover'd at length, that the *Spaniards* had him under Confinement, notwithstanding they had carefully disguis'd the Violence they had been guilty of, under the specious Mask of a profound Respect. The Guards which were constantly posted at the Avenues of the Emperor's Apartment, and the *Spaniards* being continually under Arms in the Quarters, left them no Room for Doubt; but no one made the least Offer to treat concerning his Liberty: Nor is it to be imagin'd what Reasons they had; he to continue under that Oppression without any Reluctance, and they to live in the same Insensibility, without shewing any Concern at the Dishonour done to the Person of their Emperor. The Boldness of this Enterprize was very surprising in the *Spaniards*, nor less remarkable was this Want of Spirit in *Motezuma*; a Prince so puissant, and naturally of so haughty a Disposition, together with the little Resolution which then appear'd in the *Mexicans*, a Warlike Nation, and excessively zealous in supporting the Dignity of their Soveraigns. We may therefore safely venture to say, that the Hand of God was upon their Hearts; nor will this appear to be a superstitious Credulity, or any great Novelty in his Divine Providence; since the World has long ago seen an Example of His forwarding the Undertakings of His own People, by subduing the Spirit of their Enemies *.

* Joshua, *Chap.* 5. *ver.* 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

MOTEZUMA's *Behaviour under his Confinement, both to his own People and the* Spaniards. Qualpopoca *is brought Prisoner, and condemn'd to Death by* CORTEZ, *who causes* MOTEZUMA *to be put in Fetters, during the Execution of the Sentence.*

THE *Spaniards*, in few Days, saw their Quarters converted into a Palace, without omitting to guard it, as the Prison of *Motezuma*. The Surprize of this daring Action abated insensibly amongst the *Mexicans*, with the Novelty of it. Some, disapproving the War made by *Qualpopoca* upon *Vera-Cruz*, commended the Procedure of *Motezuma*, and imputed it to the Greatness of his Soul that he parted with his Liberty as a Pledge of his Innocence. Others believ'd that the Gods, with whom they suppos'd him to have frequent Communication, had advis'd him to that which was most convenient, and would most redound to his Advantage. And others, who judg'd better, acquiesc'd intirely in his Resolution, without being so presumptuous as to examine into it, well knowing that the Actions of Soveraign Princes are to be comprehended, not by the Knowledge, but by the Obedience of their Vassals. He discharg'd the Functions of a Soveraign at the usual Hours; gave Audiences; heard the Advice and Representations of his Ministers; and apply'd himself to the Government of his Kingdoms, both Civil and Military, taking particular Care to conceal his involuntary Confinement.

His Table was serv'd from his Palace with a numerous Attendance of Servants, and greater Abundance than usual: The Overplus was distributed among the *Spanish* Soldiers; and he constantly sent Dishes of the greatest Delicacy to *Cortez* and his Captains, all whomhe could call by their respective Names, and he had study'd even their several Humours and Dispositions, and knew how to make a proper Use of his Observations in conversing

with them, and would at Times ſeaſon his Diſcourſe with Pleaſantry, in ſuch a Manner as was no Way inconſiſtent either with Majeſty or Decorum. All the Time that he was diſengag'd from Buſineſs, he paſt among the *Spaniards*; and was wont to ſay, That he was not himſelf without them. Every one endeavour'd to pleaſe him, and the Reſpect with which they treated him, gave him great Satisfaction. Freedoms and ill Manners extremely diſguſted him; and if any one happen'd to be faulty that Way, he made the Offender underſtand that it ſhock'd him, and that he was ſenſible of his being ill us'd: So jealous was he of his Dignity, that he reſented, with an extreme Indignation, ſomewhat done in his Preſence by a *Spaniard*, with Deſign, as he thought, to affront him, and deſir'd the Captain of the Guard to employ that Soldier at a greater Diſtance from his Perſon, or order him to be puniſh'd if he again offer'd to appear before him.

Some Evenings he us'd to play with *Cortez* at *Tololoque*, which is a Game with little Balls of Gold with which they endeavour'd to ſtrike down certain ſmall Pins of the ſame Metal, at a proportionable Diſtance: They play'd for Jewels, or other Curioſities, which were loſt or won upon Five Marks. *Motezuma* diſtributed his Winnings amongſt the *Spaniards*, and *Cortez* gave his to the Emperor's inferior Officers. He would ſometimes rally *Pedro de Alverado*, who counted for them, for his marking in Favour of *Cortez*, and reproach'd him after a pleaſant Manner, for being a bad Reckoner; nevertheleſs he deſir'd him to mark, and take Care to keep a fair Account.

He preſerv'd the Sentiments of a Prince, even at Play; regarding the Loſs as an Effect of Hazard, and the Gain as a Reward of Victory.

They did not omit in thoſe private Converſations to introduce the Subject of Religion. *Cortez* diſcours'd him ſeveral Times, endeavouring with Gentleneſs to make him ſenſible of his Error. Fryar *Bartolemeo de Olmedo* ſeconded his Arguments with the like Piety, but with far greater Energy. *Donna Marina* very carefully interpreted theſe Diſcourſes, adding her own private Reaſons, as a Perſon newly undeceiv'd, who had ſtill freſh in her Memory the Motives which converted her: But the Devil had got ſuch an Aſcendant over his Mind, that he ſuffer'd his own natural Reaſon to be ſo enſlav'd, that no Arguments were of Force enough to touch his obdurate Heart. It was not known whether he had a Communication with the Devil, or

 if

if he continued to appear to him as usual, after the *Spaniards* arriv'd at *Mexico*; on the contrary, it was believ'd as certain, that from the first Appearance of the *Cross* of *Christ* in that City, all those infernal Invocations lost their Force, and the Oracles became silent. But that deluded Prince was so blind and abandon'd to his Errors, that he had no Manner of Inclination to relinquish them, or to advantage himself by the Light which was set before him: This Hardness of Heart was perhaps the miserable Effect of his other Vices and Enormities, with which he had displeas'd God; or a Chastisement for that very Negligence of hearing and not pursuing the Truth.

After Twenty Days, or somewhat more, the Captain of the Guard, who had been sent to the Frontiers of *Vera Cruz*, return'd, bringing *Qualpopoca*, and other Captains of the Army Prisoners, who upon Sight of the Royal Signet, had surrender'd themselves without Resistance. The Prisoners were conducted into the Apartment of *Motezuma*, who, by the Permission of *Cortez*, spoke to them, but with Reserve; for he was desirous they should conceal the Order he had given them, and suffer themselves to be deceiv'd by this exterior Shew of Confidence which he seem'd to repose in them. The Captain himself went afterwards with them to the Apartment of *Cortez*, to whom he deliver'd them, saying on the Part of his Master, "That he had sent them to him, that he might find out the "Truth, and, at his own Discretion, inflict upon them what "Punishment he thought they deserv'd." *Cortez* shut himself up with them, and they presently pleaded Guilty to all their Charges, acknowledging, *That they had violated the Peace by their own Authority; had provok'd the* Spaniards *of* Vera Cruz *with their Hostilities, and had procur'd the Death of* Arguillo, *kill'd by their Order in cold Blood, tho' a Prisoner of War.* All this they confess'd without once mentioning that they had any Commission for so doing from *Motezuma*, till perceiving that the Punishment they had been threaten'd with was no Jest, they endeavour'd to bring him in for an Accomplice, in order to save their Lives: But *Cortez* utterly refus'd to give Ear to that Evasion, treating it as a mere Chimera and Invention of theirs, merely to excuse themselves. They were judg'd by a Court Martial, and receiv'd Sentence of Death, with the Circumstance of having their Bodies publickly burn'd before the Royal Palace, as Criminals who had incurr'd the Penalty of High Treason.

Measures

Measures were immediately taken for the Execution, it being thought necessary not to delay it: But *Cortez* fearing *Motezuma*'s Resentment, and that he might endeavour to defend those who were to die for having executed his Orders, resolv'd to terrify him, by some daring Action, which should have threatening Appearances, and remind him of the Subjection in which he was. To this Purpose he bethought himself of another bold Stroke, to which he was certainly indue'd by the great Facility with which he depriv'd him of his Liberty, and the unexpected Patience with which he bore his Confinement. He order'd some of those Fetters to be brought which they us'd to carry with them for Criminals, and with those, carry'd openly in the Hands of a Soldier, *Cortez* came into the Presence of *Motezuma*; and with him came *Donna Marina*, and Three or Four of his Captains. He did not omit the Respects with which he was wont to accost him; but raising his Voice, and with more Earnestness in his Countenance than ordinary, he told him, "That "*Qualpopoca*, and the other Delinquents, now condemn'd to "suffer Death, had confess'd their Crime, and had been found "deserving of the Sentence; but added, that they had accus'd "him, affirming they had acted wholly by his Orders; and "that therefore it was necessary that he should expiate for "those strong Presumptions by some personal Mortification: "And that Kings, tho' they were not liable to ordinary Punish-"ments, were yet subject to a superior Law, which commands "Crowns, and ought, in some Respects, to imitate the Guilty, "when they found themselves culpable, and were desirous to "satisfy Divine Justice." Having said this, he commanded, with an Air of Authority and Resolution, that they should put *Motezuma* in Fetters, without suffering any Reply; and leaving him in that Condition, turn'd his Back and retir'd to his Apartment, giving fresh Orders to his Guards, that for the present they should not suffer him to have any Manner of Communication with his Ministers.

So great was the Astonishment of *Motezuma*, to see himself treated with so much Ignominy, that at first he wanted Force to resist, and afterwards Speech to complain. He remain'd a good while like one insensible; and his Servants who attended him, accompany'd his Grief with Lamentation, without presuming to speak; throwing themselves at his Feet, to bear the Weight of his Fetters. He recover'd from his first Confusion and Amazement, and began to break out into Impatience, but soon put a Curb upon himself; and attributing the unhappy Circum-

ſtances, to which he was reduc'd, to the Will of his Gods, waited the Event, not without Apprehenſions that his Life was in Danger: But ſoon recalling to Mind who he was, he intrepidly expected his Fate.

Cortez loſt no Time in the Execution of what he had reſolv'd upon. The Criminals were brought forth to receive their Puniſhment; all neceſſary Precautions having firſt been taken, to prevent any Oppoſition that might be made. The Execution was perform'd in Sight of an innumerable Concourſe of People, not ſo much as one diſorder'd Voice being heard, nor was there the leaſt Ground for Jealouſy. The People were ſeiz'd with a Terror, which was mix'd with Admiration and Reſpect. They greatly wonder'd at the Authority thoſe Strangers aſſum'd, who, at the moſt, ought to have behav'd themſelves only as Embaſſadors from another Prince: But they did not preſume to call their Power in queſtion, ſeeing it was eſtabliſh'd with their own Soveraign's Approbation, which was the Reaſon that they flock'd in Crowds to behold that Spectacle, with a Kind of mortify'd Sedateneſs, or rather Inſenſibility, which, without knowing in what it conſiſted, gave Way to Fear. It was of great Help, on this Occaſion, that the Invaſion of *Qualpopoca* was ill receiv'd among the *Mexicans*, and that he had aggravated his Crime, and render'd it far more horrible, by having had the Preſumption to charge his Soveraign as an Accomplice, which paſſed as a Thing incredible, and even had the Accuſation been true, ſhould have been puniſh'd as inſolent and ſeditious. This Execution muſt be regarded as the Third bold Action of *Cortez*, which was effected, as has been obſerv'd, upon very irregular Principles: He had determin'd upon it, and had thought it very convenient, and not impoſſible. He knew the Genius of the People he had to deal with, and was no Stranger to the Value of the great Pledge he had in his Power, whatſoever might happen. Let us leave him to the Uſe of his own Reaſon, or at leaſt not bring it into the Judgment of the Hiſtory, contenting ourſelves with relating the Fact as it paſs'd, which, after being executed, prov'd of great Conſequence for the Security of the *Spaniards* at *Vera Cruz*, and ſtifled, at that Time, thoſe Rumours which began to diſturb the *Mexican* Nobility.

Cortez immediately return'd to the Emperor's Apartment, and, with a chearful Countenance, courteouſly addreſs'd him, ſaying, " The Traytors, My Lord, who have been ſo bold " as to blemiſh your Character, have receiv'd condign Puniſh-

ment;

" ment; and you yourself have sufficiently comply'd with " your Obligation, by submitting to the Justice of God, with " this little Intermission of your Liberty." Then immediately he order'd the Fetters to be taken off, or as some Authors report, he put himself on his Knees, and took them off with his own Hands: And it is probable, that, out of his innate Prudence, he might endeavour, with such a Piece of Courtesy, to give a greater Recommendation to the Redress of his ill Treatment. *Motezuma* receiv'd that Part of his Liberty with a tumultuous Joy. He embrac'd *Cortez* Two or Three Times, and seem'd as if he would never have done with his thankful Acknowledgments.

Then they both sat down, and enter'd into amicable Conversation, and *Cortez* us'd another Piece of Policy with him, being what he was continually meditating upon; for he order'd all the Guards to retire, and gave him to understand, that whenever he pleas'd he might return to his Palace, the Cause of his Detension being now taken off. This Offer he made him, as being very sure he would not accept it; for he had frequently heard him firmly and resolutely declare, That it was by no Means convenient for him to think of returning to his Palace, or of leaving the *Spaniards*, till such Time as they should retire from his Court; for that he should greatly suffer in his Reputation, when it should be known amongst his Vassals, that he had receiv'd Liberty from a foreign Hand. A Thought which has been since father'd upon *Motezuma* as his own, but was indeed influenc'd into him by *Donna Marina* and some Captains, who represented that to him at the Instance of *Cortez*, who made Use of his own Reason of State, to hold him more Secure in Prison. But at this Time, *Motezuma* knowing what *Cortez* meant by that Offer, quitted the first Motive as foreign to his present Purpose, and made Use of another more artful; for he answer'd, " That he was very much oblig'd to " him for the Intention he had to restore him to his Palace; " but that he had taken a Resolution to continue where he " was, out of Regard to the *Spaniards*; for he knew very well, " that assoon as he should be in his Palace, his Nobility and " Ministers would press him to take up Arms against them, " for a Satisfaction of the Wrong he had receiv'd." By these Means he desir'd they should understand, that he was contented to remain in Prison for their Security, and to protect them with his Authority. *Cortez* prais'd his Design, and made Acknowledgments for the Care he had of them, as if he in-

tirely believ'd all he ſaid. They both remain'd ſatisfy'd with their dexterous Management, believing they underſtood each other perfectly well; and, for their mutual Conveniency, ſuffer'd themſelves to be deceiv'd, with that Sort of Cunning, or Diſſimulation, which Politicians place among the Myſteries of Prudence, beſtowing the Name of Virtue upon that which indeed is nothing but Artifice and Policy.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the CONQUEST of *MEXICO*, or *NEW SPAIN*.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

MOTEZUMA *is permitted to be seen in publick, going out to the Temples and Recreations.* CORTEZ *takes some necessary Precautions. The* Spaniards *are in Doubt, at this Time, whether they should overthrow the Idols of* Mexico, *or wait for a properer Occasion.*

FROM this Day forward *Motezuma* remain'd a voluntary Prisoner of the *Spaniards*, and was belov'd of all for his Courtesy and Liberality. His own Servants and Attendants had been hitherto unacquainted with his Gentleness and Moderation, as being Virtues he had acquir'd by his Conversation with Strangers, and far from his own natural Temper. He very often confirm'd the Sincerity of his Mind, both by Words and Actions: And when he thought he had secur'd and merited the Confidence of *Cortez*, he resolv'd to try him, asking his Permission to visit some of his Temples, giving his Word he would return punctually to his Prison, for so he us'd to call it when none of his own People were present: He acquainted him,

him, " That he desir'd now for his own Conveniency, and " for the sake of the *Spaniards* themselves, to shew himself to " his Subjects; for that they began to surmise, that he was " detain'd in that Confinement by Force, seeing the Cause of his " Detension was ceas'd by the Punishment of *Qualpopoca*. And " that it was to be fear'd, some Commotion, more than bare- " ly popular, might happen, if he did not speedily prevent it " by this Mark of his Liberty." *Hernan Cortez* sensible how much he was in the right, and desirous likewise to humour the *Mexicans*, answer'd freely and courteously, " That he might " go when, and wherever he pleas'd, and that he attributed his " making such a Request to the Excess of his Goodness, seeing " both himself and all his People, were intirely at his Service; " but that he joyfully accepted the Promise he made him of " not changing his Place of Residence, as one extremely desi- " rous not to be depriv'd of the Honour he had receiv'd."

His Purpose to visit the Temples caused some Scruples in the General; but to make the best Conditions he could, he obtain'd of him to abolish all human Sacrifices from that Day; contenting himself with this Part of the Remedy, since it was not yet Time to go about to endeavour a total Reformation of their Errors; and where we cannot make Use of the best Means it is Prudence to divide the Difficulty, and overcome Inconveniencies by Degrees. *Motezuma* consented to this, effectually prohibiting those Sorts of Sacrifices in all the Temples: And tho' it may be doubted, whether that Order was exactly comply'd with, yet it is certain, that nothing like it was acted in publick; and if they ever did perform them, it was with their Gates shut, as if they were doing something that was criminal and unlawful.

His first Sally was to the principal Temple of the City, with his accustom'd Pomp and Attendance: He took some *Spaniards* along with him, calling them himself, by Way of Prevention, to avoid the Shame of having them order'd to attend him either as Guards or Witnesses of his Actions. The People celebrated this First Appearance of their Soveraign with great Acclamations of Joy. Every one strove with Emulation to express the general Satisfaction by such publick Applauses: Not that they truly lov'd him, or that they had forgot the Oppressions under which they labour'd; but at this Time Duty got the better of their Inclinations, and a Crown has its Influence, altho' it be upon the Head of a Tyrant. He receiv'd their Acclamations with an Air of Majesty, and was, that Day, very liberal in bestowing Favours upon his Nobles, and likewise

in diſtributing Gifts among the Populace. He afterwards went up to the Temple, reſting on the Arms of the Prieſts, and having comply'd with ſome of the leaſt ſcandalous Rites of his Worſhip, return'd to the Quarters, where he again complimented the *Spaniards*, declaring, " That the Satisfaction he had " in reſiding among them, made him no leſs deſirous to re- " turn, than the Diſcharge of his Promiſe.

He continued to go Abroad when he pleas'd, without any Thing extraordinary happening, ſometimes to the Palace where he kept his Wives, at other Times to his Temples, and Pleaſure-Houſes, always uſing the Ceremony of asking Leave of *Cortez*, or taking him along with him, when what he went about would decently admit of his Company; but he never lay a Night out of the Quarters, nor ſo much as once mention'd the changing of his Habitation; on the contrary the *Mexicans* began to look upon this Perſeverance of their Emperor's as the Effect of his Love to the *Spaniards*: So that now the Miniſters and Nobles of the City viſited *Cortez*, making Uſe of his Intereſt to gain their Pretenſions; and all the *Spaniards*, that were more particularly eſteemed by *Cortez*, were both preſented and flatter'd: The common Method of all Courts; where by Intreaties and Addreſſes, thoſe Idols call'd the Prince's Favourites, are in a Manner worſhipped.

During this Tranquillity, *Cortez* did not neglect thoſe Precautions which were thought conducive to his Security, nor to forward thoſe high Deſigns which were forming in his Mind, tho' as yet without any determinate Object, or knowing whither the obſcure Flattery of his Hopes would carry him. Immediately upon the Vacancy of the Government of *Vera Cruz*, by the Death of *Juan de Eſcalante*, and that the Ways were clear'd from Danger by the Puniſhment of the Criminals, he nam'd Captain *Gonzalo de Sandoval* for that Employment: And becauſe, in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, he would not part with ſo ſerviceable a Commander, he ſent in Quality of his Lieutenant, certain private Soldier, nam'd *Alonſo de Grado*, a Man of Senſe and Ability, but of an unquiet turbulent Spirit, one of thoſe who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the paſt Diſturbances. It was believ'd, he gave him that Employment both to ſatisfy him, and to get him out of the Way: But it was no ſound Point of Policy to put a Perſon ſo little to be depended on, in a Place that was kept for a Retreat, and againſt any Attempts which might be fear'd from the Iſle of *Cuba*. His Aſſiſtance in that Port might have provd a great Convenience, if the Veſſels which *Diego Velaſquez* had ſet out in Proſecution of his

ancient Claim had arriv'd a little sooner. But *Alonso de Grado* himself, by his own Proceedings, rectify'd the Error of his Election: For in a few Days after, there were so many Complaints sent from the Inhabitants, and the Towns thereabouts, that it was necessary to bring him away Prisoner, and to send the Governor himself.

Upon the Occasions of these Journeys to and fro, *Hernan Cortez* order'd, That they should bring some Cordage, Sails, Nails, and other Spoils of the Ships which had been bor'd, with a Design to build two Brigantines, that he might command the Passage of the Lake; for he could not put out of his Mind those broken Expressions which the *Tlascalans* had heard concerning cutting away the Bridges, and ruining the Causeys. He brought it about, so that *Motezuma* himself desir'd it, with the Pretence of seeing the Nature of the large Embarcations used in *Spain*, and the great Ease with which they mov'd, the Wind doing the Service of Oars; a Curiosity which intirely surpass'd their Imagination, nor could they ever comprehend without ocular Demonstration, because the *Mexicans* were wholly ignorant of the Use of Sails, and thought it would be a great Conveniency, and redound very much to their Advantage, to have their Mariners instructed in this Art. It was not long before all that had been sent for, from *Vera-Cruz*, arriv'd; and the Building of the Vessels was begun by some Artists of that Profession, who had listed in the Army for Soldiers: The Carpenters of the City cutting and bringing the Timber by *Motezuma*'s Order; so that in a few Days the Brigantines were finish'd, and the Emperor himself resolv'd to make the first Trial, embarking with the *Spaniards*, that he might take a nearer View of the surprizing Curiosity of that Sort of Navigation. For this Purpose he pitch'd upon one of their most solemn Hunting Days, in a Place where the Lake runs within the Land, that he might have Time enough for his Observations: And on the Day appointed, all the Canoes belonging to the Royal Equipage were early in the Morning upon the Lake, with his whole Family, Retinue, and Huntsmen, reinforcing the Number of Rowers, and ordering them to exert themselves, not without a Presumption that they should gain Credit by their Lightness, to the Disgrace of the *Spanish* Vessels, which, in their Opinions, were heavy, and difficult to govern: But it was not long before they were undeceiv'd; for the Brigantines set out with Sails and Oars, opportunely favour'd by the Wind, and left the Canoes a long Way behind, to the great Admiration of the *Indians*. This was a Day of

great

great Diverſion to the *Spaniards*, as well for the Novelty and Manner of Hunting, as for Coſtlineſs and Magnificence of the Banquets: And *Motezuma* took great Pleaſure in rallying his Rowers for their vain Endeavours to come up with the Brigantines, and glory'd in the Victory of the *Spaniards* as his own. After their Return, the whole City went out in Shoals to behold thoſe floating Houſes, as they term'd them in their Language. The Novelty of the Thing had its ordinary Effects, and above all, the *Indians* admir'd the Management of the Rudder, and the Sails, which to their thinking, commanded both the Water and the Wind: An Invention, which the moſt judicious among them admir'd as a Dexterity intirely beyond their Comprehenſion, and the Vulgar, as an Art more than Natural, and a Dominion over the Elements themſelves. The Reſult of all was, that thoſe Brigantines, which were built with a greater View, were much applauded; and the prudent Foreſight of *Cortez* had this happy Effect, That he did what was neceſſary, and gain'd great Reputation.

At the ſame Time, he was laying ſuch other Schemes as his active Vigilance dictated. He introduc'd, in Diſcourſe with *Motezuma*, and his Nobles who came to viſit him, the Greatneſs of his Soveraign, extolling his Clemency, and aggrandizing his Power; gaining them to his Opinion, with ſo much Addreſs, that they began generally to deſire the Alliance he propos'd, and an eſtabliſh'd Commerce with the *Spaniards*, as the Intereſt of the *Mexican* Monarchy. He likewiſe made ſome important Diſcoveries by Way of Converſation, and pure Curioſity. He informed himſelf very particularly of the Strength and Extent of the *Mexican* Empire; of its Provinces, Confines, Mountains, Rivers, and principal Mines: Of the Diſtances of both Seas, their Qualities, Roads, and Harbours: And he was ſo far from expreſſing the leaſt Concern about his Obſervations and Inquiſitiveneſs, that *Motezuma*, for his better Information, and to gratify his Curioſity, order'd his Painter, with the Aſſiſtance of skilful People, to draw out all his Dominions on a Piece of Cloth, like our Maps, which ſhew'd him every Particular that was worth taking Notice of. He alſo permitted ſome *Spaniards* to go and take a View of the moſt celebrated Mines, as likewiſe of the Ports and Bays which were capable of Shipping. This *Hernan Cortez* propos'd to him, under Pretext of carrying a diſtinct Relation to his Prince of every Thing that was remarkable; to which *Motezuma* did not only give his Conſent, but order'd ſome of his Soldiers to accompany them, and diſpatch'd Orders that they ſhould have

free Admittance, and be instructed in whatever they desir'd to know; a convincing Sign that he had no Suspicion, and that his Tongue and Heart went together. But at this very Juncture, when the *Spaniards* had most Reason to avoid starting any Innovations, as pernicious and dangerous to publick Quiet, and good Understanding between them and the *Mexicans*, our Historians mention a Resolution of theirs, so intirely preposterous and inconsistent with the rest of their Actions, and so very unseasonable, that we are inclin'd to call the Truth of it in Question, notwithstanding we have no sufficient Reasons to omit it. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* says, as does likewise *Francisco Lopez de Gemara*, agreeing sometimes in that which was most unlikely, That they had resolv'd to overthrow all the Idols of *Mexico*, and to turn the principal Temple into a Church: That they sally'd out to put in Execution what they determin'd, notwithstanding *Motezuma* resisted, and endeavour'd to hinder them: That the Priests took up Arms, and the whole City rose in Defence of their Gods: That the Contest lasted, without coming to Blows, till such Time, as for the Publick Quiet, the Idols were suffer'd to remain in their Places; and a Chappel was cleans'd, and an Altar erected within the same Temple, where they plac'd the Cross of CHRIST, and the Image of His most blessed Mother: *Mass* was sung with great Solemnity, and the Altar continu'd many Days; the very Priests of the Idols taking Care to keep it neat, and to adorn it. And this Account *Antonio de Herrera* likewise gives, but differs from both those Authors, by adding some Circumstances which pass the Limits of Embellishment, if such Rhetorick may be allow'd an Historian: For he describes a Procession of the *Spaniards* all in Arms, which was made, in order to conduct the holy Images to the Temple; pens the very same Speech that *Cortez* made, or rather that which he would persuade us he made before the Crucifix; and recounts a Kind of Miracle his Devotion produc'd; taking upon him to say, on what Foundation we know not, That a little after, the *Mexicans* mutiny'd upon Account of the Want of Rain to refresh their parch'd Fields: That they came to *Cortez* in a tumultuous Manner, complaining, that their Gods refus'd to send them any Rain, because he had introduc'd strange Deities into their Temples: And that to appease those seditious People, he promis'd them, on the Part of his God, a plentiful Shower of Rain within a few Hours, which Promise Heaven punctually made good, to the great Admiration of *Motezuma*, and the whole City.

We

We ſhall not touch upon the Engagement he laid himſelf under, by promiſing Miracles to Infidels for Proof of the Truth of Religion, which might poſſibly have happen'd thro' the Vehemence of his Zeal; nor ſhall we wonder at the miraculous Succeſs: For he might likewiſe have had, at that Juncture, ſome Spark of that lively Faith which merits and performs Miracles. But the very Action itſelf is ſo diſſonant; ſo extremely repugnant to Reaſon, that it is difficult to believe it any way conſiſtent, either with the Warineſs and Character of *Cortez*, or the Diſpoſition and Learning of Fryar *Bartolomè de Olmedo*.

But ſuppoſe the Action of overthrowing all the Idols of *Mexico* had ſucceeded at that Time, and after the Manner related; ſince it is ſometimes lawful for an Hiſtorian to paſs his Judgment upon the Facts he relates; we find in this ſeveral Objections which oblige us, at leaſt, to doubt the Certainty of ſuch a Determination, in ſo populous a City, where it might reaſonably be held impoſſible to effect what was found ſo difficult in *Cozamel*. They were upon a good Footing with *Motezuma*: All the Security they enjoy'd depended wholly upon his Favour: He had not given them the leaſt Hopes of admitting the Goſpel; but on the contrary was inflexible, and obſtinate in his Idolatry. The *Mexicans*, beſides the Bigottry with which they worſhipp'd their Idols, and defended their Errors, were very much diſpos'd to diſturb the *Spaniards*. What Prudence then could there be in undertaking ſo unſeaſonable an Affair againſt the Inclination of *Motezuma*? If we look toward the Views with which it was pretended to have been done, we ſhall find them intirely uſeleſs, and inconſiſtent with Reaſon. To begin the Converſion and Undeceiving of Idolaters by deſtroying their Idols: To regard an unprofitable outſide Shew as the Triumph of Religion: To place the holy Images in a Place unclean and deteſtable; leaving them to the Diſpoſal of *Pagan* Prieſts, expos'd to Irreverence, Profaneneſs, and Sacrilege: And laſtly, to celebrate, amongſt the Repreſentations of the Devil, the ineffable Sacrifice of the Maſs. *Antonio de Herrera* qualifies theſe Undertakings with the Title of memorable Actions. Let thoſe judge who ſhall read it: We for our Parts do not find any proper Reaſon, either Politick or Chriſtian, to ſolve ſo many Inconveniencies. So leaving this Point of the Story doubtful and undecided, we ſhall only add, that we had much rather, that either theſe Irregularities had never happen'd after the Manner they are related, or that incredible Truths had never been admitted in Hiſtory.

CHAP. II.

A Conspiracy which was forming against the Spaniards, *by the King of* Tezcuco, *is discover'd; and* MOTEZUMA, *partly by his own Vigilance, and partly by the Advice of* CORTEZ, *quells it, and chastises the Author.*

FROM the very first Beginnings of this Enterprize of the *Spaniards*, the Variety of Accidents they met with was very remarkable; Prosperity and its Contrary alternately attending their Undertakings. Sometimes Hope was absolute, and made Difficulties give Way; and at other Times Dangers sprang from Security itself: All human Designs, and their Successes, being subject to this Condition, being so link'd together, that with little Intermission they succeed each other; and we ought to believe, that this Instability of Earthly Things is necessary to correct our intemperate Passions.

The blind *Gentiles* plac'd this unaccountable Series of Variety in an imaginary Wheel, which was form'd by a Chaining together of good and bad Success, and was turn'd without Design, by a certain Phantasm, which they call'd Fortune; attributing, by that Notion, to mere Chance every Thing they desir'd, or fear'd, it being, in Truth, the wise Disposition of Divine Providence, that the Felicities and Misfortunes of the World should not continue long in the same Station; that Mankind may enjoy the one with Moderation, may bear the other with Patience, and elevate their Minds to the Search of what is more stable and substantial in the Regions of Eternity.

The *Spaniards* already found themselves sufficiently secur'd of the Favour of *Motezuma*, and of the Esteem of the *Mexicans*: But at the same Time that they enjoy'd this favourable Tranquillity, there arose a fresh Storm, which endanger'd all the Precautions of *Cortez*, and was occasion'd by *Cacumazin*, the Emperor's Nephew, King of *Tezcuco*, and first Elector of the Empire. He was an inconsiderate, hot-headed Youth, rash, and of little Judgment, who being over-rul'd by his Ambition,

had determin'd to make his Name famous amongst the *Indians*, by declaring himself against the *Spaniards*, with the Pretence of setting the Emperor at Liberty: His Rank, Dignity, and high Blood gave him Hopes of attaining the Empire at the first Election: And he flatter'd himself, that his Sword being once drawn, he might have a Chance to reach the Crown. His first Care was to endeavour to blacken and to discredit *Motezuma* with his People, upbraiding his Pusilanimity and Meanness of Spirit with which he suffer'd that inglorious Subjection. Then he accus'd the *Spaniards*, representing, in the blackest Colours, the Violence they did the Emperor, the great Interest they were gaining in the Government, and the Foundations they were laying of a Tyranny, without passing by any one Particular which might render them odious and despicable. The next Step he took was to sow the same Seeds of Sedition amongst the rest of the petty Kings of the Lake: And finding their Minds sufficiently dispos'd to an Insurrection, he resolv'd to put his Designs in Execution; to which Purpose he call'd a Council of all his Friends and Relations, which he secretly held in his Palace. There were present at the Assembly the Kings of *Cuyocan*, *Iztapalapa*, *Tacuba*, and *Matalcingo*, with other *Caziques* of the adjacent Countries, all Persons of Distinction and Interest, who had the Command of numerous Bodies of Fighting Men, and valu'd themselves upon their Experience in Military Affairs.

He made them an Harangue, supported with the Appearance of Reason, and with a Shew of Zeal for the Publick, concealing his hidden Designs: He consider'd the present Condition of the Emperor, seemingly forgetful of his own Liberty, and spoke warmly of the Obligation they all lay under, to unite like loyal Subjects and Vassals, to deliver him from that inglorious Bondage. He artfully brought in the Proximity of Blood, which oblig'd him to interest himself in what regarded his Uncle. And turning his Discourse upon the *Spaniards*; *What is it we wait for Friends, and Kinsmen*, said he, *that we open not our Eyes to behold the Reproach of our Nation, and our shameful Sufferings? Shall we, who are born to bear Arms, and who place our greatest Felicity in the Terror we inspire our Enemies withal, shall we, I say, stoop our Necks to the disgraceful Yoke of a few wandering Strangers? What are all their daring and presumptious Actions but so many Reproaches of our Effeminacy, and purely founded upon the Contempt they have of us? Let us but seriously consider what they have atchieved in a few Days, and we shall first be sensible of our own Shame, and next of the Obligation we lye under. They have presumptuously intruded themselves*

into

into the Court of Mexico, *being become insolent by having obtain'd Four Battels, in which the small Resistance they met with from their Enemies made them valiant. They have enter'd triumphantly into the City, in Despite of our King, and contrary to the Inclination of the Nobility and Ministry. They have introduc'd Rebels, and our profess'd Enemies, and keep them in Arms before our Eyes; and by so doing increase the Vanity of the* Tlascallans, *and trample under Foot the Glory of the* Mexicans. *They have taken away the Life of a General of the Empire, by a publick and ignominious Execution, audaciously exercising the Jurisdiction of Magistrates, and the Authority of Legislators, in Dominions wherein they are mere Strangers. And lastly, they have the Person of the Great* Motezuma *in their Quarters, violently forcing him from his Palace; and not content to place Guards upon him in our very Sight, they have proceeded to offer Outrage to his Royal Person, by putting the same Irons upon his Legs with which their most infamous Criminals are wont to be fetter'd. That this is true, we are all sensible; but who will there be found to believe it, without giving the Lye to his own Eyes? An infamous Truth it is, and which ought to be pass'd over, or rather buried in perpetual Oblivion! Well then, what detains you noble and illustrious* Mexicans? *Your King a Prisoner and you patient and unarmed Spectators! This Appearance of Liberty which you see him enjoy, for some Days past, is not Liberty, but a deceitful Step, by which he has insensibly pass'd to a more indecent Servitude. They have tyranniz'd over his very Heart, and made themselves Masters of his Will, which is the most ignoble Bondage a Prince can undergo. They are the Men who govern and command us; for the Person who ought to command us is a Vassal to them. You now behold him supinely negligent of the Conservation of his Dominions, regardless of the Defence of his Laws, Religion, and his wonted Princely Resolution converted into servile Abjection: We, whose Names and Power are so great in the* Mexican *Empire, must, with our utmost Strength endeavour to prevent its Ruin. What concerns us all to do, is, to unite our Forces, compleat the Ruin of these Strangers, and set our Soveraign at Liberty. If we shall displease him by not obeying him so strictly in what we know to be contrary to his Interest, he will be sensible of the Goodness of the Remedy, when he shall find himself deliver'd from the Evil. If it should prove otherwise,* Mexico *has Men whose Temples will very well fit a Crown; and he will not be the first of our Kings, who for not knowing how to reign, or by reigning negligently, has let the Scepter drop out of his Hands.*

Cacumazin deliver'd himself after this Manner, and with so much Warmth, that the whole Assembly followed his Opinion; breaking out into great Menaces against the *Spaniards*, and offering to serve personally in that Action. Only the *Cazique* of *Matalcingo*, who was in the same Degree of Consanguinity

to

to *Motezuma*, and not without his Pretensions to the Crown, understood the Drift of the Proposal, and did his Endeavour to frustrate the Designs of his Competitor, by saying, *That he held it more necessary, and agreeable to the Obligation of all, to acquaint* Motezuma *with what they design'd, and first take his Leave; since it would be very wrong in them to attack a Place wherein he resided, without first putting his Person in Security, as well for the Danger his Life might be in, as for the Disreputation of destroying those Strangers under the Protection of their Soveraign.* The greatest Part of the Congregation contradicted this Proposition as impracticable: *Cacumazin* let fall some biting Expressions, which the other bore, not to discompose his Hopes. Then their Council broke up, having appointed the Day, concerted the Manner, and recommended an inviolable Secrecy to all.

Motezuma and *Cortez* had both Notice of this Conspiracy, almost at the same Time: *Motezuma* by a private Hand, which was suppos'd to be the King of *Matalcingo*; and *Cortez* by the Intelligence of his Spies and Confidents. They sought each other to communicate the News they had receiv'd, and *Motezuma* had the good Fortune to speak first, clearing himself from all Suspicion by such a convincing Proof of his Integrity. He inform'd *Cortez* of all that had been transacted; express'd a violent Indignation both against his Nephew, the King of *Tezcuco*, and all the rest of the Conspirators, and propos'd to chastise them with all the Rigour they deserv'd. But *Cortez*, giving him to understand, that he knew the whole Affair, intimating some Circumstances which left him no Room to doubt, answer'd, *That he was very much concern'd to have been the Occasion of such a Disturbance amongst his Vassals, and for that Reason found himself oblig'd to take upon himself the Remedy: That he was therefore come to ask his Leave to march immediately with his* Spaniards *to* Tezcuco, *and put a Stop to this Mischief before it grew to a Head, by bringing* Cacumazin *Prisoner, before he should join his Confederates, and oblige them to have Recourse to more violent Remedies.*

Motezuma would not admit of this Proposal, but on the contrary absolutely rejected it, as well knowing what a Diminution it would be to his Power and Authority, if he made Use of Foreign Arms to chastise Attempts of this Nature in Persons of that Rank. He therefore desir'd him, for his Sake, to dissemble his Resentment, and told him, as his final Resolution, *That he would not consent, neither was it convenient that either himself or any of his People should make the least Motion, lest such a Proceeding might increase the Peoples Hatred to them, and render them more obstinate in insisting upon the* Spaniards *Removal from his*

Court; but that they should rather help to subject those Rebels, by assisting him with their Counsel, and by acting, if there was Occasion, as Mediators.

He was of Opinion that it would be best first to try gentle Means, and that the Dependance his Nephew had on him would easily bring him to Reason, by reminding him of the Obligations he lay under, and by inducing him to enter into an amicable Correspondence with the *Spaniards*. To which Purpose he sent for him by one of his principal Attendants, who acquainted him with the Order he brought from the Emperor, and told him on the Part of *Cortez*, *That he desired his Friendship, and to have him nearer that he might make him sensible of it.* But he, who had now cast off all Obedience, and consulted nothing but his Ambition, with the Arrogance and Disrespect of one abandon'd, and precipitately bent upon his own Ruin, return'd the Emperor a most insolent Answer, and treated *Cortez* with so much Haughtiness and Contempt, that he made fresh Instances to *Motezuma* for Permission to chastise him; which Proposal was a second Time rejected by the Emperor, who told him, *That this was one of those Cases, which rather requir'd the Assistance of the Head than of the Hands; and that he should leave it to him to manage according to the Experience, and Knowledge he had of those Extravagancies, and of the Source from whence they proceeded.*

He carried himself afterwards with great Reservedness amongst his Ministers, seemingly contemning the Offence to induce the Offender to be less circumspect; to which Purpose he told them, *That he look'd on this bold Undertaking of his Nephew, as the Heat of Youth, and the first Motions of a Man without Consideration.* But at the same Time he form'd a secret Conspiracy against the Conspirator himself; making Use of some of his own Servants, who were either truly sensible of their Duty, or were gain'd by the help of Gifts and Promises; by whose Means he contriv'd it so, that *Cacumazin* was assaulted one Night in his House, embark'd on a Canoe, that was ready prepar'd, and brought Prisoner to *Mexico*, without his being able to make any Resistance. It was then that *Motezuma* discover'd all his dissembled Anger, and without permitting that unhappy Prince to appear before him, or giving Room for any of his Excuses, he commanded, with the Approbation and Concurrence of *Cortez*, that he should be put into the closest Prison of the Nobles; treating him as a Criminal who had committed an unpardonable Offence, and was to suffer capital Punishment.

There was at this Time in *Mexico* a Brother of *Cacumazin*, who, ſome few Days before, had happily eſcap'd out of his Hands, he having deſign'd to deprive him of his Life upon ſome domeſtick Jealouſies of ſmall Foundation. *Motezuma* took him under his Protection in his Palace, and for his greater Security enroll'd him in his Family. He was a young Man of Courage and great Merit, well eſteem'd both in the Court, and amongſt his Brother's Vaſſals; and the Circumſtance of his being perſecuted had more recommended him both to the one and to the other. *Cortez* caſt his Eyes on him; and deſiring to gain him for a Friend, and bring him over to his Party, he propos'd to *Motezuma*, to give him the Inveſtiture, and Dominion of *Tezcuco*, ſince his Brother had render'd himſelf incapable of reſuming his Government, by having conſpir'd againſt his Soveraign, and told him, " That it would not be ſafe at " at that Juncture to puniſh a Delinquent of ſo much Intereſt " with Loſs of Life, when the Minds of the Nobles were in " ſuch Commotion: That depriving him of his Kingdom, " would be giving him a Kind of Death which made leſs Noiſe, " and was ſufficiently ſevere to ſtrike a Terror into his Accom- " plices: That this young Man was of a far better Diſpoſition, " already indebted to him for his Life, and would likewiſe be " oblig'd to him for his Crown, and remain under greater Ob- " ligations of Obedience, in Oppoſition to his Brother. And " laſtly, that by this, he gave the Kingdom to the Perſon who " had the Right of Succeſſion, and left to his own Blood the " Dignity of Firſt Elector, which was of ſo great Authority in " the Empire.

Motezuma was ſo highly pleas'd with this Thought of *Cortez*, that he immediately communicated the ſame to his Council, where his Reſolution was applauded as merciful and equitable: And the Miniſters formed a Royal Decree, whereby *Cacumazin* was diſpoſſeſs'd of all his Honours and Dignities, according to the Cuſtom of that Country, as a Traytor and Rebel to his Prince, and his Brother nam'd for Succeſſor of the Kingdom and Electorate. *Motezuma* afterwards order'd him to his Preſence; and during the Time of his Inveſtiture, which had its particular Ceremonies and Solemnities, he, with a Majeſtick Air, made a Speech, wherein, with all poſſible Succinctneſs, he hinted at all Motives which ought to oblige him to an inviolable Loyalty; and publickly declar'd, " That he had de- " termin'd this Affair purely by the Advice of *Hernan Cortez*, " giving him to underſtand, it was to him he ow'd his Ad- " vancement." It may be imagin'd, that the Perſon intereſted

was

was not unacquainted with this before; for it was not a Time to conceal Obligations. But what is obſervable, is the Care *Motezuma* took to have *Cortez* well eſteem'd, and to gain the Minds of his People in Favour of the *Spaniards*.

The new King immediately departed for his Court, and was well receiv'd, and crown'd with great Acclamations and Rejoicings; all People celebrating his Exaltation upon different Motives: Some, becauſe they really lov'd him, and were concern'd at his Perſecution; others, out of ill Will to *Cacumazin*; and the greateſt Part to ſignify their Abhorrence of his Crime. This Manner of Chaſtiſement, without Blood-ſhed, was highly applauded throughout the whole Empire, and was attributed to the ſuperior Judgment of the *Spaniards*; for no one expected ſuch Moderation from *Motezuma*. And the very Novelty of it was of ſo much Conſequence, that the other Conſpirators preſently diſpers'd their Troops, and, unarm'd, had Recourſe to their Monarch's Clemency. They made their Application to *Cortez*, and thro' his Means, at laſt obtain'd a Pardon; and thus the Storm blew over that had been rais'd againſt him, and he got clear of the Danger with Advantage, partly by his own Induſtry, and partly by favourable Incidents: For *Motezuma* was oblig'd to him for the Tranquillity of his Realm; the Firſt Prince of the Empire ow'd to him his Dignity; and by ſhewing Favour to the reſt, who had endeavour'd to deſtroy him, he found himſelf ſupported with a new Stock of Friends, and People who ſtood indebted to him.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

MOTEZUMA *resolves to dispatch* CORTEZ *by answering his Embassy. He assembles his Nobles, and gives Orders, That the King of* Spain *should be acknowledg'd for Successor of that Empire; determining to obey him, and to pay him Tribute, as Descendant from their first Conqueror.*

THESE Commotions, which had employ'd the whole Care of the Emperour, being quieted, he felt that Disturbance, which the Remembrance of past Danger leaves in the Imagination. He reason'd with himself about his present State; and it seem'd to him that the *Spaniards* had made too long a Stay at his Court; and that they began to think, that the Goodness he had us'd towards them gave them a Right over his Liberty. This induc'd him to resolve to familiarize himself less with them, and to change the Manner of his Conduct. He was asham'd of the Pretence *Cacumazin* had made Use of in his Conspiracy, attributing his good Nature to Want of Spirit; and sometimes he accus'd himself, as having given too much Occasion for those Murmurs. He was concern'd to see his Authority so diminish'd, which is a Jealousy that constantly attends a Throne, and takes up the first Place amongst those Passions whereby Monarchs are govern'd. He was apprehensive of a fresh Disturbance amongst his Vassals; and lest new Sparks should arise from that newly extinguish'd Fire, he was desirous of letting *Cortez* know, That it was Time to think of his Departure, but could not meet with a handsome Opportunity to propose it to him; for Jealousies are of a Nature not to be easily confess'd, because they express a Kind of Fear. He continued some Days in this Irresolution; but at length determin'd, that it was proper upon all Accounts, to hasten the Departure of the *Spaniards*, and thereby to remove that Obstacle to his Subjects Loyalty.

This Affair he manag'd with notable Conduct and Prudence; for before he communicated his Intention to *Cortez*, he had prepar'd Replies to all the Arguments he could bring for his longer Continuance there. He waited till *Cortez* came to visit him as he was wont, receiving him without the least Alteration in his Behaviour or Countenance, and introduced the Discourse concerning the King of *Spain*, after the same Manner as at other Times, declaring, what a mighty Veneration he had for him; and at last, artfully bringing about what he at first had propos'd, said, *That he had been thinking to make a voluntary Acknowledgment of that Vassalage, which was due to him, as Successor of* Quezalcoal, *and Proprietary Lord of that Empire.* So he really understood it, and in this only he spoke without Disguise: but he did not intend, at that Time, to surrender his Dominions to the King of *Spain*, but to get rid of *Cortez*, and to hasten his Dispatch; to which Purpose he added, *That he intended to assemble the Nobility of his Realms, and to make this Acknowledgment in their Presence, that they might all, after his Example, pay Obedience, and establish the Vassalage by some Contribution, in which he would also set the Example; for that he had already provided several Jewels, and precious Stones of great Value, to discharge this Obligation on his Part, and doubted not but his Nobles would contribute on theirs the richest and most valuable Things they had; nor did he question, but that so considerable a Quantity wou'd be collected, as might be fit to appear before the Presence of his Prince, as the first Acknowledgment of the* Mexican *Empire.*

This was his Proposal, and in this he granted at once every Thing that he thought the *Spaniards* could have the Boldness to desire; satisfying both their Ambition and Avarice, in order to deprive them of all Pretence for remaining longer in his Court, before he order'd them to depart: And he conceal'd, with so much Artifice, the Point he aim'd at, that *Hernan Cortez*, at that Time, did not discover it, but return'd him Thanks for that Liberality, without seeming surpriz'd at it, or magnifying it, as one who accepted, on the Part of his Master, that which he thought his Due: and he was extremely well satisfy'd for having obtain'd more than he imagin'd practicable, at the present Juncture of Affairs. He afterwards, to his Captains and Soldiers, extoll'd the mighty Service they should do their King, if they could bring it about to have so powerful a Monarch declar'd his Subject and Tributary: He discours'd of the immense Riches which with this News would be accompany'd, that it might not appear a bare Relation, and run the

Risque of being thought incredible. And in Truth, he had no Thoughts at that Time of quitting his Enterprize, nor did he believe it a Matter of any great Difficulty to maintain himself there, till they should know in *Spain* the Condition in which he was, and send him Orders how to proceed. A Security into which he was brought by the great Favour of *Motezuma*, the Friends he was daily making, the Success with which all his Undertakings was attended, or by some superior Cause, which animated him to the Expectation of still greater Matters, lest he should lose Courage, and scruple to proceed when he was within Sight of his utmost Desires.

But *Motezuma* who drew his Lines towards a different Center, and knew how to resolve at Leisure, and execute with Speed, immediately dispatch'd away his Convocatory Orders to the *Caziques* of his Realm, as was customary when any publick Affairs of more than ordinary Importance occurr'd, without citing those who were at a great Distance, that no Time might be lost in what requir'd the utmost Dispatch. It was not many Days before they all arriv'd at *Mexico*, with the Attendance they us'd to bring to Court, which was so numerous, that, had the Occasion and Custom been unknown, it might have alarm'd the whole City. *Motezuma* assembled them all in the Apartment where he had taken up his Residence, and in the Presence of *Cortez*, (who was call'd to this Congress, and, with his Interpreters and some of his Captains, took his Place amongst them) made them a Speech, in which he laid before them the Motives, and qualify'd the Harshness of that extraordinary Resolution he had taken. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* says, He held Two several Assemblies, and that *Cortez* did not assist in the First: It may be one of his Equivocations; for *Hernan Cortez* himself would not have conceal'd it in the Second Relation of his Expedition; and besides as they were then endeavouring to satisfy him, and were to place a Confidence in him, it was not a proper Time for secret Assemblies,

This Transaction was carry'd on with great Splendor and Authority; for the Nobles and Ministers which resided at *Mexico*, assisted likewise at it. And *Motezuma*, casting his Eyes upon the Assembly with an agreeable and becoming Majesty, began his Harangue; gaining the good Will and Attention of all, by laying before them, *How much he lov'd them, and how much they were oblig'd to him; putting them in Mind, That it was from him alone they held all the Honours and Dignities they possess'd*: And from that Beginning inferr'd, *how much they*

ought

ought to believe that he would propose nothing to them but what was for their Interest, after having consider'd on it with mature Deliberation, consulted with his Gods, and receiv'd evident Signals of their Approbation.

He affected many Times these Lights of Inspiration, to give something that savour'd of Divinity to his Resolutions, and on this Occasion they believed him; for it was no Novelty for the Devil to favour him with his Answers. Having laid this Foundation of Recrimination and Mystery, he gave a brief Relation of. "The Origin of the *Mexican* Empire; the "Expedition of the *Nabatlacas*; the prodigious Actions of *Que-* "*zalcoal*, their First Emperor; the Prophecy he left when he "departed for the Conquest of the *East*; foretelling, by the "Impulse of Heaven, That his Descendants should return "to govern these Countries." Then he touch'd, as a Point "undoubted, "That the King of *Spain*, who rul'd in those "Eastern Regions, was lawful Successor of the same *Quezal-* "*coal*." And added, "That being the Monarch, from whom "was to proceed that Prince so much desir'd amongst the "*Mexicans*, and so often promis'd in the Oracles and Pro- "phecies, which that Nation reverenc'd, they ought una- "nimously to acknowledge in his Person that Hereditary "Right, giving to his Blood that, which for Want of it, "had been introduc'd by Election: And that had he come "himself in Person, as he had only sent his Embassadors, "he was so much a Lover of Justice and Equity, and bore "his Vassals so great an Affection, that for their greater "Felicity, he would have been the First to strip himself of "the Dignity he possess'd, by laying the Crown at his Feet, "either to leave it to his absolute Disposal, or to receive it "again from his Hand. But owing to his Gods the good "Fortune that this so desirable News was arriv'd in his "Time, he was resolv'd to be the First to shew his Satisfaction, "and had determin'd immediately to pay him Obedience, and "to do him some considerable Service: To which End he "had destin'd the most precious Jewels of his Treasury, and "desir'd that his Nobles would follow his Example, not "only in making the same Acknowledgment, but in ac- "companying it with some Contribution of their Riches, that "the Service being greater might appear with the greater "Splendor in the Presence of that Prince."

In this Manner *Motezuma* concluded his Discourse, tho' he did not utter it at all without Interruption; for in Spite of all the Efforts

Efforts made upon himſelf, in this Act of his, when he came to pronounce himſelf Vaſſal to another Prince, he found ſomething ſo ſhocking, and ſo repugnant to his Nature in thoſe Expreſſions, that he paus'd a while, as if he wanted Words to proceed, and at the Concluſion, he ſhew'd his Concern ſo publickly, that ſome Tears were ſeen trickling down his Cheeks, which ſeem'd as if they had eſcap'd his Eyes without their Conſent. And the *Mexicans* ſenſible of his Diſturbance, and of the Cauſe from whence it proceeded, began likewiſe to ſhew their Concern, breaking forth into loud Sighs, deſiring in Appearance, not without ſomething that ſavour'd of Flattery, that by the Noiſe they made, their Fidelity ſhould be taken Notice of; ſo that *Cortez* thought it neceſſary to deſire Liberty to ſpeak, in order to encourage *Motezuma*, and put him out of the Perturbation he was in, ſaid "That it was not the "Intention of the King his Soveraign to diſpoſſeſs him of his "Royal Dignity, nor to make the leaſt Innovation in his Go-"vernment; but that all he deſir'd was, that they would, at "the preſent Aſſembly, ſettle his Right to the Succeſſion, in "Favour of his Deſcendants, or Poſterity, by Reaſon of his "being ſo far diſtant from thoſe Regions, and ſo taken up in "other Conqueſts, that the Caſe mention'd in their Traditions "and Prophecies might not happen in many Years." With which Explanation *Motezuma* recover'd Heart, re-aſſum'd an Air of Tranquillity, and finiſh'd his Diſcourſe as has been obſerv'd.

The *Mexicans* remain'd aſtoniſh'd, and utterly confounded to hear ſuch a Propoſal, wondering at it, as a Thing ſo very inconſiſtent, and ſo far unbecoming the Majeſty of ſo powerful a Monarch, and a Prince ſo extremely jealous of his Authority. They look'd on each other without daring either to contradict, or to give any Sign of Conſent, as being apprehenſive that by doing either they ſhould but confirm him the more in his ſtrange Determination. This reſpectful Silence laſted till his Prime Miniſter, as a Perſon who had a better Knowledge of his Prince's Diſpoſition than any other, took upon him to ſpeak for the reſt, and ſaid; "That all the No-"bles who compos'd that Aſſembly reſpected him as their "Lord and natural Soveraign, and ſhould be ready to obey "whatever his Majeſty had been pleas'd to propoſe, and to "follow any Example he ſhould think fit to ſet them; they "not doubting but that he had well weigh'd every Thing, and "had conſulted with Heaven; nor had they any Inſtrument "more ſacred than that of his Voice, whereby to be inform'd "of the Will of their Gods."

The whole Assembly agreed in the same Opinion; and *Hernan Cortez*, when it came to his Turn to make his Acknowledgments, dictated to his Interpreters a Speech no less artful than the former, in which he gave Thanks to *Motezuma*, and all who were present, for this Demonstration of their Respect; accepting their Service in the Name of his King, without seeming to think it strange that they comply'd with their Obligations; but rather as one who receives his Debt, and is pleas'd with his Debtor's punctual Payment. But the Tears *Motezuma* had let fall were not sufficient, at that Time, to make *Cortez* suspicious of his Liberality, or to induce him to believe that he was then making Way for his final Dispatch, in which his being carry'd away by the first Appearance will admit some Excuse: For when he found that unaccountable Opinion concerning the Descendants of *Quezalcoal* receiv'd amongst them as an infallible and incontestable Truth, and that they look'd upon *Don Carlos* to be undoubtedly one of them, this Demonstration of their Respect did not appear so very irregular as to make him suspect it to be Artifice or Affectation. Upon which Supposition he might also attribute *Motezuma*'s Tears and Perturbation of Mind, when he came to pronounce the Clauses of Vassalage, to the same Violence with which a King quits a Crown, and measures the vast Difference there is between Soveraignty and Subjection; a Case in which the Spirit of a Man may sink without doing Wrong to his Courage. But it is to be believ'd, that *Motezuma*, notwithstanding he look'd on the King of *Spain* as lawful Successor of the Empire, had no Intention to make good what he offer'd: His whole Aim was to get rid of the *Spaniards*, and to take Time afterwards to consult his Ambition, without laying any great Stress upon his Word; Dissimulation being, amongst those *Barbarian* Princes, in its natural Center; which unworthy Character, sufficient to stain the Honour of a private Person, other barbarous Statesmen have plac'd amongst the necessary Arts of Reigning.

However it was, from that Day forward, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth was acknowledg'd lawful and hereditary Lord of the *Mexican* Empire, in the Opinion of all those People; and indeed destin'd by Heaven to a more real Possession of that Crown: Upon which Resolution a Publick Instrument was form'd, with all necessary Solemnities, according to the Method they us'd of paying Homage to their Kings: And tho' this Submission of *Motezuma* and his Vassals to the Emperor gave to *Don Carlos* little more than the bare Name of King of the *Indies*, yet it was a Kind of mysterious Insinuation of that Title which

 he

he afterwards acquir'd by Force of Arms, upon just Provocation, as we shall see in its proper Place, and was a particular Circumstance which concurr'd in the Justification of the Conquest of that Empire, besides other Considerations, which, in other Parts of the World do not only permit of a War, but likewise render it lawful, reasonable, and justifiable, whensoever it appears to be undertaken as the necessary Means for the Introduction of the Gospel.

CHAP. IV.

The Gold and Jewels design'd for the Present is deliver'd into the Possession of Cortez. Motezuma *resolutely tells him, that he must think of his Departure, which he endeavours to delay. Advice brought of the Arrival of a Squadron of* Spanish *Ships upon the Coast.*

Motezuma, lost not a Moment's Time, but us'd his utmost Diligence to bring about the Designs he had in View, being now fully resolv'd to dispatch the *Spaniards* as soon as possible, as being weary of the Violence he did himself under that Kind of Subjection which he found he was oblig'd patiently to continue in as if it was of his own Choice. Full of this Care, he deliver'd to *Cortez* the Present he had provided, which consisted of various Curiosities in Gold, with precious Stones, some which he us'd about his own Person, and others that were kept for Grandeur, and serv'd for Ostentation; different Pieces of the same Kind and Metal, in the Shapes of Animals, Birds, and Fishes, the Excellency of the Workmanship delighting the Eye, and extremely enhancing their Value: A great Number of those Stones called *Chalcuites*, in Colour like to Emerald, and in the vast Esteem they had of them answering like our Diamonds; together with some Pictures made of Feathers, whose Colours being natural, either imitated Nature better, or else they had less to feign in Imitation: The Gift of a Royal Mind, who found himself oppress'd, and desir'd to put a Price upon his Liberty. After that came the Presents of the Nobles, under the Title of a Contribution, which consisted of Pieces of Gold, and other

Curiosities

Curiosities of the same Sort, in which they vied with each other in their Obedience to their Prince, and not without some Mixture of their own Vanity. All came directed to *Motezuma*, and pass'd on, by his Order, to the Apartment of *Cortez*, who nam'd a Receiver and Treasurer, that they might take an exact Account of what was deliver'd; and in few Days they amass'd such a Quantity of Gold, that besides the Jewels, precious Stones, and Pieces of curious Workmanship, after they had melted down the rest, they found Six Hundred Thousand *Pesos* of Gold in Barrs of good Alloy; out of which the Fifth Part was set aside for the King, and of the Remainder, a Second Fifth for *Hernan Cortez*, with the Approbation of his People, and to defray the Expence of providing for the publick Necessities of the Army. He likewise set aside the Sum for which he stood accountable to *Diego Velasquez*, and that which his Friends in the Island of *Cuba* had lent him; the rest was divided amongst the Officers and Soldiers, including those who were at *Vera Cruz*.

Those who had Employments, had equal Shares; but amongst the private Men there was some Difference made, for they were distinguish'd and best rewarded who had done best Service, or been least troublesome in the past Disturbances. An Equity of a very dangerous Nature, where just Rewards are look'd upon as Grievances, and Distinction of Merit occasions Complaints. There were great Murmurings, and bold Words utter'd against *Hernan Cortez*, and his Captains: For at the Sight of such a Mass of Wealth those whose Deserts were least requir'd an equal Recompence with the most deserving. Their insatiable Avarice could not possibly be satisfy'd, nor was it convenient to publish the Reasons of that unequal Distribution.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo discusses this Point very indecently, and wasts too much Paper in considering and enlarging upon the Hardships the poor Soldiers underwent in this Distribution, and goes so far as to set down every minute Expression this or that Soldier us'd amongst his Companions.

He speaks more like a necessitous Soldier, than a Historian: And *Antonio de Herrera* follows him without making sufficient Reflection; for it is no less a Fault in History, to pass over that which ought to be well consider'd, than it is to dwell too long upon that which may be omitted. But both the one and the other agree, that this Discontent of the Soldiers was quieted by the Liberality of *Cortez*, who gave out of his own Dividend, all that was necessary to satisfy those who complain'd; and afterwards

wards greatly prais'd the Generosity of that General; after this Manner rather overthrowing than confirming, what they ought not at all to have mention'd in their Narration.

Motezuma, so soon as he had, on his own Part, and on that of his Nobles, comply'd with the Acknowledgment of Submission offer'd in the Assembly, sent for *Cortez*, and with an unaccustom'd Air of Severity, told him, "That it was reasonable "he should now begin to think of his Journey, since he was "intirely dispatch'd; and that the Motives, or Pretences for his "Stay being ceas'd, and he having receiv'd, for the Service of "the King his Master, so favourable an Answer to his Embassy, "his Vassals would not fail of surmising that he had greater "Views, if they saw him voluntarily continue longer in his "Court, nor could he himself any ways support him, "when Reason was not on his Side." This short Intimation of his Mind, deliver'd in a Sort of menacing Tone, with Signs of a premeditated Resolution, was so unexpected a Novelty to *Cortez*, that he paus'd for some Moments, to call to his Assistance his wonted Discretion in the Reply he was to make; and discovering then the Artifice of those Liberalities and Favours of the late Assembly, the first Motion of his Mind prompted him to return a resolute Answer, and to have Recourse to that superior Genius, by which he had the Ascendant over him; and whether it was with this Intent, or that he began to suspect *Motezuma* might have some Force ready to back him, since he had deliver'd himself in such warm and plain Terms, he privately gave Orders to one of his Captains to make his Soldiers take to their Arms, and to be in a Readiness for any Occasion that might offer. But advising better with himself, he determin'd to seem for the present to acquiesce to his Pleasure, and to give some Reason for the Delay of his Answer, he handsomly excus'd his being embarrass'd at seeing him mov'd more than ordinary, tho' what he had been pleas'd to order was nothing but what was very reasonable. He told him, "That "he would instantly go about preparing for his Journey: "That he had now every Thing ready which he wanted; and "that having before design'd to execute it without farther De-"lay, he had come with a Resolution of begging his Permission "for the building of some Vessels proper for so tedious a Voyage, "having, as his Majesty well knew, lost those in which he came "thither." With this artful and prudent Reply, he express'd his Obedience, and suspended the Execution, freeing himself from his present Embarrassment, and gaining Time for farther Resolutions.

It is ſaid that *Motezuma* had provided Fifty Thouſand Men to ſupport his Determination, and that he came fully reſolv'd to make himſelf obey'd by Force in Caſe he found there was any Occaſion: But it is moſt certain, that he greatly apprehended the Anſwer of *Cortez*, and deſir'd to avoid a Rupture; for he embrac'd him with particular Affection, being highly pleas'd with his Reply, which he ſeem'd not to have expected. He was pleas'd that *Cortez* had depriv'd him of the Opportunity of putting himſelf in a Paſſion, or breaking with a Perſon for whom he had not only a Friendſhip, but likewiſe an Eſteem, which came very ſhort of Reſpect; and finding himſelf now free from thoſe Apprehenſions, he ſaid, "That it was not his Intention to "haſten his Departure without furniſhing him with the neceſſary "Means to put it in Execution: That he ſhould, without De-"lay, diſpoſe every Thing for building of the Veſſels; and in "the mean Time he need not give himſelf any Diſturbance, "nor ſtir from his Court. That it was ſufficient for the Sa-"tisfaction of his Gods, and the Quiet of his Subjects, that "he had ſhewed ſuch Readineſs to obey the Commands of the "firſt, and to comply with the Demands of the latter." At this Time the Devil wearied him with horrible Threats, deluding him with Voices real or imaginary from the Mouths of his Idols, to irritate him againſt the *Spaniards*. The freſh Rumours which were ſpreading amongſt his People, who very much reſented that he had made himſelf the Tributary of a ſtrange Prince, gave him likewiſe great Uneaſineſs, they looking upon this quitting of his Authority as a new Grievance, which in Time would fall heavy upon the Backs of his Vaſſals; ſo that he found himſelf attack'd on the one Side by Politicks, and the other by Religion; and it was very much that he determin'd to give this Permiſſion to *Cortez*, as being moſt obſervant towards his Gods, and no leſs ſuperſtitious to the Idol of his Ambition.

Orders were inſtantly iſſu'd out for the building of the Veſſels. The Journey was publiſh'd, and *Motezuma* made Proclamation, that all the Carpenters of the Country round about ſhould repair to *Ulua*, aſſigning the Places where they were to cut Wood, and the Towns which were to contribute *Indians* of Burthen to carry it to the Dock. *Hernan Cortez*, for his Part, affected an outward Shew of Compliance: He immediately diſpatch'd away the Maſters and Workmen who had been employ'd in building the Brigantines, and were well known now amongſt the *Mexicans*. He diſcours'd publickly with them of the Size and Quality of thoſe Veſſels, ordering them to make

Uſe

Use of the Iron-Work, Rigging, and Sails of those which were sunk, and all the Talk was of the Voyage, as if it had been resolv'd on. Thus he lull'd the *Mexicans* asleep, quell'd the growing Murmurings, and confirm'd himself in *Motezuma*'s Confidence.

But at the Time when the Builders were to set out for *Vera Cruz*, the General sent for *Martin Lopez*, a *Biscainer* by Nation, who went as chief Director, who as he was a consummate Master in the Art of Building, was the better qualify'd to do his Duty as a well-disciplin'd Soldier: *Cortez* gave him privately in Charge; "That he should go on by little and "little in the building of those Vessels, and endeavour to pro-"long the Work as much as he possibly could, but still with "such an artful Management, that they might go on slowly, "without seeming to delay." His Design was, under the Colour of this, to keep himself still at Court, and give Time to his Commissaries *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero* and *Francisco de Montejo*, to return from *Spain*, in Hopes they would bring him some fresh Recruits, or at least the Dispatches and Orders he wanted for the Direction of his Undertaking, which he still firmly resolv'd to prosecute: And in Case the last Necessity should force him out of *Mexico*, he design'd to wait for them in *Vera Cruz*, and maintain himself under the Protection of that Fortress, making use of the Nations in Friendship with him to oppose the *Mexicans*: An admirable Constancy, which not only supported him in the present Difficulties, but provided against those which might afterwards happen.

Within a few Days happen'd another Accident which quite disconcerted all these Measures, calling his Prudence and Courage to a new Trial. *Motezuma* had Intelligence brought him, that Eighteen Sail of Ships were seen off the Coast of *Ulua*, and his Ministers, who commanded in that Part of the Country, had sent the said Ships and their Number painted upon Cloths, which serv'd instead of Letters; with a Description of the People they had seen in them, and some Characters which signify'd what they suspected of their Intentions; being *Spaniards* in Appearance, and arriving at a Time when they treated of dispatching those who were already in his Court. Whatever Impression these Representations had on the Mind of *Motezuma*, the Result was, that he immediately sent for *Cortez*, laid the Picture before him, and told him, "That now the "Provision he was making for his Journey was unnecessary, "since some Ships of his Nation were arriv'd upon the Coasts, "in which he might embark." *Cortez* view'd the Painting with more Attention than Surprize; and though he did not under-

understand the Characters which describ'd them, he knew, by the Habit of the People, and the Make of the Vessels, enough for him not to doubt their being *Spaniards*. The first Motion of his Heart would have inclin'd him to Joy, since he believ'd for certain that his Commissaries were arriv'd, and flatter'd himself that they had brought him very considerable Supplies in such a Number of Vessels. The Imagination is easily carry'd away to that which it desires, and he could not suppose at that Time, that so powerful an *Armada* was design'd against him; for his own sincere, and noble Manner of Acting would not permit him to entertain any other Thoughts, the Well-intentioned being with Difficulty brought to believe that which is against Justice and Reason. His Answer to *Motezuma* was, "That "he would depart immediately, if those Ships were bound back "for any of the King of *Spain's* Dominions." Nor did he think it all surprizing, that he should have the First News of these Particulars, because he was no Stranger to the indefatigable Diligence of their Couriers, and therefore he added, "That it would not "be long before he should have an Account from the *Spaniards* "who were at *Zempoala*, by which Means they should know "with Certainty whither those Ships were bound, and the De-"signs of their Owners; and then he should see, whether it "would be necessary to proceed in the building of the Vessels, "or whether he might undertake his Journey without them."

Motezuma approv'd of the Proposal, being well pleas'd with his Readiness, and acknowledg'd him to be in the Right: But in a short Time Letters came from *Vera Cruz*, in which *Gonzalo de Sandoval* sent Information; "That those Ships belong'd "to *Diego Velasquez*, and brought Eight Hundred *Spaniards* to "oppose *Hernan Cortez*, and his Conquest." Which unexpected Stroke he receiv'd in the Presence of *Motezuma*, and stood in Need of all his Courage and Resolution to conceal his Perturbation of Mind. He found himself in Danger from the very Quarter from whence he expected Succour. The Juncture was truly desperate: Perplexity on every Side: Discontents and Murmurings in *Mexico*, and Enemies upon the Coast. But doing the best he could to compose himself, he conceal'd his Concern from *Motezuma*, soften'd the Account amongst his own People, and retir'd afterwards to reason calmly, and be at more Liberty to think of a Remedy.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

An Account of the Preparations made by Diego Velasquez *for the Destruction of* Hernan Cortez: *The Army and Fleet which he sent against him, under the Command of* Pamphilo de Narvaez: *His Arrival upon the Coast of* New Spain; *and his fruitless Attempt to reduce the* Spaniards *of* Vera Cruz.

WE left *Diego Velasquez* full of Distrusts, impatient that his Endeavours to detain *Hernan Cortez* had prov'd abortive, disgracing, with the Name of Treason, the Flight which his own Violence had occasion'd, that he might take his Revenge under the specious Pretext of a necessary Remedy. He receiv'd the Letters of the Licentiate *Benito Martin*, his Chaplain, with the Title of the King's Lieutenant, not only of that Island, but of all the Lands which should be discover'd and conquer'd thorough his Means. He inform'd him with what Kindness or Acknowledgment he was defended, and protected by the Bishop of *Burgos*, President of the *Indies*; and how far that Prelate discountenanc'd the Commissaries of *Hernan Cortez*. But, at the same Time, acquainted him with what Benignity the Emperor had given them Audience at *Tordesillas*, together with the Noise the great Wealth they brought had made in *Spain*; and of the mighty Hopes they already conceiv'd of that Conquest, which they esteem'd preferable to all that had been made before.

With his new Commission, *Diego Velasquez* entertain'd greater Thoughts. The Favours of the President made him bold and presumptuous: And as human Passions increase with Power, and the more Men are supported by Authority, the greater Command they generally take upon them; the Governor the more believ'd himself engag'd to resent the Offence he thought he had receiv'd, and which he regarded now with an Air of Superiority which persuaded him that his Jealousy was no more than doing himself Justice. The Applauses of *Cortez* made him impatient and outragious; and notwithstanding he was not sorry to see the Conquest so far advanc'd, for the Obligations

of his Duty always left Room for the Service of his Soveraign, yet he could not bear that others ſhould receive the Honour and Thanks for that which, in his Opinion, was due to him alone: So Vain-glorious was he in the Value he ſet upon his Share, in the firſt Diſpoſition of that Enterprize, that, without any other Foundation, he attributed to himſelf the Glory thereof, and thought himſelf ſo much Lord of the Whole, that he believ'd the very Actions by which it was atchiev'd to be all his own.

Upon theſe Motives, and with theſe wrong Notions, he immediately prepar'd to form a Fleet and Army for the Deſtruction of *Cortez*, and all thoſe who had follow'd his Fortune: He bought Ships, liſted Soldiers, and went in Perſon over the whole Iſland, viſiting the Dwellings of the *Spaniards*, and encouraging them to the Undertaking. He ſet before them the Obligation they lay under to redreſs his Injuries: He ſhar'd with them before-hand the immenſe Riches of that Conqueſt, which, as he ſaid, was then uſurp'd by ill adviſed Rebels, who, as they had baſely made their Eſcapes from *Cuba* by Flight, had left no Room for any to doubt of their Puſilanimity. With theſe Hopes, and ſome Troops he got on Foot, wherein he conſum'd the greateſt Part of his Subſtance, he in a few Days got together a Body of Men, which, in thoſe Parts of the World, both for the Number and Quality of the People, might be term'd a formidable Army. It conſiſted of Eight Hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, Eighty Horſe, and Ten or Twelve Pieces of Artillery, with abundance of Proviſions, Arms, and Ammunition. He appointed for chief Commander of that Expedition *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, a Native of *Vallodolid*, a Man of Capacity, and of the firſt Diſtinction in that Iſland, but highly opinionated of himſelf, and obſtinately poſitive in his Reſolutions. He gave him the Title of his Lieutenant, naming himſelf, Viceroy at leaſt, of *New Spain*.

He gave him likewiſe ſecret Inſtructions, in which he order'd him, "That he ſhould endeavour, to the utmoſt of his Power, "to take *Cortez*, and ſhould ſend him Priſoner to him under "a ſtrong Guard, that he might receive from his Hands the "Puniſhment he had deſerv'd: That he ſhould do the ſame "with the Chiefs of thoſe who follow'd him, in Caſe they re-"fus'd to abandon his Intereſt: And that he ſhould take Poſ-"ſeſſion, in his Name, of all that had been conquer'd, ad-"judging it to be all within his Diſtrict, as the King's Lieu-"tenant." All this without reaſoning upon any Accidents which might happen; for at the Appearance of ſuch a Force, he thought

thought he could easily obtain all that he propos'd; Confidence, a Vice familiar to the Passionate, either looks at Dangers always at a Distance, or is insensible of them till it suffers under the Difficulty.

The Monks of *St. Geronimo*, who presided over the Royal Chamber of Audience at *St. Domingo*, and over the other Islands, with Supreme Jurisdiction, were inform'd of these Preparations, and foreseeing the Inconveniencies which might result from so publick a Competition, sent the Licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, Auditor of the same Royal Chamber of Audience, to endeavour to bring *Diego Velasquez* to Reason; and if he found gentle Means insufficient, he should acquaint him with the Orders he carry'd, commanding him, upon great Penalties, to disarm his People, and unrig his Fleet, and not disturb or give any Impediment to the Conquest in which *Hernan Cortez* was employ'd, under the Colour of its belonging to him, upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever: And supposing that he had any personal Complaint against him, or might claim a Right to the Country he was then gaining for the King, he must appear before the Royal Tribunal, where he should be sure of having Justice done him in a regular Way.

This Minister arriv'd at the Isle of *Cuba*, where he found the Fleet ready to sail, which consisted of Eleven tall Ships and Seven somewhat larger than Brigantines, all in very good Order; and *Diego Velasquez* busily employ'd in forwarding the Embarkation of the Troops. The Licentiate did all he possibly could to reduce him to reasonable Terms, making Use of what Arguments he thought propereſt to persuade him to desist from his Enterprize, and to put his Confidence in him; representing to him, "The Hazard to which he expos'd himself in Case *Cortez* "should stand upon his Defence, supported by those Adven- "turers who follow'd him, and were now interested in defend- "ing what they had acquir'd: The Damage that might arise "when those Warlike *Indians*, newly conquer'd, should perceive "a Civil War amongst the *Spaniards*. And that if by this "Misunderstanding, they should lose a Conquest on which "they already set so great a Value in *Spain*, he would risque "his Credit in an Undertaking of so bad an Aspect, without "its being in the Power of those who were most inclin'd in "his Favour to defend him." Then he spoke on the Part of the Royal Chamber, and endeavour'd to persuade him, "To "apply himself to the Tribunal, which would consider his "Case with Attention, if he did not discredit it by this Act of "Violence." And lastly, seeing him incapable of Advice, for

that every thing which did not tend towards the Destruction of *Hernan Cortez*, seem'd to him utterly impracticable, he pass'd on to the judicial Part, shew'd his Orders, and caus'd them to be notify'd by an *Escrivans* he had brought with him for that Purpose; accompanying them with different Requests, and Protests; but nothing was sufficient to stop his Resolution: For the Title of the *King's Lieutenant* had so rais'd him in his own Conceit, that it seem'd he would acknowledge no Superior in his Government, and obstinately persisted in his intractable Humour. The Licentiate dissembled some Indecencies without directly contradicting him, lest he should render him more precipitate; and seeing that he endeavour'd to hasten the Embarkation of his People, he feign'd a Desire of beholding this Land so much applauded and cry'd up, and, under the Pretext of Curiosity, offer'd to accompany them, to which Proposal *Diego Velasquez* easily agreed, that the News of his Insolence might come later to the Isle of *Santo Domingo*; whereupon he embark'd, with the Approbation and Good Liking of all. A Resolution which whether it proceeded from himself, or from his Instructions, seem'd well judg'd, and convenient for the preventing of any Breach amongst the *Spaniards*. He persuaded himself, with sufficient Probability, that when he was far distant from *Velasquez*, he might with more Ease get his Orders obey'd, or that at least his Mediation would be more powerful with *Pamphilo de Narvaez*; and notwithstanding his Assistance was a new Inconveniency, as we shall see hereafter, his Zeal and good Intentions were nothing the less meritorious: For tho' the Event does not always answer the Means which are made Use of to make an Affair succeed, yet this Effect of Chance does not lessen the Merit of well concerted Designs. *Andres de Duero* that Secretary of *Velasquez*, who favoured *Cortez* so much in the Beginning of his Fortune, likewise accompany'd the Expedition. Some say he offer'd himself for this Voyage, purely to share some of that Wealth, by remembring *Cortez* of the Services he had formerly done him; and others say his Intention was to mediate with *Narvaez*, and prevent, as much as he could, the Ruin of his Friend; which we rather chuse to believe than the former, as being sensible that it ill becomes an Historian to value himself upon maintaining ill-natur'd Conjectures.

The Fleet set sail, and having a favourable Wind, in a few Days they got a Sight of the desir'd Land. They came to an Anchor in the Port of *Ulua*, and *Pamphilo de Narvaez* sent some Soldiers ashore to get Intelligence, and make what Discoveries they could in the neighbouring Villages. These, who knew

their

their Business, were not long before they surpriz'd and took Two or Three *Spaniards*, who were stragling about that Place: They brought them before their Commander; and the Men, either fearful of some Violence, or inclin'd to Novelty, inform'd him of all that had pass'd in *Mexico*, and *Vera Cruz*, seeking to flatter him by discrediting of *Cortez*. Upon this Intelligence, the first Thing he resolv'd on was to treat with *Gonzalo de Sandoval* about the Surrender of the Fortress under his Command, and to engage him either to maintain it for him, or to dismantle it, and with his Garrison to join the Army. He intrusted this Negociation to a Clergyman he had brought with him, nam'd *Juan Ruis de Guevara*, a Man of a less gentle Temper than his Profession requir'd. There went with him Three Soldiers who serv'd as Witnesses, and a Publick Notary in Case it should be found necessary to come to Terms of Notification. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* had his Centinels in proper Places to observe the Motions of the Fleet, and they gave Advice from one to another, by which Means he had an Account of their Approach a good while before they arriv'd: And being assur'd that there was no greater Number to follow, he order'd the Gates of the Town to be open'd, and retir'd to wait their Coming in his Lodgings: They arriv'd, and not without Presumption of being well receiv'd. The Priest, after the first Civilities were over, and he had deliver'd his Credentials to *Sandoval*, gave him an Account of the Forces with which *Pamphilo de Narvaez* was come to take Satisfaction for the Injury which *Hernan Cortez* had done to *Diego Velasquez*, by withdrawing from his Obedience; the Conquest of that whole Country being intirely his Property, as having been begun by his Order, and at his Expence. He made the Proposal as a Point of no Manner of Difficulty, and that had more than sufficient Motives, and expected to receive Thanks for coming to offer him such advantageous Conditions, in an Affair supported with so much Force, and, as he imagin'd, so much Reason. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* answer'd him with some Warmth, which he could not well conceal, " That *Pamphilo* " *de Narvaez* was his Friend, and so prudent and a loyal Subject " of the King's, that he would certainly desire nothing but what " should be most advantageous and convenient for his Ma- " jesty's Service: That the present Juncture of Affairs, and the " State in which the Conquest was at that Time, requir'd that " he should join his Forces with those of *Cortez*, and assist him " to perfect that which was now in such Forwardness; taking " Care first of their principal Obligation; for that the Quar-

" rels and Animosities of private Persons were not, at the King's " Expence, to be decided by a Civil War: But setting the " Case, that if, preferring his own private Revenge to the Pub- " lick Interest, he should attempt any Manner of Violence " against *Hernan Cortez*, he should quickly be made sensible, " that not only himself, but all the Soldiers of that Garrison, " would rather chuse to dye fighting by his Side, than ever " agree to so base and dishonourable an Action." The Priest receiv'd this Repulse, as an unexpected Stroke; and being more accustom'd to suffer himself to be govern'd by his Passion than to repress it, he broke out into injurious Language and Threats against *Hernan Cortez*, calling him Traytor; and went so far as to say, that *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and all who espous'd that Traytor's Interest, deserv'd no better Title themselves. They all endeavour'd to bring him to Reason, and to contain himself within the Bounds of Moderation, putting him in Mind of his Profession, that he might be sensible at least of the Consideration why they bore with him. But he, raising his Voice, without changing his Style, commanded the *Escrivano*, or *Notary*, he had brought with him, to publish the Orders he had, " That all might know that they were to pay " Obedience to *Narvaez*, on Pain of Death." But this was what could not be put in Execution; for *Gonzalo de Sandoval* told the *Escrivano*, plainly, " That he would order him immediately " to be hang'd, if he presum'd to publish any Orders which " did not come from the King." In short, the Dispute rose to that Height, that *Sandoval* commanded them to be seiz'd and taken into Custody. But soon after, reflecting with himself upon the Mischief they might do, if they return'd exasperated to *Narvaez*, he resolv'd to send them Prisoners to *Mexico*, that *Hernan Cortez* might secure them there, or endeavour to reduce them. This Determination he instantly put in Execution, providing *Indians* of Burthen, who carry'd them Prisoners upon their Shoulders in a Sort of Chairs, which they used instead of Litters. There went with them, as Commander of the Guard, a *Spaniard* he much confided in, whose Name was *Pedro de Solis*, whom he charg'd not to offer them any Injury, or ill Treatment upon the Road. *Sandoval* dispatch'd a Courier before, to give an Account to *Cortez*, and took Care to get his People in a Readiness, call'd together his *Indian* Friends for the Defence of the Place, disposing of every Thing as became a vigilant and careful Captain. It cannot be deny'd, but that he exerted the Military Power too far in the Imprisonment of an Ecclesiastick, that being a Liberty he ought not to have taken;

ken, had he not done it with Political Views; considering that it would be very inconvenient to have a Person of so violent and precipitate a Disposition near *Narvaez*, when they were to endeavour to bring Matters to an Accommodation, Peace being what was so very necessary. It may be presum'd, that, in this Resolution, if he had one Eye turn'd towards his own Private Resentment, he had the other upon the Publick Advantage: If he acted with this last View, as his first Calmness seems to persuade us, when he suffer'd the Priest's Heat, and shew'd him all due Respect, then indeed his Conduct ought not to be so much condemn'd, at least not the whole Action, because in some Part of it he wanted a little Moderation; for sometimes, when a Man is warm'd, he goes thro' with what otherwise he could never have brought about; and in such Cases Warmth serves to give Life to Prudence.

CHAP. VI.

The Precautions of Hernan Cortez *to avoid a Rupture. He makes Overtures of Peace, which are rejected by* Narvaez, *who, on the contrary, proclaim'd War, and seizes the Person of the Licentiate* Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon.

Hernan Cortez receiv'd frequent Advices of all these Particulars, which plainly confirm'd what before he only suspected: And some little Time after, he understood, that *Pamphilo de Narvaez* had landed, and march'd with his Army directly for *Zempoala*. This News made him very uneasy, dubious, and irresolute what Measures he was to take, and plainly sensible of the Inconveniencies he lay under. He could think of no Way that was not attended with ill Consequences: To seek *Narvaez* in the Field with such unequal Forces, was Temerity; more particularly when he was to leave in *Mexico* a Part of his People, to cover the Quarters, defend their acquir'd Treasure, and keep up that Kind of Guard which *Motezuma* suffer'd himself to be under: To expect his Enemy in the City, was the certain Way to stir up seditious Humours, with which the *Mexicans* were already but too much infected, and

to

furnish them with a fair Opportunity of taking to their Arms under the specious Pretext of *Self-Defence*, and by that Means have another Danger at his Back: To make Overtures of Peace to *Narvaez*, and sollicite the Union of their respective Forces, was indeed the wholesomest and most convenient Method of proceeding, but appear'd the most difficult; considering the Perverseness and the Obstinacy of the Man's Temper he had to deal with, whom he despair'd to bring to Reason, tho' he should condescend even to sue for his Friendship, which as yet he had not resolv'd upon, because a submissive Condescension seldom gains upon an insolent and obstinate Disposition, and in Proposals of Peace make but a very indifferent Figure. He consider'd the total Loss of his Conquest; the Disappointment of those great Beginnings; the Cause of Religion neglected; the King's Interest trod under Foot; and what most of all concern'd him was, to find himself oblig'd to feign Security and Content, shewing a Calm in his Countenance whilst his Breast was agitated by a furious Tempest.

To *Motezuma* he said, "That those newly arriv'd *Spaniards* "were Vassals to the King his Master, and had brought a Second "Embassy, to support the Proposition he had already made: "That they came with an Army, according to the Custom of "their Nation; but that he would endeavour to dispose them "to return, and would himself go along with them, as having "now receiv'd his full Dispatches, since his Majesty's Genero-"sity and Bounty had left nothing for those new Comers to "desire, they having no other Proposals to make but what he "himself had already made and obtain'd."

His Soldiers he encourag'd with various fallacious Suppositions, telling them, "That *Narvaez* was his very good Friend, "and a Person of such Honour, Integrity, and good Sense, "that he would not fail of hearing Reason, and would infal-"libly prefer the Service of God and his Soveraign to the In-"terest of a private Man: That *Diego Velasquez* had dispeopled "the Island of *Cuba* purely to gratify his revengeful Temper; "and, in his Opinion, he had sent him a fresh Supply of *Spa-*"*niards* wherewith to prosecute his Conquest; for he did "not in the least doubt, but he should make Fellow-Soldiers "and Companions of those who were sent against him as "Enemies."

With his Captains he was less reserv'd. He communicated to them part of his Suspicions, and reason'd, by Way of Prevention, upon the Accidents which might offer: He represented, not without some Aggravations, the small Skill *Narvaez* had in

Military

Military Affairs; the ill Disposition of his People; the Injustice of his Cause, and other Motives of Encouragement, in which he conceal'd his real Sentiments, giving them in Truth more Hopes than he had himself.

Lastly, He ask'd their Opinion, as he was always accustom'd to do in Cases of like Importance; and disposing it after such a Manner that they should advise him to what he thought best, he resolv'd first to try to bring Matters to an Accommodation, and to make such Proposals to *Narvaez* that he should not be able to refuse his Offers without charging himself with all the Inconveniencies of a Rupture: But at the same Time he made Provision for the War according to his wonted Diligence. He sent to his Friends of *Tlascàla* to get ready Six Thousand Soldiers for an Enterprize in which it was possible he might want their Service. He order'd an Officer, with Three or Four *Spanish* Soldiers, who had been in the Province of *Chinantla* to discover the Mines of that Part of the Country, to endeavour to dispose the *Caziques* to a Levy of other Two Thousand Men, and that they should have them ready to march with him at the first Notice. The *Chinanteca*'s were Enemies to the *Mexicans*, and had declar'd themselves for the *Spaniards* with Signs of great Sincerity, and had sent privately to offer them their Obedience. These were a valiant and warlike People, and with whom he thought it would redound very much to his Advantage to reinforce his Army: And recollecting, that he had heard the Lances which they us'd in their Wars highly commended, as being considerably longer than ours, and made of a very tough Wood, he order'd Three Hundred to be brought, to divide amongst his Soldiers, and arm'd them with Points of temper'd Copper, which sufficiently supplied the want of Iron; a Precaution which succeeded mighty well, both because the Cavalry of *Narvaez* gave him no small Uneasiness, and besides, he had a Mind to have Time to instruct his Men in the Use and Management of those Arms. In the mean while *Pedro de Solis* arriv'd with the Prisoners, sent by *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, of which he had inform'd *Cortez*, and expected his Orders at the Side of the Lake: But *Cortez*, who already had Notice of their coming, went out to receive them with more than ordinary Attendance. He immediately order'd their Fetters to be taken off, embrac'd them with great Humanity, and the Licentiate *Guevara*, more than once, with with particular Civility, telling him, "That he would chastise "*Gonzalo de Sandoval* for the little Regard he had shewn to his "Person and Dignity." He afterwards conducted him to his

own Apartment, gave him his Table, and with a seeming Satisfaction, intimated several Times, how much he esteem'd the Happiness of having *Pamphilo de Narvaez* in that Country, on Account of the past Friendship and Intimacy that had been between them. He took Care that the *Spaniards* should all appear cheerful and hearty before him. He made him a Witness of the Favours he receiv'd from *Motezuma*, and the great Respect with which he was treated by the *Mexican* Princes. He presented him with some Jewels of Value, which greatly mollify'd the Violence of his Temper. He did the same by his Companions; and without letting them know that he stood in Need of their good Offices to incline *Narvaez* to Peace, he dispatch'd them in Four Days, fully persuaded by his Reasons, and engag'd by his Liberality and courteous Treatment.

After he had taken these politick Measures, leaving it to Time to ripen and to produce the Effect, he resolv'd to send some Person of Account to make such Proposals to *Narvaez*, as were reasonable and convenient for the common Interest and the Service of the King; and for this Negociation he chose Fryer *Bartolomeo de Olmedo*, a Person of known Integrity, Wisdom, and Eloquence, and supported by the Dignity of his Character, making what Haste he possibly could with his Dispatches; and gave him Letters for *Narvaez*, for the Licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, and for the Secretary *Andres de Duero*, with several Jewels to distribute, as he should think proper. The Importance of a Peace was the Argument of those Letters; in that to *Narvaez*, He courteously bad him welcome to those Coasts, with Expressions of singular Respect and Esteem: And, after reminding him of their former Friendship and Intimacy, "He inform'd him of the "State of his Conquest; acquainting him, at large, with the "Provinces he had subjected; the Sagacity and Martial Ge-"nius of the People; and representing to him the Power and "Grandeur of *Motezuma*." This he did, not so much to magnify his own Actions, as to make him sensible how much it imported them all to unite their Forces for compleating the Enterprize which was in so great a Forwardness. He gave him likewise to understand; "How much they ought to fear, lest "the *Mexicans*, a considerate and warlike Nation, should come "to the Knowledge of any Misunderstanding amongst the "*Spaniards*, for that they would very well know how to make "their Advantage, and destroy both Parties to free themselves "from a Foreign Yoke." And lastly he told him, "That, to "prevent all Disputes and Accidents, it was absolutely necessary, "that, without farther Delay, he should acquaint him with the

" Orders he brought; for if they were from the King, he was " ready to obey them, give up his General's Staff, and the Army " under his Command: But if his Commission was only from " *Diego Velasquez*, they ought both of them to consider with " equal Attention, how much they adventur'd; for that in " any Dispute where the King's Interest was concern'd, the Pre- " tensions of a Vassal were but of small Weight, and might " be adjusted at a cheaper Rate; it being his Design to satisfy " *Velasquez* for all the Expence of his first fitting out, and to di- " vide with him not only the Profits but the very Glory of the " Conquest." After this Manner he concluded his Letter; But thinking he had dwelt too long upon the Article of Accommodation, he added, by Way of Postscript, some brisk Expressions, letting him know, " That he did not make Use of " Arguments because he wanted Force; and that he knew as " well how to defend, as how to propose."

Pamphilo de Narvaez had taken up his Quarter, and lodg'd his Army in *Zempoala*; and the fat *Cazique* was very careful and sedulous in the Entertainments of, and Attendance upon those *Spaniards*, believing they came as a Succour to his Friend *Hernan Cortez*; but it was not long before he was undeceiv'd: For he did not find in them the same Manner of Carriage to which he had been accustom'd by his former Guests; and notwithstanding they had with them no Interpreter to make themselves be understood, their Actions spoke, and their Proceedings sufficiently distinguish'd them. He discover'd in *Narvaez* an imperious ill-natur'd Disposition, which gave him no small Trouble; and he left him no Room to doubt when he saw him take by Force all the Furniture and Jewels which *Hernan Cortez* had left in his House. The Soldiers, to whom the Liberty their Commander took serv'd for an Example, treated their Hosts like Enemies, and put in Practice whatever Avarice, and a licentious Thirst for Rapine, could dictate.

The Licentiate *Guevara* soon after arriv'd, and related the Success of his Journey; the Grandeur and Magnificence of *Mexico*; how well *Hernan Cortez* was receiv'd in that Court; how much he was esteem'd and belov'd by *Motezuma*, and respected by his Vassals: He extoll'd the Humanity and Courtesy with which he had receiv'd and entertain'd him; and from that he pass'd on to what *Cortez* so earnestly desir'd, that it might not be known that there was any Misunderstanding amongst the *Spaniards*: And he was about proposing an Accommodation of all, but he could not prosecute his Discourse, for *Narvaez* cut him short, telling him, " That he might return to

" *Mexico*,

" *Mexico*, if the Artifices of *Cortez* had made so mighty an Impres-
" sion upon him; and thrust him from his Presence with great
" Rudeness and Disrespect." But the Priest and his Companions sought a new Auditory; Passing with that News, and with these Presents, to the Assemblies of the Soldiers, and obtain'd what most of all imported the Care and Diligence of *Cortez*; for some began to commend, and incline to the Reasonableness of his Arguments; others made Encomiums upon his Liberality; and all remain'd dispos'd to Peace, the most Part beginning to have a Suspicion of, and a Dislike to the Obstinacy and ill Temper of *Narvaez*.

Father *Bartolomeo de Olmedo* soon follow'd *Guevara*, and found in *Pamphilo de Narvaez* much more Pride and Haughtiness than Good Nature and Humanity. He deliver'd his Letters, and the other having read them out of Compliment, and with the Air of one who puts a Constraint upon himself, he dispos'd himself to hear what he had to say; giving him to understand, That he suffer'd the Embassy purely for the Sake of the Embassador. The Father's Harangue was eloquent, expressive, and substantial. He began with putting him in Mind of the Obligations of his Profession, to interpose himself as a disinterested Mediator in these Differences; endeavour'd to set forth the Sincerity of *Cortez*'s Heart, as an Eye-Witness to all his Proceedings, and bound to speak the Truth. Next he assur'd him, " That
" it would be no difficult Matter for him to obtain any Thing
" that should be propos'd, provided it was reasonable, and for
" the Service of the King." Then he represented, in elegant Terms, "What a Hazard they ran by those Misunderstand-
" ings; and what an extraordinary Advantage it would be to
" *Diego Velasquez*, if he would co-operate with these Forces to
" compleat the Conquest;" and added: " That having them
" at his Command, he ought to weigh the Use he was to put
" them to with the present State of Affairs; a Point which
" must be presuppos'd in his Instructions; since it was al-
" ways left to the Discretion of the Captain, to chuse the
" Means with which he was to obtain the End he aim'd at:
" And a Commander was always oblig'd to act according to the
" Times and Accidents, lest in the Execution of his Orders
" he should destroy the Intention thereof."

The Answer of *Narvaez* was precipitate and confus'd; he said, " That it did not become *Diego Velasquez* to make Con-
" ditions with a rebellious Subject, whose Chastisement was
" the first and principal Business of the Army he had under
" his Conduct: That he would immediately proclaim for

" Traytors

" Traytors all those who espous'd the Interest of that Rebel; " and that he had brought sufficient Force to snatch the Con- " quest out of his Hands, without having any Occasion for " the Advice of those who, being equally guilty, with the same " Reasons they had to tremble at his Approach, were endea- " vouring to persuade him." Father *Bartholomeo*, still preserving the same Moderation of Temper, reply'd, " That he " would do well to consider, what he intended to resolve up- " on; for before he arriv'd at *Mexico*, he would find whole " Provinces of Warlike *Indians*, Friends and Confederates to " *Cortez*, who would not fail to take up Arms in his Defence; " and that it would not be so easy to suppress him as he ima- " gin'd, since his *Spaniards* were all resolutely determin'd to " dye with him; and besides, he had *Motezuma* on his Side; " a Prince so powerful, that for every single Soldier he had " brought with him, he was able to raise a numerous Army." " And lastly, he told him, That an Affair of this Nature was " not to be resolv'd in Haste, but requir'd Deliberation, and " a second Reflection; adding, That he would return for his " final Answer."

With this Bravado the Father took his Leave, for he thought it was necessary to abate that Confidence *Narvaez* had plac'd in his Forces, on which he chiefly founded his Obstinacy.

He proceeded presently to put in Execution the other Part of his Instructions. He visited the Licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, and the Secretary *Andres de Duero*, who highly commended his Zeal, approving what he propos'd to *Narvaez*, offering to assist in his Dispatch with their utmost Power, in order to establish a Peace, which was so very necessary to all. Then the Father visited the Captains and Soldiers of his Acquaintance; publish'd his Commission; endeavour'd to support the good Intention of *Cortez*; made them all desirous of a Reconciliation; distributed the Jewels and other Curiosities he had in Charge with good Judgment, and had Reason to hope that there would be a Party form'd in Favour of *Cortez*, or at least in Favour of an Accommodation, had not *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, who had Notice of these Practices, put a Stop to his Proceeding. He order'd him to be brought before him, loaded him with Injuries and Threats, call'd him *a mutinous and seditious Traytor*, giving the Name of Treason to his Sounding amongst his People the Praises of *Cortez*, and was determin'd to have secur'd his Person, had not the Secretary *Andres de Duero* interpos'd, at whose Instances he alter'd his Mind, and sent him Orders immediately to depart from *Zempoala*.

But the Licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, being inform'd of what pass'd, came very seasonably and gave his Opinion, "That it would be proper first to assemble all the Officers, that "they might consider more deliberately what Answer should be "return'd to *Hernan Cortez*, since he shew'd himself dispos'd to "Peace; and it seem'd no difficult Matter to bring it about upon "Terms reasonable and advantageous to all." To which Proposal were very much inclin'd some of the Officers who were present: But *Narvaez* heard him with a Sort of Impatience which savour'd somewhat of Contempt; and in Order to stop all their Mouths at once, he, before them all, made a solemn Declaration of War, with Fire and Sword, against *Hernan Cortez*, causing the same to be publickly proclaim'd, pronouncing him a Rebel and a Traytor to the King, and assigning a considerable Reward to any, who should either take or kill him. He, at the same Time, gave Orders that the Army should prepare to march. But the Auditor *Lucas Velasquez de Ayllon*, not being able to endure those Irregularities, and who was indeed oblig'd to put a Stop to such violent Proceedings by his own Authority, commanded the Cryer to desist, and plainly told *Narvaez*, "That he should "not stir a Foot from *Zempoala* upon Pain of Death, nor em-"ploy those Forces without the unanimous Consent of the "whole Army." He commanded the Captains and Soldiers not to obey him, and persisted in his Protests and in exerting his Authority with such Resolution, that *Narvaez*, quite out of Patience, blind with Choler, and losing all Respect to his Person and Function, order'd him to be ignominiously apprehended, and immediately carry'd away on Board one of his Vessels to the Island of *Cuba*. Upon which Fryer *Bartolomeo de Olmedo* return'd very much scandaliz'd without any farther Answer; and his own Captains and Soldiers themselves were so highly incens'd, that the most Intelligent, observing he had presum'd to arrest a Minister of that Rank and Character, found themselves oblig'd to look on till they could take some Measures for the Service of the King; and those of less Judgment and Penetration had Matter sufficient for Disaffection and Murmuring against their Captain. This Insolence of *Narvaez* gave the Affairs of *Cortez* a happy Turn, confirming him in the good Opinion of the Soldiers; and the false Steps and Mismanagement of his Enemy rais'd his Reputation more than all his Diligence and Circumspection had done before.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

MOTEZUMA *continues his good Offices toward* CORTEZ *and his* Spaniards. *The Alteration which some attribute to the Practices of* NARVAEZ *look'd upon as fictitious and improbable.* CORTEZ *resolves to depart, and executes that Resolution, leaving a Part of his Force in* Mexico.

SOME of our Writers report, that *Pamphilo de Narvaez* held a Correspondence of great Intimacy and Friendship with *Motezuma*: That Couriers went and came from *Mexico* to *Zempoala*, by whose Means he gave him to understand, " That he brought a Commission " from the King of *Spain* to chastise the Violences and Exor- " bitances of *Cortez*. That not only he himself, but all those " who follow'd his Banners, were Fugitives and Rebels; and " that having understood how greatly his Majesty was op- " press'd, propos'd immediately to march with his Army, " in order to restore him to his Liberty, and the peaceable " Possession of his Dominions;" with other malicious Impostures of the same Kind. To which they add, That *Motezuma* charm'd with those Hopes which so agreeably flatter'd his Desires, not only carry'd on a friendly Correspondence with him, but also made him several great and valuable Presents, being jealous of *Cortez*, and desirous to regain his Liberty thro' those private and underhand Means. We know not how this Intelligence could ever come to the Knowledge of *Motezuma*: For *Narvaez* had no Interpreters to make himself understood amongst the *Indians*, and such a concerted Negociation could never be carry'd on by Signs and Dumb-Shew. None of his *Spaniards* came to *Mexico* except the Licentiate *Guevara*, and his Companions which *Sandoval* sent; and these had never any private Conference with *Motezuma*. And even had *Cortez* been guilty of such a Piece of Negligence, they could not possibly have been intelligible to each other without making Use of *Aguilar* or of *Donna Marina*; a Case wholly inconsistent with what is related of their untainted Fidelity. We must believe then, that the

the *Indians* of *Zempoala* knew by the Behaviour, Countenances, and other exterior Tokens, the Enmity and Opposition there subsisted between those Two Armies, of all which Intelligence was sent to *Motezuma* by his Confidents and Ministers; since it is not in the least to be doubted but that he had the Account before it was imparted to him by *Cortez*: But from his Actions it plainly appears, that he kept his Mind inviolably firm, and was wholly free from any underhand Design against the *Spaniards* of *Mexico*. It is not deny'd but that the Emperor sent some Presents of Value to *Narvaez*; but it cannot be concluded from thence that there was a Corrrespondence between them: For these *Mexican* Princes were accustom'd so to regale all Strangers who happen'd to touch on their Coasts, as *Motezuma* had done to *Cortez* and his Followers; and he might conceal, without Artifice, that Mark of his Liberality, as being an establish'd Custom, or perhaps to avoid seeming to make a Merit of his Generosity. But it is observable that in those very Gifts, whether conceal'd or otherwise, there were some casual Circumstances which turn'd to the Credit of *Cortez*: For upon the Receipt of them, *Narvaez* express'd more Attachment to them than was becoming; for after he had counted them over with great Exactness, he order'd them to be set aside with superabundant Care, without making the least Shew of his Liberality to his greatest Confidents. And the Soldiers, tho' they are never sensible of their own insatiable Avarice, yet they never fail of condemning it in their Generals, began to be dispirited with this Disappointment of their Hopes, and mixing their own proper Interests amongst the Causes of the present Divisions, they judg'd *Cortez* had the most Reason on his Side, as being the most liberal and generous.

Father *Bartolomeo de Olmedo* at length return'd from his Journey, and *Hernan Cortez* found in his Relation all that he suspected of *Narvaez*: He was not so much concern'd at the Contempt he shew'd to the Proposals he had made him with Regard to himself, as he was on Account of the Undertaking. He was sensible, by the Imprisonment of the Auditor *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, what little Regard he had to the King's Service, who could carry his Insolence to such a Length. He heard without Resentment, at least outwardly, the injurious and reviling Language with which he treated him in his Absence. Authors do with Justice very much commend his Moderation, that when he receiv'd Advice from several Hands of the Contempt with which he spoke of his Person, the Indecencies and Bitterness of his Reflections, and how often he took the Liberty to brand him with

the infamous Name of Traytor, he was never heard to utter an unseemly Expression, or to call *Pamphilo de Narvaez* by any other than his own Name. A Mind not to be sufficiently valu'd, which can receive Outrages, and at the same Time preserve a Moderation!

Greatly did *Cortez* comfort himself with the News which Father *Bartolomeo de Olmedo* brought him, of the good Disposition he found in the People of *Narvaez*, who for the most Part were desirous of Peace, and but little affected to his Opinion; so that he did not doubt but that he should be able to face him as an Enemy, and to bring him to the Terms he desir'd either by Force, or the Dissaffection of his own Soldiers. He communicated his Thoughts to his Officers, and having jointly and maturely consider'd the Inconveniencies on all Sides, they held it for the least hazardous to take the Field with the greatest Number they possibly could, and to incorporate the *Indians* who were ready provided in *Tlascala* and *Chinantla*, and afterwards to march in a Body towards *Zempoala*, with a Design to halt in some confederate Town, where they might be nearer at Hand to treat of Peace; having besides the Advantage of capitulating with Arms in their Hands, and the Conveniency of being in a Place where they might pick up such of the People of *Narvaez* as should determine, or be inclin'd to quit his Party. This Resolution was immediately publish'd amongst the Soldiers, and receiv'd with great Applause and Chearfulness. They were not ignorant of the great Inequality of Number there was between them and the contrary Party; but in Sight of such Danger they were so far from entertaining the least Thoughts of Fear, that those who lay under the least Obligations of exerting their Zeal for the Cause, claim'd a Title to be present in the Expedition; and it was necessary to make Use both of Intreaties and Authority, when the Time came to name those who were to be left in *Mexico*; so great was the Confidence they had fix'd, some in the Prudence and Conduct, others in the Intrepidity and Valour, but all in general in the good Fortune of their Commander; for so they term'd that extraordinary and uninterrupted Series of Success with which he was wont to accomplish whatsoever he took in Hand. A Quality which is of great Force on the Minds of Soldiers, and would be still more superlatively efficacious if they knew how to make suitable Returns to the great Author of Nature for those unlook'd-for Events which are call'd Good Fortune, because they proceed from a Cause they do not comprehend.

Hernan Cortez, without delaying the Matter, provided beforehand with various Pretences, repair'd to *Motezuma*'s Apartment, to give him an Account of his intended March, concealing, as much as possible, his inward Concern: But the Emperor oblig'd him to take a Turn different from what he had design'd, by anticipating him, and beginning the Conversation. He receiv'd him, saying, "That he had for some Time ob-
" serv'd him to be very thoughtful, and was concern'd that he
" should conceal from him the Cause of his Discontent; for
" he had from different Parts receiv'd Information, That the
" *Spanish* General residing in *Zempoala*, came with bad Intentions
" against him and his: That he did not so much wonder that
" they should be Enemies for some personal Prejudice, and
" private Misunderstanding, as that, being, as they were Vas-
" sals to the same Prince, they should head Two Armies of
" contrary Factions, by which it plainly appear'd, that one
" of them must of Necessity be a Rebel to his Soveraign."

This unexpected Account from *Motezuma*, and the Manner in which it was deliver'd, might have embarrass'd *Cortez*; nor did it fail to shock him in some Measure: But with that natural Promptitude with which he was always accustom'd to disengage himself upon such Occasions, he answer'd without Hesitation,
" That those who made their Observatrons upon the bad In-
" tentions of those *Spaniards*, and the imprudent Menaces of
" their unadvis'd Commander, had inform'd him of no other
" than the Truth, and he now came with a Design to commu-
" nicate the same to him, having not had it in his Power to
" comply sooner with this Obligation, because Father *Bartolo-*
" *meo de Olmedo* was but just arriv'd with the first Account of
" the News. That notwithstanding the *Spanish* Captain, who
" was at *Zempoala*, had given some Proofs of a disorderly Pas-
" sion, yet he was not to be look'd upon as a Rebel, but ra-
" ther as a Person deceiv'd, who imagin'd he was serving his
" Prince while he was doing the Reverse; for he came thither in
" Quality of a Substitute, or Lieutenant, from a misinform'd
" Governor, who residingin a very remote Province, was not ac-
" quainted with the last Resolutions of the Court of *Spain*, and
" was persuaded that the Duty of this Embassy in which himself
" was employ'd was his Property, and of Right belong'd to him:
" That all the Preparations of so frivolous a Precaution would
" easily vanish, without any farther Trouble than his laying
" before him his own Dispatches, by Virtue of which he had
" full Power and Jurisdiction over all the *Spaniards*, both Offi-
" cers and others, who should arrive upon those Coasts:

" And that therefore, before his Ignorance and Misinformation " should engage him to take any farther false Steps, he had " resolv'd to direct his March to *Zempoala*, with great Part " of his Forces, to dispose those *Spaniards* to return to their " Ships; and that he would make them sensible, that they " were now to respect the Subjects of the *Mexican* Empire as " People admitted under the Protection of the King of *Spain*: " That he would immediately put this in Execution, the prin- " cipal Motive of his hastening his Departure being the just Con- " sideration of not preventing them from approaching his Court, " that Army being compos'd of Men less disciplin'd and " governable than became those who were to be admitted " into that Neighbourhood, without running the Hazard of " occasioning some Disturbance amongst his Vassals."

After this Manner *Cortez* endeavour'd, as well as he could, to interest that Prince in his Resolution; and *Motezuma*, who already knew the Vexations and Inconveniencies of which the *Zempoalans* complain'd, commended his Design; holding it expedient, that he should endeavour to keep at a Distance from the Court Troops of such violent and irregular Proceedings: But it appear'd to him as an Act of Temerity in *Cortez*, that since those *Spaniards* had already declar'd themselves his Enemies, and were so disproportionately superior to him in Force, he should offer to expose himself upon such precarious Terms; since, in his Opinion, if he came off well, he must needs be disregarded, tho' he stood a far worse Chance. He offer'd to furnish him with an Army that should support him, the Leaders whereof should be under his Command, and intirely at his Devotion, since he would give them strict Orders to respect and obey him as they would do himself if he went in Person: A Point which he repeated, and with many Instances earnestly insisted upon, by which he gave convincing Proofs of his Sincerity and Affection, without any Mixture of Fallacy or Affectation. But *Hernan Cortez* gratefully thank'd him for his friendly Offers, tho', at the same Time, he excus'd himself from accepting them; for in Reality he plac'd but a slender Confidence in the *Mexicans*, neither did he care to run the Hazard of admitting Auxiliary Forces which might command him; as one who well knew how embarassing it was in Actions of War, to have at once the Front engag'd by a known Enemy, and the Sides and Rear surrounded by Friends not much to be confided in.

The Motives of his Journey being after this Manner somewhat soften'd, he next employ'd his whole Care in making all necessary Preparations for his setting out, with a Design to get

what

what Intelligence he was able, before *Narvaez* ſhould make any Movement. He determin'd to leave in *Mexico* Eighty *Spaniards* under the Command of *Pedro de Alverado*, which in the Opinion of all was moſt prudently reſolv'd, becauſe that Officer was highly in *Motezuma*'s Favour, beſides his being a Gentleman of great Courage and good Senſe, and had the Advantage of being an accompliſh'd Courtier, and together with a free engaging Behaviour, he had all the Reſolution that was neceſſary to overcome the greateſt Difficulties, and could have Recourſe to Policy when he found Strength was not ſufficient. The General gave him in Charge, "That he ſhould do his utmoſt to "keep *Motezuma* in that Kind of Liberty which might make "him inſenſible of Confinement, and ſhould prevent, as much as "poſſible, his having any long Conferences with the *Mexicans*." He left under his Care all the Treaſure, as well that belonging to the King his Soveraign, as to particular Perſons; and above all he made him ſenſible, how much it imported to keep that Part of his Forces in the *Mexican* Court, and that Prince at his Devotion; that being the Point to which he ought to direct all his Actions, as the Foundation of their Common Security.

To the Soldiers he gave Orders, "That they ſhould obey their "Captain, and ſerve, and reſpect *Motezuma* with greater Diligence, Circumſpection, and Submiſſion than ever; and that they "be careful of maintaining an amicable Correſpondence with "thoſe of his Family and Court: Exhorting them, for their "own Security, to Union among themſelves, and Civility towards others."

He diſpatch'd a Courier to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with Orders, "That he ſhould march out to meet him, or, with the "*Spaniards* under his Command, wait his Coming at the Place "where he propos'd to halt, leaving the Fortreſs of *Vera Cruz* "to the Care of the Confederate *Indians*;" which in Effect, was little leſs than abandoning it. But it was not now Time to think of dividing his Forces, neither would that Fortification, which was built only to keep off the *Indians*, be capable of reſiſting the *Spaniards* if they had a Mind to attack it. He took Care of what Proviſions were neceſſary, that he might not have them to ſeek, or be forc'd to extort them from the Peaſants. He procur'd a Body of *Indians* of Burthen, who were to carry the Baggage; and the next Day being fix'd upon for the March, he order'd High-Maſs to be celebrated, whereat he commanded, that all the Soldiers ſhould be preſent, in order to recommend to God the good Succeſs of their Enterprize; proteſting before the Altar, "That he deſir'd "nothing

" nothing but to do Service to God and his King, which in that " Juncture he said were inseparable : That he went without " Hatred, Malice, or Ambition, which Consideration he would " always retain, and was assur'd that the Justice of his Cause " would plead for him before God and Man."

He next went to take his Leave of *Motezuma*, and earnestly requested him, " That he would protect that small Number of " *Spaniards*, he left with him, and would be pleas'd not to aban- " don them upon any Account whatsoever ; for the least " Change or Diminution of his Favour towards them might " occasion great Inconveniencies, which would require extra- " ordinary Remedies if his Subjects should perceive any Al- " teration in his Management ; and that he should be very sorry " to find himself, at his Return, oblig'd to approach that Person " complaining, from whose Presence he departed so well satisfy'd." To which he added, " That *Pedro de Alvarado* was left to repre- " sent his Person ;and as by that Commission the Prerogatives of " an Embassador belong'd to him, during his Absence : That he " had bound him under an Obligation to assist in every Thing " that should be for his Majesty's greater Service ; and that he " did not doubt but he should return very speedily to his Pre- " sence, free from all these Perplexities, to receive his Orders, " prepare for his Voyage, and carry to the Emperor his Sove- " raign, together with his Majesty's magnificent Presents, the " News of his Friendship and Confederacy, which would be to " him the Jewel of far greater Value than all."

Motezuma, again began to express his Concern, that he should offer to set out with so unequal a Force, and intreated him, " That if there was no other Way to decide their Disputes but " by Arms, he would endeavour to delay the coming to an " open Rupture till the Arrival of the *Mexican* Succours, which " he would not fail to get ready, in what Number he desir'd. " He gave him his Word not to forsake the *Spaniards* which he " left with *Pedro de Alvarado*, nor change his Habitation during " his Absence." *Antonio de Herrera* adds, That he accompany'd him a good Way out of Town with his whole Retinue of Courtiers ; but malitiously attributes this Respect not to any real Friendship, but to the earnest Desire he had to see himself freed from the *Spaniards*, supposing him to be already disaffected to *Hernan Cortez* and his Followers, and glad to get rid of them at any Rate. What appears is, that he punctually kept his Promise, persevering both in his Continuance with the *Spaniards* in their Quarters, and in his accustom'd Kindness and Familiarity to them, notwithstanding great Disturbances hap-

pen'd, all which he might have remedied by returning to his own Palace. And in his whole Procedure, as well in what he did in the Defence of those *Spaniards* who were near his Person, as in what he left unattempted against the rest in that Disunion of their Forces, it is evidently demonstrable, that he cannot be justly charg'd with the least Double-Dealing, or any Alteration in his Behaviour towards them. It is true, that at last he began to wish they were gone, because the Quiet of his whole Realm absolutely requir'd it; but he never once resolv'd to break with them, or ever forgot the Royal Safe-Guard under the Protection of which they resided at his Court. These Principles, which indeed seem to belong to a better taught and less barbarous Prince, and little answerable to *Motezuma*'s natural Disposition, yet so total a Change of this *Indian*'s Temper may be look'd upon as one of the Miracles which God wrought to facilitate the Conquest: For the extraordinary Affection and Inclination, with that awful Dread and Deference, which he always had for *Cortez*, were so directly opposite to his unbounded Pride and Reservedness, that every one of his Actions which so notoriously contradicted Nature, may very well be imputed to a Divine Inspiration.

CHAP. VIII.

HERNAN CORTEZ *directs his March towards* Zempoala. *Is disappointed of the Succours which he expected from* Tlascala. *Continues his March as far as* Motalequita; *from whence he again makes Overtures of Peace, and, with new Provocation, declares War.*

THEY began their March, following the Road of *Cholula* with all the Caution and Care which the Security of the Army requir'd, and which Custom had now made easy to the Soldiers, by long Experience grown perfect in the Art of War, inur'd to the Hardships which attend it, and accustom'd to obey without Murmuring or Disputing. They were receiv'd in that City with a chearful Welcome; the servile Dread with which these People first paid their Obedience being now converted into an unfeigned affectionate Veneration

for their Conquerors. From thence they pass'd on to *Tlascala*, and half a League from that City they found a splendid Appearance of the Nobility, and the whole Senate. The Entrance was celebrated with great Demonstrations of Joy, answerable to the fresh Lawrels with which the *Spaniards* return'd, after having depriv'd *Motezuma* of his Liberty, and somewhat abated the exorbitant Pride of the *Mexicans*. A Circumstance which increas'd their Applauses, and greatly better'd the Treatment of the Army. The Senate immediately went to deliberate upon the Answer which they were to give to *Hernan Cortez*, concerning the Auxiliary Forces he had desir'd of the Republick. And here we find another Disagreement of our Authors, which unhappily too frequently occur in these Accounts of the *Indies*, obliging us sometimes to embrace that which has the greatest Appearance of Probability, and very often to be at abundance of Trouble to search for what is only possible. *Bernal Diaz* says, That he demanded Four Thousand Men, and that they gave him a Refusal, with the Pretence, That their Soldiers durst not take up Arms against the *Spaniards*, for that they found themselves incapable of resisting the Horses and Fire-Arms. And *Antonio de Herrera* affirms, That they gave Six Thousand effective Men, and offer'd him a greater Number; which he says were actually incorporated amongst the *Spanish* Companies, and that at Three Leagues Distance from their City they return'd Home, as not being accustom'd to fight far from their own Confines. But be it as it will, for it is not of any Importance, nor can we pretend to rectify every Error, it is very certain, that the *Tlascalans* did not appear upon this Occasion. *Hernan Cortez* demanded their Militia more to make a Noise and Shew with *Narvaez* than that he much confided in their Arms, or depended on their Service against the *Spaniards*.

But it is likewise certain, that he parted from that City without Complaint or Distrust of the *Tlascalans*; for he sought them afterwards, and found them always ready when he had any Occasion for their Service against other *Indians*; upon which Occasions they were valiant and resolute, having always preserv'd their Liberty in Spite of the whole Power of the *Mexican* Emperor, so near his Capital City; and that under the Reign of a Prince who center'd his greatest Vanity in the Renown of being call'd a Conqueror. The Army stay'd but a short Time in *Tlascala*, and, hastening their March, they pass'd on to *Matalequita*, a Town of *Indian* Friends, distant Twelve Leagues from *Zempoala*, where, almost at the

same

ſame Inſtant, he was join'd by *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with the Troops under his Command, and Seven Soldiers more, who, the Day after the Impriſonment of the Auditor *Lucas Vaſquez de Ayllon*, had from the Army paſs'd to *Vera Cruz*, as from that Action having a Suſpicion of the Party they were engag'd in. From thoſe *Spaniards Cortez* was inform'd of all that was tranſacted in his Enemy's Quarters, and *Sandoval* gave him an exact Account of all: For before ſetting out he found Means to introduce into *Zempoala* Two *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who moſt artfully imitated the Behaviour and Geſture of the *Indians*, nor were they very much unlike them in their Complexion: Theſe Men voluntarily and chearfully ſtripp'd themſelves, and concealing their Nakedneſs with the barbarous Cloathing of that Country, early in the Morning enter'd into *Zempoala*, with each a Basket of Fruit upon his Head, and placing themſelves amongſt the reſt of thoſe who ſold that Sort of Proviſion, truck'd their Fruit for Glaſs, and ſo deſirous were they in feigning their Eagerneſs after Trifles, and the Simplicity of the Native Peaſants, that no one regarded them; ſo that they went all about the Town, and eſcap'd in Safety with what Intelligence they had got: But not contented with only this, they reſolv'd to bring Proof of what Sort of Watch this Army kept in the Night, and return'd a Second Time, with each of them a Load of Graſs, amongſt ſome *Indians* who had been out a Foraging; and did not only diſcover the Enemy's little Vigilance in their Quarters, but confirm'd it by bringing off to *Vera Cruz* a Horſe which they had the Addreſs to convey away from the very Parade, without meeting with the leaſt Oppoſition; and it happend to belong to Captain *Salvatierra*, one of the moſt zealous Sticklers in exaſperating *Narvaez* againſt *Hernan Cortez*: A Circumſtance which made the Prize much more valuable. Theſe Two Soldiers, notwithſtanding they perform'd, upon this Occaſion, all that could be expected from Induſtry and undaunted Reſolution, yet their Names are unfortunately and unjuſtly conceal'd, in a Deſign ſo well executed, and in a Hiſtory wherein we find, at every Step, Actions of far leſs Moment regiſter'd as Honours to the Name of the Performers.

Cortez founded a great Part of his Hopes upon the ſmall Skill and Experience the oppoſite Party had in Military Affairs; and the Negligence and ſupine Security with which *Pamphilo de Narvaez* govern'd the Troops under his Conduct, furniſh'd his Imagination with various Deſigns: This Supinity proceeded, as *Cortez* very well knew, from the Contempt in which

which that General held the inferior Force of the *Mexican-Spaniards*; nor was *Cortez* at all displeas'd to see himself and his Partisans so contemn'd, since it caus'd such a Security in the Enemy's Army; a Security so favourable to his Pretensions, and which seem'd to fight his Battle for him: Nor was he out in that Manner of arguing; it being demonstrably evident, that Security is an utter Enemy to all Precaution, and has occasion'd the Ruin of many a Commander. It ought to be reckon'd amongst the greatest Dangers of War; for, generally speaking, when Two Armies come to measure their Strength, the despis'd Enemy gets the better. In the mean while *Cortez* was not idle; and tho' he press'd his Competitor with repeated Instances to accommodate their Difference in an amicable Way, as wisely considering that Proposals of Peace ought to precede the Rupture on his Side, yet he made all necessary Preparations for War.

He muster'd his Men, and found he had Two Hundred, Seventy Six *Spaniards*, including the Officers, and those who came from *Vera Cruz* with *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, without reckoning the *Indians* of Burthen he had to carry the Baggage. After this he dispatch'd Father *Bartolomeo de Olmedo* a second Time, to make his ultimate Efforts for the adjusting of all Matters in Dispute; but it was not long before that Ecclesiastick sent him Advice of the small Success of his Negociation. But *Cortez* desiring still to do something more in order to justify himself, and to gain Time till the Two Thousand *Indians* which he expected from *Chinantla* were arriv'd, he resolv'd to send Captain *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, as believing, that by his Authority, and his near Relation to *Diego Velasquez*, his Mediation might be better accepted. He had long Experience of his Fidelity, and but a few Days before he had repeated his Protestations of dying by his Side, if there was Occasion, and put into his Hands a Letter sent him by *Narvaez*, wherein he made him very advantageous Offers, if he would espouse his Interest. A Proof of his Friendship and Integrity, which Sincerity and ingenious Procedure *Cortez* return'd by confiding to his Management so important a Negociation. It was generally believ'd, when he arriv'd at *Zempoala*, that he came determin'd to follow the Banners of his Kinsman *Diego Velasquez*; and *Narvaez* with a numerous Retinue went out to receive him: But when he began to understand his Commission, and found he was endeavouring to justify and support the Cause of his Enemy *Cortez*, he broke off the Discourse, and with some Passion abruptly left him, tho' not altogether without

Hopes of reducing him; for before he renew'd the Conversation with him, he gave Orders to muster his whole Force in his Presence, desiring, in Appearance, either to terrify or convince him with this vain Ostentation of his Strength. Some advis'd *Narvaez* to secure his Person; but that he durst not attempt, by Reason that Gentleman had many Friends in the Army; on the contrary he invited him to Dinner the Day following, as he likewise did all the Officers who were his greatest Friends, and in whom he most confided, to assist him in his Endeavours to bring that Captain over to his Party. The Beginning of the Conversation was all Civility and Complements: But amidst their Mirth, and the Liberties of the Feast, there began soon after some Ralleries to be introduc'd against *Cortez*. And notwithstanding Captain *Juan Velasques* for some Time endeavour'd to dissemble his Uneasiness, that he might not ruin the Negociation he was intrusted with; yet, when they came to indecent Expressions, and utter'd injurious Invectives against *Cortez*, he could no longer contain himself, but said aloud with some Warmth; "That they should enter upon "some other Discourse, and not revile and speak ill of his "absent General, in his Presence;" adding, "That whosoever amongst them all, who did not esteem both *Hernan* "*Cortez*, and every one of his Partisans for good and loyal Subjects to the King of *Spain*, he would say it before fewer Witnesses, and he would undeceive him after what Manner he "pleas'd." They were all silent, and *Pamphilo de Narvaez* was likewise very much embarrass'd about the Return of an Answer: But a young Captain, a near Kinsman of *Diego Velasquez*, and of his own Name, took upon him to tell him, "That none was worthy either of being of the Blood, or of "bearing the Name of *Velasquez*, who so strenuously main"tain'd a Traytor's Cause." To which *Juan Velasquez* giving him the Lye, drew his Sword with so determin'd a Resolution to chastise his Insolence, that they had all of them sufficient Trouble to pacify him and prevent Mischief: In short, they desir'd him to return to the Camp of *Cortez*, to avoid the Inconveniencies which his staying there might produce. He instantly did so, taking with him Father *Bartolomeo de Olmedo*, and let fall some Words at Parting intimating Revenge, and which seem'd to threaten an open Rupture.

Some of the Officers were much dissatisfy'd that *Narvaez* had suffer'd him to depart without reconciling the Quarrel between him and his Kinsman, and hearing his Proposal, that they might have return'd an Answer, good or bad, according

to what he had in Commiſſion to propoſe: They ſaid, "That "a Perſon of his Conſideration and Authority ought to have "been treated with more Reſpect; and that from his Judg-"ment and Sincerity it could not be ſuppos'd, that he would "come with any prepoſterous or unreaſonable Meſſage: That "the niceſt Punctilios of War never went ſo far as to hinder "the Freedom of hearing every Thing an Embaſſador had to "ſay: Nor was it good Policy, nor the right Way to appear "formidable to an Enemy to give him Cauſe to believe they "fear'd his Reaſons." Theſe Diſcourſes paſs'd from the Officers to the Soldiers, with ſo true a Knowledge how little juſtifiable were their whole Procedure in this War, that *Pamphilo de Narvaez* was oblig'd, in order to quiet them, to name a Perſon, who, in his own and in the Names of the whole Party, was to excuſe and apologize for that Want of Civility, and to inquire of *Cortez*, of what Points *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*'s Commiſſion conſiſted; and to that Effect they unanimouſly choſe the Secretary *Andres de Duero*, who having leſs Partiality againſt *Hernan Cortez*, ſeem'd the fitteſt Perſon for the Satisfaction of the Malecontents; and upon Account of his being withal a Domeſtick Servant to *Diego Velaſquez*, might, by thoſe who were averſe to an Accommodation, be better confided in than any other.

Hernan Cortez, finding by the Account which Father *Bartolomeo de Olmedo* and *Juan Velaſquez de Leon* had brought him, that he had more than ſufficiently made Advances towards obtaining a Peace, and holding it now abſolutely neceſſary to come to a Rupture, he remov'd his Troops, with a Deſign of approaching nearer to the Enemy, and of ſeizing ſome advantageous Poſt where he might attend the Arrival of the *Chinautecas*, and conſult at Leiſure.

He was upon the March when his Scouts came back with Intelligence, that the Secretary *Andres de Duero* was coming from *Zempoala*; and *Hernan Cortez*, not without Hopes of ſome favourable News, advanc'd to receive him: They ſaluted each other with equal Demonſtration of Friendſhip and Affection, and renew'd their Embraces ſeveral Times, putting each other in Mind of their former Intimacy. The Officers all congratulated his Arrival with great Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction; and before they came to the immediate Point of the Negociation, *Cortez* made him ſeveral valuable Preſents, accompany'd with Promiſes of much more. He ſtay'd till the next Day, after Dinner, during which Time they had ſeveral private Conferences with great Freedom and Intimacy. They

diſcours'd

discours'd of some Mediums, in order to a Union between the Two contending Parties, and were very desirous of finding out a Way to reduce *Narvaez* to Reason, whose Obstinacy and untractable Temper was the only Obstacle to the desir'd Peace. *Cortez* went so far as to relinquish to his Competitor the *Mexican* Expedition, and to go with his Partisans in Quest of other Conquests. And *Andres de Duero*, seeing him act so nobly and generously with his Enemy, propos'd an Interview; not doubting but that he might prevail with *Narvaez* to give him a Meeting, and that by the personal Appearance and Communication of those Two Rivals, all their Disputes and Animosities would be the easier surmounted. Some say, that he carry'd Orders with him to make that Proposal: Others, that it was wholly owing to *Cortez*; but all agree, that an Interview was resolvd upon, and adjusted, assoon as *Andres de Duero* return'd to *Zempoala*; by whose Care and Diligence an authentic Agreement was made, assigning the Hour and Place where the Conference was to be held; each giving Assurance, under his Hand, that he would come to the Place appointed, accompany'd with only Ten Friends, who were to serve as Witnesses to whatever should be said, transacted, or agreed upon.

But at the very Time while *Hernan Cortez* was preparing himself to observe with all Punctuality, on his Part, the Conditions of that Agreement, *Andres de Duero* gave him private Notice, That *Narvaez* had resolv'd to lay an Ambush, with a Design to take or kill him; which being likewise confirm'd by others of his Friends, he was so stung, that he wrote to *Narvaez*, giving him to understand, "That he had discover'd "his base unmanlike Treachery, and that from that Moment "he renounc'd all Thoughts of Accommodation, remitting "his farther Satisfaction to the Decision of the Sword." Had it not been for this timely Advice, his Credulity and sincere Manner of Proceeding would have hurry'd him blindly into the Hands of his implacable Enemy; and he was scarce capable of justifying himself to his own People, for this Want of Caution, this precipitate Confidence, in trusting to *Narvaez* after so many repeated Proofs of his sinister Intentions. But nevertheless he cannot justly be accus'd of having acted the Part of an imprudent Commander in putting that Confidence in his Competitor's Word; since, upon such Occasions, Breach of Faith is a Villany of so black and infamous a Nature, that an Enemy ought never to be suspected capable even of attempting it: For such perfidious Wiles as those are not to be allow'd a Place among the Stratagems of War, nor are

Treacheries

Treacheries and Deceits which leave a Stain upon the Honour of those who commit them, ever authoriz'd even in the most inveterate and rigorous War.

CHAP. IX.

HERNAN CORTEZ *continues his March till within a League of* Zempoala. PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ *takes the Field with his Troops. Is oblig'd to retire by the Badness of the Weather.* CORTEZ *resolves to attack him in his Quarters.*

HERNAN CORTEZ was rather animated, than incens'd at this fresh Instance of his Competitor's Perfidy. An Enemy capable of such base grovling Thoughts appearing unworthy of his Apprehensions, as believing that one who had endeavour'd to secure a Victory at the Expence of his own Honour and Reputation, could never have any great Dependance either upon himself or his Partisans. He pursu'd his March with more than ordinary Diligence and Expedition, not that he had absolutely determin'd upon the Measures he was to take, but having his Heart full of Hopes, he was spurr'd on by a certain Confidence which seldom fails to be the Forerunner of Success. He took his Station within a League of *Zempoala*, in a Place where his Front was defended by a River, call'd the River of *Canoas*, and his Rear by the Neighbourhood of *Vera Cruz*, where the Inhabitants assign'd them some Cottages, sufficiently commodious to quarter his People and to refresh them after what they had suffer'd from the scorching Heat of the Sun, and the Fatigues of that tedious March.

He order'd some Scouts to pass on the other Side of the River, where he likewise posted Centinels, that when his Troops had for some Time refresh'd themselves, he might consult with his Officers concerning what Measures were to be taken, according to the Intelligence he should receive from the Enemy, amongst whom he had gain'd some Friends, and believ'd, that when Opportunity offer'd, all who had a Dislike to this War would espouse his Interest; which Supposition, and the small Experience and Capacity of *Narvaez*, gave him sufficient Encouragement to venture so near *Zempoala*, without the Imputation of

Imprudence or Temerity. *Narvaez* had Information of the Place where his Enemy was lodg'd; and with more Hurry and Precipitation than Conduct and Circumspection, and a Haste which appear'd very like Confusion, he drew out his Troops into the Field, where he immediately order'd the War to be proclaim'd, as if it had not already been sufficiently publish'd. He assign'd a Reward of Two Thousand Pieces of Eight to any who should bring him the Head of *Cortez*, and a lesser Price for those of *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and *Juan Velasquez de Leon*. He issued out several Orders at once, never forgetting to express his Inveteracy, and still mixing Threats with all he spoke, and every Thing he did shew'd a great Contempt of his Enemy, but still with some Appearances of Dread. His Troops being at last plac'd in Order, not by any Disposition of his, but by that of the Officers, who did their Duty without much minding what he said: He march'd about a Quarter of a League at the Head of his Army, being determin'd to halt and wait for *Cortez* in the open Field; foolishly persuading himself, that he had so little Judgment as to offer to attack him in such a Place where his Enemy might make all the Advantage of the great Superiority of his Numbers. Obstinately persisting in that vain Credulity, he continued in that Post the whole Day, wasting his Time, and deceiving his Imagination with various inconsistent Thoughts, which gave him Confidence, and fondly flatter'd his Hopes. He had already distributed amongst his Soldiers the Enemy's Spoil, inriching his Captains with the Treasures of *Mexico*; and talk'd very much of the Victory, but little or nothing of the Engagement. But as the Sun was just upon setting, the Weather grew extremely dark and cloudy, and those Clouds began to discharge so prodigious a Quantity of Rain, that the Soldiers bestow'd many bitter Curses upon their Expedition, and, with loud Clamours, demanded to return to their Quarters. The Officers likewise soon grew as impatient as the rest, and without much Difficulty prevail'd with *Narvaez*, who also had his Share of the general Uneasiness; they being all quite unaccustom'd to resist the Inclemencies of such tempestuous Weather, and many of them were averse to a War which was like to be attended with so many Inconveniencies.

Narvaez had a little before receiv'd Information, that *Cortez* kept himself on the other Side of the River; from which, he reasonably enough conjectur'd, that they had nothing to apprehend from the Enemy's Quarters for that Night: And as People are generally very willing to believe what they desire, they

all unanimouſly agreed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary that they ſhould retire, and put it in Execution in great Diſorder, running to ſeek for Shelter, more like Men before an Enemy than like Soldiers upon a March. *Narvaez* however would not ſuffer his Forces to ſeparate that Night; rather becauſe he deſign'd to take the Field early in the Morning, than for any Jealouſy he had of *Cortez*, notwithſtanding he affected the Vigilance and Care a General ought to have when an Enemy is ſo near him. They all lodg'd themſelves in the principal Temple of the City, which conſiſted of Three Towers, or Chappels, at a ſmall Diſtance from each other, ſeated on an Eminence, and ſufficiently capacious, to which they went up by many ill-contriv'd Steps, the Steepneſs and Difficulty of whoſe Aſcent very much added to the Security of the Height. The Rails at the Foot of the Stairs he fortify'd with his Artillery. For himſelf he choſe the Middle Tower, to which he retir'd with ſome Officers, and about One Hundred Soldiers of thoſe in whom he moſt confided; and the reſt of his Troops he diſtributed in the other Two, ſending out ſome Horſe to ſcour the Neighbourhood, and order'd Two Centinels to be poſted at the Avenues; and with theſe Precautions, which, in his Opinion, left nothing unſecur'd with Reſpect to good Diſcipline, he devoted the Remainder of the Night to reſt; and ſo far was he from imagining or ſurmizing any Danger, that he gave himſelf up to Sleep, without taking any farther Care or Concern.

Andrez de Duero inſtantly diſpatch'd away One he confided in, and who could go out of the Place unſuſpected, to inform *Cortez* by Word of Mouth of their Return, and in what Manner they had diſpos'd themſelves in their Quarters, rather to make him eaſy by this friendly Advice, that he might paſs the Night in Quiet, than to ſend him Intelligence, or ſtir him up to new Deſigns. But *Cortez* upon this Notice delay'd but little in determining to lay hold of the favourable Opportunity which invited him to Succeſs. He had maturely premeditated all the Accidents which might offer themſelves during the Courſe of this War; and, as ſometimes a Man muſt ſhut his Eyes to Difficulties which always appear greateſt at a Diſtance, and ought to recollect, that there are ſome Caſes where Reaſoning is an Enemy to Execution, he call'd his People together without more Delay, and put them in Order, notwithſtanding the Tempeſt continued: But his Soldiers, already inur'd to greater Fatigues, obey'd without complaining of the Badneſs of the Weather, or inquiring the Occaſion of ſo unſea-

ſonable and unexpected a Motion; ſo much they depended upon the Prudence and good Conduct of their Leader. They paſs'd the River with the Water above their Middle, and this Difficulty being overcome, he made them a ſhort Speech, wherein he communicated his Deſign to them, without making the leaſt Doubt of the Succeſs of his Reſolution, nor yet barring the Way to wholſome Advice. He inform'd them with what Confuſion and Diſorder the Enemy had retir'd; ſeeking to ſhelter themſelves in Quarters to defend them againſt the Rigour of the Night: He likewiſe told them how they were divided, and the Manner how they were diſtributed in the Towers of the Temple: He aggravated the Careleſsneſs and Security in which they were, and with what Facility they might be attack'd, before they could be able to unite, or have Room to draw up: And perceiving that they not only did not oppoſe the Propoſal, but approv'd and applauded it, he purſued his Harangue, delivering himſelf with freſh Ardour; *This Night, my Friends*, ſaid he, *this Night, Heaven has vouchſaf'd to put into our Hands the moſt favourable Opportunity that Deſire itſelf could frame: You ſhall this Night be Witneſſes of the great Confidence I repoſe in your Courage; and I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that it is your known Valour alone which inſpires me with theſe bold Attempts. A few Hours ago we expected our Enemies here, with the Hopes of vanquiſhing them by the Advantage of this River: Now we have them ſupinely careleſs and diſunited, the very Contempt with which they treat us fighting on our Side. From the ſhameful Impatience with which they quitted the Field, flying from the Inclemency of the Night, a ſlight Inconveniency of Nature, we may readily gather what Uſe thoſe Men will make of that Eaſe which they ſought with ſuch puſilanimous Weakneſs, and enjoy without Jealouſy or Suſpicion.* Narvaez *has but little Knowledge of the Niceties and Punctuality to which the Chances of War oblige Men: His Soldiers are for the moſt part Novices, People pick'd up in Haſte, who have never ſeen any Service, and will not find it very eaſy to rally in the Obſcurity of the Night, ſince a little Matter will put them into Diſorder in the Preſence of the Sun. Many have been diſoblig'd, and complain of their Captain's Conduct; nor are there wanting ſome who favour our Party, and not a few who hold this War in Deteſtation; and Arms feel heavy when they move againſt Inclination: But both the one and the other muſt be treated like Enemies, till they declare themſelves; for ſhould they overcome us, we ſhall be us'd like Rebels and Traytors. Notwithſtanding Reaſon and Juſtice is on our Side, yet in War Reaſon is an Enemy to the Negligent, and generally declares for the Conquerors. They come to take from you all that you have acquir'd; nor do they aſpire at leſs than to be the abſolute*

Lords of your Liberties, Goods, and Hopes. They will call our Victories, theirs: Theirs the Land which you have conquer'd at the Expence of your Blood: Theirs the Glory of your Heroick Exploits: And the worst of all is, that with the same Foot with which they endeavour to tread on our Necks, they tread on the Service of our Soveraign, and put a Stop to the Progress of our Religion; for those will all be lost if we are vanquish'd; and notwithstanding the Fault will be theirs, yet it will be question'd who are the Guilty. The Way to prevent these Evils is to behave yourselves this Night with your accustom'd Intrepidity: You are far better able to execute than I am to dictate: Betake yourselves to your Arms, and forget not your Custom of conquering: God and the King in your Hearts, Honour in your Eyes, and Argument in your Hands: I will be your inseparable Companion in all the Danger, and I less pretend to encourage you by my Words, than I do to persuade you by my Example.

Their Minds were so fir'd with this Speech of *Cortez*, that the Soldiers made pressing Instances not to delay the March. They all acknowledg'd the Justness of his Resolution, and some protested to him, "That if he once offer'd to think of "any Accommodation with *Narvaez*, they would withdraw "their Obedience:" Words of Men resolute and determin'd, which did not sound ill in the Ears of *Cortez*, because they rather express'd Briskness than Disrespect. Without Loss of Time he form'd Three small Bodies of his Men, which were to succeed each other in the Assault. The First he committed to the Charge of *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with Seventy Men, in which Number were comprehended the Captains *George* and *Gonzalo de Alvarado*, *Alonso Davila*, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, *Juan Nunez de Mercado*, and our Historian *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*. For Commander of the Second he nam'd the *Maestre de Campo*, *Christoval de Olid*, with Seventy Men more, assisted by *Andres de Tapia*, *Rodrigo Rangel*, *Juan Xaramillo*, and *Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia*: *Cortez* himself commanded the rest, with the Captains *Diego de Ordaz*, *Alonso de Grado*, *Christoval*, and *Martin de Gamboa*, *Diego Pizarro*, and *Domingo de Albuquerque*. The Disposition was, "That *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, at the Head of the Van-"Guard, should endeavour to overcome the first Difficulty of "the Stairs, and frustrate the Use of the Artillery, dividing his "Men so as to interrupt the Communication of the Two "Towers on the Sides; taking great Care to keep a profound "Silence amongst the People: That *Christoval de Olid*, should "immediately use his utmost Endeavours to get up and invest "the Tower where *Narvaez* was lodg'd, and carry on the "Attack with all the Vigour they possibly could: That the "General himself should, with those who follow'd him, take

" Care to back them, and to animate and assist wheresoever " his Presence was most necessary; and that as soon as they " had given the Attack, the Drums should beat, and the o- " ther Warlike Instruments should sound, that so unexpected " a Noise might contribute to strike a Terror into the Enemy, " and increase their Confusion." Father *Bartolomeo de Olmedo* then began his Spiritual Exhortation, and gave them to understand, in pathetick Terms, That they were going to fight for God's Cause, encouraging and exhorting them to do their Duty to the utmost of their Ability, in order to merit his Divine Favour. There was a Cross in the Road, which they themselves had fix'd there when they had pass'd to *Mexico*, before which they all fell down on their Knees, while the pious Ecclesiastick dictated to them an Act of Contrition, which with Voices, expressing a fervent Zeal, they all pronounc'd after him: He then order'd them to recite the General Confession of Faith; and giving them his Blessing and Absolution, he left their Minds inspir'd with an Ardour, which, tho' their Thoughts were before generous and resolute, was of a sublimer and more refin'd Nature; for the Quiet of a Man's Conscience either lessens the Horrors and Apprehensions of Danger, or strengthens the Contempt of Death.

This Act of Devotion being over, *Hernan Cortez* put his Three little Battalions into Order: He dispos'd the Pikes and Fire Arms in their proper Places; repeated to the Officers their Instructions, and very particularly recommended Silence to all: The *Word* he gave them was *El Espiritu Santo*, i. e. *The Holy Ghost*, it being then *Whitsontide*. He then began his March, in the same Order they were to give the Assault, keeping a very slow Pace, that they might not arrive tir'd, and to give likewise the more Time to the Enemy to indulge themselves with Rest, depending pretty much on the Advantage he had of their Security and Negligence, whereby he hop'd, at a cheaper Rate, to overcome them, without having the least Scruple for his acting, upon this Occasion, with less Generosity than he was wont, in this Manner of surprizing his Enemy, call'd by the Ancients Faults of Emperors and Commanders; for all Stratagems, which are not actual Breach of Faith, are lawful Permissions in the Art Military, and the Preference between the Conduct and the Courage of a Soldier is disputable.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

HERNAN CORTEZ *arrives at* Zempoala, *where he finds Opposition. He obtains the Victory, and takes* NARVAEZ *Prisoner, whose Troops he obliges to serve under his Banner.*

CORTEZ had march'd somewhat more than half a League, when his Scouts return'd with a Centinel of *Narvaez*, whom they had surpriz'd and taken Prisoner; and inform'd him that the other, his Companion, who was a little behind, had escap'd among the Bushes; an Accident which destroy'd their Supposition of finding a sleeping Enemy. Upon this they held a short Consultation amongst the Officers; and it was unanimously agreed, That it was wholly improbable that the Soldier, in Case he had discover'd their March, would be so bold as to offer to return by the direct Road at first, it being more likely that he would take a round about Way to avoid the Danger. The Result of all was, without Delay to hasten their March, that they might, if possible, arrive to the Enemies Quarters before that Spy, or at least as soon as he; supposing that if he had not the Advantage of assaulting them sleeping, they should find them scarce well awake, and in the Disorder of their first Surprize. Thus they argued as they went, still advancing with the utmost Expedition, and when they came near the Town, they left their Horses, Baggage, and other Incumbrances, at a Brook a little out of the Road. But the Centinel, whose Fear gave him Wings, arriv'd some Minutes before them, and gave the Alarm, crying out as loud as he could, *The Enemy is upon us.* Those who were most alert instantly betook themselves to their Arms, and brought that Soldier before *Narvaez*, who after asking him some Questions, made slight both of the Intelligence and the Person who brought it; holding it for a Thing impracticable, that *Cortez* durst have the Presumption to seek him with so small a Number, within his very Lodgment, or that he could march in a Night so dark and tempestuous.

It was but a little more than Midnight when *Hernan Cortez* reach'd *Zempoala*, and he had the good Fortune not to be discover'd by the Enemies Cavalry, who, it is probable, had either lost their Way in the Obscurity of the Night, or had quitted the Road to seek some Shelter against the Rain. He enter'd the Town, and came with his Troops within Sight of the Temple, without finding any *Corps de Guard*, or Centinel to challenge him. The Dispute was then at the highest between *Narvaez* and the Soldier, who affirm'd, he not only saw the Enemy's Van-Guard, but likewise the whole Army upon a hasty March: But *Narvaez* and his People still found Pretences to justify and indulge their Security, and in canvassing and weighing the Probability of that Intelligence, lost that Time, which even had the News been more improbable than they imagin'd it, ought to have been employ'd in Prevention; walking backwards and forwards in the uppermost Porch, some dubious of the Truth of the Intelligence their Commander had receiv'd, and others less diffident, giving Credit to it; but all in general with their Arms in their Hands, and little less than prepar'd for whatever might happen. *Cortez* soon perceiv'd they had discover'd him: And finding himself now in the second of the Cases which they had before consider'd, resolv'd to give the Assault before they should put themselves in Order. He made the Signal for the Attack, and *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with his Van-Guard, began to mount the Stairs, according to the Instructions they had receiv'd. Some of the Men belonging to the Artillery, who were upon Guard, heard the Noise, and firing two or three Pieces, sounded an Alarm, which sufficiently convinc'd them all of the Truth of the first Rumour. This Alarm was immediately succeeded by the Noise of Drums, and confus'd Voices; and presently those who found themselves nearest at Hand, repair'd to the Defence of the Stairs. The Opposition soon increas'd, and the Dispute came to Push of Pike and Sword. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* was extremely put to it, being at once to force his Way against a far superior Number, with the Disadvantage of lower Ground: But it was not long before *Christoval de Olid* came up to his Relief, and *Hernan Cortez*, leaving his Rear form'd, flung himself into the hottest of the Engagement, facilitating the Advance of both those Captains, and performing with his Sword what he inspir'd with his Voice, whose Resolution and Impetuosity the Enemy unable to withstand, in a few Moments began to give Ground, quitting the last Step; and soon after retreating in great Disorder, abandoning the Porch, and the

Artillery. Many fled to their Quarters, others repair'd to the Gate of the principal Tower, where the Dispute again began, and continu'd for some Time with equal Courage on both Sides.

Pamphilo de Narvaez, who, by his Friends Persuasion, had stay'd to arm himself, now made his Appearance: He encourag'd, with his Words, those who were engaging the Enemy, and did all he could to put them in Order. He then advanc'd with so much Boldness into the thickest of the Fight, that being near one *Pedro Sanchez Farfan*, a Soldier of *Sandoval*'s Company, that Man gave him a Thrust in the Face with his Pike, which struck out one of his Eyes, whereupon he fell down, without being able to say any more than, *I am a dead Man!* The News of this Accident soon spread amongst his Troops: They were all seiz'd with Fear and Consternation, tho' with various Effects; for some abandon'd him shamefully; others stood motionless as if they had been Thunder-struck; and those who were most desirous of doing their utmost to succour him, fought like Men amaz'd, and in Confusion at the Suddeness of the Accident; insomuch that they found themselves oblig'd to retreat, leaving the Conquerors at Liberty to convey him away, who carry'd, or rather dragg'd him down the Stairs. *Cortez* sent Orders to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, to take Care of securing his Person, which was put in Execution, by delivering him to the Body of Men which was in the Rear: And that Commander, who a little before beheld this War with so careless an Eye, upon the Recovery of his Senses, found himself not only with the Pain of his Wound, but also in the Power of his Enemies, and with Two Pair of Fetters upon his Legs, without the least Prospect of obtaining his Liberty.

The Dispute was now, for want of Resistance, at an End. The Followers of *Narvaez* all shut themselves up in their Towers, so greatly terrify'd that they durst not offer to fire one Shot, and only took Care to defend the Entrance. The Partisans of *Cortez* with loud Voices proclaim'd their Victory, some repeating the Name of *Cortez*, others that of the Emperor *Don Carlos*, and the most considerate invok'd the *Holy Ghost*. These Acclamations of anticipated Joy did not a little serve to increase the Enemy's Consternation, which was, in that Juncture, supported by a Circumstance of no small Importance towards persuading them to believe that *Cortez* had brought thither a very powerful Army, which to their thinking, fill'd a great Part of the circumjacent Country; for from the Windows of their Towers they discover'd Lights at different

Distances, which thro' the Night's Obscurity appear'd to their Eyes like lighted Matches in the Hands of numerous Bands of Harquebusiers. These Lights were no other than certain Insects which shine by Night like Glow-Worms, but much brighter and of a larger Size than those in our Hemisphere: An Apprehension which had a very singular Influence upon the Minds of the more vulgar Part of the Army, and inspir'd with Doubts and Mistrusts even those who shew'd themselves most resolute. So apt are the Unfortunate to be shock'd and disturb'd at the least Effects of Chance.

Cortez commanded his Men to cease their Acclamations of Victory, the unseasonable Belief of which is very often of bad Consequence, and ought to be avoided and prevented, because it renders Soldiers careless and disorderly. He gave Orders that the Artillery should be turn'd against the Towers, and caus'd a general Pardon to be proclaim'd for those who would surrender; offering very reasonable Conditions, and a Communication of Interests to all those who would resolve to follow his Banners; Liberty and free Passage to those who were willing to return to the Island of *Cuba*; and to all in general Security for their Persons and Baggage, which was very prudently consider'd; for it greatly imported that he should make this Declaration of his Intentions before the Day, whose Dawn was not far off, should undeceive those People, and shew how inconsiderable a Force held them oppress'd, and give them Courage to recover from the Terror they were in: For sometimes Fear is converted into Rashness, out of mere Shame for having been alarm'd without suitable Foundation.

They had scarce finish'd the Publication to the Three separate Holds where the Enemy had retreated, when the Officers and Soldiers, in whole Troops, came to surrender themselves. As they arriv'd they every one deliver'd up their Arms; and *Cortez*, with his accustom'd Urbanity, receiv'd them very courteously, but, at the same Time, caus'd his Friends, as well as the others, to be disarm'd, either to conceal their Inclinations, or that their Example might serve as a Precedent to the rest. The Number of those who surrender'd increas'd to that Degree in a few Moments, that it was necessary to separate, and secure them with sufficient Guards till Day should discover their Countenances and Affections.

In the mean while *Gonzalo de Sandoval* did not forget *Narvaez*, but had his Wound carefully dress'd; and *Hernan Cortez*, who indefatigably went up and down to every Quarter, and consider'd *Narvaez* as his principal Care, went to see him, not intending

to discover himself, that he might not add to his Affliction by his Presence; but the Respect his Soldiers shew'd him at his Approach discover'd him; and *Narvaez* turning himself to look on him with the Air of one who was not throughly sensible of his Misfortune, said, "Be thankful and value your self, "Captain, upon the Good Fortune you have had in making "me your Prisoner." To which *Cortez* reply'd, "Thanks "be to God for all Things, Friend: But without any Manner "of Vanity, I do assure you, that I account this Victory and "your Imprisonment amongst the least considerable Actions "which have been transacted in this Country."

Cortez had Notice brought him, that one of the Towers, in which the Captains *Salvatierra* and *Diego Velasquez* the Younger had fortify'd themselves, made an obstinate Defence, those Officers, by their Authority and Persuasions, preventing the Soldiers who were with them from surrendring: Whereupon *Cortez* immediately return'd to the Temple, and caus'd them to be summon'd and acquainted, that if they would not surrender, they should be treated with the utmost Rigour of War; and finding they were resolutely bent either to defend themselves to the last, or to capitulate, he, not without some Heat, gave Orders to play with Two Pieces of Artillery upon the Tower; but presently after, he directed his Gunners to discharge against the Top of the Building, more to terrify than to hurt them. This Order they punctually executed, and there needed no more Trouble, that being sufficient to bring out the greatest Part of the Defendants to ask Quarter, leaving the Entrance of the Tower free, which *Juan Velasquez de Leon* soon possessed himself of, with a small Body of his Men, seizing the Captains *Salvatierra* and *Velasquez*, both declar'd Enemies, and who, it was to be fear'd, might aspire to supply the Vacancy of *Narvaez*. This compleated the Victory in Favour of *Cortez*: On his Side only Two Soldiers were kill'd, and some few wounded, of which Number Two more are said to have died afterwards. Of the contrary Faction were kill'd a Captain, an Ensign, with Fifteen private Men, and the Number of the Wounded was much more considerable. *Narvaez* and *Salvatierra* were sent to *Vera Cruz* with a sufficient Guard. Young *Diego Velasquez* remain'd Prisoner with *Juan Velasquez de Leon*; and notwithstanding he had given him a just Cause of Resentment upon Account of what had happen'd at *Zempoala*, he took particular Care both of his Cure and Entertainment, to which he was partly mov'd by the Tye of Blood, but chiefly out of a noble and generous Inclination. All this was perform'd

form'd before the Morning, and was a remarkable Action both on Account of the Justness of the Measures which *Cortez* took, and the Weaknesses, Oversights, and irregular Conduct of *Narvaez*.

At Break of Day arriv'd the Two Thousand *Chinantecas* which *Cortez* demanded; and notwithstanding they came after the Victory, *Cortez* was very glad at their Coming, being well pleas'd that his Prisoners should see he did not want Friends to assist him. With Shame and Confusion did the poor vanquish'd *Spaniards* reflect upon the Condition in which they then found themselves. The Day-Light set their Ignominy in full View before their Eyes: They beheld the Arrival of those Succours, and soon came to the Knowledge of the small Force with which *Cortez* had obtain'd the Victory: They curs'd the the Confidence and Supinity of *Narvaez*, and condemn'd his thoughtless Indolence; all which Reflections made Way for their greater Esteem of *Cortez*, whose Vigilance and undaunted Courage they consider'd with no less Admiration. It is the Prerogative of Valour, more especially in War, not to be hated even by those who envy it. The Unfortunate may, indeed, be sensible of their Disgrace, and may feel it with Regret; yet the heroick Exploits of a Conqueror lose no Part of their Lustre in the Eyes of the Conquer'd: A Maxim which was never more verify'd than upon this Occasion; for there was not amongst all those Prisoners one Soldier but who had a secret Inclination to follow the Fortune of an abler Leader, (yet still without communicating his Sentiments to the rest) and to serve under the Banners of an Army where the Soldiers acquir'd both Honour and Wealth.

Cortez had no small Number of real Friends and Well-Wishers amongst them, besides many who were affected with his Valour, and more who were charm'd with his Liberality. His real Friends at last threw aside the Mask of Dissimulation, and gave a Beginning to the Acclamations with which all who were disinterestedly affected presently declar'd themselves, and the rest soon follow'd their Example. They were admitted to the Presence of their new General: Many would have cast themselves at his Feet, had he not prevented them with his Embraces. They all gave in their Names, disputing for the Preference on the Roll, nor was there one amongst all that Number who made the least Motion of returning to the Island of *Cuba*.

Hernan Cortez had, by these Means, gain'd the principal Advantage he propos'd in this Undertaking; for he did not so

much desire to conquer those *Spaniards*, as he did to bring them over to his Party. He made it his Business to consider and pry into their Inclinations, and having found in them all a sufficient Sincerity, he soon after order'd their Arms to be return'd; an Action which some of his Officers were very averse to, and had endeavour'd to prevent: But there wanted not Motives for this Confidence and Security. Those of the greatest Authority and Distinction among them were his real Friends, and the *Chinantecas* being there was a considerable Security to his Party. They acknowledg'd the Favour they receiv'd, and, with fresh Acclamations, applauded the Trust he put in them; so that in a few Hours *Cortez* found himself possess'd of an Army of more than a Thousand *Spaniards*, the only Enemies who could give him Umbrage, safe in his Custody, a Fleet of Eleven Ships and Seven Brigantines at his Disposal, the last Effort of *Diego Velasquez* overthrown and brought to nought, Master of sufficient Force to return to his principal Conquest; all which was owing to his undaunted Heart, great Vigilance, and Military Skill; and not a little to the Valour and Compliance of his Soldiers who had first so readily approv'd of this dangerous Enterprize, and afterwards, with the Sword, had gain'd him not only the Victory, but that which he chiefly desir'd: For in the Opinion of those who set up for Judges of Fame and Reputation, it is Success alone that crowns the Design, and often gives the Reputation of Prudent Conduct to the rashest and most hazardous Undertakings.

CHAP. XI.

CORTEZ *reduces the Cavalry of* NARVAEZ *which kept the Field. He receives Information that the* Mexicans *had taken up Arms against the* Spaniards *which he had left with* MOTEZUMA. *He marches with his Army to* Mexico, *and enters that City without Opposition.*

THE Cavalry of *Narvaez* did not appear that Night, which had they been dispos'd as a Place of Arms, at so small a Distance from the Enemy, requir'd, might have been very troublesome to *Cortez*: But there all Military Rules were laid aside; for when once the Commander in Chief falls into the Errors of Negligence and Security, all the false Steps he makes seem less strange, since the Absurdities of his Conduct pass for Consequences. Those who had least Share in the Action made Use of the Horses to make their Escape; and in the Morning came Advice, that they had join'd those who were detach'd for Scouts the Night before, and made up a Body of about Forty Horse, with which they beat up and down the Neighbourhood with a Countenance as if they intended to make Resistance. This News gave but little Umbrage; and *Hernan Cortez*, before he would proceed to violent Methods against them, sent Two Officers, *Christoval de Olid*, and *Diego de Ordaz*, to endeavour to reduce them by fair Means, which Commission they presently put in Execution, and, at the first Offer of their being admitted into the Army upon the same Footing with their Companions, brought them to Reason, the Example set them by the rest being sufficient to induce them all readily to come in and take Service under *Cortez* with their Arms and Horses. Immediate Care was taken of the Wounded, for whom and all the rest convenient Quarters were provided, upon which Occasion the *Cazique* and his *Zempoalans* assisted chearfully and diligently, celebrating the Victory, and disposing all Things for the Entertainment of their Friends with a Kind of interested Joy, in which they seem'd to breathe after their past Fatigues.

Hernan

Hernan Cortez was not negligent as to what regarded the Security of the *Armada*; a very essential Point at this nice Juncture. He sent immediate Orders to Captain *Francisco de Lugo*, that he should cause the Sails, Tackling, and Rudders of all the Vessels to be brought Ashore and laid up at *Vera Cruz*. He order'd that the Pilots and Mariners who came with *Narvaez* should come to *Zempoala*, and sent such a Number of his own as he thought sufficient to take Care of the Hulls. With these he appointed one *Pedro Cavallero*, to go in Quality of their Chief, or Supervisor, a sufficient Employment for *Bernal Diaz* to honour him with the Title of *Admiral* of the *Sea*.

After this he dismiss'd the *Chinantecas*, who return'd Home, making as great Acknowledgment for their Succour as if they had done him actual Service: He then allow'd some Days for the Refreshment of his Troops, during which Time the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, and *Caziques* of the circumjacent Country came to congratulate the *Good Spaniards*, or *Gentle Teales*, or *Gods*, for so they call'd those who belong'd to *Cortez*. They renew'd their Obedience, and made fresh Offers of their Friendship, accompanying these Demonstrations of Respect with many Presents and Regales, whereat the People of *Narvaez* did not a little admire, beginning to experience the Advantages of the new Party they had embrac'd in the Entertainment and Security of those *Indians*, who a little before had appear'd discontented, sullen and terrify'd.

But notwithstanding this Chain of Success, *Cortez* had *Mexico* continually at Heart: The Dangers to which he had left *Pedro de Alvarado* and his *Spaniards* expos'd, was never one Moment out of his Mind. He was sensible that their Security consisted solely on that little Dependance he might have upon the Promise *Motezuma* had made him, of not attempting any Change in his Absence: An Obligation of no great Force, where the Princes are arbitrary and their Will absolute, and where their Statesmen, with various Solutions, seldom fail of pretending to free their Soveraigns from all Tyes, maintaining, that they are not oblig'd to the Observance of their Words like private Men: An abominable State Maxim, which upon this Occasion gave *Cortez* sufficient Ground for Apprehension, yet still without approving so base a Policy by an open Suspicion; for to admit, in any Manner, of a King's breaking his Word is the same Thing as to acquit him of the Obligations of a Man of Honour. Having fix'd his Resolution of immediateley returning to *Mexico*, and not being willing to run the Hazard of taking with him so numerous a Body of Men, for Fear of

giving Umbrage to *Motezuma*, and moving afresh the unquiet Spirits of his Courtiers, he determin'd to divide his Army, and employ some Part of his Troops in other Conquests. To this Effect he appointed *Juan Velasquez de Leon* to take Two Hundred Men under his Conduct, and march to the Province of *Panuco*, to pacify the Disturbances there, and *Diego de Ordaz*, with Two Hundred more to people the Country of *Guazacoalco*; reserving for himself little more than Six Hundred *Spaniards*, a Number which he thought well proportion'd for his Return to the *Mexican* Court with some Appearance of Modesty, yet without wholly laying aside the Marks of a Conqueror.

But at the very Time when this Disposition was going to be put in Execution, something new offer'd which oblig'd him to change his Resolutions: For he receiv'd a Letter from *Pedro de Alvarado*, wherein that Officer inform'd him, "That the "*Mexicans* had taken up Arms against him; and in Spite of "*Motezuma*, who had never once offer'd to leave the Quar- "ters, had made such frequent Attacks, and in such Mul- "titudes, that himself, and all who were with him, would "be inevitably lost if they were not speedily succour'd." This Intelligence was brought by a *Spanish* Soldier, accompany'd by an Embassador from *Motezuma*, whose Message was to lay before *Cortez* the following Representations, "That it "had been intirely out of his Soveraign's Power to repress "the Fury of his seditious Vassals: That his Royal Authority "had suffer'd extremely from those Mutineers: That his "Majesty assur'd him, he would never abandon *Pedro de Alva-* "*rado*, and the *Spaniards*;" and lastly, he invited him to Court, with all possible Expedition, to apply a Remedy to that Evil. Whether it was upon Account of the ill Consequences that Sedition might produce to himself, or whether upon Account of the Danger his *Spanish* Guests were in, both the one and the other argue his Sincerity, and the great Confidence he repos'd in *Cortez*.

There was no Occasion to consult about what Resolution was to be taken in this Case, for both Officers and Soldiers voted their immediate March to be absolutely indispensible: Some taking for a seasonable and lucky Presage this Accident which serv'd as a Pretext to prevent the Division of their Forces, and to return with the whole Body to *Mexico*, from the Reduction of which Place their future Conquests were all to commence. *Cortez*, without Delay, nam'd for Governor of *Vera Cruz*, in Quality of Deputy, or Lieutenant to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, one *Rodrigo Rangel*, a Person in whom he confided,

to

to whose Capacity and Care he might venture to trust the Security of the Prisoners, and the Preservation of his *Indian* Allies. He then caus'd his Army to be muster'd, and after having deducted a Garrison proper to be left at *Zempoala*, with a sufficient Number for the Security of the Vessels, he found it to consist of a Thousand Foot, and One Hundred Horse. He took different Routs, both to avoid incommoding the Country People, and for the greater Conveniency of procuring Plenty of Provisions, and appointed for the general Rendezvous, a Place well known near *Tlascala*, into which they thought it necessary to march united, and in good Order: But notwithstanding several Commissaries were sent before, to furnish the Army on the March, all their Diligence was not sufficient to prevent those who march'd out of the principal Road from suffering Hunger sometimes, and frequently intolerable Thirst. These Fatigues and Hardships those who came with *Narvaez* endur'd without murmuring or being dishearten'd; tho' they were the same Men who, a little before, had given Way to less unsupportable Inconveniencies, which Change must be attributed either to the Example set them by the Veterans, or to the Hopes with which their Hearts were inspir'd, and may be also partly imputed to the Difference of the Leader, an Opinion of whom is generally wont to have a secret Influence upon the Soldiers, both as to their Courage in Battle, as to their Patience in undergoing Hardships.

Cortez, before his setting out, wrote an Answer to *Pedro de Alvarado*, and sent to *Motezuma* by his Embassador, giving them an Account of his Victory, Return, and the Increase of his Army; to the one, to encourage him with the Hopes of powerful Succour; and to the other, that he might not be surpriz'd to see him return with so great a Force, since the Disturbances in his Capital oblig'd him not to divide his Troops. He regulated his March by the Necessity he was under, making all the Expedition he possibly could; lessening the Hours of Refreshment, which he seem'd to find even in the Fatigue he underwent. He made some Stay at the Place of Rendezvous to gather up his People, who came by different Roads, and at last arriv'd at *Tlascala*, on the Seventeenth of *June*, with all his Troops in good Order. His Entry was splendid and joyful. *Magiscatzin* entertain'd *Cortez* at his own House. The rest were accomodated, respected, and well regal'd, in their several Quarters. The Hatred the *Tlascalans* bore the *Mexicans* was as little conceal'd, as was their Love to the *Spaniards*. They acquainted them with their Conspiracy, and the imminent Danger

Pedro de Alvarado was in, with Circumſtances of more Affection than Certainty: They exaggerated the Preſumption and the Perfidy of that Nation, exciting the *Spaniards* to Revenge, mixing their Counſel and Inſinuation together with no great Artifice, magnifying the Crimes of the *Mexicans* with a ſuſpicious Zeal; for Truths in the Mouth of an Enemy, tho' introduc'd by Way of Intelligence, are really deſign'd Accuſations.

The Senate, upon this Occaſion, reſolv'd to make a grand Effort, and to get all their Troops together to aſſiſt *Cortez* againſt the *Mexicans*, not without their own politick Reaſons, which were better comprehended than conceal'd; for it plainly appear'd, that under the ſpecious Pretext of favouring the Cauſe of their Friend, their Deſign was to make Uſe of his Forces to ruin, at once, the commanding Nation which they ſo much abhorr'd. This Diſguiſe was eaſily ſeen thro'; and *Hernan Cortez*, after he had ſhewn his Acknowledgment and Satisfaction for their Offers, repreſs'd the Pride with which they were diſpos'd to follow him, oppoſing, to the Inſtances of the Senate, ſome ſeeming Reaſons, which in Subſtance were no more than bare Pretences againſt Pretences. But he admitted of about Two Thouſand Men, of their beſt Troops, with their reſpective Officers, or Commanders of Companies, to march with him, and which were of Service afterwards upon the following Occaſions. He took theſe *Indians* with him, either for the greater Security of his Undertaking, or to keep up the Confidence of the *Tlaſcalans*, who already had the Reputation of being valiant in Engagements againſt the *Mexicans*, and he took no greater Number, that he might neither give Offence to *Motezuma*, nor drive his mutinous Subjects to Deſpair; for his Intention was to enter *Mexico* in a pacifick Manner, and to try if he could reduce thoſe People with moderate Remedies without giving Way to his Anger, or thinking of the Puniſhment of the Guilty; he deſir'd now to make every Thing as eaſy as poſſible, as being ſenſible, that the quieting of a Sedition, and terrifying the Seditious, are Two Things which very ill agree at one and the ſame Time.

He arriv'd at *Mexico* upon St. *John's* Day, without having met with any Subject of Uneaſineſs in the Way more than the Variety and Diſagreement of the Intelligence he receiv'd. The Army paſs'd the Lake without the leaſt Oppoſition, tho' there wanted not Appearances that Something had been intended; for they found the Two *Spaniſh* Brigantines ſtav'd to Pieces and burn'd; the Suburbs and Barrier at the Entrance abandon'd;

abandon'd; the Bridges, which serv'd for the Communication of the Streets, broken down, and all in a suspicious gloomy Silence; all Signs which oblig'd them to slacken their Pace, the Infantry still advancing with a slow March, the Cavalry going a considerable Way before. This Suspicion lasted till the *Spaniards*, who were with *Motezuma* in *Mexico*, discovering their Army, rais'd a great Shout and dissipated their Apprehensions. *Pedro de Alvarado* came down with his People to the Gate of his Quarters, and they celebrated their common Felicity with mutual Satisfaction. Instead of saluting, they wish'd each other Joy of their Victory: All spoke, and all were interrupted; much was express'd by Embraces and broken Sentences; the usual Eloquence of Joy, where Sounds are far more expressive and significant than Words.

Motezuma, follow'd by some of his Servants, went out as far as the outermost Court, where he receiv'd *Cortez* with an Excess of Joy and Affection, all Majesty being quite laid aside. It is certain, and no one offers to deny it, that he desir'd his Coming, because he had then great Occasion both for his Forces and Counsel, to keep his Subjects under; as likewise upon Account of the very Confinement in which he found himself, different from that kind of Liberty which *Cortez* gave him, suffering him to go out to his Diversion whenever he pleas'd; a Liberty he would not once assume, during the whole Time of his Absence, notwithstanding his Confinement most certainly depended purely upon the Force of his Parole; the Compliance with which oblig'd him not to abandon the *Spaniards* in those troublesome Times.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo says, " That *Hernan Cortez* repaid " with ill Manners and Slight, all *Motezuma*'s Demonstrations " of Respect: That he turn'd his Face from him, and retir'd " to his Apartment, without either visiting him, or suffering " himself to be visited by him; That he us'd some very dis- " respectful and uncivil Expressions towards him, even in the " Hearing of his Servants." And adds, as his own Opinion, " That finding himself with such a Number of *Spaniards*, " he spoke with so much Boldness and Discourtesy." Thus says *Bernal Diaz*: But *Antonio de Herrera*, in his History, discredits *Cortez* still more; for he pretends to quote that General's own Expressions as a Proof of his irregular Procedure, in the following Words; " Many People have affirm'd, that they " have heard *Cortez* say, *That if upon his Arrival, he visited* Mo- " tezuma, *his Affairs would go well*; and that he did not do it; " holding him in small Account because he found himself so

" power-

"powerful." And to this Purpose, he quotes a Passage out of *Cornelius Tacitus*, the Substance of which is, *That Prosperity makes great Commanders proud and insolent.* Neither *Francisco Lopez de Gomara*, nor *Hernan Cortez* himself, in the second Relation of his Journey, relates it after this Manner; and *Cortez* might sure have touch'd upon it, to have shewn the Motives which oblig'd him to a Procedure of so much Harshness, either to have given Reasons for his so doing, or to have made an Excuse. We leave to the Judicious and Unbiassed to decide what Credit ought to be given to these Circumstances: But we beg leave to make some Scruple at believing that *Cortez* could ever be guilty of so fruitless and unseasonable an Absurdity. The same *Herrera* and *Castillo* agree, That *Motezuma* oppos'd, as much as in him lay, the seditious Proceedings of the *Mexicans*: That he always with-held and repress'd them: That they attempted to force the Quarters; and that *Pedro de Alvarado*, and all the rest who were with him, must infallibly have perished, had they not been protected under the Shadow of his Authority. No body offers to deny *Cortez* being very sensible of all that; and his finding that Prince religiously punctual to all he had promis'd, left him not the least Room to surmise the contrarry, it being both preposterous and unreasonable to suppose, that he should foment an Insurrection which he sedulously endeavour'd to suppress, or that he should voluntarily continue among the very People whom he design'd to destroy. It seems an Action altogether inconsistent with the usual Prudence of *Cortez*, to shew a Contempt for a Person of whose Assistance and Protection there was so much Probability he might stand in Need; nor was the Immoderation they charge him with, as the Effect of his Prosperity, at all natural to his Temper and Genius. It may be believ'd, or at least surmis'd, that *Antonio de Herrera* gave into this Particular with little or no Foundation, only by perusing the Manuscripts of *Bernal Diaz*, a prejudic'd Interpreter of the Actions of *Cortez*; and perhaps he inclin'd to follow his Opinion out of a Vanity, to adapt and appropriate that Sentence of *Tacitus*: An Ambition in Historians both dangerous and pernicious, since it seldom fails of either wresting, or biassing the Narrative, purely to introduce the Remarks they like; and it is not every one that will be at the Trouble of examining farther, to inform himself, whether the Quotation and the Truth of the Fact agree.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Motives which induc'd the Mexicans *to take up Arms.* Diego de Ordaz, *with ſome Companies of Men, is ſent to make Diſcoveries in the City. Falls into an Ambuſh the Revolters had laid for him, upon which* Cortez *determines to proſecute the War.*

TWO or Three Days before *Cortez* arriv'd at *Mexico*, the Rebels had retir'd to the other Part of the City, ſuſpending all Hoſtilities, in which, according to what could be inferr'd from the Event, they had crafty and treacherous Views. They thought themſelves ſecure in their exceſſive Numbers, and were grown proud upon their having kill'd Three or Four *Spaniards* in the paſt Engagements: An extraordinary Caſe, by which, tho' at the Expence of many Lives, they aſſum'd freſh Boldneſs, and greater Inſolence. They knew *Cortez* was coming, and could not be ignorant how much his Army was increas'd, but they were ſo far from fearing him, that they retreated in that Manner, and left him the Entrance free, with the View of deſtroying all the *Spaniards* at once, after they were joyn'd together in the City. Their real Deſign in that myſterious Conduct was not at firſt underſtood, tho' their Retreat was look'd upon as Policy; nor can one judge too ſuſpiciouſly of the Motions of a known Enemy.

The whole Army was quarter'd within the Walls of the ſpacious Palace, where both *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans* were ſufficiently accommodated: Guards and Centinels were diſtributed and plac'd, anſwerable to the Jealouſy wherewith that myſterious Ceſſation from Hoſtilities had inſpir'd them. *Cortez* retir'd with *Pedro de Alvarado* to inquire into the Original of this Sedition, and to conſider of Remedies upon the Knowledge of the Cauſe: And here we again meet with the ſame Variety and Contradictions by which the Courſe of our Pen has been frequently interrupted. Some ſay, That the Practices and Intelligence of *Narvaez* firſt induc'd the *Mexicans* to

this Insurrection. Others, That *Motezuma* himself alone contriv'd and fomented the Mutiny, as impatient of Confinement, and desirous of his Liberty; but it is not at all necessary that we detain ourselves upon this Point, since we have already fully shewn upon what slender Foundations these private Negociations are attributed to *Narvaez*; and *Motezuma* has been sufficiently clear'd from all such incoherent and contradictory Imputations. Some have affirm'd the Source of this Sedition to have proceeded from the Loyalty and Fidelity of the *Mexicans*; reporting, that their sole Reason for taking up Arms, was in order to rescue their Soveraign from the Oppression he lay under; a Sentiment, which comes nearer to Reason and Probability, than it does to real Fact. Others attribute this Rupture to the Zeal of the *Indian* Sacerdotes: And this Opinion indeed has some Appearance of Truth; for they were very officious in the Tumult, loudly publishing the Menaces of their Gods, inspiring the rest with that same Fury wherewith they themselves were dispos'd to receive their diabolical Oracles. They repeated to the People what *Satan* spoke by the Mouths of their Idols; and tho' they were not the first Movers of the Sedition, they were yet indefatigably active, and powerfully zealous in supporting it, by stirring up the People's Minds. Foreign Writers are still far more remote, from even the Appearance of Truth, accounting the Origin and Motives of those Disturbances among the Cruelties and Inhumanities with which they endeavour to discredit and blacken the *Spaniards* in their Conquest of the *Indies*: And the worst of all is, they support their Malice by citing *Bartolomeo de las Casas*, or *Casaus*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Chiapa*, whose Words they copy, and quote as an authentick infallible Proof of what they charge our Nation with, as being the Testimony of one of our own Authors, and a Person of no small Distinction. What he left in Writing, and which passes among his Works, is, " That the " *Mexicans* having appointed a publick Dance, of that Kind " which they call *Mitotes*, in order to divert and entertain *Mo-* " *tezuma*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, taking Notice of the Jewels with " which the *Indians* were adorn'd, call'd together all his Sol- " diers, and fell upon them, cutting them to Pieces, to make " himself Master of those valuable Ornaments; in the gaining " of which infamous Spoils, he says, above Two Thousand " of the *Mexican* Nobility were put to the Sword," with which he leaves the Conspiracy on the Footing of a just Revenge. A preposterous, unaccountable Suggestion, neither probable, nor even possible. This Prelate did, at that Time, sollicit the Relief of

of the *Indians*, and exaggerating the Oppressions they labour'd under, had far less Regard to the Truth, than to the supporting of his own Assertion. The greatest Part of our Writers convince him of being ill inform'd, not only of that Affair, but likewise in several other Enormities, which he has left in Writing to the Discredit of the *Spaniards*. 'Tis happy to find him so well refuted, that we may the better treat him with that Respect which is due to his Dignity. The plain Truth of the Matter was, That *Pedro de Alvarado*, a little after the Departure of *Cortez* from *Mexico*, perceiv'd, in the Nobility of that Court, less Respect and Complaisance than usual, which obliged him to behave himself with greater Caution, and to have an Eye to their Motions and Countenances. He employ'd some Persons in whom he could confide, to observe what pass'd in the City, and by them understood that the People were contriving something extraordinary; that they held Assemblies in several different Houses, with an ill concerted Privacy, which tho' it concealed their Measures, yet it plainly enough discover'd their Intentions: However, he had such good Intelligence, that he had evident Reason to be assur'd, that there was a dangerous Conspiracy hatching against the *Spaniards*; nor was it long before he gain'd even some of the Conspirators themselves, who gave him a full Account of the whole Treason, aggravating the Circumstances, without forgetting their own Interest. A solemn Festival was drawing near, which they were annually wont to celebrate with those Publick Dances, called *Mitotes*, which was a promiscuous Convention of Nobility and Plebeians, and was indeed an Assembly of the whole City. This Day was pitch'd upon for the putting their Enterprize in Execution, as supposing that upon such an Occasion they might assemble openly, without being taken Notice of, or giving any Jealousy. Their Intention was to begin the Dance, in order to get the common People together, and then in a Body, follow'd by the Multitude, to proclaim aloud their Emperor's Liberty, and the Defence of their Gods; postponing the Publication of their Designs till then, as being of too great Importance to be hazarded among the Vulgar, till they might reasonably think themselves secure from Danger by their Numbers; and in Reality their Scheme was not ill laid; nor is it often seen that the Wicked are defective in Contrivances how to perpetrate the Evil they have projected.

The Morning before the appointed Day, some of the chief Promoters of the Sedition came to visit *Pedro de Alvarado*, and ask'd his Permission to celebrate their Festival, which was no other

other than a formal Compliment with which they thought to blind him; and he not having as yet his Suspicions sufficiently confirm'd, granted their Request, upon Condition, that they should not go armed, nor offer any human Sacrifices: But that very Night he understood, that they were busily employ'd in concealing a considerable Quantity of Arms in Houses near the Temple. This intirely dissipated all his Doubts, and gave Occasion for a very rash Action which yet had some Appearances of a Remedy, and might have prov'd so if he had gone about it with due Moderation. He resolv'd to assault them in the Beginning of their Festival, without giving them Time to take Arms, or raise the Populace; and accordingly he put it in Execution, going out at the Hour appointed accompany'd with Fifty of his Men, as if his Curiosity to see the Diversion had led him thither. He found them all in a Manner intoxicated with Liquor and Excess of Joy, that their Treason was hitherto undiscover'd, and in so great a Forwardness. He attack'd and put them to Flight with little or no Resistance; wounding and killing several who delay'd running away or leaping from the Galleries and Windows of the Temple. His Design was only to terrify and disperse them, which he indeed very easily compass'd, but not without Disorder; for the *Spaniards* instantly fell to stripping the Dead and Wounded of their Jewels and Ornaments of Value: A Liberty not to be prevented at that Time, nor ever without the greatest Difficulty when a Soldier finds himself with a Sword in his Hand, and Gold in View.

Pedro de Alvarado manag'd this Affair with more Heat than Foresight. He retir'd with the Satisfaction of a Conqueror without acquainting the Populace with the Motives of his Anger. He ought immediately upon the Spot to have publish'd the Treachery which those Nobles had been contriving against him; and should have expos'd the Arms they had conceal'd, or have done something on his Part to gain, in his Favour, the Votes of the common People, who are always very easily mov'd against the Nobility: But he return'd either well satisfy'd and convinc'd that the Chastisement he inflicted upon the *Indians* had been just, and the Resolution absolutely necessary, or else ignorant how much it imported a successful Action to be supported by Equity and Reason. Those People, who knew nothing at all of the Provocation, and beheld the Slaughter of the Nobility, and Spoil of their Jewels, attributed the whole Action to an avaricious Thirst, and were so enrag'd that they presently ran to their Arms, and with little, or no,

Sollici-

Sollicitation from the first Conspirators, incorporated themselves into their Body, by which Means the Sedition was instantly swell'd to a most formidable Monster.

Hernan Cortez reprehended *Pedro de Alvarado* for his rash Precedure, and especially for his Want of Consideration, in hazarding himself and the best Part of his Forces upon a Day so universally popular, leaving his Quarter, and what should have been his chief Care, expos'd to any Accident which might happen. He was likewise much concern'd that he had conceal'd from *Motezuma* the first Appearance of that Disturbance; for *Alvarado* did not confide in that Prince till he saw him by his Side in the succeeding Dispute; whereas he should have communicated to him his Suspicions, if not to make Use of his Authority, yet, at least, to sound his Mind, in order to discover whether or no he was secure with so weak a Garrison; instead of which he turn'd his Back upon an Enemy of whom he ought to have been most jealous. He blam'd his Inadvertency that he did not publickly justify himself to the People, and even to the Delinquents themselves, for such a violent Proceeding. By all which it was manifestly obvious, that neither in the Action itself, nor the Motives, or Circumstances, was there any of that premeditated Malice which has been imputed to him: For most certainly *Cortez* would not have been satisfy'd with reprehending only a Misdemeanor of so much Injustice and Cruelty, nor would ever have let slip that Opportunity of punishing, or at least confining him, in order to introduce Peace by that exemplary Satisfaction: But, as a convincing Argument, we find that *Alvarado* himself propos'd his own Imprisonment, as a Means to facilitate the Reduction of those People; but *Cortez* did not approve of that Method, because he thought it was a better Way to make Use of the same Reason, which *Alvarado* himself had against the first Mutineers, to undeceive the Populace, and weaken the Faction of the Nobility.

The Seditious kept close all the Evening, nor was there afterwards any Thing to disturb the Quiet of that Night. The Morning came, and *Hernan Cortez* observing the same suspicious Silence to be still among the Enemy, made no Doubt but that they were at their Cabals, since not one Soul was to be seen in the Streets, nor any where about, as far as the Eye could discern; insomuch that he order'd *Diego de Ordaz* out into the City to dive into the Bottom of that Mystery. He took with him Four Hundred *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* Soldiers, and in good Order began to march thro' the principal Streets. He had not gone

far, before he discover'd a pretty numerous Company of armed Men, which the Enemy, it seems, had detach'd out on purpose to decoy and draw him on; and he still advancing, with a Design to make some Prisoners, in order to get Intelligence, discover'd an innumerable Multitude of *Indians*, who march'd up to his Front; when looking back, he beheld another Army in his Rear, which had been conceal'd in the neighbouring Streets, on each Side, cutting off his Retreat. Both Bodies attack'd him at once with equal Fury; and at the same Time there appear'd at the Windows, and in the Galleries of the Houses, a Third Army of the Common People, which in a Manner hinder'd them from breathing, darkening the Air with Stones, and all Sorts of missive Weapons. *Diego de Ordaz*, who, upon this Occasion, stood in Need of all his Valour, Resolution, and Experience to extricate himself, with as much Speed, and as little Confusion as possible, from so desperate a Juncture, divided his Battalion according to the Ground; making a Second Front to his Rear with Pikes and Swords, against the Two Torrents of Enemies below, and plying his Fire-Arms against those who were above. It was wholly impracticable for him to advertise *Cortez* of the Danger he was in; nor did the General think it any Way necessary to reinforce him without such Notice, as presuming that he had sufficient Force to execute the Orders he had given him: But the Heat of the Engagement was of no long Continuance; for the *Indians* attack'd so tumultuously, and with so little Order, that confounded, and, as it were, drowned in their own Numbers, hinder'd each other from making Use of their Arms, and so many of them lost their Lives at the first Assault, that the rest were reduc'd to such a Distance, that they could neither offend, nor be offended. The Fire-Arms quickly clear'd the Galleries; and *Diego de Ordaz*, who only came to make Discoveries, thought it not proper to engage himself too far, and perceiving that the Enemy besieg'd him at a Distance, reduc'd now to fight with their Tongues, as the only Weapons they could use, loading him with loud Threats and scurrilous Language, resolv'd to retreat, by opening a Passage with his Sword: So that having given Orders, and marching in the same Form in which he then was, he vigorously attack'd those who were posted between him and the Quarters, as he, at the same Time, did those who were in the Rear, or who appear'd upon the Tops of the Houses. He compass'd his Retreat with Difficulty, and not without the Expence of some Blood; for he himself, together with the greatest Part of his Men were wounded, and he

left Eight dead upon the Spot, whom they could not possibly bring off. It is likely they were *Tlascalans*; because Mention is only made of one *Spaniard*, who behaved himself remarkably well that Day, and died discharging his Duty.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo gives a particular Account of his Behaviour, and says, that his Name was *Lezcano*. The rest of the Authors do not mention him at all, so that his true Name is not positively known, which deserv'd to be transmitted to Posterity, which nevertheless, under that Name, honours the Memory of that valiant Soldier. *Cortez* became sensible, by what had happen'd, that it was no Time now to endeavour at, or even to think of making any Proposals for an Accommodation, which would lessen his own Reputation, and augment the Insolence of the Seditious. He determin'd therefore to make it desir'd by the Enemy, rather than to propose it himself, and to make a Sally out into the City with the greatest Part of his Troops, in order to oblige them, by Dint of Hostilities, to seek for Peace. There was at that Time none by whose Means he could introduce the Treaty: As for *Motezuma*, he was diffident of his own Authority, being apprehensive of the Disobedience of his Vassals. Among the Rebels no one either commanded or obey'd, or rather they all commanded, and none obey'd: A Mob, confus'd, ungovernable, without Distinction, or Discipline, promiscuously compos'd of Nobles and Plebeians. *Cortez* desir'd, with all his Heart, to follow the Path of Moderation, and was not altogether without Hopes of accomplishing his Desires, or bringing Matters to an Accommodation; but he thought it intirely necessary to be apply'd to by the Mutineers, rather than to take upon him to persuade them to it, in which he acted like a prudent and cautious Commander: For it is never safe to trust to disarmed Reason to appease the Fury of a seditious People; for Reason is never so well listen'd to as when it is powerfully supported, and Faction is an inexorable Monster, with an Infinity of Heads, but not one Ear.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Mexicans *assault the* Spanish *Quarters, and are repuls'd.* CORTEZ *makes two Sallies, in which, tho' the Enemy were both times defeated, and put to Flight with great Slaughter, yet, he distrusts his being able to reduce them.*

THE *Mexicans* pursu'd *Diego de Ordaz*, esteeming his Retreat no better than as a Flight, following the Chace with a disorderly Fury, till the Artillery from the Quarters forcibly detain'd them, and with a terrible Slaughter oblig'd them to give back, as far as was necessary, to be out of the Reach of that Danger; but they halted in Sight, and by their Silence and the Diligence, with which they were putting themselves in Order, it was plainly perceiv'd that they were forming some new Design.

Their Intent was to assault the Quarters on every Side by main Force; and all the Streets thereabouts were immediately fill'd with People; after which the Drums and Shells made the Signal for the Attack. They immediately advanc'd with great Fury and Precipitation. Their Van-Guard was compos'd of Companies of Archers, that by clearing the Walls the rest might Approach. Their Discharge were so inexpressibly thick, in order to make Room for those who were appointed for the Assault, that the Defendants found themselves in no small Confusion, being extremely put to it to defend themselves, and repulse their Enemies at the same Time. The Quarters were almost cover'd, or in a Manner drowned with Arrows; which Expression ought not to be tax'd with being too Hyperbolical, since they were actually oblig'd to appoint People on Purpose to remove them, they were so offensive, the second Time, by barring the Way to the Ramparts. The Artillery and small Fire-Arms made a terrible Destruction of the Enemy; but they came so resolutely determin'd either to conquer or to dye, that they advanc'd in Swarms to fill up the Vacancy of those who fell, and carry'd on the Attack with an intrepid Obstinacy, trampling upon the Dead, and rushing over the Wounded, without the least Remorse.

Several put themſelves under the very Cannon, and aſſaulted with incredible Reſolution, making Uſe of their flinted Inſtruments to break the Gates, and pick the Walls: Some got upon their Companions Shoulders to come within the Reach of their Weapons; others made Ladders of their own Lances and Pikes to gain the Windows and Terraces; and all in general expos'd themſelves to Fire and Sword like enrag'd Beaſts. Notable Inſtances of a fearleſs Temerity, and which might have paſs'd for gallant Actions, had true Valour perform'd that which, in Reality, was no other than a ſalvage Ferocity.

But they were at laſt repuls'd, and retir'd, for Cover, to the Croſs-Streets, where they halted till the Night's Approach diſpers'd them; more out of Regard to a Cuſtom they had, never to fight in the Sun's Abſence, than out of any apparent Hopes they gave of having given over the Enterprize. On the contrary, they had the Boldneſs, ſome Days after, once more to alarm the *Spaniards*, by ſetting Fire to their Quarters in different Parts; which they either did by applying it to the Doors and Windows, by the Help of the Night's Obſcurity, or by ſhooting Arrows from a Diſtance with Artificial Fire, which laſt indeed ſeems moſt probable; for the Flame increas'd ſo ſuddenly, and took hold on the Buildings with ſuch an impetuous Rage, that they were oblig'd, in order to prevent the Communication of the ſeveral Fires, to break down ſome Walls, and to toil afterwards in ſtopping up thoſe Breaches they had made, and to put them in a Poſture of Defence; a Fatigue which laſted the greateſt Part of the Night.

But ſcarce did the firſt Beams of Light declare the Approach of the Morning, when the Enemy was diſcover'd, ſeemingly afraid to come within Reach of their Shot; for they only provok'd the *Spaniards* to ſally forth from their Walls. They dar'd them to Battel with injurious Speeches, treating them as Cowards for lurking behind their Intrenchments; and *Cortez*, who had before reſolv'd to make a Sally upon them that Day, took this Provocation for a good Opportunity to fire the Minds of his People. He prepar'd them with a ſhort Diſcourſe to reſolve to revenge their Wrong, by chaſtiſing the Inſolence of thoſe *Barbarians*, and, without Delay, he form'd his whole Force into Three Bodies, each conſiſting of *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans*: Two of theſe Battalions he order'd for clearing the Croſs Streets, and the Third, at the Head of which he himſelf march'd in Perſon with the choiceſt of his Troops, took the Street of *Tacuba*, where the greateſt Body of the Enemy was poſted. He drew up his Men, and diſtributed Arms as Neceſ-

ſity requir'd; for he was to engage both in Front and Flank, following the Method which *Diego de Ordaz* had obſerv'd in his Retreat, eſteeming that, which a little before had deſerv'd his Applauſe, to be now worthy his Imitation; wherein he ſhew'd the Nobleneſs of his Mind, and that he was not ignorant how much thoſe Superiors hazard, who diſdain to follow the Footſteps of thoſe who are inferior to them in Command, and how near they are to erring, who pretend to diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe who have been ſucceſsful thro' their prudent Conduct. The Three Battalions engag'd at one Time, and the Enemy both gave and receiv'd the firſt Charges without loſing Ground, or being in the leaſt ſenſible of Danger, going ſo far as even to come to Handy-Blows. Their Clubs and Two-handed Swords were manag'd with a deſperate Fury. Regardleſs of Death they broke in among the Pikes and Swords of the *Spaniards*, to gain a Stroke at the Price of Life. The Fire-Arms which were levell'd againſt the Galleries and Windows could not divert the Shower of Stones which inceſſantly came from thence, for they flung them without diſcovering themſelves; and it was neceſſary to ſet ſome Houſes on Fire, to put a Stop to that troubleſome Hoſtility.

The *Mexicans*, at laſt, gave Way to the ſuperior Valour of the *Spaniards*; but as they retreated they broke down the Bridges of the Streets, and ſhew'd themſelves on the other Side; obliging the *Spaniards* to fill up the Ditches, ſtill fighting all the while, before they could proſecute the Victory. Thoſe who were detach'd to clear the Streets on the Sides, charg'd the Multitude that poſſeſs'd them with ſo much Reſolution, that they ſecur'd the Retreat, and manag'd it ſo that they always kept the Enemy in Front, till having advanc'd as far as the Opening into a large Square, the Three Bodies join'd, and at the firſt Attack ſo diſhearten'd the *Indians*, that they turn'd their Backs with great Precipitation and Confuſion, treading one another under Foot, ſhewing the ſame Fury and Diſorder in their Flight, as they had done in the Battle.

Cortez would not ſuffer his People to proſecute the Victory with a farther Slaughter of thoſe Vaſſals of *Motezuma*, already routed, and flying in the utmoſt Diſorder, whether it was that his Heart relented at the Blood already ſpilt, and diſdain'd intirely to deſtroy a vanquiſh'd Enemy, or that he thought he had chaſtiz'd their Preſumption with ſufficient Rigour. He therefore gather'd up his Troops, and retir'd without meeting with the leaſt Oppoſition. He loſt Ten or Twelve Soldiers, and had many wounded, chiefly by Stones or Arrows,

rows, but none dangerously. The Number that the *Mexicans* lost was so great, that the Bodies which they could not carry off, having first ting'd the Canals with their Blood, remain'd as a Spectacle of Horror in the Streets in incredible Heaps. The Engagement lasted all the Morning, and the *Spaniards* were sometimes very hardly put to it, and their scarce to be hop'd for Success was intirely owing to their Perseverance, Valour, and good Discipline.

There was none who could in particular be said to excel; they all in general acted with equal Bravery, as well Soldiers as Officers, fresh Actions of Valour succeeding each other so thick that the last still eras'd the Remembrance of those which preceded it. The *Tlascalans* behav'd themselves, by the generous Example set them by the *Spaniards*, valiantly, without Precipitation or Rashness; and *Cortez* conducted the whole Action like a couragious and prudent Commander, being present every where, but more especially where the Danger was greatest, his Sword always in the Face of his Enemy, his Eye on his own People, his Care wherever Occasion requir'd; leaving it in Doubt whether more was owing to his personal Bravery or to his consummate Military Skill, both which Virtues he possess'd in an eminent Degree, and are Qualities desireable without Distinction, and concur without Preference in great Commanders.

It was necessary to allow some Time for refreshing his tir'd Troops, and for the Cure of the Wounded, which Suspension lasted Three Days, or something more, during which Interval they only took Care of the Defence of the Quarters, having the Army of the Mutineers constantly in View, with whom they had some light Skirmishes, a Mixture of flying and fighting. In this Time *Hernan Cortez* artfully renew'd his Overtures of Peace by Means of some *Mexicans*, in the Service of *Motezuma*, who went with several Proposals; but he was not negligent, during the Negociation, but made all necessary Preparation. He order'd Four Towers of Wood to be built, which, with little Difficulty, mov'd with Wheels, to be us'd against the Enemy in Case there should be Occasion for a new Sally. Each of those Towers was capable of containing Twenty or Thirty Men, the Roof defended by thick Planks, sufficient to resist the Stones which might be cast from the Houses, the Front and Sides with Loop-Holes to discharge under Cover, in Imitation of the great Engines us'd in War, which cover Men to undermine the Walls of a Town, which Defence he thought, at that Juncture, very necessary to shelter his Soldiers, in the

firing

firing of Houſes, and breaking thro' the Trenches with which they were ſtopping up the Streets; and, if theſe portable Machines were not good for engaging, yet, the Novelty of them would be uſeful by amazing the Enemy. Of the *Mexicans* who were ſent out with Propoſals of Peace, ſome return'd ill-diſpatch'd, and others remain'd among the Rebels, to the great Diſſatisfaction of *Motezuma*, who earneſtly deſir'd the Reduction of his ſeditious Subjects, and conceal'd, under a Mask eaſy to be ſeen through, the Jealouſy he had, leſt they ſhould intirely ſhake off their Obedience, and loſe all Fear of his Authority. At this Time they were making new Preparations for War in the City. Thoſe of the mutinous Nobility who had Vaſſals of their own, ſummon'd the People of their reſpective Diſtricts: The Force of the Army continually increas'd; nor did they ceaſe to provoke the *Spaniards* in their Quarters, who were now quite tir'd with bearing the troubleſome Repetition of Menaces and Arrows, which tho' they were equally loſt in the Air, did not fail to offend and weary out their Patience.

With this good Diſpoſition of his People, the Opinion of his Captains, and the Approbation of *Motezuma*, General *Cortez* made a ſecond Sally againſt the *Mexicans*: He took with him the greateſt Part of the *Spaniards*, and about Two Thouſand *Tlaſcalans*, ſome Pieces of Artillery, the Wooden Machines, with a ſufficient Defence, and ſome Led Horſes to be us'd upon all Occaſions where the Breakings of the Ground did not render them uſeleſs. The ſeditious *Mexicans* were then in a profound Silence; but the *Spaniards* had ſcarce began their March, when the Difficulty of the Undertaking was quickly known by the ſudden Shouts of an innumerable Multitude alternate with the hoarſe and diſmal Sound of their Drums and Sea-Shells. The Rebels did not wait till they were attack'd, but on the contrary they came up to the *Spaniards* with ſurprizing Reſolution, and much leſs Confuſion than they were wont. They gave and receiv'd the firſt Charge, without Diſorder, or Precipitation; but it was not long before they were ſenſible of the Damage they receiv'd, and retir'd by little and little, without turning their Backs to the firſt Entrenchments they had made in the Streets; in Defence of which they renew'd the Fight with ſo much Obſtinacy, that it was neceſſary to advance ſome Pieces of Artillery to diſlodge them. They had their Retreats very near, and in ſome the Bridges of the Canals were taken up, which increas'd the Difficulty, and there was no Way of engaging them from under Cover. This Day the *Spaniards* obſerv'd in their Conduct ſome very politick and

considerate Actions, and such as made it appear a War more than barely Popular. They discharg'd regularly, and in good Order, always lowering their Arm, that they might not miss their Shot by the Resistance of the *Spanish* Armour. They defended their Posts with Obstinacy, and abandon'd them without Confusion: They sent several Men into the Canals, that as they swam up and down they might push at the *Spaniards*, and wound them with their Pikes: They had got up huge Pieces of Rocks into their Galleries, to destroy the Wooden Towers, and perform'd it, breaking them all to Shatters: By these and many other Signs, it was easily perceiv'd that some One commanded them; for they animated and supported each other seasonably, and in the very Disorders of a seditious Multitude, they shew'd some Sort of Obedience and Discipline.

The Engagement lasted the greatest Part of the Day; the *Spaniards* and their Confederates were forc'd to gain the Ground from Trench to Trench: Much Dammage was done to the City, many Houses burn'd, and the *Mexicans* lost more Blood upon this Occasion than they had done in the Two preceding Rencounters, either that they advanc'd nearer to the Fire-Arms, or because they could not fly as they were accustomed, being hinder'd by their own Entrenchments.

The Night drew on apace; and *Cortez*, with Concern, finding himself oblig'd to the fruitless Dispute of gaining Posts which he could not maintain, retir'd to his Quarters, leaving the Sedition, in Reality, rather chastis'd than quell'd. He lost about Forty Soldiers, most of them *Tlascalans*, had above Fifty *Spaniards* sorely wounded, and himself shot with an Arrow in the left Hand; but his inward Wound was far the worst, by being sensible, upon this Occasion, that it was not possible to continue so unequal a War without running the Risque of losing both his Army and his Reputation. The first Shock he had yet felt, the Novelty of which went near his Heart, surpriz'd him, and almost made his Courage to stagger. He shut himself up under Pretence of his Wound, but with a Design to give himself up to Thought. The greatest Part of the Night he spent in Reflection: He was concern'd and vex'd to quit *Mexico*, and could find no Means of maintaining his Ground there. He endeavour'd to exert himself against the Difficulty, but found that Reason took Part with his Suspicions. His good Sense and Foresight would not agree with his natural Fire and Vigour: All was disputing without resolving: Dissatisfy'd with the Dictates of Prudence, or impatient at the Pains we are at to come to a Resolution before we can reap the Advantage.

CHAP. XIV.

MOTEZUMA *exhorts* CORTEZ *to retire from* Mexico, *which he offers to do assoon as the Seditious have laid down their Arms. They return to attempt another Assault.* MOTEZUMA *speaks to them from the Wall, and is wounded, losing all Hopes of reducing them.*

NOR did *Motezuma* pass his Night better, whose Thoughts waver'd with far greater Uneasiness, now wholly doubting the Fidelity of his Vassals; his Mind was assaulted by contrary Passions, of which some sooth'd, and others oppos'd his Inclinations: The Violence of Anger and Resentment, Moderation of Fear, and the Repugnancies of Pride. He was that Day on the highest Tower of the Palace, observing the Battle, and distinguish'd amongst the Rebels the Lord of *Iztapalapa*, and other Princes, who might aspire to the Empire. He saw them running here and there to every Part, animating the Combatants, and ordering the Action. He had not, as yet, suspected his Nobles would have engag'd in such manifest Outrages: His Anger and Concern began at once, and his Anger prevail'd; the first Motion of his Temper giving them up to Destruction, breathing nothing but Blood and Slaughter: But a little after reflecting how far the Evil was spread, and the Tumult now converted into Treason and Rebellion in all its Forms, he sunk down quite dispirited, remaining without Resolution to apply a Remedy, and every Impulse of his natural Ferocity gave Way to Fear and Weakness. Nothing appears so terrible to a Tyrant as the Thoughts of his Crown being in Danger; nor are any, generally speaking, so susceptible of Fear as those who are ambitious of being fear'd.

He reflected with Deliberation upon the different Means of re-establishing his sinking Authority, and none appear'd better than immediately to dispatch the *Spaniards*, to return to his Palace, and there to use Lenity towards the Revolters, before he proceeded to lift up the Hand of Justice. In the Morning he sent for *Cortez*, and dexterously enough communicated to him

the Cause of his Concern. With an affected Security he aggravated and exclaim'd against the Insolence of his Nobles, trying to make him believe, that his Thoughts were more taken up about the Manner of chastising them, than with any Fear he had of their Revolt, and went on, saying; "That now the "Troubles of his Kingdom requir'd a speedy Remedy; and "that it was necessary to take away all Pretences from the Se-"ditious, and to make them sensible of their Error, before "he punish'd their Crime: That all Tumults did pretend a "Foundation upon some Appearances of Reason; and that in "the reducing of a Multitude, it was prudent to make Con-"cessions at the Beginning, in order to command more ab-"solutely afterward: That the Clamours of his Vassals had, "on their Side, an Excuse that was very plausible, and soun-"ded well, which was, the Liberty of their Prince, persuaded "that he was under an involuntary Confinement, and mista-"ken in the Method by which they were to compass it: That "it was now come to that Pitch, that *Cortez* and his People "must unavoidably leave *Mexico* without Delay, that he him-"self might, by his own Authority, subject the Rebels, and "extinguish the Fire, by removing the Cause." He repeated how much he had suffer'd for not violating his Word with the *Spaniards*, and touch'd slightly upon those Jealousies which gave him most Concern: But the Instances he made to *Cortez* not to oppose his Demands, were so submissive, that the Influences of Fear plainly discover'd themselves in the Earnestness of the Request.

Cortez himself was of Opinion, that it was convenient for him, in the present Juncture of Affairs, to retreat, with a Design, nevertheless, of resuming the Enterprize upon a better Foundation: And recollecting his Thoughts on that Point, which made the Proposal seem the less strange, he readily answer'd: "That it was both his Inclination and Opinion to obey "him with an intire Resignation; desiring only to do that "which should be most pleasing and agreeable to him, with-"out entering into the Motives of his Resolution, or losing "Time in representing the Inconveniencies which he might "have foreseen and consider'd; for in Discussions of this Kind, "the Inferior always ought to give up his Judgment, the Will "of Princes being a sufficient Reason for their Actions. That "he should be much troubled to withdraw from him, with-"out leaving him fully assur'd of the Obedience of his Vas-"sals; particularly, since that dangerous Circumstance of the "Nobility's having declar'd for the Populace requir'd greater

"Precau-

" Precautions, and his utmost Care: For when once the No-
" bility break the Bonds of Duty and Loyalty, they have the
" greatest Attempts in View, and stick at nothing. But that
" it was not for him to offer Reasons to delay his March, since
" his Majesty had propos'd it as a necessary Remedy, as being
" sensible of the Infirmity and Humours under which his King-
" dom labour'd: Upon which Supposition, and his own fix'd
" Resolution immediately to march with his Army for *Zem-*
" *poala*, he humbly intreated his Majesty, that before his De-
" parture he would oblige his Vassals to lay down their Arms;
" because it would be of bad Consequence that they should
" attribute to their Rebellion what they ow'd to their Sove-
" raign's Goodness. That he propos'd this more out of Re-
" spect to his Royal Authority than for any Trouble or Con-
" cern the Obstinacy of the Rebels gave him; for he desisted
" from farther chastizing them out of pure Regard to him,
" carrying on the Point of his Sword and in the Valour of his
" Troops every Thing that was necessary to secure his Re-
" treat."

Motezuma did not expect such a ready Compliance in the Answer of *Cortez*, but imagin'd he should have met with greater Resistance, which might have occasion'd him much Trouble in contending and disputing that Point upon which he had so fully deliberated and resolv'd. He made his Acknowledgement to *Cortez* with a great deal of Joy, and both his Voice and Countenance sufficiently express'd the Satisfaction of his Mind.

He offer'd to command the Revolters immediately to lay down their Arms, and approv'd of his Reflections, by which he thought his Vassals would appear less unworthy to capitulate with their Prince; a Point which he had not consider'd before, yet still he was inwardly concern'd at his being forc'd to temporize so far with those who merited nothing but his Displeasure, nor was he very skilful in the Art of mixing Soveraignty with Dissimulation. Before this Conference ended, an Alarm was sounded in the Quarters. *Cortez* immediately took his Leave, and hastening to take Care for the Defence, he found his People all preparing to resist a general Assault the Enemy was just going to begin on every Side. As the Garrison was always vigilant, they were receiv'd with the utmost Rigour of the Fire-Arms; for those Rebels shut their Eyes to all Danger, and drove on each other with so much Precipitation, that their Van-Guard, in Appearance without their own proper Movement, were in an Instant at the Foot of the Wall. Their

Bows

Bows and Slings which were left at a convenient Diſtance, began to repeat their Diſcharges, to beat off thoſe who were upon the Ramparts to reſiſt the Aſſault, which was puſh'd on and oppos'd with equal Reſolution. In ſome Parts the Enemy got Footing within the very Works, and *Cortez*, who had form'd a Body of Reſerve compos'd of *Tlaſcalans* and *Spaniards* in the principal Court, repair'd with new Succours to the Poſts which were moſt expos'd, having Occaſion for all his Activity, and all the Courage of his Troops, that the Defence might not ſlacken, nor the Enemy come to underſtand the Advantage which Numbers have over even Valour itſelf.

Motezuma being ſoon inform'd of the Conflict in which the *Spaniards* were engag'd, call'd *Donna Marina*, and ſent her to *Cortez* to propoſe, " That according to the preſent State of Affairs, " and agreeable to what they had both agreed upon, it would " be very convenient that he ſhould ſhew himſelf to his Vaſ- " ſals from the Wall, to command the ſeditious Populace to " retire, and the Nobles to make their perſonal Appearance in " his Preſence, diſarm'd, and there to repreſent what it was " that both the one and the other deſir'd." *Cortez* did not diſlike the Propoſal, holding it neceſſary, at that Juncture, for his People to breathe a little, ſince there was but ſmall Hopes of being able to overcome the Obſtinacy of that inflexible Multitude. *Motezuma* inſtantly diſpos'd himſelf to put his Deſign in Execution, with an impatient Concern to know the Minds of his Subjects, with Regard to his own Perſon. He caus'd himſelf to be adorn'd with his Royal Robes, call'd for his Crown and Imperial Mantle; not forgetting the Jewels which he was accuſtom'd to wear upon publick Occaſions, nor other affected Formalities, which ſufficiently publiſh'd his Diffidence and Apprehenſions, by making it appear by all this more than ordinary Care, that he ſtood in Need of Pomp and exterior Show to gain the Reſpect of the Eye, and that the Aſſiſtance of Purple and Gold was neceſſary to cover and conceal the interior Weakneſs of Majeſty. With all this Pomp and Grandeur, attended by the principal *Mexicans* who continu'd in his Service, he mounted the Terrace which was oppoſite to the great Avenue. The Garriſon was drawn up in Ranks for him to paſs thro', and one of the *Mexicans* of the Emperor's Equipage advancing to the Rails, with a loud Voice call'd out to the Rebels, to prepare themſelves with Reverence and Attention, for the Great *Motezuma* had condeſcended to come forth in order to hear their Demands and ſhew them further Favour. At the hearing of his Name the

Outcries ceas'd, Terror succeeded and got the better of Fury, and they remain'd motionless, seeming as if they were afraid even to breathe. *Motezuma* then shew'd himself to the expecting Multitude, with a Countenance of Severity mix'd with Lenity, which at once express'd both his Anger and his Fear. Many bent the Knee when they saw him, but the most Part humbled themselves so far as to touch the Earth with their Fore-heads, intermixing the Reason they had to fear him, with the Custom of, as it were, worshipping him. He first cast his Looks on all in general, and then upon the Nobles in particular, with a Shew of taking Notice of those he knew. He commanded that some should draw near, calling them by their Names. He honour'd them with the Title of Friends and Kinsmen, putting a Force on his Displeasure: He acknowledg'd, with a proper Decency of Expression, the Affection with which they desir'd his Liberty; and the Harangue he made them, tho' we find it differently related, was, according to the Report of the Majority, to the following Tenor.

I Am so far, my Vassals, from looking upon this Expression of your Zeal as a Crime, that I cannot deny my being inclin'd to excuse you. It was indeed, an Excess to take up Arms without my Leave; but it was an Excess of your Fidelity. You believ'd, and not without Appearance of some Reason, that I was detain'd by Force and Violence in this Palace of my Predecessors; and to relieve your Soveraign from Oppression is too great an Enterprize to be attempted without some Disorder: But no Laws are sufficient to restrain an Excess of Resentment and Grief within the Bounds of Moderation and Prudence: And notwithstanding the Occasion of this your Commotion be with small Foundation, since I am without any Manner of Violence among these Foreigners whom you treat as Enemies. I now see your Inclinations are good, tho' you are mistaken in your Method of proceeding. It is by my own voluntary Option that I have continu'd with them, and thought myself oblig'd to shew them this Favour, on Account of the Respect they have always paid me, and out of Duty to the Prince who sends them. They are now dispatch'd: I have now resolv'd that they shall depart my Court; and they are preparing immediately to quit the Country: But it is not reasonable that I should be sooner obey'd by them than by you, who are my natural Subjects; nor that their Courtesy should appear greater than your Duty. Lay down your Arms, and come to my Presence as you ought, that all Tumults and Disturbance ceasing, you may be convinc'd how much you are in my Favour, by the Pardon I am ready to give you.

Thus *Motezuma* concluded his Harangue; and no one was so bold to attempt making a Reply. Some beheld him with Astonishment and Confusion, to find a Request where they expected nothing but Indignation; others wept to see their Monarch so humble, or which sounds much worse, and far less became him, so humbled: But at the very Time of this Suspension, the Populace began again to be in Commotion, and in an Instant pass'd from Fear to Fury, easy at all Times to be led into Extremes: Nor did there want one to foment it, when they had elected a new Emperor, or at least had resolv'd on the Choice; for in our Historians we find it differently related. Their Disrespect immediately was converted into Contempt. They told him aloud, that he was no longer their King; and that he should quit the Diadem and Scepter for the Distaff and Spindle; giving him the opprobious Names of pusillanimous, effeminate Coward, an abject, a vile Prisoner, and Slave to his Enemies: Their injurious Language was drown'd by loud and repeated Shouts; and he endeavour'd, by the Motions both of his Head and his Hands, to be heard, when the Multitude began to advance, and let fly their Arrows against him, whereby he became sensible of the utmost Insolence of his rebellious Vassals. Two Soldiers, which *Cortez* foreseeing this Danger, had plac'd at his Side, endeavour'd to cover him with their Bucklers; but all their Care was not sufficient to prevent his being touch'd by some Arrows, and very rigorously by a Stone which wounded him in the Head, breaking Part of his Temple, with which Blow he fell down senseless to the Ground; an Accident which exceedingly troubled *Cortez*, as being one of the most unseasonable Misfortunes that could have possibly happen'd. He instantly caus'd him to be carry'd to his Apartment, and, with fresh Resentment and Indignation, repair'd to the Defence of the Ramparts: But he found no Enemy on whom he could vent his Anger; for the *Mexicans* no sooner beheld their Emperor fall, by which they had Reason to believe that he was wounded, but they were so astonish'd at the Crime they had committed, that flying without knowing from whom, as imagining that the Vengeance of their Gods pursued them, they ran to hide themselves from Divine Wrath, with that Kind of Confusion, or terrifying Shame and Consternation, wherewith the Mind is wont to be oppress'd after the committing of enormous and heinous Sins.

Cortez immediately repair'd to *Motezuma*'s Apartment, who soon after recover'd his Senses, and came to himself; but so impatient, and full of Indignation, that it was necessary to hold

hold him, in order to prevent him from doing himself a Mischief. It was impossible to dress his Wound, because he tore away whatever Medicines were apply'd, and he broke out into most furious Threats, which ended in Sighs and Lamentations: Rage did its utmost, but at last dwindled into Pusilanimity: Persuasion offended, and Consolation exasperated and anger'd him: He recover'd his Senses only to lose his Understanding. It appear'd necessary to leave him for a while, and allow some Time for Consideration, that he might get rid of the first Impressions of the Insult had been offer'd him. Overwhelm'd with excessive Grief, he was left to the Care of his Attendants, continually battling with the Violence of his Temper, and the Despondency of his Mind, without Spirit enough left even to think of attempting Vengeance upon the Traytors, but esteeming, as a most heroick Exploit, the Resolution of dying by his own Hands: A barbarous Recourse of cowardly Minds, who sink beneath Calamity, and are only valiant against that which can least oppose them.

CHAP. XV.

MOTEZUMA *dies of his Wounds, obstinately refusing to receive Baptism.* CORTEZ *sends his Body to the* Mexicans, *who celebrate his Obsequies. His personal Qualities and Character.*

MOTEZUMA persever'd in his Impatience, and at the same Time his Wounds grew worse; it being a common Observation, how great Influence the Passions of the Mind have over the Corruption of the Humours. The Wound in his Head was at first look'd upon as dangerous, and his inward Agitations quickly made it mortal; nor was it by any Means possible to apply the necessary Remedies till he grew so weak that he had not Force to resist. Those who attended him were no less put to it to oblige him to take some Nourishment, the want of which had already brought him very low; and he seem'd to have nothing of Strength or Vigour left, but only in his determinate Resolution of putting an End to his Life with his own Hands; his Despair increasing as his Strength decay'd. His Danger was known

known in Time; and *Cortez*, who ſeldom left him becauſe when he was preſent he moderated his Grief, and ſomewhat compos'd himſelf, us'd his utmoſt Endeavours, by preſſing Inſtances, to perſuade him to that which moſt of all imported him. He took all proper Opportunities to touch upon Religion, calling upon him with gentle and pathetick Arguments to a Deteſtation of his Errors, and to ſeek the Knowledge of Truth. Upon ſome Occaſions he had ſhewn ſome ſort of Inclination to the Rites and Precepts of the Catholick Faith, ſeem'd to be diſſatisfy'd with the Abſurdities of Idolatry, and began to give ſome Hopes of his Converſion; but always put it off for ſome Reaſon of State, having a Regard to the Superſtition of his Subjects, even tho' his own had left him, more out of Fear of raiſing a Commotion amongſt them, than for any Reverence he of late bore to their Idols.

Cortez, on his Part, did all that the Duty of a *Chriſtian* requir'd. He intreated him, with all poſſible Fervour and Tenderneſs, to acknowledge the true God; and, by receiving Baptiſm, to ſecure to himſelf a glorious Eternity in the next World. He was preſs'd by Father *Bartolomeo de Olmedo* with Arguments of ſtill greater Force and Energy; nor were the Officers, who were moſt in that Prince's Favour, leſs ſedulous in their Endeavours to work upon him. *Donna Marina* did not only interpret, but join'd Intreaties in the moſt perſuaſive Terms; and in ſpite of all that Malice and Emulation can ſay, (for even in this Reſpect the *Spaniards* are charg'd with Neglect) no human Means was omitted to induce him to turn into the Path of Truth: But he would never return a rational Anſwer, but always remote from the Point; now exclaiming againſt the Inſult he had receiv'd; anon breathing nothing but Threats of Vengeance; then he would fall into Fits of Deſpair, conjuring *Cortez* to revenge his Injuries upon the Traytors. In this miſerable Conflict of Mind he continu'd Three Days, and then ſurrender'd up to the Devil the eternal Poſſeſſion of his Soul, employing the lateſt Moments of his Breath in impious Thoughts of ſacrificing his Enemies to his Fury and Revenge, leaving to the World a terrible Example, how much the Paſſions are to be dreaded in the Hour of Death, as being always Enemies to Reſignation, and more eſpecially in the Great and Powerful, in whom they are generally more abſolute and predominant, by Reaſon that the Cuſtom of obeying thoſe Paſſions prevails over the Vigour which is requiſite to repreſs and ſubdue them.

The Concern which the Death of this Prince caus'd amongst the *Spaniards* was universal; for they all in general lov'd him with an equal Affection, some upon Account of his Liberality towards them, and others for his Gratitude and benevolent Disposition. But *Cortez*, who was far more oblig'd to him than all the rest, and whose Loss was incomparably greater, took this cruel Stroke so to Heart, that he was quite inconsolable; and notwithstanding he endeavour'd all he could to compose himself, that his People might not be discourag'd, he was not able to conceal his inward Grief, but was frequently observ'd to let fall some Tears which it was not in his Power to contain. He had founded the greatest Part of his Designs in the voluntary Subjection of that Prince. By his Death the best of his Hopes were intirely lost, and he found himself under the Necessity of forming a new Plan, in order to attain the Views he had propos'd. What most sensibly touch'd him was, his having died obstinate in his Errors; the last and greatest Aggravation of this Misfortune, and an essential Point which divided his Heart between Sorrow and Dread, all his Endeavours to prevent it being frustrated, and his Mind struck with Horror at that terible Idea. His first Care was to call together all the Servants of the deceas'd Emperor, of whom he chose Six Persons of the greatest Note to carry out the Body into the City, in which Number were comprehended some Priests who had been taken Prisoners, all of them Eye-Witnesses of his Wound and Death. He order'd them, from him, to aquaint the Princes who were at the Head of the mutinous Populace "That he had sent them the Corps of "their late Soveraign murder'd by their Hands, which enor-"mous Crime, gave fresh Right to the Justice of his Arms. "That before his Death, he had frequently requested, and "with most pressing Instances conjur'd him (as those Deputies "well knew) to revenge his Wrongs, and to chastize them "for their abominable Rebellion: But that he look'd up-"on their Insurrection to have proceeded from the brutal "Fury in the Dregs of the Populace, and an Insolence the "the Enormity whereof he hop'd those of better Sense and "Rank would take into Consideration and punish. That "therefore, for that Reason, he once more propos'd Peace, gi-"ving them Leave to send their Deputies to make Proposals "towards an amicable Accommodation, assuring them, That "he was ready to agree to any reasonable Conditions: But "that at the same Time he would have them to understand, "that if they did not immediately accept his Offer, and repent

"them

" them of their Crime, they ſhould not only be treated as " Enemies, but as Rebels and Traytors to their Prince, ex- " periencing the utmoſt Rigour of his Arms: For that *Mo-* " *tezuma*, out of Reſpect to whom he had with-held, and mo- " derated his juſt Reſentment, being now dead, he would lay " waſte, and intirely deſtroy their City; and that they ſhould, " when too late, know by dear Experience the Difference be- " tween Hoſtilities, when little more than barely defenſive, " and by which he had hitherto only endeavour'd to reduce " them to Reaſon, and a declar'd War in which he lay under " an Obligation to chaſtize them with the laſt Severity."

The Six *Mexicans* immediately departed with this Meſſage, bearing the Corps upon their Shoulders; and at a ſmall Diſtance from the Quarters, a Body of the Seditious advanc'd to meet them, not without ſome Signs of Reverence and Reſpect, as was obſerv'd from the Walls. When they diſcover'd what it was, they all follow'd the Corps, flinging away their Arms, and abandoning their Poſts; and in an Inſtant the City was fill'd with Outcries and Lamentations; a ſufficient Demonſtration that that melancholy Object, which gave them a View of their treaſonable Practices, had ſome Sort of Impreſſion upon their obdurate Hearts. They had already elected a new Emperor, as was ſoon after known; ſo that thoſe Expreſſions of Grief could not be thought to proceed from a ſincere Repentance, neither could thoſe Returns of Loyalty, ſound ill in the Ears of the Succeſſor, who muſt needs look on them as due to the Name, and not to the Perſon of the Soveraign. The Outcries and Clamours of the People, who throng'd up and down in Swarms, laſted the whole Night; repeating thro' every Street the Name of *Motezuma*, with turbulent Uneaſineſs mix'd with Sorrow, which tho' it expreſs'd a Sort of relenting Reflection, yet ſtill carry'd the ſame Face of Sedition as before.

Some ſay, that they dragg'd the Body about the Streets, and cut and mangled it all to Pieces, without ſparing his Children and Wives: Others, that they expos'd it to the Deriſion and Contempt of the Common People, till one of his Servants, erecting an humble and irregular Pile of ill-collected Wood, in a little frequented, and leſs decent Place, he there reduc'd it to Aſhes. What has been ſaid may be believ'd of an enrag'd Populace, in whoſe Inhumanity what ſeems fartheſt from Decency and Reaſon carries the the greateſt Face of Probability. But the Truth of the Matter is, that the Rebels receiv'd the Corps with Reverence; ſhewing, both in the adorning it, and in the Funeral Pomp, that they were concern'd at

his disastrous Death, and look'd upon it as an Accident undesign'd; or perhaps, by that exterior Shew of Respect, they thought either to appease or to deceive their false Deities. They convey'd him, the next Morning, with great Solemnity and Attendance, to the Mountain of *Chapultepeque*, where they were accustom'd to perform the Exequies, and to preserve the Ashes of their Kings; and upon this Occasion, the Outcries and Lamentations of the Multitude resounded with greater Force than was customary, as they themselves afterwards acknowledg'd and confirm'd, looking upon those Honours they had shewn to the Ashes of their deceas'd Monarch as an Act of Atonement, and a substantial Expiation of the Crime they had committed.

There have not wanted some Pens who have done all they could to charge *Cortez* with this Prince's Death; affirming, That he order'd him to be kill'd to free himself from the Trouble he gave him: Nay, One of our Writers says, That it was so reported, and neither defends nor denies it; an unpardonable Neglect, which without being a convincing Proof of his evil Design, is nevertheless very like Calumny. Perhaps the *Mexicans* might, some Years afterwards, affirm it, either to blacken the Characters of the *Spaniards*, and to make them hated by other People, or to blot out that Brand of Infamy from their own Nation: But at that Time it is certain that they neither said it, nor so much as imagin'd any such Thing; nor ought any Writers to give themselves the Liberty of publishing such ill-grounded Incoherencies: For how was it possible or consistent with Reason, that so considerate and vigilant a Person as *Hernan Cortez*, when he had upon his Back the whole Power of the *Mexican* Empire, should once think of parting with a Pledge in which consisted his greatest Security? Of what Advantage could the Death of a Prince, who was a Friend, and subjected, be towards the Conquest of a Kingdom, whose Inhabitants were all up in Arms, and declar'd Enemies? It is a Misfortune which generally attends all great Actions, to have them variously reported, and an easy Undertaking for the Envious to invent chimerical Circumstances, which notwithstanding they are not sufficient intirely to obscure the Truth, leave it nevertheless expos'd to Opinion and Ignorance, by submitting the essential Part of a History to the licentious Credulity of the Vulgar. Foreigners have given themselves abundance of Trouble in endeavouring to discredit the Conduct of *Cortez* in this Expedition: But the many Proofs he has given of his good Sense, plead boldly in his Justification, and clear him from Absurdities which

which are ſo maliciouſly laid to his Charge, if the Nobleneſs of his Temper and well-known Generoſity will not be allow'd ſufficient to have kept him from acting ſuch Atrocities. Let therefore Envy remain cover'd with its own Confuſion; an odious Vice without Pleaſure, a racking Torment while diſſembled, a deformed Brand when known, the Glory of the Injured and the Infamy of the Injurers.

Motezuma, as we have elſewhere obſerv'd, was a Prince of rare Talents, and excellent natural Endowments; his Preſence graceful, agreeable, and majeſtick; of a quick Apprehenſion and clear Underſtanding; of an acute Penetration; and, in a Word, wanted nothing but Improvement and acquir'd Parts. His Valour advanc'd him to the higheſt Dignities in the Empire, and gave him the firſt Rank among his own People, before he obtain'd the Crown, and afterwards among Strangers gain'd him the Reputation of being the moſt deſerving Prince of his Time. His Genius and Inclination was compleatly Martial: He underſtood the Arts of War; and whenever there was Occaſion to take up Arms, the Camp was his Court. He gained in Perſon, and by his own Direction Nine Field Battles. He conquer'd ſeveral Provinces, and greatly extended the Limits of his Empire; quitting the Splendors of the Throne for the Applauſes of the Field, eſteeming the General's Staff as the ſecureſt Scepter. He was naturally munificent and liberal, and beſtow'd many great Favours without any Manner of Oſtentation, looking on Gifts as due Debts, and placing Magnificence among the firſt Duties of a Monarch. He was a Lover of Juſtice, and watch'd the Adminiſtration of his Miniſters with a rigid Severity. He was temperate in his Diet, and moderate in his Uſe of Incentives to Senſuality. But theſe Virtues, as well of a Man, as of a King, were obſcur'd, or rather quite loſt among greater Vices, both of the Man, and of the King: His Temperance rather made him vicious than continent; for in his Time the Tribute of Concubines was introduc'd, Beauty throughout his whole Realm being a Slave to his deprav'd Appetite and diſorderly Luſts, without ſo much as making Novelty an Excuſe. Then his Juſtice degenerated to the contrary Extreme, and was often confounded with Cruelty; for he us'd Chaſtiſement like Revenge; doing that with Rage, which might have been juſtifiable had it been done with Reaſon. His Liberality occaſion'd greater Damage than it did Good; for he loaded his Kingdoms with Impoſitions and intolerable Tributes; and the abominable Fruit of his Tyranny and Oppreſſion was conſum'd by his Profuſions and Extravagance.

He allow'd no *Medium*, nor admitted of any Distinction, betwixt Slavery and Vassalage; and placing his Policy in oppressing his Subjects, he was more pleas'd at the abject Slavery and Dread in which he held them, than at their patient Resignation to his Will. Pride was his capital and predominant Vice. Whenever Fortune favour'd him he attributed all to his own Merit, having a better Opinion of himself than he had of his Gods, notwithstanding he had been extremely given to his own superstitious Idolatry. He was honour'd, according to them, with frequent Visits from the Devil, who among those wretched Heathens appears in Visions, and converses with such of them who are arriv'd to a certain Degree in the Path of Perdition. He voluntarily subjected himself to *Cortez*, condescending to a Confinement of so long a Continuance directly contrary to all the Rules of the Haughtiness and Pride of his natural Disposition. It might reasonably have been doubted at that Time, what was the real Cause of such a Subjection: But the very Effects of it have since discover'd, that God took the Reins into his own Hand on Purpose to tame that Monster; making his unusual Gentleness instrumental to the first Introduction of the *Spaniards*, a Beginning from whence afterwards resulted the Conversion of those Heathen Nations. He left several Children; Two of his Sons, who accompany'd him in his Confinement, were kill'd by the *Mexicans*, when *Cortez* made his Retreat; he had Two others, with Three Daughters, which Ladies were afterwards converted and marry'd with *Spaniards*. But the most remarkable of them all was *Don Pedro de Motezuma*, who was also soon after converted to the Catholick Religion, and had that Name given him at his Baptism. He was next Heir to his Father, his Mother being Princess of the Province of *Tula*, and one of the Queens who resided in the Imperial Palace with Royal Dignity; which Princess likewise followed her Son's Example, and was baptiz'd by the Name of *Donna Maria de Niagua Suchil*, keeping up in those Surnames the Nobility of their Ancestors.

His Majesty bestow'd many Favours upon *Don Pedro*, giving him an Estate and considerable Rents in *New Spain*, with the Title of Count *de Motezuma*, whose legitimate Succession is still preserv'd in the Counts of that Title, which illustrious Family, by that Name retain'd the heroick Remembrance of their princely Original. *Motezuma* reign'd Seventeen Years. He was the Eleventh in the Number of the Emperors, and the Second of the Name of *Motezuma*. To conclude, he died in his

his Blindness amidst so many, and so efficacious Remedies. Such are the Decrees of Divine Providence, which tho' they affect the Heart, are beyond human Comprehension!

CHAP. XVI.

The Mexicans *return to besiege the* Spanish *Quarters.* Cortez *makes a Sally. Gains a Temple where the Enemy was lodg'd. Defeats and puts them to Flight. Does considerable Damage to the City, with a Design to terrify them in order to make his Retreat.*

DURING the Three Days that *Motezuma* lay ill of his Wounds, the *Indians* attempted nothing of any great Consequence, notwithstanding they had constantly some Bodies of Men in Sight, and made some slight Attacks which were easily repuls'd. It might have been thought that this Intermission proceeded from the Sense they had of their Crime, or from the Dread of their Soveraign's Indignation, whom they had offended in so outrageous a Manner; had it not been afterwards known that this faint Prosecution of the War was only because the Populace were all in Confusion and Disorder, without Leaders, the Nobility being all busied at the Inauguration of a new Emperor, who, as was soon after known, was *Quitlavaca*, King of *Iztapalapa*, and Second Elector of the Empire. This Prince surviv'd his Coronation but a few Days; and upon Account of his Indolence and Want of Application the very Memory of his Name is almost forgot among the *Indians* of that Country.

The *Mexicans* who went out with *Motezuma*'s Body, and were intrusted with the Proposals for an Accommodation, did not return with an Answer. This Mark of Obstinacy, at the Beginning of a new Government, pointed out evil Consequences in the Sequel. *Cortez* was desirous of retreating with Reputation, and had already concerted with his Officers and Soldiers that their Departure should be very speedy, being fully convinc'd, that it was absolutely necessary to recruit himself with fresh Forces,

Forces, in order to return to *Mexico* with more Hopes, and upon a better Foundation, the Conquest of which he always look'd upon as a Thing which would certainly be, and which he now look'd upon as an indispensible Obligation in him to prosecute, since the Death of *Motezuma*; out of Respect and Consideration to whom he had kept his Resolutions within more moderate Bounds than he now thought himself oblig'd to do.

It was not long before the *Indians* explain'd what they had been contriving during that Suspension of Hostilities; for the next Morning after the Day on which they celebrated the Funeral Obsequies of *Motezuma*, they renew'd the War upon a better Footing, and with a greater Number of People. By Break of Day all the Streets thereabouts were fill'd, and the Towers of a great Temple garrison'd, which was but little distant from the Quarters, and where they could command Part of the Palace with their Slings and Arrows: That was a Post which *Cortez* himself would have fortify'd, had he been Master of Forces enough to divide them; but he would not be guilty of the Error of those who in order to prevent precarious Contingencies, are wanting in what immediately concerns them.

The Ascent to the upper Gallery of this Temple was by a Hundred Steps, upon the Pavement whereof some tolerably large Towers were erected. In this they had lodg'd about Five Hundred Men, chosen out of the *Mexican* Nobility and were so fully bent upon maintaining it, that they had provided themselves with Arms, Ammunitions, and all other Necessaries, for many Days.

Cortez found himself under an unavoidable Obligation to dislodge the Enemy from this commanding Eminence, the Advantages whereof once known and improv'd might produce very dangerous Consequences, and requir'd a vigorous Effort towards a speedy Remedy. The better to succeed in this Attempt, without hazarding his Reputation, he drew the greatest Part of his Garrison without the Wall, dividing them into such Squadrons as were necessary to defend the Avenues, and hinder the Enemy from receiving Reinforcements. The Attack of the Temple he committed to the Conduct of Captain *Escobar*, with his Company, and about a Hundred more choice *Spaniards*. They began the Engagement by possessing themselves of the Mouths of all the Streets, and at the same Time *Escobar* made his Attack, gaining the lower Porch, and Part of the Stairs, without Opposition; for the *Indians* suffer'd them purposely to advance so far, that they might have the Advantage of assaulting them

them nearer, and when they ſaw their Opportunity, they lin'd the Rails of the Porch with Men, and gave the Charge by letting fly their Arrows and Darts with ſo much Fury, and at the ſame Time in ſuch good Order, that *Eſcobar* was oblig'd to make a Stand, and to order the Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows to play againſt thoſe who appear'd: But it was not poſſible for the *Spaniards* to withſtand the ſecond Charge, which was much more furious; for they had prepar'd huge Stones, and prodigious large Beams which they let tumble from the Top, which gaining Force by the Steepneſs of the Deſcent, forc'd them to give back a Firſt, Second, and Third Time: Some of the Beams came down half burn'd, that they might do the greater Damage. An odd Imitation of our Fire-Arms; and it is to be ſuppos'd was thought a notable Contrivance amongſt their Engineers. But however, the *Spaniards* were oblig'd to break their Ranks to avoid thoſe rude Salutes; and when once they were put into Confuſion, the Retreat was unavoidable.

Cortez, who with a Troop of Horſe, was running to all Parts where they were engaging, ſaw this Diſadvantage of his People; and conſulting only the Impulſes of his Valour, he diſmounted; and having reinforc'd *Eſcobar* with ſome *Tlaſcalans* of the Body of Reſerve, and thoſe of his own Troop, he caus'd a Shield to be faſten'd to his wounded Arm, and with Sword in Hand advanc'd to the Stairs, with a Reſolution ſo determin'd, that thoſe who follow'd him being animated by his generous Example, became wholly inſenſible of the Danger. He happily ſoon overcame the Impediments which obſtructed the Aſſault, gain'd the laſt Stair at the firſt Attack, and preſently after the Rails of the upper Gallery, where they came to Handy-Blows with Swords and Clubs.

Thoſe *Mexicans* were all Nobles; and it ſoon appear'd, by the Defence they made, what Difference the Spur of Reputation makes among Men. They ſuffer'd themſelves to be cut to Pieces rather than ſurrender their Arms: Some caſt themſelves headlong from the Rails, perſuaded that a voluntary Death was by far the moſt honourable. The Prieſts, and thoſe who attended the Service of the Temple, after calling upon the *Mexicans* to defend their Gods, died valiantly fighting: And in a very little Time *Cortez* intirely gain'd the Poſt, with the Slaughter of all thoſe *Mexican* Nobles, without loſing one Man, or having many wounded.

The Attempt and Reſolution of Two valiant *Indians*, in the very Heat of the Engagement, was very remarkable; and the intrepid Boldneſs with which they endeavour'd to execute their

Design, ought not to be pass'd over in Silence. They had resolv'd to sacrifice their Lives for the Benefit of their Country, believing that they should finish the War by their Deaths; and to this Purpose they had both agreed to precipitate themselves from the Rails, on that Side where there were no Stairs, and to carry *Cortez* along with them. They stood together watching an Opportunity; and immediately, when they saw him near the Precipice, they flung down their Arms, and approach'd him, like Deserters coming to surrender; and being before him, they bent their Knees in the Posture of Suppliants, when all on a Suddain they seiz'd him, and us'd their utmost Efforts to force him to the Precipice; but he, not without Difficulty, broke loose, and got clear of them, when at the same Instant they threw themselves headlong to the Ground, and were crush'd to Pieces. *Cortez* remain'd rather astonish'd than mov'd, yet was sensible of the imminent Danger he had been in, by what he saw was become of his adventurous Aggressors; but still he was not much displeas'd at their Boldness, upon Account of the Greatness of the Attempt.

Some Circumstances occurr'd in this Action at the Temple, which made the Reduction therefore much easier than it would otherwise have been. The *Indians* were confounded and terrify'd to see themselves attack'd by a greater Number than ordinary, and by the *Spanish* Captain himself, whom they look'd upon as invincible. In the Defence of the Stairs they were rather precipitate and confus'd, than regularly diligent; and the Beams which they cast down cross-ways, and wherein indeed consisted the best Part of their Defence, were observ'd always to fall Point foremost, and so pass'd on thro' the Assailants, without hurting any of them; a Thing which too frequently happen'd to be look'd upon as barely casual: And there are some who relate it as one of those Miracles which Divine Providence wrought in that Conquest. All this might nevertheless be owing to their Confusion: But however it was, it is certain that this one Circumstance very much facilitated the Success of that Attack; and considering how much is to be attributed to God's Assistance throughout the whole Course of this War, it will not be very much out of the Way, for once, to make the Wonderful and the Miraculous equivocal. *Cortez* immediately took Care to have convey'd to the Quarters all the Provisions which the *Indians* had deposited in the Store-Rooms of the Temple, which being in very considerable Quantities, prov'd a welcome and necessary Supply upon that Occasion. He then order'd that the Temple, the Towers, and some Houses which were contiguous,

tiguous, ſhould be ſet on fire and deſtroy'd, that his Artillery might command all that Eminence. The Management of this he committed to the *Tlaſcalans*, who inſtantly put it in Execution; and turning his Eyes towards the Part, where the reſt of his People were engag'd, he perceiv'd that the greateſt Force of the Enemies was in the Street of *Tacuba*, where the *Spaniards* were warmly charg'd, and hard put to it in defending that important Avenue; upon which he immediately mounted his Horſe, and putting the Reins of his Bridle over his wounded Arm, he took a Lance in the other Hand, and haſten'd to their Aſſiſtance, ordering the reſt of the Horſe to follow him, together with *Eſcobar*, and thoſe under his Command. The Cavalry paſs'd on before, breaking thro' the Multitude, wounding, overſetting, and trampling them under Foot on every Side, without loſing one Stroke, or ever being forgetful of their own Defence. The Action was very bloody: For ſuch of the *Indians* who withdrew on either Side to avoid the Shock of the Cavalry, fell in, already half vanquiſh'd, with the Infantry, who found but little Difficulty in compleating their Defeat. But *Cortez*, ſomewhat inconſiderately, advanc'd before the reſt of his Troops, ſuffering himſelf to be hurry'd away too impetuouſly by the Fire which animated his fearleſs Breaſt; and when he began to recollect himſelf, and to conſider his Error, he perceiv'd that he could not retire, by Reaſon that he found a numerous Throng of the flying Enemy bearing down upon him, owing the preſent Danger his Life was in to the Succeſs of his own Troops.

In this perillous Circumſtance, he reſolv'd to take another Street, hoping he ſhould there meet with leſs Oppoſition; and in advancing a few Paces, he fell into a confus'd Body of *Indians*, who were dragging along his intimate Friend *Andres de Duero*, whom they had taken Priſoner by the unhappy Stumbling of his Horſe, and who, to avoid being hack'd to Pieces, patiently ſuffer'd himſelf to be led away to the Sacrifice. *Cortez* intrepidly charg'd that diſorderly Convoy, and breaking thro' the foremoſt, trampled under his Horſe's Feet all who ſtood in his Way, inſomuch that his Friend had an Opportunity to diſengage himſelf from thoſe who held him, and to make Uſe of a Dagger or Poinard they had, thro' Negligence, overlook'd when they diſarm'd him, with which he made Way by the Deaths of ſeveral of the Enemy, ſo as to recover his Lance and Horſe, when the Two Friends joining, they paſs'd the Street on a full Gallop, overſetting whole Droves of their Oppoſers, till they had got ſafe to their Troops. This Action *Cortez* always

celebrated, looking upon it as one of the most fortunate Adventures of his Life, by Reason that an Opportunity of saving his Friend should so luckily fall in his Way at a Juncture when he was wholly dubious of his own Safety: But Fortune, taking the Word in its true, proper, and *Catholick* Signification, was so remarkably favourable to him in whatsoever he took in Hand, that his very Oversights and Inadvertencies seldom or never fail'd of turning to his Advantage.

The Enemy was now retiring on every Side; but it was not thought by any Means advisable to engage any farther, by Reason it was not possible to follow the Chace, without leaving the Quarters expos'd. A Signal therefore was made for the Retreat; and notwithstanding they return'd very much fatigu'd with that tedious Encounter, it was without Loss, nor any other Dammage than that of a few Soldiers wounded; which was a Circumstance which gave a greater Relish to their Repose, the Thoughts of their cheap and successful Victory quickly making them forget the Fatigues they had undergone in the Battle. This Day a considerable Number of Houses were consum'd with Fire, and such a Multitude of the Enemy lost their Lives, that it was hop'd that they would have been terrify'd from attempting any new Insults upon the Quarters. Some affirm this Sally to have been made before the Death of *Motezuma*: But it was after, according to the Relation given by *Cortez* himself, whom we follow without any farther Examination, this not being a Case in which the exact Time of its happening can be of very great Importance. The Success at the Attack of that Temple was chiefly owing to the General's own Valour, for by his single Resolution and Example he render'd superable those Difficulties which had put all the rest to a Stand. In that Action he Twice forgot of what Importance his Life was to the Cause, exposing his Person to the greatest Dangers with much more Courage than Consideration; an Excess of Martial Vigour, which notwithstanding it was attended with Success, merits rather to be admir'd than commended.

The *Mexicans* made such great Account of that Exploit of *Cortez* in storming and destroying the Temple, that they painted it after their Manner; and some Pieces afterwards came to Light, in which the whole Action was fully represented; as the attacking the Stairs; the Encounter in the upper Porch; and lastly their Defeat, and how they abandon'd the Post to their Enemies the *Spaniards*, together with the burning that Edifice, the Towers, circumjacent Houses, *&c.* without omitting the minutest Circumstance; those Pictures being, as we may say,

ſay, their Hiſtories and Chronicles, which they held in high Veneration, and upon the Authority whereof they laid a very great Streſs, deeming it a Crime little leſs than Sacrilege to deceive or defraud Poſterity. But in this Particular it was very obſervable, that they were not altogether free from a malicious Vanity, and introduc'd ſome additional Fictions of their own, with the View of enhancing the Glory of their Nation; for they repreſented many *Spaniards* lying dead, ſome precipitating themſelves, or thrown headlong down from the Eminence, and others ſorely wounded, deſtroying, as may be ſaid, with the Pencil thoſe whom they were not able to injure with their Weapons; and endeavouring to palliate their Defeat by expoſing their Loſs in ſuch Colours as might make the Advantage their Enemies obtain'd over them appear like a dear-bought Victory; a Want of Exactneſs, or rather of Sincerity, from which Writers are not always free, amongſt whom this Sort of Concern, this Partiality, with which they relate Facts and Paſſages, and wreſt the intervening Circumſtances according to the Inclination which biaſſes their Pens, is become a familiar, and, in a manner, habitual Vice; inſomuch that there are few Hiſtories to be met with wherein, upon Peruſal, the Country, Principles, and Inclinations of the Author are not to be diſcover'd. *Plutarch*, in his Treatiſe of the *Glory* of the *Athenians*, finds no ſmall Parity, or Affinity, between Hiſtory and Painting; as being both the One and the Other, lively Deſcriptions and Repreſentations of Things and Actions. But this Reſemblance, Affinity, or Similitude between the Pencil and the Pen is never ſo obvious and juſt as when, in Hiſtory, the Places where the Facts were tranſacted are gloſs'd with thoſe Kinds of artificial Strokes which paſs for Ornaments to the Work, and are, in Reality, no other than the *Perſpectives* in Painting, and may be properly call'd the *Diſtances* of Truth.

CHAP. XVII.

The Mexicans *propose Peace; but with the View of distressing the* Spaniards *by Want of Provisions. Their Disingenuity is discover'd.* CORTEZ *holds a Consultation with his Officers, and it is resolv'd to leave* Mexico *that Night.*

THE Day following the *Mexicans* demanded a Parley, to which *Cortez* consented, not without Hopes of coming to some reasonable Terms of Accommodation. The General went to hear their Proposals from the Wall; and some of the Nobles drawing near, with few Attendants, they, on the Part of the new Emperor, propos'd, "That he, and all his People, should immediately prepare to "set out, and direct their March to the Sea Side where their "*great Canoes* (so they call'd the Ships) were waiting for them; "assuring him, That there should be a Cessation from all Ho- "stilities for as much Time as was necessary for him to make "himself ready for his Departure. Adding, That if he did "not instantly determine to come to that Resolution, he might "absolutely depend upon it, that both himself and all who "were with him should inevitably perish; for that they were "now convinc'd by Experience that the *Spaniards* were not "Immortal; and that, tho' the Death of every *Spaniard* should "cost them the lives of Twenty Thousand Men, there would "still remain a numerous Multitude to sing the conclusive "Victory." *Cortez* reply'd, "That the *Spaniards* never pre- "sum'd to say or think themselves to be Immortal, but valu'd "themselves upon being Men of more Valour and Resolu- "tion than other Mortals; and in particular knew themselves "to be so far superior, in every Respect, to their Nation, that "without any greater Force than what he then had with him, "he had Courage and Determination enough to undertake the "total Destruction, not only of their City, but of the whole "Empire: But that being mov'd at the Calamities they had al- "ready suffer'd thro' their own Obstinacy, he was determin'd "to depart, since the Subject of his Embassy, and by Conse-

"quence

" quence, all the Buſineſs he had there was at an End by the " Death of the Great *Motezuma*, whoſe Bounties and Friend- " ſhip had detain'd him at *Mexico*, and that he would put that " his Deſign in Execution, without the leaſt Delay, as ſoon as " ſome Articles, which were neceſſary for the Diſpoſition of " his March, ſhould be mutually agreed upon." The Deputies gave Signs of being well ſatisfy'd, and made as if they thought that Diſpatch ſufficient, and in Reality they deſir'd no better Anſwer: But there lay hid a Snake in the Graſs; thoſe Overtures of Peace they had been making being attended with perfidious Views.

The new Emperor had call'd a Council of his Miniſters and Grandees to debate upon Matters relating to the preſent War; and after ſeveral Conferences, it was reſolv'd, That, to avoid the great Damage they receiv'd from the *Spaniſh* Arms, the lamentable Slaughter of their People, and the Ruin of their City, the beſt Method would be to keep them cloſe block'd up, in order to diſtreſs them by Famine; not that they ſuppos'd the *Spaniards* would ſurrender themſelves, but in order to weaken them, that when they were diſpirited and wanted Strength, they might attack them with more Advantage; having invented this new Way of reducing an Enemy, till then a Novelty, and utterly unknown amongſt their Stratagems of War.

Their Deſign, in ſetting on Foot thoſe Overtures of Peace, was only in order to obtain the Suſpenſion of Arms they deſir'd; flattering themſelves, that they might be able to protract the Treaty with various Propoſals, till the ſmall Reſerve of Proviſions they had laid up in the Quarters was conſum'd; to which Purpoſe Orders were given that all poſſible Care ſhould be taken to hinder them from Relief, blocking up, at a Diſtance, with Works and Bodies of Men, all the Ways by which the Beſieged might attempt to make their Eſcape; cauſing likewiſe the Paſſage to the Cauſey, which led towards the Road to *Vera Cruz*, thinking it no longer any ways convenient to ſuffer them to depart the City, leſt, at this Juncture, when the Provinces were little ſatisfy'd with the preſent Government, they might foment the Malecontents to a Rebellion, or reinforce themſelves by an Army of *Tlaſcalans*.

Some of the Aſſembly call'd to Mind ſeveral Perſons of great Diſtinction who were Priſoners in the *Spaniſh* Quarters, reflecting upon what they muſt ſuffer, ſince, of Neceſſity they would periſh with Hunger before that Calamity could affect the Enemy: But they were all ſo zealous for the publick Cauſe, that, after ſome Debates, they unanimouſly voted, that thoſe Priſoners

ſoners would be eternally happy, and did no more than discharge their Duty, if they ſacrific'd their Lives for the Benefit of their Country; and it is not unlikely that they far'd the worſe upon Account of *Motezuma*'s Three Sons who were with them, and whoſe Deaths would be no ways unwelcome to that Aſſembly; the eldeſt being a hopeful young Prince, capable of wearing the Crown, highly eſteem'd by the People, and the only Perſon of whom the new Emperor had Reaſon to be jealous: A pitiful Weakneſs in ſuch corrupt and inconſiderate Miniſters, who, while they make believe that they are labouring for the Publick Good, are, under that Cloak, gratifying their own private Paſſions!

But what moſt of all concern'd them in general, was the Fate of the Chief of their idolatrous Sacerdotes, who was likewiſe in the ſame Priſon with thoſe above-mention'd; for he was univerſally reverenc'd as the Second Perſon in the Empire, and they held it as Sacrilege, and an unpardonable Offence againſt their falſe Deities to ſuffer him to periſh. To procure his Liberty they made uſe of a very notable Piece of Policy. The ſame Deputies return'd again that Evening to demand another Conference, and propos'd on the Part of their Soveraign, "That "in order to prevent any Diſputes which might retard the "Treaty, it would not be improper for them to ſend ſome "one of their *Mexican* Priſoners to the Emperor with ſuffi-"cient Inſtructions to give an Account of what was to be ca-"pitulated." This Propoſal, which carry'd with it no ill Sound, nor was it attended with any great Difficulty, was readily enough agreed to; and the Deputies no ſooner found it admitted, but they artfully let drop, as by Way of friendly Advice, that none would be properer to be entruſted with that Negociation than a certain ancient Prieſt whom they held confin'd, becauſe he was an intelligent Perſon, able to explain all Points, and to remove all Difficulties which might be ſtarted, which ſpecious and well-manag'd Pretext ſuffic'd for the obtaining what they deſir'd: Not that *Cortez* was ignorant of the artificial Careleſsneſs of the Propoſal; but in Competition with the great Importance it was to the Common Cauſe to ſound the Minds of thoſe People, he eſteem'd it as a ſmall Matter to part with a Priſoner who was both troubleſome and deteſtable.

Soon after the Prieſt was diſmiſs'd, fully inſtructed by the General in ſome Demands eaſy to be granted, as concerning Meaſures for the Commodiouſneſs of their March, intending afterwards (in Caſe he return'd) to employ him farther as to what was to be agreed upon in Relation to the laying down

their

their Arms, the reciprocal Hoſtages, and ſeveral other Matters of greater Conſequence: But it was to no Manner of Purpoſe for them to wait for his Return, for they were very ſoon undeceiv'd. The Centinels diſcover'd that the Enemy had beſieg'd, or rather block'd up the Quarters at a much greater Diſtance than they were wont; that they appear'd more wary and circumſpect than ordinary, diligently caſting up Trenches and other Works to defend the Paſſage of the Canals; and that they had detach'd ſome Bodies of Men to the Lake who were breaking down the Bridges of the principal Cauſey, and cutting off all Communication with the Road which leads to *Tlaſcala*; a Proceeding which fully diſcover'd the Artifice of their Deſigns.

This Intelligence *Cortez* receiv'd with ſome Concern; but inur'd to overcome greater Difficulties, he re-aſſum'd his natural Calmneſs; and upon his firſt Reflection, which always pointed directly at the Remedy, he order'd a Bridge of Beams and Planks to be made, wherewith to cover the Opening of the Cauſey, capable of bearing the Weight of the Artillery, and ſo contriv'd that it might, without much Difficulty, be carry'd by Forty Men. And without loſing more Time than what was neceſſary for the compleating of this Work, he aſſembled his Captains to conſult with them and to take their Opinion concerning the Retreat, whether it ſhould be made by Day or by Night. In the propoſing of this Point he carry'd himſelf with an intire Indifferency, either becauſe he had not yet come to any Reſolution, or becauſe he did not care to charge himſelf with the Uncertainty of the Succeſs. Their Opinions were divided, ſome being for retreating by Night, others by Day, and both Parties had their Reaſons *pro & contra.*

Thoſe who were of the firſt of theſe Opinions ſaid, "That "Valour and Prudence not being inconſiſtent with each other, "they ought to chuſe the Way which was moſt ſecure: That "the *Mexicans*, whether out of Cuſtom, or Superſtition, were "always wont to lay aſide their Arms on the Night's Ap-"proach; and it was to be ſuppos'd that they would be "now leſs vigilant than ordinary upon Account of the Nego-"ciation for Peace, which they imagin'd was carrying on and "accepted on our Side: And if their Intention was to diſturb "them in their March, as the Preparations they were making "ſeem'd to promiſe, it was to be conſider'd how much they "ought to dread an Engagement in the very Paſſage of the "Lake where they could neither draw up their Ranks, nor "make Uſe of the Cavalry, their Flanks all the while expos'd

" to the Enemies Boats, oblig'd to force their Way in the " Front, and defend themselves in the Rear." The others, on the contrary, maintain'd, " That it was by no Means " practicable to begin a March by Night, with Baggage and " Artillery, by an uncertain Road, raised upon the Waters, " when the Season itself, cloudy and rainy as it then was, suffi- " ciently foretold the Success they might expect from so ill- " contriv'd a Resolution. That the Attempt of moving an " Army, with all its Impediments, and with the Trouble of " laying Bridges to make the Passage free, was not an Under- " taking to be effected without some Detention and much " Noise; neither in War were the merry Stories of an Enemy's " Negligence to be depended upon, it being what one may " indeed sometimes reap an Advantage from, but ought never " to be taken for granted. That the imaginary Custom of " the *Mexicans* never being in Arms by Night, which they " look'd upon as infallible, notwithstanding they had seen the " contrary in their setting Fire to the Quarters, and possessing " themselves of the Temple, was not sufficient Authority to " induce them to believe that they had wholly abandon'd the " only Opportunity they ought to secure; adding, That they " should always hold it far less inconvenient to march out at " a Time when they might see the Dangers they had to en- " counter, than to make a Retreat with the Appearances of a " Flight, and by so doing to come with little Credit and less " Honour, to seek the Protection of their Confederates, who " perhaps might despise their Friendship, when they had once " lost the Opinion they had conceiv'd of their Valour; or at " least it would be but very indifferent Policy to stand in Need " of Friends, and to apply to them with a baffled and for- " feited Reputation."

However the Proposal of making the Retreat by Night had most Votes, and *Cortez* gave Way to the Majority; probably suffering himself to be prevail'd with for some reserv'd and private Reason. They all agreed to hasten the March without farther Delay, and in Conclusion, resolv'd that it should be put in Execution that very Night, in order to avoid giving the Enemy Time to contrive new Measures for obstructing the Road of the Causey with any Works, or Trenches, such as they us'd in the Passage of their Canals. The building of the before-mention'd portable Bridge went on vigorously; and notwithstanding it may be believ'd that *Cortez* intended to have made Two others, there being Three Canals open'd in the Causey, they had not sufficient Time for the Work, nor was it

thought absolutely necessary, as supposing, that they could remove the Bridge from one Canal to another when the Army had pass'd the first: Suppositions, in which Men are ordinarily too late made sensible of the Difference there is between Speculation and Practice.

It is not to be deny'd but that General *Cortez*, in the Controversy there was among his Officers upon this Occasion, deported himself with a more indifferent Neutrality, and much less Activity than he was accustom'd to do. It was certain that he came to the Council somewhat inclin'd to the same Opinion which had been resolv'd upon, having given Ear to the vain Prediction of a Sort of an Astrologer, who, as he was going in, advis'd him in mysterious Terms to march away that very Night, for that he should lose the greatest Part of his Army if he suffer'd a certain favourable Constellation to pass, which was very near terminating in another Aspect, Unfortunate. This Diviner was a *Spaniard*, a private Centinel, and call'd *Botello*, chiefly known in the Army by the Name of the Necromancer, to which Appellation he answer'd without the least Concern; esteeming that Epithet as an allowing of his Abilities. As to the rest, he was an ignorant Fellow without Learning or Principles, who mightily valued himself upon penetrating into future Events; but he was neither so foolishly ignorant as they who really make a Study of those Diabolical Arts, and attain to a Perfection in them, nor so innocent and blameless as not to make Use of some Characters, Numbers, Words or Charms, such as contain within themselves, an abominable Affinity and Stipulation with the Devil, the Inventor. *Cortez* generally laugh'd at his Prognosticks, dispising the Man for the Sake of his Profession; and even then heard him with the like Contempt; but he committed a Fault in listening to him at all, a Fault which was little less than if he had even consulted him; and when he should have had Recourse to his own Prudence, in order to have chosen the propereſt and most wholesome Method of proceeding, he was influenc'd by those very Prognostications which he had so much despis'd. A pernicious Sort of People, and dangerous Observations which considerate Persons ought always to avoid and abhor, and more particularly those who command; for at the same Time that they are sensible of the Vanity thereof, they suffer their Minds to be prepossess'd with something which inclines them either to Fear or Security, and when the Occasion comes for resolving the Impression which those Whim-

sies

ſies have made upon the Imagination, they revolt againſt the Underſtanding, and always in ſome Degree prejudice Reaſon.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Spaniards *march out privately. At the Entrance of the Cauſey are diſcover'd by the* Indians, *who attack them with their whole Power both by Land and Water; They get clear at laſt with great Difficulty, and conſiderable Loſs, and reach the Town of* Tacuba.

THE very ſame Evening the General diſpatch'd another *Mexican* as his Embaſſador to the City, with Pretence of continuing the Treaty begun by the beforemention'd Prieſt: This Feint was a Thing which was thought neceſſary to amuſe the Enemy: The Inſtructions that Meſſenger carry'd, were to aſſure them of the Sincerity of their Intentions in that Negociation, and that all Things ſhould be got ready for their Departure within Eight Days Time at fartheſt. *Cortez* in the mean while was diligently diſpoſing Matters for them to begin their March, the Shortneſs of the prefix'd Time making every Moment precious.

He diſtributed his Orders, and gave his Captains the neceſſary Inſtructions againſt all Accidents which might happen upon the March with all imaginable Precaution. He form'd his Van-guard of Two Hundred *Spaniſh* Soldiers, with the choiceſt of the *Tlaſcalans*, and about Twenty Horſe, under the Conduct of the Captains *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Franciſco de Azebedo*, *Diego de Ordaz*, *Franciſco de Lugo*, and *Andrès de Tapia*. He gave theCommand of the Rear Guard, with a greater Number both of Horſe and Foot, to *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, and other Captains of thoſe who came with *Narvaez*. In the main Body, or Center, he plac'd the Priſoners, Artillery, and Baggage with the reſt of his Army, reſerving with himſelf, to be employed as Neceſſity ſhould require, One Hundred choice Men, with the Captains *Alvaro Davila*, *Chriſtoval de Olid*, and *Bernardin Vaſquez de Tapia*. Things thus

being thus dispos'd, he made a short Speech to his Soldiers, laying before them the Difficulties and Dangers of the Undertaking: Upon which he inlarg'd a little the more, because it was a current Opinion among them, that the *Mexicans* never engag'd by Night, and it was necessary to inspire them with Distrust, lest they should fall into an over-great Security, a dangerous flattering Enemy in all Military Actions, inclining the Mind to a certain Carelessness, which seldom fails of producing fatal Consequences; whereas a prudent Fear is always wont to prevent a shameful one.

He next caus'd all the Gold and Silver, Jewels and precious Stones, which were in the Custody of *Christoval de Guzman*, Groom of his Chamber, to be brought into his Apartment; and out of it he separated the Fifth belonging to the King, in those Things which were most valuable, and least bulky, of which he made a formal Delivery to those Officers who had Care of the Accounts and Provisions of the Army; giving a Mare of his own, and some wounded Horses for the Carriage thereof, in order to spare the *Indians* who might be, in other Respects, serviceable upon that Occasion. The Remainder, according to what Computation could be made, amounted to the Value of upwards of Seven Hundred Thousand Pieces of Eight, all which Wealth he left with little or no Reluctancy, protesting publickly, "That it was no Time to be embarass'd; "and that it would be a Shame to employ those Hands so un-"worthily which ought to be left free for the Defence of Life, "and Reputation." But finding the Soldiers not so well contented with this inexcusable Loss, he added, as he was going away; "That they ought not to look upon their Retreat from "thence as an intire abandoning of that acquir'd Treasure, "and their main Design, but as a necessary and indispensable "Disposition in order to return to that Enterprize with a "greater Force, after the same Manner as a Man draws back his "Arm in order to give the greater Blow." And withal gave them to understand, that he should not think it a mighty Crime in them to take away as much of that Wealth as they conveniently could; which was the very same Thing in Effect, as to leave Moderation to the Discretion of Avarice: Nevertheless the greatest Part of them, notwithstanding they saw this abandon'd Treasure in their Power, took Care to go light and ready for whatever might offer, tho' indeed there were some, and particularly those who came with *Narvaez*, who gave themselves up to Pillage, without the least Consideration, finding Fault with the Narrowness of their Knap-Sacks, and

the ſmall Depth of their Pockets, loading their Shoulders beyond what they were well able to bear; a Liberty in which, to Appearance, all the Military Care and Circumſpection of *Cortez* were aſleep: For he could not poſſibly be ignorant, that Gold to a Soldier is not only an outward Embarraſment when there is Occaſion to engage, but likewiſe an Impediment, which never fails of diſturbing the Mind: It being much eaſier for thoſe who have not a very great Regard for their Duty, to part with their Honour than with their Prize.

We have no other Excuſe to make for him, but that he was perſuaded that he ſhould be able to execute his March without meeting with any Oppoſition; and if this Security, which does not ſeem to have been his natural Diſpoſition, had any Relation to the Prediction of the Aſtrologer, after firſt acknowledging the Error he was guilty of in hearkening to him, this muſt not be look'd upon as a Second Error, but as an Inconvenience attending the Firſt.

It was little leſs than Midnight when they march'd out of their Quarters, without the Centinels or advanc'd Guards finding any Thing to give them the leaſt Suſpicion: And notwithſtanding both the Wetneſs of the Weather, and the Darkneſs of the Night favour'd their Intention of marching cautiouſly, and free them from any Jealouſy of the Enemy's continuing Abroad in their Works, they ſo punctually obſerv'd Silence and Circumſpection, that Fear itſelf could not have wrought what Obedience and Diſcipline did in thoſe Soldiers. The portable Bridge went along with the Vanguard, and thoſe who had the Charge of it, lay'd it over the firſt Canal; but the Weight of the Horſe and the Artillery made it ſtick ſo faſt in the Stones which ſupported it, that they were by no Means able to remove it to the other Canals, as they had deſign'd; nor had they indeed an Opportunity to do it; for before the Army had all paſs'd the firſt Breach of the Cauſey, they were oblig'd to take to their Arms with the greateſt Precipitation, being aſſaulted on every Side when they leaſt of all ſuſpected any ſuch Matter. The Subtilty with which thoſe *Barbarians* diſpos'd their Enterprize was very worthy of Admiration. They obſerv'd with a vigilant Diſſimulation the Motions of their Enemies. They aſſembled and diſtributed without Noiſe the unmanageable Multitude of their Troops. They took Advantage of the Silence and Darkneſs of the Night to compaſs their Intention of drawing near without being diſcover'd. They cover'd the whole Length of the Lake on each Side of the Cauſey with arm'd *Canoas*; beginning the Attack with ſo little Confuſion and ſuch good Order,

Order, that the *Spaniards* heard their Shouts, and the warlike Sound of their Shells, almost at the same Time that they felt the Sharpness of their Arrows.

Cortez and his whole Army had undoubtedly been destroy'd, if the *Indians* had observ'd the same good Order in the Heat of the Engagement as they did in the Beginning of the Attack: But to them Moderation and Discipline were such a Constraint, that when once they began to be enrag'd, Obedience ceas'd, and Custom prevail'd, charging in Heaps upon that Part where they perceiv'd the Bulk of the Army; pressing upon each other after such a Manner, that their *Canoas* were broke to Pieces by striking upon the Causey; and the rude Shocks of those who were furiously endeavouring to advance, prov'd, as we may express it, a Second Rock upon which they split. The *Spaniards* made terrible Destruction among that naked and disorderly Multitude, but they had not Strength sufficient to hold out such incessant Usage of their Swords and Spears: Nor was it long before they found themselves likewise attack'd in Front, and were oblig'd to turn their Faces towards that Part where the Danger grew most pressing; for the *Indians* who were at a Distance, or who could not bear the Tediousness of their Oars, flung themselves into the Water, and with their accustomary Fury and Confusion, climb'd up and got upon the Causey in such Numbers, that they throng'd one another so that they were not able to make Use of their Arms, which new Piece of Temerity had, upon this Occasion, the Circumstances of a Relief; for they were easily routed, and all of them in a Manner being kill'd, their Bodies were sufficient to fill up the Canal, with no other Trouble than the flinging them in, where they serv'd to supply the Want of a Bridge for the Army to pass over. After this Manner some of our Writers relate it; tho' others say, That they luckily found a Beam of sufficient Breadth, which the Enemy had left whole in the Second Bridge, on which the Soldiers pass'd over in Files, guiding the Horses thro' the Water by the Bridles. After what Manner soever it happen'd, for it is not easy to reconcile these different Accounts, nor indeed do all of them deserve Reflection, they overcame the Difficulty of this Pass by their indefatigable Industry and Perseverance, and the Vanguard prosecuted their March without being much retarded by the last Canal; for the Water being shallower by the Neighbourhood of the Shore, they could easily wade thro' the Remainder of the Lake; esteeming it as a particular Piece of good Fortune, that the Enemy, out of such Multitudes of People as they had to spare, had not sent any Troops to the other Side; for that would have

occasion'd

occasion'd a new, and far more dangerous Dispute for those who were making to the Shore wounded, and half spent with the Water above their Middle: But this came not within the Compass of their Consideration, neither, probably, did they discover the Army's March till it was too late; or what may be most likely, their Confusion and Disorder was so great, that they did not immediately resolve upon opposing the Retreat.

Cortez pass'd with the first Body of his People, and ordering *Juan de Xaramillo* to take Care to form them as fast as they arriv'd, he return'd without Delay to the Causey, with the Captains *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Christoval de Olid*, *Alonso Davila*, *Francisco de Morla*, and *Gonzalo Dominguez*. He enter'd into the Engagement, animating those who fought, as well by his Presence as by his Example: He reinforc'd his Troops with as many Soldiers as he thought necessary to stop the Enemy, by lining Two Avenues of the Causey, and order'd the rest to file off from the Center, causing the Artillery to be thrown into the Water to free the Passage, and facilitate the March. His Valour did very much in this Dispute; but what his Mind suffer'd was much more, when in the Midst of this frightful Obscurity he heard the Voices of *Spaniards* calling upon God in the last Moments of their Life, whose Lamentations confusedly mix'd with the Shouts and Threats of the *Indians*, caus'd another terrible Conflict in his Breast between the Impulses of Anger and the Motions of Pity and Compassion.

These melancholy Sounds came from the Part which was next the City, where it was wholly impracticable to think of giving them any Relief, by Reason the Enemies, who were rowing up and down upon the Lake, had taken Care to destroy the Bridge which *Cortez* had caus'd to be laid across the Canal before the Rear-Guard had all pass'd, and there it was the *Spaniards* suffer'd most; for the chief Body of the *Mexicans* clos'd with them, obliging them to retreat to the Causey, cutting in Pieces all the hindermost and least circumspect, who, for the most Part, were of the Number of those who were wanting in their Duty, and had evaded entering into the Fight for the sake of the Gold which they had brought from the Quarters. These died ignominiously, hugging and embracing the miserable Load which made them Cowards in the Engagement, and tardy in their Flight, not only losing their own worthless Lives, but blemishing the Character of their Nation, and bringing an unjust Reflection upon the whole Expedition, for they pass'd in the Account of the Dead, as Men who had sold their Lives at a

dearer

dearer Rate, whereas in Equity and Reason Cowards ought not to be counted in the Number of the Conquer'd.

Cortez at last retir'd with all he could pick up of the Rear-Guard, and as he was penetrating thro' the Second Space of the Causey, with little or no Opposition, he was join'd by *Pedro de Alvarado*, who ow'd his Life to little less than a down-right Miracle of Activity and Resolution: For having found himself closely beset on every Side, his Horse kill'd under him, and one of the Canals still before him in his Way, he fix'd his Lance, or Spear, in the Bottom of the Lake, and forcibly raising his Body by a notable Spring of his Feet, poizing and supporting his Weight in the Air by the Strength of his Arms, with a desperate Leap cast himself on the other Side: A surprizingly bold Action, and which has since been look'd upon as something surpassing Nature; and *Alvarado* himself, when he afterwards reflected upon the enormous Distance, and the Success he had met with in the Attempt, easily became sensible of the Disproportion there was between the Fact itself and the Feasibility of performing it. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, in his History, seems to doubt of the Truth of this unaccountable Leap, making no Scruple of treating it as a mere Fiction, and indeed actually contradicts the whole, tho' he does not express himself after a very regular Manner; for at first he slightly passes over this Circumstance, and anon returns to it again, with the Diffidence of one who is afraid of being in the wrong, and at the same Time repents his having given into the Belief of it with too much Facility. But in our Opinion it is scarce reasonable, or even probable, that, upon this Occasion, *Alvarado* should feign such a strange Sort of a Story, and father upon himself an Action which, if ever so much taken for granted, would at the best only give an Opinion of his Agility, but could add no Manner of Reputation to his Valour. As for our Parts, we relate no more than what has been credited and affirm'd by Writers, and authoriz'd by Tradition, that Place being still known under the Denomination of *El Salto de* Alvarado, or *Alvarado's* Leap; nor do we find any mighty great Difficulty in believing that, upon this Occasion, as in several others, it might possibly be true tho' somewhat improbable: And considering the Extremity to which *Pedro de Alvarado* then found himself reduc'd, it appears less wonderful, as being not so much an Action absolutely beyond the Power of a Man to perform, as an extraordinary Effort of a Person driven to the last Necessity.

CHAP. XIX.

CORTEZ *marches the Road towards* Tlascala. *Some Troops from the circumjacent Towns follow the Army at a Distance, till being join'd by the* Mexicans, *who likewise pursue him, they attack his Rear, and oblige him to take Refuge in a Temple.*

THE Army gain'd the firm Land with the first Appearance of the Day, and halted near *Tacuba*, not without some Jealousy of that Town, which was very populous, and a Friend to the *Mexicans*; but they took Care not immediately to quit the Neighbourhood of the Lake, that they might give Time to those who could escape from the Battle to save themselves: Nor was that Proceding unnecessary; for several *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* found the Advantage of that Stop, who by their Valour and good Management got off by swimming to the Shore, where they hid themselves in the Fields of *Maiz* thereabouts till the Morning.

These gave the General an Account that the last Division of the Rear-Guard was intirely cut off, and *Cortez* having drawn up his Troops, found that he had lost about Two Hundred *Spaniards*, more than One Thousand *Tlascalans*, Forty Six Horses, and all the *Mexican* Prisoners, which last, without being able to make themselves known in the Confusion of the Night, were treated as Enemies by those of their own Nation. The *Spaniards* were fatigu'd and discourag'd, their Numbers diminish'd, and the Artillery all lost, expecting every Moment to be attack'd, and the Place of their Retreat far off; and among so many Motives of Concern, their Misfortune receiv'd a greater Addition by the Loss of some principal Captains, in which Number those of the greatest Note were, *Amador de Larez*, *Francisco de Morla*, and *Francisco de Salcedo*, who lost their Lives, discharging their Duties with extraordinary Valour. *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, who retreated in the very last of the Rear-Guard, likewise lost his Life oppress'd by Multitudes, shewing an invincible Courage even to his latest Gasp: A Loss which was generally lamented; for all Men respected him, as the Second Person

ſon in the Army. He was an Officer of very great Uſe, as well for his Advice as for his Readineſs to execute. His Temper was ſomewhat reſerv'd, but ſteady in all his Actions; grave without being diſagreeable, formal, or preciſely tedious; on all Occaſions a ſtrict Lover of Truth, and had a Mind ſo noble and generous, that he followed *Cortez* and forſook his Kinſman *Diego Velaſquez*, merely becauſe he look'd upon the Proceedings of the one too raſh and unreaſonable, and found thoſe of the other to be juſt and honourable. He died with the Character of a Perſon very neceſſary in this Conqueſt, much miſs'd, often remember'd, and univerſally regretted.

Cortez ſat down upon a Stone to reſt himſelf a little, while his Captains were putting the Troops in Order, and diſpoſing them to proſecute their March. He found himſelf ſo oppreſs'd with inward Concern, that he never more than now ſtood in Need of all his Magnanimity and Reſolution to temper his Grief, and ſuit it to the preſent Poſture of Affairs. He ſummon'd up, and endeavour'd to ſupport himſelf with his innate Conſtancy, begging a Truce of his melancholy Reflections: But at the ſame Time that he gave his Orders, animated his People, and exerted himſelf with his wonted Alacrity and peculiar Vivacity, his Eyes let fall Tears, which he was no more able to retain than he was able to conceal them from thoſe who were about him; a manly Weakneſs, which, as it feelingly expreſs'd a tender Concern for the common Cauſe, could not be ſaid to caſt any manner of Blemiſh upon his Character. It muſt certainly have been an Object well worth ſeeing, to behold that renowned Leader ſo ſenſibly touch'd, without the leaſt Abatement or Slackening of his undaunted Reſolution, and his Countenance all bath'd in Tears without loſing any Part of the Air of a Conqueror.

He inquir'd for the Aſtrologer, whether in order to reprimand him for the Part he had in haſtening the March, or to divert his Melancholy by rallying him upon his Science; but he was told that he was kill'd in the firſt Aſſault of the Cauſey, it happening to that Wretch after the ſame Manner as we ordinarily ſee verify'd in thoſe of his Profeſſion: We ſpeak not of thoſe who really underſtand the Foundation of that Art, making Uſe of the ſame by the Rules of Reaſon; but of thoſe who take upon them to judge and foretel what is to come: A Sett of Men, who, for the Generality live wretchedly and die miſerably; ever ſollicitous about other People's Happineſs, and always unhappy themſelves; inſomuch, that one of the Claſſick Authors takes upon him to ſay, *That the very Inclination*

to a vain Observation of the Stars, is a sufficient Argument to induce one to believe that the Person who has that Curiosity was born under an evil Planet.

But in the Midst of these Misfortunes, it was no small Consolation to *Hernan Cortez* and the whole Army, that *Donna Marina* and *Geronimo de Aguilar* had found Means to escape from the Battle, in the terrible Confusion of that Night, they being the principal Instruments of that Conquest, and no less necessary at that Time than they had been before; for without them it was altogether impossible to stir up and engage the Minds of the Nations they were going to seek: Nor was it less happy, that the *Mexicans* gave over following the Chace; for they gave Time to the *Spaniards* to breathe after their Fatigue, and the Horse had Leisure to march with the disabled Men behind them; and the Army likewise after a less hasty Manner. This Stop of theirs proceeded from an unthought-of Accident, which may be attributed to the Providence of God. The Sons of *Motezuma*, who had attended their Father during his Continuance in the Quarters, together with all the *Mexican* Prisoners who were left under Convoy along with the Baggage, were unfortunately kill'd by the Enemy; and in the Morning when the *Indians*, allur'd by the Spoils of the Dead, beheld, pierc'd thro' with their own Arrows, the Bodies of those unhappy Princes, whom they reverenc'd with that same Kind of Adoration they once did their deceased Father; when they beheld, I say, that mortifying Object, they stood amaz'd, stupify'd, and confounded, without daring to pronounce the Cause of their Astonishment. Those who first saw it drew back that others might approach, and all in general were absolutely mute, expressing their Surprize by Silence. However, it was not long before the News was carry'd thro' the Troops, and they were all seiz'd with Fear and Amazement; the Use of their Senses and Faculties being for some time suspended, with that Kind of sudden Terror, which the Ancients call'd *Panick Fear*. The *Mexican* Chiefs resolv'd to send an Account of this Accident to the new Emperor; and he, who was forc'd to affect a Concern out of Compliance with those who sincerely express'd theirs without feigning, commanded the Army to halt; beginning the Ceremony of the Funeral Outcries and Lamentations which us'd to precede the Obsequies, whilst the Priests, follow'd by all who had remain'd in the City, came to receive the Royal Bodies, in order to conduct them to the Burying-place of their Ancestors. It was to the Death of those Two Princes that the *Spaniards* were indebted for the first Recovery from their Confusion,

fusion, and that seasonable Respite: But they lamented their untimely Fate as one of the greatest Losses that could have befallen them, and particularly *Cortez*, who, in those Princes, lov'd and respected the Memory of their Father, and Part of his Hopes had founded in the Right of the Elder.

Cortez in the mean while directed his March towards *Tlascala*, with Guides of that Nation, his Army continually in Battle Array, as not being without Suspicion of the Enemy's Delay; since upon such Occasions Diffidence and Fear is oftner attended with Success than is a too confident Security. They were not long in that Uncertainty before some Bands of arm'd *Indians*, who follow'd them in the Rear, without approaching within Shot. These were the Inhabitants of *Tacuba*, *Escapuzalco*, and *Tenecuya*, whom the *Mexicans* had summon'd out to observe the *Spaniards* on the March, till such time as they had discharg'd themselves of their Duty towards the Sons of *Motezuma*. A politick Contrivance in those barbarous People! However, these were but a small Annoyance to the *Spaniards* upon the Road; for they always kept at a Distance: So that they only offended with their scurrilous Language and Shouts: But they continu'd this Kind of harmless Hostility till the whole Multitude of the *Mexicans* came up, at which Time they all instantly united, and advancing with their accustomary Swiftness, made so brisk and so resolute an Attack upon their Rear, that they were all obliged to face about to repulse them. *Cortez* extended his Front where he posted his Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, being oblig'd to engage in the open Field, without having any Place of Security to retire to. As many of the *Indians* as had Courage enough to venture near, died, without any Discouragement to the rest. The Horse sally'd out to skirmish, and made a very great Slaughter: But the Number of the Enemies continually increas'd, and their Arrows and Slings did considerable Dammage from afar. The *Spaniards* were tir'd with such powerful Resistance, with scarce any Hopes of repulsing that enormous Multitude; and now their Valour began to slacken for Want of Strength; when *Cortez*, who behav'd himself in the Battle like a Soldier, without forgetting the Duty of a General, observ'd a certain rising Ground at no great Distance from thence, which commanded the whole circumjacent Plain. Upon the Top of that Eminence was a tower'd Building which appear'd like a Fortress, or at least the Exigence in which he found himself, made him fancy it as such. He resolv'd to possess himself of this Post for the Advantage of its Situation; and to that Purpose he detach'd a Party of Men to

advance to reconnoitre, and himself soon after mov'd with the Gross in order to gain it, which yet he did not find could be effected without Difficulty, being oblig'd to face the Enemy all the while they were ascending the Hill, and to place some Companies of Harquebusiers to defend the Avenues; but they happily compass'd their Design, possessing themselves of the Tower without Resistance, and in that found all the Advantages which, at that Time, their Imagination could frame.

It was a Temple dedicated to the *Sylvan* Deities, or Idols of the Woods, to which those *Barbarians* recommended the Product of their Harvests. The Priests and Servants who attended the abominable Worship of that Place, had quitted it, flying from the Neighbourhood of War, as People of a different Profession.

The Court of this Temple was sufficiently capacious, encompass'd with a Wall, after their Manner of building, which, together with the Towers wherewith it was flank'd, render'd it tolerably defencible. Under the Shelter of these Works, which amongst those People was look'd upon as an inexpugnable Fortress, the *Spaniards* began to breathe. They lifted up their Eyes and Hearts towards Heaven, receiving this timely Relief from the imminent Perils to which they had been expos'd, as an immediate Act of Divine Providence: Nor did this pious Reflection cease to remain with them even after the Danger was all over; for in Memory of the signal Service that Temple did them, in affording them Shelter in an Exigence wherein they were near being reduc'd to the last Extremity, they erected afterwards in that very Place a Hermitage, with the Invocation of the *Blessed Virgin*, which is known to this Day by the Name of *Nuestra Senora de los Remedios*, where People daily find Relief in their Necessities; and where, in the Devotion of the Faithful, who are Inhabitants of those Parts, may be seen the Acknowledgment and grateful Remembrance they retain of so great a Benefit.

The Enemy did not dare to mount the Hill, nor did they give any Signs of their intending an Assault: But they approach'd within Musket Shot, begirting the Eminence on all Parts, and made some Advances to shoot their Arrows, wounding, for the most Part, the Air, and sometimes the Walls, as if it were to chastize them for opposing their Vengeance. In the mean Time nothing was to be heard but barbarous Shouts and Menaces, whereby they endeavour'd to conceal the Defects of their Valour, and which serv'd only to discover their Weakness. They were, with little Trouble, kept off till the Evening began

began to approach, at which Time they all retir'd, and took the Road towards *Mexico*; whether it was to comply with the Obſervation of their Cuſtom, of retiring with the Sun, or that they found themſelves tir'd with having been in a Manner continually engag'd from Midnight till then. It was diſcover'd from the Top of the Towers, that they halted in the Middle of the Plain, and dividing into ſeveral Bodies, and ſeemingly endeavour'd to conceal themſelves, as if they had not given ſufficient Evidence of their Intention, and publiſh'd, by the Manner of their Retreat, that they left the Diſpute in Suſpence.

Cortez diſpos'd every Thing in his Quarters with all the Care and Circumſpection that a Night ſo unſecure, and a Poſt ſo threaten'd oblig'd him. He order'd the Guards and Centinels to be ſooner reliev'd than ordinary, that all might have their Share of Reſt. They made ſome Fires, as well becauſe the Coldneſs of the Seaſon requir'd this Relief, as to conſume the Arrows of the *Mexicans*, thereby to deprive the Enemies of that Ammunition.

He gave a ſmall Refreſhment to the People of the Proviſions found in the Temple, and what the *Indians* had ſav'd with the Baggage. Particular Care was taken of the Cure of the Wounded, which was attended with no ſmall Difficulties in a Place where all Neceſſaries were wanting; but they apply'd ſuch Remedies as the Place afforded, and which in ſome Meaſure ſupply'd the Want of more proper Medicines, by aſſwaging their Pain, and the Horſe-Cloths ſerv'd for Lint and Bandage.

Cortez took Care of all, but ſtill without forgetting the Danger to which he lay expos'd; and before he would retire to take the leaſt Repoſe, he aſſembled his Officers to conſult with them what was to be done in this Juncture. He had already reſolv'd within himſelf, but he always evaded deciding in hazardous Matters, and he was a great Maſter at bringing People over to reſolve for the beſt, without ſhewing his own Opinion, or making Uſe of his Authority. He then propos'd different Methods which might be taken, with the ſeveral Inconveniences attending them, leaving them to judge between the Poſſible and the Difficult. He began by intimating, "That the Trouble in which they "had been all that Evening, and the preceding Night, was not to "be undergone the Second Time; neither could they ever again "without apparent Raſhneſs, attempt to undertake a March, "fighting all the while with an Army ſo extremely ſuperior "to them in Number, oblig'd, in ſo indiſpenſible a Manner, "at one and the ſame Time, to employ both their Hands and "Feet at ſuch Diſadvantage: That to avoid being again forc'd

"to

" to a Resolution so dangerous and accompany'd with so many " insuperable Inconveniencies, he had some Thoughts of at- " tacking the Enemy in their Lodgment under Favour of the " Night; but he was of Opinion, that it would be but a fruitless " Labour, since, at the best, they should only oblige the Multi- " tude to disperse for the present, who would not fail to join again, " from which Method of theirs had proceeded the Tediousness " of that War: That he had thought afterwards of maintain- " ing that Post, till such Time as the *Mexicans* should be tir'd " with keeping the Field; but that the Want of Provisions, " which they already suffer'd, likewise render'd that Method " impracticable." And lastly he told them, (and this was what he had determin'd upon,) "That he had been thinking whether " or no it would not be the best Way to march that same Night, " and get Two or Three Leagues from thence by Morning, " that the Enemy, according to their Custom, not moving " till Sun-rising, they should have the Opportunity of gaining " Ground without any farther Trouble; so that in Case the " *Mexicans* should resolve to follow the Pursuit, they would not " be able to overtake them before they had sufficiently tir'd " themselves, and it would be easier to continue their Retreat " with a less vigorous Opposition. But considering that the " Troops were in so bad a Condition, weary'd and near spent, " it would be a Piece of unreasonable Inhumanity to put " them, without new Cause, upon the Fatigue of an unsea- " sonable March, in a dark Night, and uncertain Road, not- " withstanding the present Exigence they were in, requir'd ex- " traordinary Remedies, and a speedy Resolution; and in a " Case where nothing was secure, they were to weigh the se- " veral Difficulties, and to chuse that which was attended by " the fewest Inconveniencies."

He had scarce finish'd his Discourse, when all the Captains agreed, That no other Resolution was practicable, and that they ran the least Hazard in resolving to proceed on their March without any further Delay than what was absolutely necessary, meaning some Hours of Rest to refresh the People; so that the March was resolv'd upon at Midnight; in which *Cortez* conform'd himself to what was really his own Opinion, tho' he treated it as the Opinion of others: A subtil Piece of Policy which he was accustomed to make Use of, in order to prevent Disputes when the Affair was urgent, and admitted of no Delay, and which only those can practise who understand the Art of Deciding by asking Advice, and which is attain'd by leaving nothing for others to reason upon when the Proposal is made.

CHAP. XX.

The Spaniards *continue their Retreat. They undergo great Fatigue and Difficulties. The Army reaches the Valley of* Otumba, *where, in a pitch'd Battle, the whole Power of* Mexico *is utterly defeated.*

A LITTLE before the appointed Hour the Troops were all ready assembled, having slept with Concern, and wak'd without Difficulty. The Order to march, and the Reason for so doing, were given at the same Time; upon which they all diligently prepar'd for their setting out, sensible of the Necessity, and praising the Resolution. General *Cortez* order'd, that as a Blind to conceal from the Enemy their Motion, they should leave all the Fires burning, and giving to *Diego de Ordaz* the Charge of the Van-Guard, with some trusty and intelligent Guides, he plac'd his chief Strength in the Rear, where he himself remain'd, that he might be nearer the Danger, and by his well-known Care and Vigilance, be a Security to those who pass'd before. They set forward with all necessary Silence and Caution, and then ordering the Guides at first to keep at some Distance from the High Road, and to reassume it in the Morning, they march'd a little more than Half a League continuing their Circumspection and Vigilance, notwithstanding the Silence they kept and the Darkness of the Night. But having pass'd the Plain, upon their entring into a broken and hilly Ground, the advanc'd Guard fell into an Ambush, which the very People who endeavour'd to hide themselves, knew not how to conceal, for they gave Notice of the Danger beforehand, both by Shouts and Stones; and divers Troops of *Indians* came pouring down from the Eminences, and rushing out from among the Bushes, and confusedly, and without Order, attack'd on the Flanks; and notwithstanding they were not so numerous as to oblige the Army to halt, yet the *Spaniards* were necessitated to interrupt their March every now and then in order to beat off the most daring of the Enemy who ventur'd nearest, to break thro' several Ambuscades, and to dispute divers narrow Passes. The *Spaniards* were apprehensive at first that it was a Second Attack of the whole Army

 which

which they had left on the other Side of the Temple; and some of our Writers report this Action as a Pursuit of the Gross of the *Mexicans*: But these intermitted and loose Attacks were not agreeable to their Manner of fighting, nor does it answer what they afterwards did: And in our Opinion, they were the *Militia* of the neighbouring Towns, who, by previous Orders receiv'd from Court, endeavour'd to disturb the Army's March, posting themselves in the broken Parts of the Road: For if the *Mexicans* had discover'd the Retreat, they would have come all in a Body as they were accustom'd to do; They would, with their united Force, have begun the Attack in the Rear, and not have divided themselves into small Companies, converting the War into a few light Skirmishes.

With this Kind of Opposition, which was rather troublesome than dangerous, the Army advanc'd Two Leagues; and a little before Day, they halted in another Temple, less capacious, and situated upon an Eminence not altogether so high as the former, but of sufficient Height to view the Country round about, and by the Number of Enemies they should discover, to judge of what Measures and Resolutions were propereſt to be taken for their Security. The Light of the Morning did not only discover what Sort of *Indians* they had to deal with, but likewise the Disorder in which they were; and finding that what they had suspected for a new Charge of the Enemy's Army, was no more than the Insults of a despicable Herd of Peasants, they renew'd their March without farther Delay, with the Intent of advancing as far before the Enemy as possibly they could, in order to avoid, or at least to render more difficult, the Pursuit of the *Mexicans*.

The *Indian* Peasants continued their Shouts, still following them at a Distance, like frightned Dogs, which by barking express their impotent Rage; till having advanc'd about Two Leagues farther, they discover'd a Village advantageously situated, and, as they believ'd, well peopled. *Cortez* pitch'd upon this Place for his Quarters, and gave Orders to his Officers to possess themselves of it by Force, if they could not by fair Means; but they found it wholly forsaken by the Inhabitants, together with some Provisions which they could not carry off; an Article which, at that Juncture, was very welcome, and no less necessary for the recruiting their exhausted Strength, than was so seasonable a Resting-place. Here the Army stay'd a Day, and some say Two; the Condition of the Wounded being such, that they could not proceed sooner. They made Two Marches more through a Country still more rocky and barren,

barren, always out of the great Road, and ſomewhat doubtful whether their Guides went right. They had no Cover, under which to paſs the Night; nor did the Perſecution of thoſe *Indians* ceaſe, who continually kept in Sight; or perhaps they might be others, who came out upon the firſt Order to follow them thro' their reſpective Diſtricts. But above all other Inconveniencies in theſe Marches they ſuffer'd Hunger and Thirſt to that Degree, that they wanted little of being quite diſpirited. The Officers and Soldiers animated each other; and Patience, ambitious of vying with Valour, us'd its utmoſt Efforts to withſtand thoſe ſevere Tryals. They were forc'd to have Recourſe to the Herbs and Roots of the Field for Suſtenance, without examining whether they were venomous or harmleſs, tho' ſuch as were the moſt prudent govern'd themſelves by the Knowledge and Example of the *Tlaſcalans*. One of the wounded Horſes died, and the Want they had of that Creature's Service in the Army was forgot with Joy, for it was divided, as a particular Regale, among thoſe who were in the greateſt Extremity, who celebrated the Feaſt by inviting their beſt Friends to partake of that dainty Food. A reliſhing Banquet at that Time, at which all Scruples of Stomach gave Way to Neceſſity.

The laſt of theſe Two Marches terminated in a little Village, whoſe Inhabitants, without abandoning their Dwelling like the others, gave them free Entrance; neither were they wanting in their Aſſiſtance to them with a ſeeming Chearfulneſs and Sedulity in every Thing they were order'd, which Obſequiouſneſs and unexpected Entertainment was a new Stratagem of the *Mexicans*, that their Enemies might come leſs prepar'd to the Snare which they had provided for them. Theſe Villagers freely ſhew'd their Stores of Proviſion, and from other neighbouring Villages procur'd what was ſufficient to make the fatigued *Spaniards* forget their paſt Sufferings. Early in the Morning the Army was all ready diſpos'd to aſcend the Mountain which, on the other Side, declin'd into the Valley of *Otumba*, thro' which they muſt of Neceſſity paſs to take the Road that leads to *Tlaſcala*. Here they obſerv'd ſome Alteration in the *Indians* who followed their March; for their Shouts and Scoffs expreſs'd rather a joyful Satisfaction than Indignation: And *Donna Marina* took Notice that they frequently ſaid, *Go on Tyrants! go on, for you will quickly arrive at the Place where you will all periſh.* Theſe Expreſſions gave them Occaſion to reflect; for thoſe Words were too often repeated not to import ſomething particular. Some began to doubt that theſe

Indians confiding in the *Tlascalans*, rejoic'd at the Danger to which the *Spaniards* were marching, as having receiv'd some Notice that there had happen'd a Change in the Fidelity, or Affection of that Nation. But *Cortez*, and those of better Judgment and Penetration, look'd upon this Novelty as no other than a Token of some Ambush that was then nearer than *Tlascala*; for there wanted not Examples of the Simplicity and Easiness with which the *Indians* were wont to publish the very Thing which they endeavour'd to conceal.

They continued their March, forewarn'd now, and their Minds dispos'd for entering upon fresh Action, when the advanc'd Guard, having reach'd the Mountain Top, came back with an Account that the Enemies had possess'd themselves of all the Valley, barring up the Passage to the Road whither they were directing their Course with a most formidable Multitude. It was the same Body of *Mexicans* which they had left at the first Temple, re-inforc'd with new Troops and other Commanders. They discover'd in the Morning, as may be presum'd by the succeeding Circumstances, the unseasonable Retreat of the *Spaniards*; and notwithstanding they did not doubt but that they should be able to follow the Pursuit, yet they fear'd, very considerately, by the Experience of that Night, that it would not be possible to destroy them before they reach'd the *Tlascalan* Territories, if they went on securing the advantageous Posts of the Mountains: For which Reason they sent Dispatches to *Mexico* for Re-inforcement, that an Affair of so much Importance might not miscarry for want of necessary Force, which Proposal was so well receiv'd in the City, that all the Nobility instantly set out, follow'd by the rest of the Troops which they had assembled, to join the Army; and in the small Space of Three or Four Days they divided themselves by different Roads, marching under Shelter of the Mountains with such Expedition, that they got thither before the *Spaniards*, and fill'd the whole Valley of *Otumba*, which was a very spacious Plain, where they might, undiscover'd, wait for the *Spaniards* their Enemies, and attack them without embarassing each other for want of Room. Notably well consider'd, and the Resolution as well executed; both which might have been envy'd in Leaders of greater Experience, and People better disciplin'd and less barbarous.

Upon the first Intelligence it was not suspected that they were the *Mexicans*; but on the contrary, they believ'd, as they were going up the Hill, that the dispers'd Troops, with their accustom'd Levity and Impotence, had united themselves in order

order to defend ſome Paſs; but upon gaining the Summit, they diſcover'd a very powerful Army, and in much better Order than any they had ſeen before, whoſe Front took up the whole Bredth of the Valley, whoſe Depth the Eye could not reach, and which was the laſt Effort of the *Mexican* Power, compos'd of various Nations, as the Diverſity and Diſtance of the ſeveral Colours and Standards denoted. The Captain-General of the Empire was diſtinguiſh'd in the Center of the Multitude, born up upon Men's Shoulders, in a Litter moſt ſumptuouſly adorn'd, in ſuch Manner, that being to be ſeen by all, and a Witneſs of every one's Behaviour, his Orders muſt be punctually executed. Upon his Chair, or Litter, ſtood erected the Royal Standard of *Mexico*, which was not intruſted to any other Hand but his, and could only be brought into the Field in Caſes of the greateſt Exigence and Importance. The Form of this Standard was a Net of Maſſy Gold, hanging on a Pike, and crown'd with a Plume of Feathers of various Colours, both which was a Sort of myſterious Superiority above the reſt of Hieroglyphicks of the leſſer Enſigns. The wavering and confus'd Motion of ſuch different Arms and Feathers appear'd beautiful amidſt the Horror of ſo many Objects of War and Deſtruction. The *Spaniſh* Army perceiving the freſh Danger for which they were to prepare their Minds and Arms, *Cortez* began to examine the Countenances of his People with that natural Alacrity which influenc'd their Hearts far better than Words; and finding them inſpir'd, rather with a Martial and generous Reſentment than with Fear and Conſternation, " Our Caſe is now " ſuch, ſaid he, that we muſt either die or conquer: The Cauſe " of our God fight for us." Nor had he Time to ſay any more; for the Soldiers themſelves interrupted him, crying out for the Word of Command, in order to engage, upon which he only ſtay'd to give them ſome few neceſſary Precautions, ſuch as the preſent Occaſion requir'd; and, as he was accuſtom'd, invoking St. *James*, and St. *Peter*, he advanc'd with his Front extended, and united the Body of the Army with the Wings of the Horſe, who were appointed to defend the Flank, and ſecure the Rear. The Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows made their firſt Diſcharges ſo opportunely, that the Enemy had ſcarce Time to make Uſe of their miſſive Weapons. The Swords and Lances did ſtill greater Dammage, the Horſe taking Care, at the ſame Time, to break and put to flight thoſe Troops which endeavour'd to paſs beyond them in order to incloſe their Army and attack their Rear. They gain'd ſome Ground by this firſt Charge. The *Spaniards* gave no Stroke without a

Wound, nor any Wound which needed a ſecond Blow. The *Tlaſcalans* threw themſelves into the thickeſt of the Battle, with an inſatiable Thirſt after *Mexican* Blood; and all had ſuch Command of their Paſſions, that they kill'd by Choice; firſt ſeeking out thoſe who appear'd to be Leaders. But the *Mexicans* fought with great Obſtinacy, advancing, tho' not with the beſt Order, yet with ſurprizing Reſolution to ſupply the Places of thoſe who fell; and the *Spaniards* were fatigu'd with the Slaughter of them, for the Battle was continually renewing with freſh Men. Their whole Army ſeem'd to give Way whenever the Cavalry charg'd them, or the Fire-Arms advanc'd; but they return'd with new Vigour to recover their loſt Ground, the Multitude moving from Place to Place with ſuch Celerity, that the whole Field appear'd like a ſtormy Sea of Men; the perpetual Flux and Reflux ſeeming to authorize that Simile.

Cortez fought on Horſeback, continually relieving, with his Troop, where the greateſt Streſs lay, carrying Death and Terror upon the Point of his Lance, whereſoever he came. But the obſtinate Reſiſtance of the *Indians* gave him no ſmall Concern; for it was not poſſibly to be hop'd, but that the Strength of his Men muſt abate with ſuch unintermitting Action; and reflecting upon the Meaſures he might take to advantage himſelf, or to make his Way to the Road, he was relieved in this Perplexity by one of thoſe Obſervations which he was accuſtom'd to lay up in his Mind to make Uſe of upon Occaſion. He remember'd to have heard among the *Mexicans*, that the whole Fortune of their Battles depended upon the Standard Royal, the gaining or loſing of which decided the Fortune of the Day on either Side: And being not inſenſible into what Diſorder and Confuſion the Enemy was always put by the Charge of the Cavalry; he took a Reſolution to make an extraordinary Effort for the gaining of the Imperial Standard, which he could very well diſtinguiſh. To this Effect he call'd for the Captains *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Chriſtoval de Olid*, and *Alonzo Davila*, to follow and ſecure his Rear, together with the reſt of the Horſe which generally attended him. Having encourag'd them with a ſhort Harangue, and given the neceſſary Inſtructions how they were to proceed, he advanc'd with little more than half Speed, and attack'd on that Part which appear'd weakeſt, and leaſt diſtant from the Center. The *Indians* gave back, dreading, as they always did, the Shock of the Cavalry; and before they could recover themſelves to make a ſecond Motion, the *Spaniards* threw themſelves upon the confus'd and diſorder'd Multitude with ſuch Vigour, and

and in ſuch good Order, that breaking and treading under Foot whole Battalions, they, without much Oppoſition, arriv'd at the Place where the Imperial Standard was defended by the Band of Nobles who were appointed for its Guard: And while the Captains were clearing themſelves of that numerous Attendance, *Cortez* ſpurr'd on his Horſe, and clos'd with the Captain-General of the *Mexicans*, who, at the firſt Stroke of his Lance, fell dangerouſly wounded, on the other Side of his Litter: He was ſoon forſaken by his Guard, and left almoſt alone, when *Juan de Salamanca*, a private Gentleman, leap'd from his Horſe, put an End to the little Life he had left, and ſeizing the Standard, gave it into the Hands of *Cortez*. This *Juan de Salamanca* was a Perſon of ſome Diſtinction in the Army, and for having, upon that Occaſion, done his General ſuch a Piece of Service, the Emperor conferr'd ſome Favours upon him, giving him for the Creſt, or Device, of his Arms the Plume of Feathers which crown'd the *Mexican* Standard.

Scarce did theſe *Barbarians* behold the Imperial Standard in the Power of the *Spaniards*, when they ſtruck all the reſt of their Colours: And throwing down their Arms, they betook themſelves to a precipitate Flight, ſeeking for Shelter in the adjacent Woods and Fields of *Maiz*. The neighbouring Mountains were all cover'd with the terrify'd Remnants of the *Mexican* Army; and in a few Moments the Field of Battle remain'd to the victorious *Spaniards*, who purſu'd their Victory with all the Rigour of War, and made a moſt terrible Deſtruction of the Fugitives. It was abſolutely neceſſary to ruin and diſperſe them, that they might not return to unite again: Anger and Reſentment urg'd what Conveniency dictated. On our Side ſome were wounded, of which Number Two or Three *Spaniards* died at *Tlaſcala*; and *Cortez* himſelf receiv'd a Blow on his Head with a Stone, ſo violent that it batter'd his Head-piece, and made a ſmall Fraction in his Skull; but the Hurt done by the Contuſion was ſtill greater. The Spoil was given to the Soldiers, which was very conſiderable; for the *Mexicans* came provided with coſtly Jewels and Ornaments as to an aſſur'd Triumph. The Hiſtory ſays, that Twenty Thouſand *Indians* loſt their Lives in this Battle. Matters, upon ſuch Occaſions, are generally ſtretch'd; but whoever will believe that the routed Army conſiſted of above Two Hundred Thouſand Men, will find leſs Improbability in the Greatneſs of the former Number. All Writers, as well Strangers as thoſe of our own Nation, relate this Victory as one of the greateſt that was obtain'd in the Two *America's*. And if it were certain, that *Santiago*, or

St. *James* the Apostle, fought visibly for his *Spaniard*, as some Prisoners affirm'd, the Slaughter of those People would appear more credible, or less surprizing, although, in Truth, it was not necessary to have Recourse to a visible Miracle, where there appear'd so many Evidences of the immediate Hand of God upon several Occasions; to whose Power the Successes of Armies ought ever to be attributed, with especial Consideration, since He has proclaim'd himself to be the Lord of Hosts; that Mortals may be sensible that it behoves them to hope for Victory at his Divine Hands, and to acknowledge it to be only at his Heavenly Disposal, without making any Account of their own Strength, tho' ever so great: For sometimes he chastises Injuries by assisting the less powerful; neither should any offer to confide in the Goodness of their Cause; for at other Times he corrects those whom he most favours, giving the Charge of the Stroke to an impious and unworthy Hand.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY Of the CONQUEST of *MEXICO*, or *NEW SPAIN*.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The Army marches into the Province of Tlaſcala, *and quarters in* Gualipar; *the Caziques and Senators come to viſit* Cortez: *they celebrate his Entry into their City with publick Rejoycings; and* Cortez, *by freſh Experience, finds he had ſecured the Affections of thoſe People.*

CORTEZ gave Orders for aſſembling his Troops, which were ſcattered up and down for the ſake of pillaging. The Soldiers took their Poſts, and purſued their March, not without ſuſpicion of the Enemy's rallying, for they obſerved ſeveral Bodies of Men on the tops of the Mountains: But it being impoſſible that day to get clear of the *Mexican* Confines, and withal neceſſary to take care of the Wounded, they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome Houſes, where

 they

they passed the Night, as in a Place of no great Security, and the next Day they found the Roads free from Enemies, the neighbouring Plains securing them from all danger of Ambuscades: However they still perceived signs of their being in an Enemy's Country, by the Cries and distant Menaces of the *Mexicans*, who after that manner took leave of those they could not stop.

A little after, they discovered and entered the Bounds of *Tlascala*, known to this day by some Remains of that famous Wall, which was built by the ancient Inhabitants to defend the Frontiers of their Country, joining together the Hills that bordered it in all those Places which Nature had not made inaccessible. The whole Army express'd their Joy by Acclamations, upon their entring the Territories of this Republick. The *Tlascalans* threw themselves upon their Faces to kiss the Earth, like disconsolate Children returned to the Lap of their Mother. The *Spaniards* made their thankful Acknowledgments to Heaven for this Repose after all their Fatigues, and they all lay down near a Fountain, whose Water at that time gained the Reputation of being delicate and wholesome, from the Praises the *Spaniards* gave it, which have been particularly mentioned by several Writers; whether it were that their violent Thirst made it seem the more refreshing, or that they could now allay it in Peace and Security.

In this place *Hernan Cortez* made a short Discourse, telling them of what Importance it was to preserve the Friendship of the *Tlascalans*, by their Kindness and Civility; and that when they came into the City, they should look upon the giving offence to any one Inhabitant, as a Matter that might endanger their common Safety: he afterwards resolved to stop by the way to gain Intelligence, and dispose Matters for his Entry with the knowledge and permission of the Senate; and accordingly at Noon he halted at *Gualipar*, a considerable Town in those days. The Inhabitants met them at some distance, to show their Good-will, offering their Houses, and whatever else they had occasion for, with so much Respect and Submission, that the most Jealous acknowledged there could be no room to suspect a People of Artifice, who gave such Proofs of their Sincerity. *Cortez* accepted the Invitation, and quartered his Soldiers with all the caution that was necessary, to be perfectly secure.

Im-

IMMEDIATELY after which, he deliberated about ſending two *Tlaſcalans* with an Account to the Senate of his Retreat and Succeſs: But before he could do this, Fame carry'd the News of his Victory; and almoſt at the ſame time came his great Friend *Magiſcatzin*, the blind *Xicotencal*, with his Son and others, to viſit him on the part of the Republick. *Magiſcatzin* advanced before the reſt, caſting himſelf into his Arms, and then ſtepping back, that he might behold and admire him, as one that ſcarce believed he had the Happineſs to ſee him alive. The blind *Xicotencal*, guided by the Sound, made his way with his Hands, ſhewing his Affection after a more tender manner, deſirous to inform himſelf by the Touch, and ſhowing his Satisfaction by a Flood of Tears, the only way by which his Eyes could teſtify his Joy. The reſt came after, whilſt the firſt went to congratulate the Captains and Soldiers of their acquaintance. On this occaſion, *Xicotencal* the Younger diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by appearing ſomewhat diſſatisfy'd, and reſerved in his Compliments; and altho' it was attributed at that time to the Ruggedneſs of a military Man, it ſoon appeared that he preſerved in his Mind the Diſtruſt of a reconciled Friend, and the ungrateful Remembrance of having been conquered. *Hernan Cortez* went aſide with the Senators, and found in their Converſation and Behaviour all the Delicacy of Manners, which could have been expected from a People of the greateſt Politeneſs. They informed him, that they had already got together their Troops to ſuccour him againſt the common Enemy, and were ready to march with Thirty Thouſand Men to ſecure his Retreat. They expreſſed a great Concern for his Wounds, looking on them as ſo many Sacrileges committed in that ſeditious War. They regretted the Death of the *Spaniards*, and particularly of *Juan Velaſquez de Leon*, whom they loved, as being ſenſible of his good Qualities. They condemned the barbarous Conſpiracy of the *Mexicans*; and, laſtly, offered to aſſiſt him in his Revenge with all their Forces, and thoſe of their Allies: adding, That they were now not only Friends of the *Spaniards*, but likewiſe Vaſſals of their King, and ſo were doubly obliged to obey his Miniſter's Orders, and die by his ſide. And after this manner they concluded their Diſcourſe, nicely diſtinguiſhing betwixt the two Obligations of Friendſhip and Vaſſalage, and declaring themſelves bound by Loyalty, to what they were before engaged

by

by Inclination. *Cortez* made great Acknowledgments for their Offers; and by all that could be gathered from their Discourse, they not only retained their Good-will for the *Spaniards*, but had improv'd it into an Esteem: For the Loss they sustained at their marching out of *Mexico*, was looked on as an Accident of War, and was wholly effaced by the Victory of *Otumba*, which was admired in *Tlascala* as a Prodigy of Valour, and the chief Glory of the Retreat. They proposed, that he should immediately go to the City, where his Quarters were provided; nevertheless they readily consented to allow the *Spaniards* some time to refresh themselves, because they were desirous to prepare for his Entry, which they determin'd to honour with publick Solemnity, and to celebrate after the same manner they did the Triumphs of their own Generals.

THE Army continued three Days in *Gualipar*, being liberally supply'd with every thing that was necessary, at the Charge of the Republick. After which, the Wounded being somewhat recovered, *Cortez* gave notice to the City, and prepared to march. The *Spaniards* put on all their Finery for that Day, adorning themselves with the Jewels and Plumes of the vanquished *Mexicans*; an outward Show which declared the Importance of the Victory: For, on some Occasions, Ostentation gives credit to a Cause, and Modesty is unseasonable. The Caziques and Ministers of State, in Form of a Senate, clad in their Richest Robes, and accompanied by a numerous Attendance of their Relations, came out to receive the Army. The Roads were covered with People, the Air was filled with Acclamations of popular Applause, and nothing was heard but the Praises of the Victors, and Reproaches upon the *Mexicans*. At their entrance into the City, they were entertained with the Sounds of Kettle-Drums, Flutes, and Winding-Horns, distributed into different Choirs, which alternately succeeded each other, making a pacifick Musick with their warlike Instruments. The Troops being conveniently quartered, *Cortez* consented, after much resistance, to lodge with *Magiscatzin*; giving way to his earnest Entreaties, that he might not disoblige him. And for the same Reason, *Pedro de Alvarado* went with old *Xicotencal*; but altho' the rest of the Caziques were desirous to entertain the other Captains, they courteously declin'd it, it being improper to leave the Main Guard without a sufficient Number of Officers. The *Spaniards*

niards made their Entry into *Tlaſcala* in the Month of *July*, 1520. altho' in this point Writers are not entirely agreed: But I ſhall reſerve my Diſcuſſions for Matters of more conſequence, and where a ſmall Variation is of great Importance.

THE ſame Evening they began their Feſtival of the Triumph, which continued for ſome Days, the *Indians* all employing their utmoſt Addreſs to divert their Gueſts, and celebrate their Victory, without excepting the Nobles, or thoſe who had loſt Friends and Relations in the Engagement; whether it were that they deſired to take part in the general Joy, or that it was not permitted in this warlike Nation to eſteem the End of thoſe unfortunate, who died in Battle. They gave Challenges, and Rewards were aſſign'd for the beſt Markſmen. They contended likewiſe in the Exerciſes of Leaping and Running; the Evenings were ſpent in the Diverſion of Rope-Dancing; an Exerciſe they were very fond of, and where the Mind of the Spectator is divided betwixt Fear and Pleaſure. But the Show always ended with Balls and certain Dances in Maſquerade; the Diverſion of the Multitude, whoſe diſorderly, noiſy Mirth finiſh'd the Demonſtrations of their Applauſe.

THE Sincerity and good Correſpondence of theſe People anſwered all the Hopes of *Cortez*. The Nobles were friendly and reſpectful, and the common People paſſionately fond, and ſubmiſſively obedient. *Cortez* expreſs'd a grateful Senſe of their Affection for him, commended their Diverſions, careſſing ſome, and honouring others with equal Confidence and Satisfaction. The Captains aſſiſted him in the gaining of Friends by their Courteſy and Preſents; and even the meaneſt Soldiers endeavoured to make themſelves lov'd, by ſharing generouſly with the *Tlaſcalans* the Jewels and Spoils they had brought from the Battle. But in the Spring-time (as I may ſay) of this Felicity, an Accident happened which gave a damp to all their Joy. For the Wound which *Cortez* had receiv'd in his Head, and which was ill cured, appeared afreſh with bad Symptoms; and the over-much Exerciſe he had uſed on theſe Days of Rejoicing, occaſion'd an Inflammation in his Brain, with a ſtrong Fever, which reduced him to ſuch a Condition, that his Life was thought to be in danger. The *Spaniards* looked on this unhappy Accident, as what threatned no leſs than the Loſs of their Lives and Fortunes; but the Concern of the

Indians was more remarkable, as being less expected; for they no sooner heard of his Illness, but laying aside all their Mirth, they fell into the other Extreme of an inconsolable Grief.

THE Nobles, full of Anxiety and Sorrow, were continually enquiring after the *Teule*, a Name which we have before observed they gave to their Demigods, or almost Deities. The common People came in Troops to bewail his Loss, so that the *Spaniards* were obliged to deceive them with the hopes of his mending, in order to keep them at a distance, that they might not disturb *Cortez* with their Cries and Lamentations. The Senate sent for all the best Physicians of their Country, whose Skill consisted in the Knowledge and Choice of Medicinal Herbs, which they apply'd with a wonderful Discernment of their Virtues and Effects, varying the Medicine according to the Condition and different Turns of the Distemper; and to them he was entirely beholden for his Cure: For making use at first of wholesome cooling Simples, to correct the Inflammation, and mitigate the Pain, which occasioned the Fever, they proceeded, by degrees, to apply others proper to ripen and heal the Wound, with so much Skill and good Fortune, that, in a little time, they restored him to his perfect Health.

LET the rational Physician laugh at Empiricks; 'tis certain, however, that the first Knowledge of Physick was from Experience: and in a Country entirely unacquainted with Natural Philosophy, which searches out Causes by Effects, it was no small matter to find so great a Progress made in the Knowledge of Nature. The News of his Recovery was celebrated with fresh Rejoicings, and *Hernan Cortez* had further Experience of the Affections of the *Tlascalans*: And his Head being now at liberty for Thought, he resum'd his high Designs, forming new Plans to avoid the Inconveniences, and remove the Difficulties which attended his Undertaking; an inward War of Objections and Solutions, the end of which was to reconcile Prudence with Magnanimity.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

An Account comes that the Province of Tepeaca *had taken up Arms. Embassadors arrive at* Tlascalla *from* Mexico. *A Conspiracy, carried on by* Xicotencal *the Younger, against the* Spaniards, *is discovered.*

HERNAN CORTEZ was in pain to know the Condition of Affairs at *Vera Cruz*, the Preservation of that Place being the principal Basis and Foundation of his new Projects: He therefore wrote to *Rodrigo Rangel*, whom he had appointed Lieutenant in that Government, under *Gonzalo de Sandoval*; and quickly received an Answer by the extraordinary Diligence of the Couriers of that Country, importing, That nothing new had happened either in the Garrison, or on the Coast, to give him any Concern; That *Narvaez* and *Salvatierra* were in safe Custody; and That the Soldiers were pleased, and kindly treated: the *Zempoalans*, *Totonaques*, and other Confederate Nations, adhering with great Fidelity and Friendship to the Terms of their Alliance.

BUT at the same time he acquainted him, that the Corporal and eight Soldiers, who went to *Tlascala* for the Gold belonging to the Garrison, were not returned; and that if the Report, current among the *Indians*, was true, of their having been murdered in the Province of *Tepeaca*, it was to be feared, that the wounded Soldiers of *Narvaez*, who remained behind in *Zempoala*, had met with the same Fate; for as fast as they recovered, they marched away in little Troops, being extremely desirous to arrive at *Mexico*, which they considered as the Centre of all their Wealth and Prosperity. This Misfortune much afflicted *Cortez*, because he had reckon'd upon the Reinforcement of those Soldiers, whose Number, according to *Antonio de Herrera*, amounted to above fifty; and allowing it less, as *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* writes, yet was the

Loss

Loſs very great upon this Occaſion, and in a Country where one *Spaniard* was of more Value than a thouſand *Indians*. Upon this, *Cortez* enquir'd among his *Tlaſcalan* Friends, who confirm'd the Report of *Rangel*; and ſaid, They had conceal'd it from him, left ſuch bad News might have been a Hindrance to his Recovery.

IT is moſt certain, that the eight Soldiers who went from *Vera Cruz*, arriv'd at *Tlaſcala*, and left again that Place, in order to return with their Share of the Gold, at a time when they began to ſuſpect the Fidelity of the Province of *Tepeaca*, which, with ſeveral others, had ſubmitted in the firſt March to *Mexico*; and that both the one and the other Party had been maſſacred by the People of that Province, appear'd afterwards very evidently, by their calling in the *Mexican* Troops to ſupport their Treaſon: which made it abſolutely neceſſary to ſubdue thoſe Rebels, and drive the Enemy to a greater diſtance. Nor did this Deſign admit of any Delay, becauſe the Situation of that Province cut off the Communication between *Mexico* and *Vera Cruz*; and it was neceſſary to open that Paſſage, before they could undertake any thing of Importance: Nevertheleſs *Hernan Cortez* deferr'd to ask of the Republick the Aſſiſtance of their Forces; becauſe he was informed at the ſame time, that the *Tepeacans* had ſome days before made an Inroad into the Country of *Tlaſcala*, plundering, and deſtroying ſome Settlements on the Frontiers; and made no queſtion but the *Tlaſcalans* would apply themſelves to him, as it ſhortly after happen'd: For the Senate came to a Reſolution to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of that Nation, and to endeavour intereſting the *Spaniards* in the War, as equally exaſperated and injur'd by the Death of their Companions. The Affair took the Turn that *Cortez* wiſh'd; and he ſo manag'd Matters as to grant, what he was under a neceſſity of asking.

THERE happen'd afterwards another Accident, which gave the *Spaniards* freſh Diſquiet: For there came Advice from *Gualipar*, that three or four Embaſſadors ſent by the New Emperor of *Mexico* to the Republick of *Tlaſcala* were arriv'd on the Frontiers, where they ſtay'd, expecting Leave to proceed to the City. The *Tlaſcalans* deliberated upon the Matter with ſome Admiration, and without being ignorant that the Negotiations of a powerful Enemy, were to be regarded as diſguis'd Menaces: But tho' they verily believ'd the Embaſſy

was

was design'd against the *Spaniards*, and were fully resolv'd, not to forsake the Defence of their Friends on any account, they decreed to admit the Embassadors; that at least they might have the Advantage arising from this Acknowledgment of their Equality: a Condescension very unusual, and little agreeing with the Pride of the *Mexican* Princes; and some say, it was inserted in the Decree, provided it be with the Approbation of *Cortez*; for the Embassadors were conducted publickly to their Audience: And throughout this whole Transaction, there was not the least Pretence to suspect the Sincerity of the *Tlascalans*.

THEY made their Entry with great Solemnity and Splendor, the *Tamenes* in good Order went at the Head of the Procession, with the Presents, consisting of some Pieces of Gold and Silver, fine Cotton Cloaths, Plumes, and other Curiosities, with several Loads of Salt, a Merchandize very much priz'd and coveted in those Parts. The Embassadors carry'd the Ensigns of Peace in their hands, and were richly adorn'd with Jewels, and accompany'd by a numerous Train of Friends and Servants; wherein they imagin'd that they display'd the Grandeur of their Prince: And sometimes indeed, a vain Ostentation of Power is of use in an Embassy; and by prepossessing the Eye, imposes on the Ear. The Senate receiv'd them at their Tribunal, and were neither deficient, nor excessive in point of Ceremony; being jealous of the Rights belonging to their Sovereignty, and but ill concealing their Disgust, under the appearance of Civility.

AFTER naming the Emperor of *Mexico* with profound Submission, the Embassadors made an Offer of Peace, and perpetual Alliance between the two Nations, Freedom of Commerce, and Communication of Interests, on condition they would immediately make War upon the *Spaniards*; and, taking Advantage of their Security, destroy them at once: But they could not proceed in their Discourse, being interrupted by a confus'd Rumour, occasion'd by the Senate's disapproving what they said; and by Marks of a Displeasure, which they were not able to conceal, and which broke out into disorderly and inconsiderate Expressions. But one of the antient Senators represented to them the Indecency of this Procedure, contrary to Custom and Reason; and obtain'd, that the Embassadors should retire to their Lodging, and there expect the Resolution of the Re-

 publick:

publick: Which being done, they conferr'd among themselves, and without staying to put it to the Vote, they all agreed in what some had already declar'd thro' Inadvertency, though they soften'd the Expressions of their Refusal, and Anger gave way to Civility. After their first Heat was over, they then concluded to send three or four Deputies with the Senate's Answer to the Embassadors; which contain'd in substance, That the Republick would admit the Peace with all possible Respect, provided the Conditions were reasonable, and consistent with the Interest and Honour of both Nations: But that the *Tlascalans* were religious Observers of the Laws of Hospitality, and were not us'd to betray those who confided in them; that they valu'd themselves upon accounting that impossible which was unlawful; and for diving into the Truth of things, not understanding the use of false Pretences, or how to palliate Treason by giving it some other Name. But the Embassadors did not stay long enough to receive this Answer; for, finding their Proposition so ill receiv'd, they immediately made off; and the Haste and Fear wherewith they retir'd, were equal to the Gravity that distinguish'd their Entry: And it was not thought proper to stop them, for it being reported in *Tlascala*, that they came to solicit a War against the *Spaniards*, there was Reason to apprehend some popular Insurrection, which might break thro' the Privileges of Embassadors, and the Respect due to the Senate.

THOUGH this Design of the *Mexicans* was defeated, to the great Satisfaction of the *Spaniards*, it was attended with an Inconveniency, which created a farther Uneasiness: For *Xicotencal* the younger conceal'd his Opinion in the Senate, voting with the rest, either because he was afraid of the Displeasure of some of his Friends, or out of Respect to his Father; nevertheless this Embassy gave him a handle, to scatter among his Friends and Followers, the Poison which abounded in his Heart, on the Subject of this Peace propos'd by the *Mexicans*; not that it was his Inclination, or Interest, but to cover the Scandal of his Envy and evil Designs with a specious Pretence. The *Mexican* Emperor, said he, whose formidable Power obliges us always to be in Arms, engag'd in the perpetual Misfortune of a defensive War, offers us his Friendship, without any other Condition than the Death of the *Spaniards*; in which he only proposes, what we ought to execute ourselves for our

our own Interest and Preservation: For tho' we should forgive these Strangers their Intention to destroy our Religion, can it be deny'd, that they endeavour to change our very Laws and Form of Government, by converting into a Monarchy this venerable Republick of the *Tlascalans*; and reducing us under the detestable Dominion of an Emperor; a Yoke so heavy and oppressive, that it grieves us to see it, even upon the Necks of our Enemies? He wanted no Eloquence to set off his Opinion, nor Resolution to execute his Designs: And though some of his Friends endeavour'd to dissuade him from entertaining such Thoughts; yet as he had the Reputation of a good Soldier, it was very much to be fear'd, that he wou'd engage a formidable Party in a Country where Courage was esteem'd a Mark of Reason: But their Love of the *Spaniards* was so fixed in their Hearts that he gain'd but few, and the Matter was discover'd to the Magistrates. It was debated in the Senate with all the Seriousness that an Affair of so much Importance requir'd; and *Xicotencal* the Father was summon'd to the Conference, nor did the Delinquent's near Relation to him make them in the least suspect his Constancy, or his Justice.

THEY all condemn'd him as a seditious Person, who endeavour'd to disturb the publick Peace, disgrace the Resolutions of the Senate, and destroy the Credit of his Nation. Some were inclin'd to punish his Crime with Death; and his Father was one of those who most strenuously promoted that Sentence, condemning the Treason of his Son, like an unbyass'd Judge, and true Father of his Country.

THE honourable Constancy of this blind Old Man so wrought on the Minds of the Senators, that out of regard to him, they mitigated the Rigour of the Sentence, and concluded on a milder Punishment; for they order'd him to be brought Prisoner to the Senate, and after reprimanding his Insolence with the utmost Severity, they took from him the General's Staff, and depriv'd him of his Command in the Army, and all Privileges belonging to it, by the Ceremony of flinging him down the Stairs of the Tribunal: the Ignominy of this Degradation oblig'd him, in few days, to apply himself with all the Demonstrations of a true Reconciliation to *Cortez*, at whose Intercession he was restor'd to his Honours, and the Favour of his Father; tho' after some little time, the Root of his wicked Intentions

began

began to sprout out a second time in fresh Disorders, which cost him his Life; as we shall see in the proper Place. Each of these Accidents might have produc'd fatal Consequences, but the Perfidy of *Xicotencal* did not come to the knowledge of *Cortez*, till the bad Effects of it were prevented, and the Crime punish'd; and the ill Success of the *Mexican* Embassadors gave Satisfaction to the most distrustful: Both Adventures affording new Proofs of the Fidelity of the *Tlascalans*; which in a People so little civiliz'd, and when the *Spaniards* were at that distance from all human Means to support themselves, may pass for a Miracle; at least it was then look'd upon as an Effect which could not be accounted for by inferior Causes.

CHAP. III.

Cortez *marches into the Province of* Tepeaca, *where he defeats the Rebels; who, supported by the* Mexicans, *offer'd Battle to the* Spaniards: *He, afterwards, takes their City, which he fortifies, and calls by the Name of* Segura de la Frontera.

WHILST young *Xicotencal* was with great Satisfaction assembling the Troops of the Republick, for the War of *Tepeaca*, and endeavouring by his extraordinary Diligence, to blot out the Remembrance of his Treachery, *Cortez* was employ'd in convincing his own People, of the Necessity they lay under of chastizing the *Indians* of *Tepeaca*; representing to them, the Rebellion of those Traytors, and the Death of so many *Spaniards*; with what other Motives could incite them to Compassion and Revenge. But they did not all agree in the Necessity of this Expedition, and more especially, the Troops of *Narbaez* very strenuously oppos'd it: The remembrance of their past Fatigues made them ardently desire Repose, and

and ſigh after their Poſſeſſions in the Iſle of *Cuba*, exclaiming againſt the War as unprofitable, and inſiſting upon the Return of the Army to *Vera Cruz*, in order to ſollicite Reinforcements from *Santo Domingo* and *Jamaica*, and reſume their Enterprize with leſs Danger; not that they had any ſuch Deſign in reality, but deſired only to get nearer to the Sea, where they imagin'd their Clamours and Diſobedience would be better ſupported; and they carried their Boldneſs ſo far, as to give the General a Proteſtation in form, containing Motives rather inſolent than ſubſtantial, and where the Pretence of the Publick Good, and the Service of the King, ſerv'd as a Cover to their Fear and Baſeneſs.

CORTEZ was the more ſenſibly concerned at their Inſolence, as happening at a time when his Enemies at *Tepeaca* had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Road to *Vera Cruz*, which it was impoſſible to paſs, without making that War, which the Mutineers refuſed. He ordered them to be aſſembled, and ſtood in need of all his Moderation, to keep within Bounds upon this Occaſion. It is difficult for a Man of a generous Spirit to diſſemble a perſonal Injury; but where Reaſon itſelf is outraged by Caprice or Brutality, it is the utmoſt Tryal of Patience in a Man of Senſe.

HE thanked them, as well as he could, for the Care they took of the Preſervation of the Army, and without loſing time with laying before them the Reaſons which obliged them not to fail in their Engagements to the *Tlaſcalans*, hazarding the Loſs of their Friendſhip, and leaving the Treaſon of the *Tepeacans* unpuniſhed, he made uſe of Motives, proportioned to the Capacities of Men, who were not to be affected by thoſe which were more convincing; and only told them, That as the Enemies had ſeized the Paſſes of the Mountains, they could not avoid engaging with them before they recovered the Plain: That to go alone upon this Expedition, would be the Loſs of the Army, or at leaſt would hazard it without any manner of Reaſon: That there was no demanding Succour from the *Tlaſcalans*, nor would they give any to make good a Retreat undertaken contrary to their Inclination; but promiſing them, upon his Word of Honour, that after the rebellious Province was ſubdued, and the Paſſage of the Road open (in order to which, the Republick would aſſiſt with all their Forces) all, who were not

willing to follow his Fortune, ſhould have free liberty to depart. Thus he induced them to ſerve in this War, by letting them know they were not in a Condition to form any other Deſigns: Upon this he immediately gave Orders for the Expedition of *Tepeaca*, and for the preſent quieted the Mutineers.

CORTEZ drew out eight Thouſand choice *Tlaſcalans*, divided into Troops according to their Cuſtom, commanded by Captains, of whoſe Valour he had made proof in his Engagements with the *Mexicans*, and left to his new Friend *Xicotencal* the Care of bringing up the reſt of the *Tlaſcalan* Forces. After having drawn up his Men, he number'd four hundred and twenty *Spaniards*, including the Officers, and ſixteen Horſe. The Foot, for the moſt part, were armed with Pikes, Swords, and Targets, ſome Croſs-Bows, and a few Fire-Arms; for the want of Powder obliged them to leave the reſt with *Magiſcatzin*. The Army marched with the Acclamations of the People, the *Tlaſcalan* Soldiers ſhowed a Chearfulneſs which preſaged Victory, and were all inſpir'd with the Deſire of Revenge. They halted that Day in a Village of the Enemy's, three Leagues from *Tlaſcala*, and five from *Tepeaca*, the capital Town, which gave the Name to the Province. On the firſt ſight of the Army the Inhabitants of the Village fled, and the advanced Guard could only take ſix or ſeven Peaſants, who met with good Treatment that Night among the *Spaniards*, much againſt the Will of the *Tlaſcalans*, who would have given them a different Entertainment. In the Morning the General ordered them to be brought before him, and encouraging them by ſome Preſents, ſet them at liberty, ordering them, for the Good of their Country, to acquaint the Caziques and principal Men of *Tepeaca*, *That he was come with an Army to revenge the Deaths of thoſe* Spaniards, *whom they had ſo treacherouſly killed; as likewiſe their Revolt, contrary to the Obedience they had ſworn to the King: but that, nevertheleſs, if they would take up Arms againſt the* Mexicans, *in which they ſhould be aſſiſted both by the* Spaniards *and* Tlaſcalans, *he would grant a general Pardon, and receive them into his Friendſhip, freeing them from the Misfortunes of a War which juſtly threaten'd them, and in which he ſhould be obliged to treat them with the utmoſt Rigour.*

THE

The *Indians* departed with this Meſſage, and ſome friendly Aſſurances which *Marina* and *Aguilar* gave them, encouraging them to return without any Fear, tho' the Propoſals of Peace ſhould be rejected; and accordingly they return'd the next day accompanied by two *Mexicans*, who came in the nature of Spies, leſt the *Tepeacans* ſhould make any Alteration in the Expreſſions of their refuſal, which was rude and inſolent, *viz.* That they did not deſire Peace, and would not long delay to take the Field in ſearch of their Enemies, whom they would carry bound to the Altars of their Gods. To which they added other injurious Terms and Threats, as People who depended upon the Numbers of their Troops. But *Cortez* not ſatisfied with this Anſwer, made them a ſecond Offer for his greater Juſtification; wherein he proteſted, That if they did not accept the Conditions he propoſed, he would deſtroy them with Fire and Sword as Traitors to his King; and that all who ſurviv'd, ſhould be Slaves to the Conquerors. This the Interpreters notified to the Envoys, and alſo gave them a Copy of the ſame in Writing; not that they could read it, but that ſo ſevere a Meſſage committed to Paper, might redouble their Fear: for as they greatly wonder'd at the Myſtery of writing, and thought it altogether ſupernatural for the *Spaniards* to talk and underſtand each other at a diſtance, *Cortez* had a mind to ſtrike the Eye with that which ſo much ſurpriz'd them, and to give them Terror by the way of Wonder. But this Artifice ſerv'd to little purpoſe; for the ſecond Anſwer was more inſolent than the firſt, and at the ſame time came an Account that the Enemy's Army was marching with great diligence. *Hernan Cortez* reſolv'd to meet them, and ſo ſoon as he had put his Men in order, began his March without ſtaying either to inſtruct or animate them; for the *Spaniards* were well acquainted with the *Indian* manner of Fighting, and the *Tlaſcalans* were ſo deſirous to engage, that the greateſt difficulty was to hinder them from falling on.

The Enemy lay in Ambuſh in ſome Fields of Maiz, which grows very thick in that fertile Country, and might have turn'd to their Advantage, had they uſed more Precaution; but their own natural Impatience diſcover'd them at a diſtance, and the Vant-Guard ſent the General an Account of it ſo ſeaſonably, that they had time to prepare, and drew near the Ambuſcade in good Order, tho'

tho' seemingly after a careless manner. *Cortez* found it necessary to extend his Batallions, in order to secure his Rear, after which he began the Engagement; and the *Mexicans*, who were plac'd in the Van, found themselves attack'd on all Sides just as they were preparing to fall on their Adversary's Rear. The very first Charge put them into Confusion, and all who could not save themselves by Flight, were cut to pieces. *Cortez* continu'd advancing in good Order, and as the Arrows and missive Weapons of the *Indians* lost their Force among the Canes of Maiz, the *Spaniards* made a terrible carnage with their Swords and Pikes. The Enemies rallied, and stood a second Attack with the utmost Obstinacy; notwithstanding which, Victory quickly declar'd for the *Spaniards*, for the *Mexicans* gave way, and quitted not only the Field, but the whole Country, seeking Refuge among some others of their Confederates; the *Tepeacans* follow'd their Example retiring in the same disorder, and were so intimidated, that the very same Night they sent some Deputies, and offer'd to surrender their City, begging Quarter, and abandoning themselves to the Discretion and Clemency of the Conqueror.

IN this Engagement the Enemy lost the greatest part of their Troops, abundance were taken Prisoners, and the Booty was very considerable. The *Tlascalans* behav'd themselves valiantly, and what was more extraordinary, were so observant of Orders, and so much better disciplin'd than formerly, that they only lost two or three Men. The *Spaniards* lost one Horse, and were some of them wounded, but so slightly, that they did not quit their Post: The day following, *Cortez* march'd into the City, and both the Civil and Military Officers, with all the common People, presented themselves before him without Arms, appearing like Criminals, and acknowledging their Guilt both by their Looks and Silence.

WHEN they drew near, they humbled themselves before him with their Faces to the very Ground, and *Cortez* was oblig'd to encourage them before they had the Boldness to lift up their Eyes. He order'd his Interpreters to proclaim King *Charles* with a loud Voice, and a general Pardon in his Name; which was no sooner done, than the *Indians* laid aside their Fear, and both by Words and Actions declar'd their Joy. The *Tlascalans* were order'd to quarter without the Town, as having been more accustom'd

cuſtom'd to treat their Enemies ill than to obey Orders. *Hernan Cortez* and the *Spaniards* lodg'd in the City with all the Caution that was neceſſary, till they were fully convinc'd of the Sincerity of the *Indians*; for in reality the *Mexicans* had puſh'd them on to murther the *Spaniards*, and afterwards to take up Arms.

THE People of *Tepeaca* were now ſo mortified for having put themſelves a ſecond time under the intolerable Yoak of the *Mexicans*, who tho' they came as Friends, uſurp'd a Power over their Eſtates, their Honours, and their very Lives, that they requeſted *Cortez* to take their City under his Protection; of which Opportunity he made uſe, to build a Fortreſs in the place, in order to keep them in Obedience; but his chief View was to ſecure the Paſſage to *Vera Cruz*, for which this place lay very convenient, and being naturally ſtrong, was eaſily made defenſible by Art. They drew a Trench round the City, which they paliſadoed, incloſing thoſe parts of the Hill where it was of eaſieſt acceſs, and in the higheſt part they rais'd a Work of ſome Strength like a Caſtle, which was eſteem'd a ſufficient Security againſt any accident that could happen in the Wars of that Country. The Work was ſo vigorouſly ply'd by the Inhabitants and their Neighbours, that they put it in a condition of Defence in few days. *Cortez* left there a Garriſon of ſome *Spaniſh* Soldiers, calling it *Segura de la Frontera*; and this was the ſecond Settlement of the *Spaniards* in the *Mexican* Empire.

BUT firſt, that they might be the leſs embaraſſed in this Work, they ſent all their Priſoners, under a ſtrong Guard to *Tlaſcala*, to be ſold for Slaves; a piece of Inhumanity, which was begun in the Iſlands, to ſtrike a Terror into the rebel *Indians*. We do not mention this, as if its having been practis'd before were any Juſtification of it; on the contrary, we think him who imitates a bad Action, as blameable as the Man who firſt ſet the Example.

BUT it was not long before the Emperor put a ſtop to this Abuſe, with a ſevere Reprimand, notwithſtanding it was repreſented to him in the moſt favourable Light, and ſupported by all the Arguments that could poſſibly be urg'd, to prove Slavery, among Chriſtians, lawful. It was a Point which occaſion'd long Diſputes, but this truly religious and compaſſionate Prince leaving Controverſies to Divines, ordered the *Indians* to be ſet at liberty whenever

the Law of Arms would permit it; that in the mean time, they should be treated as Prisoners of War, and not as Slaves. A Resolution worthy of a great King, wherein he equally display'd his Prudence and his Piety; for as it would not have consisted with good Politicks to lessen the Number of his Subjects by augmenting that of his Slaves, so neither would it become the Catholick Religion, by permitting the use of Chains and Whips, to discredit a Cause so strongly supported by Reason.

CHAP. IV.

Hernan Cortez *sends several Captains to reduce some rebellious Towns, and goes himself to* Guacachula *against an Army of* Mexicans *drawn together to defend their Frontiers.*

THE *Spaniards* had not long taken up their Quarters in *Tepeaca*, when *Xicotencal* arriv'd with the rest of his Troops, which, as some say, increas'd the Auxiliary Army of the *Tlascalans* to fifty thousand Men. It was necessary, in order to quiet the Minds of the *Tepeacans*, who were jealous of such a Neighbourhood, to give the Troops employment; and *Hernan Cortez*, knowing that three or four Places of that Province, supported by the *Mexicans*, held out against him, sent several Captains, attended each of them by twenty or thirty *Spaniards*, and a considerable Body of *Tlascalans*, with Orders to endeavour the Reduction of the Rebels by gentle Means, and if these prov'd ineffectual, to chastise their Obstinacy. They met with resistance from all, and were oblig'd to make use of Force, but compass'd their Design without the loss of a Man, and the Captains return'd victorious, having subjected the rebel Towns, and overthrown the *Mexicans*, who being broken and terrified, fled to the other side of the Mountains. The Booty they gain'd in the chase of their Enemies, and in the seditious Towns, was very

rich

rich and abundant in all kinds. The Prisoners exceeded the Number of the Conquerors; 'tis said they made above two thousand in the Town of *Tecamachalco*, where the Punishment fell heavy, that being the Place where the *Spaniards* were murthered; and now they were no longer called Prisoners, but Captives, till being expos'd to Sale, they lost that Name, and were deliver'd over into Personal Slavery, by receiving in their Faces the cruel Marks of a miserable Servitude.

ABOUT this time, according to the Accounts they had some little while after, died the Emperor who succeeded *Motezuma*, who, as we have said, was called *Quetlavaca*, Lord of *Iztapalapa*; upon which the Electors assembled, and conferr'd the Investiture of the Empire on *Guatimozin*, Nephew and Son-in-law to *Motezuma*. He was a young Man about twenty five Years old, of so much Spirit and Vigilance, that contrary to the manner of his Predecessor, he entirely gave himself up to the Care of the Publick, being desirous immediately to shew the Advantages of Government when plac'd in proper Hands. He knew what the *Spaniards* were doing in the Province of *Tepeaca*, and foreseeing the Designs they might form when assisted by the united Forces of the *Tlascalans* and other neighbouring Provinces, he began to have those reasonable apprehensions which are necessary to prudent Measures.

HE made those Dispositions which greatly recommended the beginnings of his Reign; he encourag'd the Soldiers with Rewards and Privileges, and gain'd the applause of the People, by freeing them from all Tributes so long as the War should last. He ingratiated himself with the Nobility, by admitting them into his Presence, and by moderating that excess of Adoration to which his Predecessors endeavour'd to raise the Respect of the People. He made Presents to the Caziques on the Frontiers, exhorting them to Fidelity, and the Defence of their Governments; and that they might not have reason to complain that he left the whole load of the War upon them, he sent an Army of thirty thousand Men for their Support and Encouragement. But notwithstanding these Preparations of the *Mexican* Emperor, those who are envious of the Glory of our Nation, are so void of Shame, as to maintain that we engag'd with Brutes, void of Reason, who only assembled to give way to the Wiles and Artifices, rather than the Courage and Constancy of the *Spaniards*.

CORTEZ

CORTEZ receiv'd an Account that this Army was upon the Frontiers, which was confirm'd by three or four Nobles, sent by the Cazique of *Guacachula*, a populous warlike City, situate on the Road to *Mexico*, and a Place, which the new Emperor looked on as one of the Ramparts of his Empire. They came to request Succour against the *Mexicans*, complaining of their Violences and Oppressions, and offering to take up Arms against them so soon as the *Spaniards* should come within sight of their Town. They made the Undertaking appear easy and just, saying, that their Cazique ought to be assisted as a Vassal of the King of *Spain*, being one of those who promis'd Obedience to him in the Assembly of the Nobility called together by the Orders of *Motezuma*. *Cortez* ask'd them what Force the Enemy had in those Parts? they told him twenty Thousand in the District of their City, and ten Thousand more in another City call'd *Tzucan*, four Leagues from them, but that in *Guacachula* and its Dependencies, they could raise a very considerable Number of Men courageous and provok'd, who would be glad of the Opportunity to take up Arms. *Cortez* examin'd them very carefully, asking divers Questions, that he might discover the Intentions of their Cazique, and they gave so good an account of themselves, as fully persuaded him of their Sincerity: and tho' he should have had some remaining suspicion, he would at that time have dissembled it; for in case the Treaty could not have been depended on, it was nevertheless necessary to drive away the Enemy, and subject the Frontier Towns, before the *Mexicans* came with a greater Force to defend them.

CORTEZ apply'd himself so earnestly to this Enterprize, that the very same Day he form'd an Army of three Hundred *Spaniards*, twelve or thirteen Horse, and above thirty Thousand *Tlascalans*, under the Command of Colonel *Christopher de Olid*; and after he had made the Disposition, he so quickly put it in Execution, that the Army march'd next Morning: they carry'd the Envoys sent from *Guacachula* with them, and had Orders to advance with Circumspection till they came near the City; and in case they suspected any Treachery, to endeavour engaging the *Mexicans* in some advantageous Post, and breaking them before they attack'd the Town.

THEY

THEY all march'd on very chearful and courageous, till at ſix Leagues from *Tepeaca* and almoſt at the ſame diſtance from *Guacachula*, (where the Army made a halt) they found it rumour'd among the Peaſants of the Country, but without any good foundation, that the Emperor of *Mexico* was on the March with his whole Force to relieve thoſe Cities. The Soldiers of *Narbaez* believ'd the Report, and ſo multiply'd the Enemy's Forces in their Imagination, that without hark'ning to Reaſon, or obeying Orders, they plainly and inſolently proteſted, that they would march no farther: So that *Chriſtopher de Olid* grew angry, and in a contemptuous manner bid them return, threatning them with the Diſpleaſure of *Cortez*, ſince they were not touch'd with the Diſhonour of their Retreat: But as he was preparing to proſecute his March without them, there happen'd a new Accident, which, if it did not altogether ſhake his Conſtancy, yet riſqu'd the Succeſs of the Expedition.

THEY ſaw ſeveral Bodies of arm'd Men deſcending from the Tops of the neighbouring Mountains, and advancing with more than ordinary Diligence; and *Chriſtopher de Olid* believing the *Mexicans* were coming to attack him, he immediately drew up his Men in Order: In which he acted rightly, for exceſſive Care never yet did Hurt in an Army. But ſome Horſe, whom he had ſent before to gain Intelligence, return'd with an Account, that it was the Cazique of *Guaxozingo*, with others of his confederate Caziques, who were come to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in their War againſt the *Mexicans*; who had already ravag'd their Frontiers, and threaten'd their Dominions. Upon this, *Olid* order'd their Troops to halt, and the Caziques to come before him; which was preſently done: But that which ſhould have given them all entire Satisfaction, occaſion'd a ſecond Uneaſineſs in the Soldiers; it began among the *Tlaſcalans*, and preſently infected the *Spaniards*: For they both declar'd, that thoſe People were not to be truſted, that their Friendſhip was feign'd, and that they were ſent by the *Mexicans*, to ſerve them, by falling on the *Spaniards* during the Engagement. *Chriſtopher de Olid* heard them, and without enquiring ſufficiently into the Matter, enter'd too lightly into their Suſpicions, preſently ſeiz'd the Caziques, and ſent them away to *Tepeaca*, for *Cortez* to determine concerning them.

them: An inconsiderate Action, by which he ran the risque of raising a Disturbance between his own People, and those who really came as Friends. The latter however continu'd in their Post, notwithstanding they found they were distrusted, declaring themselves satisfy'd to have the Matter referr'd to *Cortez*; and the *Spaniards* did not dare to disturb them, because they had sent an Account of the matter, and were oblig'd to stay for Orders.

THE Prisoners in a very short time were brought before *Cortez*, complaining with a good deal of Reason of *Christopher de Olid*; saying, they were not so much concern'd at the Disgrace offer'd to their Persons, as at the Suspicion of their Fidelity. *Cortez* heard them with great Benignity, and ordering their Irons to be taken off, endeavour'd to satisfy them, and to regain their good Opinion; for he found in them all the Marks that usually distinguish Truth from Deceit. But upon further Consideration, he found it would be necessary to carry on this Enterprize in Person; the Distrust which his *Indian* Allies had of each other, and the Uneasiness among the *Spaniards*, seeming to threaten some fatal Event. He presently prepar'd for his Journey, and leaving in Charge with the Magistrates of Justice the Government of his new Settlement, he set out with the Caziques, and a small Escort, with such Diligence, and so eager a Desire to remove all Impediments to the Undertaking, that in few hours he came up with the Army. Every body was pleas'd with his Presence; Things look'd after another manner; and the Storm that was beginning to gather, dispers'd. He reprimanded *Christopher de Olid*, not for sending him an Account of the accident, since he was so near; but for discovering his Jealousy by the Imprisonment of the Caziques. And having join'd all the Forces, without any further delay he march'd on to *Guacachula*, ordering the Envoys from that City to go and inform their Cazique, where he was, and what Forces he had brought along with him; not that he stood in need of any Offers from him, but that he might not treat those as Enemies, whom he desir'd by gentle Means to reduce, and preserve in his Interest.

THE *Mexicans* were posted on the farther side of the City; but on the first Notice from their Centinels, they advanc'd with so much Speed, that by the time the *Spaniards* came within Musquet-shot, they had form'd their Army, and possess'd

ſeſs'd themſelves of the Road, with an Intention to try their Strength under Cover of the Town: The Victory was vigorouſly diſputed, the *Mexicans* not only defending themſelves, but advancing upon their Enemies, with all the ſigns of a Reſolution to maintain their Ground to the utmoſt: When the Cazique of *Guacachula* laid hold of this Occaſion, to give a Proof of his Fidelity, falling on their Rear, and at the ſame time, aſſaulting them from the Walls with ſuch good Order and Bravery, as much facilitated the Victory: And in a little more than half an Hour the *Mexicans* were entirely defeated, there being but few who were not either kill'd or wounded.

HERNAN CORTEZ quarter'd his *Spaniards* within the City; and without the Walls, the *Tlaſcalans* with the reſt of the Confederates, whoſe Number continually increas'd: for on the Report of his carrying on that War in Perſon, ſeveral other Caziques who had ſubmitted to the King of *Spain*, came with their Troops to ſerve under his Command; and his Army was ſo much augmented, that, according to his own Relation, he came to *Guacachula* with above One Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Men. He thank'd the Cazique, and the Soldiers of the Country, giving them intirely the Glory of the Succeſs; and they in return offer'd to march with him to *Tzucan*, not without an Opinion of their being neceſſary, on account of the Knowledge they had of the Country, and the Proofs they had given of their Valour. The *Mexicans* had in that Town, as the Cazique reported, above Ten Thouſand Men in Garriſon, beſides thoſe who had eſcap'd from the Battle. The Inhabitants, with all the Peaſants of the Diſtrict, were under a Neceſſity of declaring againſt the *Spaniards*. The Place was ſtrong by Nature, and improv'd by Walls and Ravelines, which ſtopp'd the Paſſages between the Mountains: before it ran a River which our Army was oblig'd to paſs: and News came, that the Enemy had broke the Bridge, in order to diſpute the Paſſage. All theſe Circumſtances were ſufficient to make them look upon this Enterprize as no inconſiderable one, and advance with their whole Force.

CHRISTOPHER DE OLID was commanded with the Van-guard to paſs the River, and tho' he was oppos'd by the greateſt part of the Enemy's Troops, he threw himſelf into the Water, and gain'd the oppoſite Shore; advancing with

ſo

ſo much Reſolution, and ſo little Fear of Danger, that they kill'd his Horſe under him, and wounded him in the *Thigh*: but the Enemy fled to the City, which they thought to defend; for they had turn'd out all the uſeleſs Men, Women, and Children, reſerving Three Thouſand reſolute Peaſants and Proviſions for many days. The condition of the Walls, and the number of the Defendants, ſtruck the Eyes of the Beſiegers, and made them conclude, that the Aſſault would coſt them a great many Lives; but the Army had ſcarce paſs'd the River, and receiv'd Orders for the Attack, when at once the Cries of the Enemy ceaſed, and the whole Garriſon diſappear'd. *Cortez* might have ſuſpected ſome Stratagem, if at the ſame time he had not diſcover'd the flight of the *Mexicans* towards the Mountains; he detach'd ſome Companies of *Spaniards* and the greateſt part of the *Tlaſcalans* to purſue them, and notwithſtanding the Enemy had the ſteepneſs of the Hills to aſſiſt them, they were broken in ſo ſmall a time, that they ſcarce had leiſure to face about. The City was ſo entirely forſaken by the Inhabitants, that they only found three or four of them among the Priſoners, by whoſe means *Cortez* endeavour'd to bring back the reſt, ſending them to the Woods, whither the People were retir'd with their Families, to offer them a Pardon in the name of the King, and good Treatment to all ſuch as would return to their Houſes; which ſo prevailed, that moſt laid hold of the Opportunity, and returned the ſame day: *Cortez* ſtay'd there two or three days, that they might recover from their Fears and ſubmit, after the Example of *Guacachula*. At the ſame time he diſmiſs'd the Troops of the Caziques who were in Amity with him, dividing with them the Spoil of both Actions, and then returned to *Tepeaca* with the *Spaniards* and *Tlaſcalans*; having freed the Frontiers from the *Mexican* Troops, reduc'd thoſe Cities of Importance to his Obedience, experienc'd the Affection of his Confederates, and diſappointed the new Emperor of *Mexico* in his firſt Deſigns; which are generally obſerved as Prognoſticks of the reſt of a new Reign, and either animate, or diſcourage the Subjects, according to their good or ill Succeſs.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO will not allow that *Cortez* was in this Expedition; but it may be doubted whether his view in denying it be not to excuſe himſelf, for

for having ſtay'd in *Segura de la Frontera*, as he confeſſes a little before; or elſe he has been carried away by his Inclination to contradict *Franciſco Lopez de Gomara* in this, as he doth in every thing elſe: for all other Writers affirm what we relate. And *Hernan Cortez* himſelf in his Letter to the Emperor, dated the 30th of *October*, 1520. declares the Motives which obliged him to follow the Army. I am ſorry there is any occaſion to contradict the Author whom I follow; but it would have been a Fault inconſiſtent with the Care of *Cortez*, if he had not appeared in Perſon with the Troops, at a time when there were ſuch Jealouſies among his own Soldiers, ſuch Complaints among his Confederates, and ſo much Inſolence in the Troops of *Narbaez*; when *Chriſtopher de Olid* himſelf, who commanded them, inclined to countenance their Suſpicions; and all together endanger'd the Succeſs of ſo important an Affair. *Bernal Diaz* muſt excuſe me; he may have wrote according to his Opinion in this caſe: notwithſtanding which, I muſt believe it more likely for him to forget, than that ſo much Neglect could juſtly be imputed to a Man of his General's Vigilance.

CHAP. V.

Hernan Cortez *makes ſome Preparations for the Enterprize of* Mexico; *he accidentally receives a Reinforcement of* Spaniards, *returns to* Tlaſcala, *and finds* Magiſcatzin *dead.*

CORTEZ was no ſooner arrived at *Tepeaca*, now call'd *Segura de la Frontera*, but he received an Account that his Friend *Magiſcatzin* was at the point of Death, which gave him great Concern: for the extraordinary Affection of that Senator for him, had unavoidably engaged him to make it reciprocal; and deſiring now to give him the laſt Proof of his Friendſhip, he immediately diſpatched

Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* to take care of his Soul, by endeavouring to bring him into the Catholick Church. When this Religious Man came to him, he was almost spent with the Violence of his Distemper, but very sensible, and well disposed to receive new Impressions; for he was displeased with his own Religious Rites, and the Multiplicity of his Gods, and found fewer Objections against the Religion of the *Spaniards*, as being more conformable to natural Reason, and he seem'd to be blind rather for want of Light, than through any Defect in his Eyes. Father *Bartolomé* had but little trouble in persuading him, because he found him sensible of his Errors, and desirous to be set right: So that he had only occasion to instruct him, and use some Exhortations, in order to touch his Heart, and beget a Tranquillity in his Soul. In a very little time he with great earnestness desired Baptism, and received it with entire Faith, bestowing the small Remainder of his Life in fervent Reflections on his Happiness, and in exhorting his Sons to quit their Idolatry, and obey his Friend *Hernan Cortez*, endeavouring by all means the Preservation of the *Spaniards*, which they should look upon as their own Interest, for that he foresaw they would gain the Dominion of those Countries. Perhaps he was inspired, tho' he might likewise, from what had happened, have formed an Opinion, which People afterwards improv'd into a Prophecy. There is no doubt but God rewarded him with that extraordinary Call and Disposition of Mind, for what he had acted in favour of the Christians, as he had made him the principal Instrument of those frequent Succours, for which they stood indebted to the Republick of *Tlascala*. He was a Man of moral Virtues, and of so great a Capacity, that he came to be the first Man of the Senate, and in a manner governed all their Resolutions: for all gave way to his Authority and good Understanding; and he knew how to manage his credit with all the Moderation becoming a Member of that Free State. *Hernan Cortez* was extremely concern'd at his Death, and in a manner inconsolable for the Loss, not only of a Friend, but an able Director of his Designs, and one who had perfectly established him in the Friendship and Respect of the whole Republick. But Heaven, which always seemed careful to support the General under his Misfortunes, favoured him at that time with a Reinforcement, which mitigated his Grief, and raised his Hopes.

A

A SHIP of moderate Burden arrrived at *St. Juan de Ulua*, and brought thirteen *Spanish* Soldiers, two Horſes, and ſome Proviſions and Ammunition, which *Diego Velaſques* ſent to *Pamphilo de Narbaez*, taking it for granted that all the Conqueſts in that Country were his own, and the Troops of *Cortez* at his Devotion. Their Commander was *Pedro de Barba*, the ſame who was Governour of the *Havana*, when *Hernan Cortez* ſailed from the Iſle of *Cuba*, having by his Friendſhip eſcaped the laſt Snares that were laid to ſtop his Voyage. *Pedro Cavallero*, who commanded on the Coaſt, no ſooner diſcovered the Veſſel, but he went out in a Boat to *reconnoitre*: He ſaluted the new Comers with great Civility, and having found, by the very reſpectful manner with which *Pedro de Barba* enquired after *Pamphilo de Narbaez*, the Deſign of their coming, anſwered him without the leaſt heſitation, *That he was not only in good Health, but in great Proſperity, all thoſe Countrys having ſubmitted to him, and that* Cortez, *with ſome of his People, was fled to the Mountains.* If this Turn can't be defended from the Reproach of being an Untruth, yet at leaſt *Cavallero* deſerves to be commended for his Readineſs of Thought, which induced them to land without the leaſt Diſtruſt, and go to *Vera Cruz*, where they diſcovered the Deceit, and found themſelves Priſoners to *Cortez*; *Pedro de Barba* commending the Stratagem of *Cavallero*: for in reality he was not ſorry to find his Friend in ſo good a Condition.

THEY were carry'd up to *Segura de la Frontera*, and *Hernan Cortez* ſhowed a particular Satisfaction at the happy Arrival of more *Spaniards*, with the agreeable Circumſtance of receiving this Succour from the hands of his Enemy. He treated *Pedro de Barba* very kindly, and gave him a Company of Croſs-Bows, upon the Confidence he had in his Friendſhip: He alſo diſtributed ſome Gifts among the Soldiers, upon which they agreed to ſerve under his Command. He afterwards read the Letter privately which *Pedro de Barba* brought for *Narbaez*. In which *Diego Velaſques*, ſuppoſing him Maſter of all thoſe Conqueſts, gave him Orders to maintain himſelf there at all adventures; for which end he promiſed him very powerful Succours: and laſtly, told him, that if *Cortez* was not dead, he ſhould immediately ſend him away with a ſufficient Guard; for that he had received expreſs Orders

from

from the Bishop of *Burgos* to send him Prisoner to Court: and the Consequence of this Order would have been an Arrest without Appeal, had the Affair been left to that Prelate, who was an Enemy to *Cortez*, and who, from the great pains he took to favour *Diego Velasques*, gave cause to fear, that he meant to make an Example of *Cortez*, in the most publick manner, and to disguise a particular Revenge under the Appearance of Justice. About eight Days after arrived a second Vessel with another Reinforcement for *Pamphilo de Narbaez*, which *Pedro Cavallero* seiz'd after the same manner: She brought eight Soldiers and a Mare, with a considerable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, under the Command of Captain *Rodrigo Morejon de Lobera*; they all immediately went to *Segura*, and listed themselves as the others had done before them: These Succours came by a way so unlooked for, that *Hernan Cortez* considered them as good Omens, and Forerunners of future Success.

BUT at the same time his Thoughts were employed about the Preparations for his Enterprize. He had already resolved upon the Conquest of *Mexico*; and the great Numbers of Allies by which he found himself supported in his last Expedition, confirmed his Resolution: But the Passage of the Lake was the grand and unavoidable Difficulty, and gave him great Concern; for after the Enemy had once found out the Secret of breaking the Bridges of the Causeways, there was no depending upon portable Bridges, which were only to be used when they were pinched in Time; wherefore he began to think of building twelve or thirteen Brigantines, which should be able to resist the *Indian* Canoes, and transport his Troops to the City; which he proposed to carry in pieces on the Shoulders of the *Indian Tamenes* for fourteen or fifteen Leagues at least of very bad Way over the Mountains of *Tlascala*, to a River near the Lake. He had a very lively Imagination, and was naturally an Enemy to those lazy Spirits who fancy difficult things to be impossible.

HE communicated his thoughts to *Martin Lopez*, on whose Ingenuity and great Abilities he depended for the compassing this important Design; and finding he did not only approve of it, but also undertook to execute it with ease, he sent him before to *Tlascala*, with all the *Spanish* Soldiers who had any skill in the Carpenter's Trade, in order

order to begin the Work, with a ſufficient number of *Indians* to cut Wood, or do any other Service for which there might be occaſion. At the ſame time he order'd the Iron-work and Rigging, and whatever had been preſerv'd out of the Ships that were ſunk, to be brought up from *Vera Cruz*; and having obſerved, that thoſe Mountains produced Trees which afford a kind of Roſin, he drew out ſuch a quantity as was neceſſary for the careening of his Barks.

HE was in want of Powder, but ſoon found means to make very good; ſending to ſearch for Sulphur, (of whoſe Uſe the *Indians* were utterly ignorant) in the *Volcano* diſcover'd by *Diego de Ordaz*, for he believ'd they could not fail of finding it there; and ſome *Spaniſh* Soldiers, among whom they name *Juan de Laet à Montano*, and *à Meſa* belonging to the Artillery, offer'd themſelves for the Service, and in fine, return'd with as much Sulphur as was wanted. *Cortez* was every where, and over-ſaw all that was done; ſo far from being fatigued, that the Pains he took rather ſeem'd a Refreſhment.

WHEN this Affair was over, he began to think of returning to *Tlaſcala*, to haſten as much as he could the Preparations for his Expedition; and before he went, he left his Inſtructions with the new Council of *Segura*, and appointed Captain *Franciſco de Orozco* Commander of the Garriſon, with about twenty *Spaniſh* Soldiers, and the Militia of the Country at his diſpoſal.

HE reſolv'd to enter the City in Mourning for the Death of *Magiſcatzin*, for which end both he and his Captains cover'd their Arms with the Manufacture of the Country dyed black. They made their Entry without any other Pomp, than that of good Order, and profound Silence obſerv'd among the Soldiers, which help'd to declare their General's Grief. Both Nobles and Commonalty receiv'd this Demonſtration of Concern with great Applauſe; for they all reſpected the deceaſed as the Father of their Country: and tho' there is no doubt but that *Cortez* was ſincerely affected with the loſs which he very often lamented, and had reaſon ſo to do, yet it is likely he had a farther View in putting on Mourning, which was to gain the Affections of the People.

THE Senate had not fill'd up the Place of *Magiſcatzin*, (who, as one of the *Caziques* of the Republick, had

 govern'd

govern'd the principal Division of the City) that *Cortez* might elect a Person to succeed him, or that they might act according to his Opinion in their Choice: *Cortez* considering the respect due to the Memory of the deceased, recommended his eldest Son, and so order'd matters, that he was unanimously chosen. He was a young Man of Judgment and Courage, and of so much Spirit, that he mounted the Tribunal without Surprize or being at a loss in matters of Government; and finally, he gave such Proofs of his Capacity in the most essential Point, that in a little time he earnestly desir'd Baptism, and receiv'd it with publick Solemnity, taking upon him the Name of Don *Lorenzo de Magiscatzin*: a wonderful Effect of the Arguments he had heard Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* employ in the Conversion of his Father, which having meditated and digested, he came by degrees to a Sense of his Error. At this time also the *Cazique* of *Tzucan* was baptized, a Youth who came to *Tlascala* with the Ensigns of his new Command, and to thank *Cortez* for having determined a Suit in his Favour, which had been commenced against him by his Relations concerning the Inheritance of his Father. For now every one consulted *Cortez*, both *Caziques* and particular Persons, referring all their Differences to him, and receiving his Decisions as inviolable Laws. So much did they respect him, and so great an Opinion had they of his Equity.

THE Noise which these Conversions made in the Town, awaken'd old *Xicotencal*, who tho' dissatisfied with the Absurdities of Gentilism, was grown old in Error, and had a Levity in his Disposition, which would not let him adhere to any Resolution; a Failing natural to old Age: but the Example of *Magiscatzin*, a Man equal to him in Authority, and his Conversion to the Catholick Religion at the point of Death, had such an Effect as to open the Eyes of his Understanding, and induce him to receive Baptism with a publick Detestation of his Errors. In truth it does not appear, that the Gospel could possibly have been in a fairer way to make a Progress in this Country, the Nobles and wisest Men of the Republick, whose Opinion govern'd all the rest, being converted to the Catholick Faith: but the Circumstances of these times did not allow the *Spaniards* to give their Application to it. *Hernan Cortez* was wholly taken up with making

king Dispositions for his Enterprize, Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* wanted Fellow-Labourers, and both were of opinion, that they could not attempt introducing Religion with any Success till they had subdued the *Mexicans*, and establish'd Peace, which they look'd upon as previously necessary to settle the warlike Spirits of the *Tlascalans*, and fit them for the reception of the Gospel. The great Affair therefore was for the present laid aside, Examples grew rare, and the People continued in their Idolatry. 'Twas possible whilst the Army remain'd there, they might have reap'd the first Fruits at least of such a favourable opportunity: But the continual alarms and rumours of War at this time, postponing all Attention to other things, and it sometimes happening, that the Maxims of Violence are better attended to when Reason is silent, I don't find that they made, or even endeavour'd any other Conversions.

CHAP. VI.

A fresh Succour of Spanish *Soldiers arrives at the Army. The Men who came with* Narbaez *are importunate for their Discharge and Return to* Cuba. Hernan Cortez *draws up a second Relation of his Expedition, and dispatches new Envoys to the Emperor* Charles V.

CORTEZ complain'd with some warmth of *Francisco de Garay*, for that knowing very well the Progress he had made in the Empire of *Mexico*, he did notwithstanding endeavour to make a Conquest and Settlement in the Province of *Panuco*; but such a happy ascendant had the Fortune of *Cortez* over that of his Rivals, that as *Diego de Velasquez* furnish'd him with Succours the same way by which he intended to destroy him and support *Pamphilo de Narbaez*, so the measures which *Garay* had taken to usurp some part of his Government, turn'd likewise

to

to his advantage. We have already related, how *Garay* was repuls'd from *Panuco* when *Cortez* was with his Troops at *Zempoala*; notwithstanding which, he resolv'd to pursue his Enterprize, and had prepar'd another Fleet, with a greater number of Soldiers, commanded by all his best Officers: But the second Expedition was as unfortunate as the first; for the *Spaniards* were no sooner landed, but they met with such a gallant Resistance from the *Indians*, that they were glad to retreat to their Ships in the utmost disorder; and being wholly intent how to avoid the present Danger, put to Sea without observing the same Course. They were separated for some days, and without knowing any thing of each other's Design, they arriv'd almost all at the same time on the Coast of *Vera Cruz*, where they agreed to serve under *Cortez*, without any other motive than that of his great Reputation.

THIS Succour was look'd upon as sent from Heaven: for tho' it be certain that the Confusion and Unskilfulness of the Soldiers and Sailors might help to disperse these Vessels, and abandon them to the mercy of the Winds, which forc'd them on the Coast where they were so much wanted; yet their coming so opportunely, and after so many Misfortunes, to augment the Troops of *Cortez*, is an Event worthy of particular Reflection; for such a chain of lucky Accidents is not wont to be attributed, or very rarely, to meer Chance.

THE first Ship that arriv'd, was commanded by Captain *Camargo*, and had on board sixty *Spanish* Soldiers; a little after came another with fifty choice Soldiers and seven Horses, commanded by Captain *Miguel Diaz de Auz*, a Gentleman of *Arragon*, who had so signaliz'd himself on all occasions, that his Person alone was esteem'd a very great Succour; and lastly, tho' somewhat late, arriv'd the Vessel commanded by Captain *Ramirez* with above forty Soldiers, ten Horses, and great abundance of Provisions and Arms. They all landed, and the first without staying for the rest, made the best of their way to *Tlascala*, leaving an Example to their Fellows to take the same Rout, which they all did with entire Satisfaction. For the great Advances made by *Cortez* in *New-Spain*, had made such a noise over all the Islands, that the Soldiers were easily led whither they thought Wealth and Prosperity invited them.

THIS

THIS Succour conſiderably augmented the Number of the *Spaniards*, and inſpired them with freſh Hopes: The Soldiers received the New-Comers with Acclamations of Joy; they embraced each other as Friends of a long Acquaintance, without any other Tye than that of coming from the ſame Country; and *Cortez* himſelf, forgetting the Gravity of a General, was tranſported with Joy, but at the ſame time did not forget to return thanks to God, attributing to him and to the Juſtice of his Cauſe, all theſe ſurprizing Events.

NOTWITHSTANDING this good Fortune, he could not quiet the Soldiers of *Narbaez*, who were importunate with him for leave to return to the Iſle of *Cuba*; they put him in mind of his Promiſe, and he could not deny but that they went upon the Expedition to *Tepeaca* on that Condition: for which reaſon, he was not willing to enter into any new Diſputes with them, and the rather, becauſe he found his Troops augmented with Soldiers better diſciplin'd, and did not think it a proper time to march at the Head of unwilling Mutineers, who would be ſure to ſhew uneaſineſs on every Fatigue, and be always railing at the Enterprize, pernicious in the Camp, and uſeleſs upon Occaſions, deceiving their General, with the appearance of Soldiers in the Review, and yet of no ſervice.

FOR theſe Reaſons therefore he ordered proclamation to be made, *That whoever had a mind to return home, was free to go, and ſhould be furniſhed with Veſſels, and every thing elſe that was neceſſary.* The greateſt part of the Soldiers of *Narbaez* made uſe of the Opportunity, but ſome ſtay'd out of a Point of Honour. *Bernal Diaz* takes no notice of the Names of thoſe who ſtay'd, but tediouſly enumerates almoſt all who went, defrauding the firſt of the Honour that was their due, and waſting his time in diſgracing the laſt; whereas, it would have been much more reaſonable to have forgotten thoſe who ſhowed ſo little regard to their Reputation: But what deſerves to be remarked, is, that *Andres de Duero*, who appeared on ſeveral Occaſions ſo much attached to the Intereſt of *Cortez*, was one of thoſe who retired; and altho' there be no account of the reaſon of this Separation, we may very well believe there was but little Sincerity in the Pretences, with which he colour'd his Retreat; ſince we find him ſhortly after making uſe of all his Intereſt at the Court in favour of *Diego Velaſques*. If there

was any Misunderstanding between *Cortez* and him, which might give occasion for this Breach, Reason must have been on *Cortez*'s side; it not being likely that it could be pleaded in behalf of a Man who showed as little regard to that, as he did to his Reputation, by not only leaving his Friend engaged in an Enterprize of so much Honour and Danger, but withall taking upon him a Commission by which he was obliged either basely to act against his own Sentiments, or to yield his Understanding a Slave to an unreasonable Passion.

HERNAN CORTEZ having now got rid of these Mutineers, whom *Alvarado* had the care of conducting to the Vessels, began to consider of the time necessary to be employed in building the Brigantines. He dispatched new Orders to the Confederates to hold themselves ready to march upon the first notice, directing the Quantity of Provisions and Arms they were to provide, according to the Number of their Troops: And at his leisure Hours he wrote an Account of all the Particulars of the Conquest, to be sent to the Emperor; designing to equip a Vessel, and send new Agents, who might hasten the Dispatch of the former, or give him notice of the Condition his Affairs were in at the Court of *Spain*, his Uncertainty therein being now one of his greatest Disquiets.

CORTEZ drew up this Account in form of a Letter, and repeating every thing of importance in the Dispatches he sent the Year before by the Captains *Portocarrero* and *Montexo*, he gave his Majesty a faithful Relation of all his Adventures, both prosperous and unfortunate, from the time he marched out of *Zempoala*, and by his Courage and Conduct made his triumphant Entry into the Capital City of the Empire, till he was afterwards forced to retreat to *Tlascala*, with considerable Loss. He also acquainted him with how much Security he was able to maintain himself in that Province, together with the Number of *Spaniards* that had augmented his Troops, and the great Confederacies he had made with divers *Indian* Nations, for renewing the War against the *Mexicans*. He expressed, with a noble and generous Confidence, the Hope he had of reducing to his Majesty's Obedience all that new World, whose Bounds to the *North* were unknown even to the Natives. He enlarged upon the Riches of that Empire, the Fertility of the Soil, and the Wealth of the several Princes. He highly extoll'd the Valour and Constancy

ſtancy of the *Spaniards*, and the Affection and Fidelity of the *Tlaſcalans*: With relation to himſelf, he left it to his Actions to ſpeak for him; and yet, without exceeding the Bounds of Modeſty, he gave ſome ſtrokes to the reputation of the Conqueſt, that ſet in its true light the Glory of the Conqueror. He deſired ſpeedy Juſtice againſt the unfair Proceedings of *Diego Velaſques*, and *Franciſco de Garay*, and made preſſing Inſtances for an immediate Succour of Soldiers, Horſes, Arms, and other warlike Proviſions. He repreſented in yet ſtronger Terms the Neceſſity of ſending ſome Eccleſiaſticks and Regulars of approved Virtue, to aſſiſt Father *Olmedo* in the converſion of the *Indians*, giving an account that ſome of the chief among them were already baptized, and that in the reſt there was ſuch a kind of diſpoſition to receive the Truth, as gave great hopes of its making a conſiderable progreſs. This was the Subſtance of the Letter he at that time wrote to the Emperor, laying before his Majeſty every thing that had paſſed, without forgetting any conſiderable Circumſtance; all which he expreſſed in proper and well-choſen Terms, according to the Eloquence of that Age; and it may be a queſtion whether they were not more agreeable than thoſe now in uſe, to that Character of Nature and Simplicity, which becomes the Style of Letters. At the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed, he was ſomewhat miſtaken in the Names of Towns and Provinces, which being altogether new, could not be exactly pronounced, or faithfully rendered upon Paper.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO reports, that the General ſent theſe Diſpatches by the Captains *Alonzo de Mendoza* and *Diego de Ordaz*; and tho' *Antonio de Herrera* mentions only the firſt, it is not probable that he would entruſt an affair of ſo much conſequence to one Perſon alone, when Prudence required him to provide againſt the Accidents of ſo long a Voyage. His private Inſtructions to them was, *That before they diſcovered their Commiſſion, or made any declaration of their being ſent by him, they ſhould firſt find out his Father, and the two Agents who were ſent the Year before, and jointly carry on their Negotiation, according as the Condition of his Affairs ſhould require.* He remitted alſo a ſecond Preſent for the Emperor, conſiſting of Gold and other Curioſities which had been preſerved at *Tlaſcala*, to which the Soldiers alſo contributed, and were

upon

upon this occasion very liberal of their little Substance; adding moreover the Booty acquired in the Expeditions of *Tepeaca* and *Guacachula*: a Present less rich than the former, but more deserving to be priz'd, as being amass'd in the midst of their Disgraces, and consequently to be regarded as the Remains after those Losses whereof *Cortez* had given a faithful account in his Letter.

THE General thought it proper at the same time, that the two Councils of *Vera Cruz* and *Segura de la Frontera* should write to his Majesty, as being the Government in that Country. They in their Letters sollicited for the same Assistance, declaring, *That they thought themselves bound in duty to represent to his Majesty, how much it imported to maintain* Hernan Cortez *in his Post of Captain-General; for as the Beginning of this great Work was wholly owing to his Valour and Conduct, it would be no easy matter to find any other Head or Hands capable of bringing it to perfection; and in this they sincerely delivered their Opinions, and what they thought most advantageous for the Service in that Conjuncture. Bernal Diaz* saith, that *Hernan Cortez* saw those Letters, insinuating as if he had desired that Sollicitation in his favour: It is very probable he did see them, but it is likewise certain, that those Letters contained such Truths as did not stand in need of any Flattery or Exaggeration. *Diaz* complains likewise, that the Soldiers were not permitted to write apart in the Name of their whole Corps, not that he differed in his Sentiments from the Councils (for he declares the contrary more than once) but as the Subject-Matter was the Preservation of his General, he desired to join his Opinion with the rest, and to give him his assistance on this occasion, as in truth he bravely did in War. Let it pass for Ambition of Glory, a Vice that ought to be pardoned in Men of merit, and appears very much like Virtue in a Soldier.

ORDAZ and *Mendoza* embarked on board one of the Vessels, which arrived a little before at *Vera Cruz*, with every thing necessary for such a Voyage; and soon after *Cortez* resolved to freight another Vessel, and dispatch the Captains *Alonso Davila* and *Francisco Alvarez Chico* with Letters for the Regulars of St. *Jerome*, who presided in the Royal Audience of *Santo Domingo*, the only one at that time in those Countries, and whose Jurisdiction extended over all the Islands, as well as the new Discoveries

on

on the Main Land. He communicated to them the Account he had ſent to the Emperor, and deſired their ſpeedy Aſſiſtance towards the Enterprize in which he was engaged; as alſo that they would put a ſtop to the vexatious Proceedings of *Velaſques* and *Garay*. Tho' theſe Miniſters were convinced of the Juſtice of his Demands, and admired his Conſtancy and Valour, yet the Iſland of *Santo Domingo* was not at that time in a Condition to part either with Men or Proviſions: But they approved of every thing he had done, and offered to ſupport the Juſtice of his Pretenſions with the Emperor, and ſollicit ſuch Succours as were neceſſary for an Affair of ſo great importance, and ſo far advanced; taking upon themſelves the Care to check the Efforts of his two Rivals, by very ſtrict and repeated Orders. And to this effect they anſwered his Letters, ſending back his Envoys with good Words, but without the Succours he deſired. But before I proceed in the farther account of this Conqueſt, and while the building of the Brigantines, and other Preparations for the Return to *Mexico*, are carried on with the utmoſt diligence; it will be proper to go back to the two firſt Envoys of *Cortez*, and ſee in what Condition the Affairs of *New-Spain* were at the Emperor's Court: the Reader cannot but deſire to be informed therein, and ſuch an Account may be reckoned among thoſe neceſſary Digreſſions permitted to an Hiſtorian, as they contribute to the perfection of his Work, without deſtroying its proportion.

CHAP. VII.

The Envoys of Hernan Cortez *arrive in* Spain, *and pass on to* Medellin, *where they continue till the Troubles of the Kingdom are over; after which, they go to the Court, and prevail to have the Bishop of* Burgos *set aside from being a Judge in the Cause of* Cortez.

WE left *Martin Cortez* with the two first Envoys of his Son, *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero* and *Francisco de Montexo*, in the wretched Employment of following the Regency, and waiting in the Antichambers of the Ministers; so far from being admitted to audience, that not daring to importune them with any Requests, they only presented themselves in the Throng as they passed by, and were forced to content themselves with receiving the accidental Glance of an Eye; the comfortless notice taken of those, who having all the Justice in the world on their side, are yet afraid to ruin their Pretensions, by advancing them unseasonably. The Emperor, as we have already observed, gave them a very favourable hearing; and tho' he was disgusted with the Insolence and the Attempts of some Towns of *Spain*, which endeavoured to oppose his Voyage to *Germany*, by irreverent Protests, little less indeed than Threats; yet he found sufficient time to inform himself very exactly of all that passed in *New-Spain*, and to judge what might be expected from the Enterprize. He made himself Master of the whole Affair, not disdaining to ask questions upon many points, it being no ways unbecoming Majesty to receive from a Subject those Helps that serve to explain an Affair; nor should a King always go to Council full of doubts. The Emperor presently discover'd the great

great Advantages which might be expected from ſuch wonderful Beginnings: and the Idea he at that time formed of the Merit of *Cortez*, helped extremely to recommend him to his Favour, as he was naturally inclined to value extraordinary Men.

THE Affairs of the Kingdom, and the ſudden Departure of the Emperor, did not permit him to come to any fixed Reſolution in a Matter wherein ſo many Difficulties were rais'd, as well by the Agents of *Velaſques*, as by ſome Miniſters who were in ſecret intelligence with them, and ſupported them. But when the Day of his embarkation came, which was the 20th of *May*, 1520. his Majeſty did in a particular manner recommend the Examination of the Affair of *Cortez* to Cardinal *Adriano*, Governor of the Kingdom in his abſence. The Cardinal was very ſincerely deſirous to favour his Cauſe, but as the Informations by which he was to govern himſelf, came from the Council of the *Indies*, (where the Votes were influenced by the Authority and Prejudice of the Preſident, the Biſhop of *Burgos*) he found himſelf at a loſs how to come to any reſolution; nor was it an eaſy matter to aſſure himſelf of making a right judgment, while the Repreſentations of *Velaſquez* came cloathed with the appearance of Juſtice, and the Exploits of *Cortez* were diſcredited with the name of Rebellion.

AFTERWARDS, when it was moſt neceſſary, there wanted time to examine into the truth of this Affair, the Cares of the Miniſters being employed in Matters of the laſt importance: Several Cities began to ſtir, under pretext of correcting what they called the Diſorders of the State, and others follow'd them to the ſame Precipice, without examining whether that Pretext was reaſonable or not. They all looked on the Abſence of the Emperor as their greateſt Misfortune, and ſome believ'd they did him good ſervice, or at leaſt kept within the Bounds of their Obedience, miſtaking the Tranſports of a falſe Zeal for Proofs of their Reſpect and Duty.

THE common People took up arms to juſtify their firſt Offence, and ſome Gentlemen ſo far degraded themſelves, as to join them, thro' want of Underſtanding; a Defect which generally effaces all thoſe Sentiments which Nobility of Blood inſpires. The great Lords and Miniſters eſpous'd the Cauſe of Juſtice, notwithſtanding the Affronts

and

and Dangers that attended it. In ſhort, the whole Kingdom was in confuſion, and the Sovereign Authority in a manner uſurped by theſe Factions, in our Hiſtory called *Communities*, tho' we know not with what reaſon; for it could not be properly ſaid the Complaint was common, when many Cities, and almoſt the whole Body of the Nobility aſſerted the Rights of the King: However, the Rebels gave this Name to their Inſolence, and have been favour'd by Poſterity with the Title which they took to honour their Revolt.

THO' the Account of theſe Diſturbances be foreign to my Argument, I could not avoid touching upon them, as one of the Cauſes that put a ſtop to the good Intentions of the Cardinal, and croſſed the Negotiations of *Cortez*: It was indeed a very unſeaſonable time to conſider of new Enterprizes, when the Regent and Miniſters were ſo wholly employ'd in finding Remedies for the Evils which afflicted the State within doors, that thoſe without made no ſort of impreſſion upon them: So that *Martin Cortez* and his Friends, ſenſible of the ſmall Advantages they reaped by their Sollicitations, and of the general Diſorder of Affairs, retired to *Medellin*, with a reſolution to let the Storm blow over, and expect the Return of the Emperor, who was perfectly well apprized of the Affair, and had ſhewn a diſpoſition to do juſtice to their Pretenſions; and they plainly ſaw that his Authority was neceſſary to ſurmount the Oppoſition of the Biſhop of *Burgos*, and other Impediments which aroſe from the preſent Poſture of Affairs.

SOME little time after, *Diego de Ordaz* and *Alonſo de Mendoza* arrived at *Sevill*, after a proſperous Voyage; and, without diſcovering themſelves, or their Commiſſion, they took care to be informed of the State of *Cortez*'s Affairs, a Precaution which imported no leſs than their Liberty; for they underſtood, to their great ſurprize, that the Commiſſioners of Trade had expreſs orders from the Biſhop of *Burgos*, to ſtop and impriſon any Perſon whatſoever, who ſhould be ſent from *New-Spain*, and to ſeize on the Gold and other Merchandize that he ſhould bring either on his own account, or by way of Commiſſion. Upon which, they only endeavour'd to ſecure their Perſons, and thought themſelves very happy in preſerving their Letters and Diſpatches, leaving the Preſent for the King, with

with every thing elſe, in the hands of thoſe Judges, and to be diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the Biſhop of *Burgos*.

THEY parted from *Sevill*, not without great apprehenſion of being diſcovered, determining, if poſſible, to find out at the Court either *Martin Cortez*, or his Son's two Agents, in order to get light from their Informations how to proceed; but hearing on the Road that they were retired to *Medellin*, they went on to that Town, where their Arrival was welcom'd with all the Demonſtrations of Joy, which ſuch wonderful and wiſh'd for News could inſpire. It was debated among them, whether it would be proper to carry the Diſpatches of *Cortez* immediately to the Cardinal Regent, without delaying to inform him of ſuch important News; but conſidering the preſent Diſturbances of the Kingdom, they thought it would be to no purpoſe to ſpeak of diſtant Advantages, which regarded the augmentation, but not the ſafety of the Monarchy: Upon which they reſolved to continue in their Retirement, till Affairs ſhould take another turn, and the Miniſters be more at leiſure.

THE Diſorders of *Caſtile* encreaſed every day; for the Mutineers, not content to defend themſelves in their Rebellion, carried their Inſolence ſo far, as to plunder the Country, and lay ſiege to Towns which retained their Fidelity; the Forbearance of the Government exciting their Ambition to become the Aggreſſors. At firſt the Miniſters thought to bring them to a ſenſe of their Duty by gentle Means and Patience; but the Diſtemper was too deeply rooted to allow of the ſlow Operation of ſuch ſoft Remedies, and more eſpecially becauſe the Rebels imagin'd they had both Force and Juſtice on their ſide: Nor were ſome Eccleſiaſticks wanting, who, regardleſs of their Duty, abuſed the Pulpit, by preaching up Sedition, confirming the People in their Obſtinacy, and perſuading them, that to correct the Diſorders of the State, was doing good ſervice both to God and the King. It came to that paſs, that the great Lords and Gentlemen were obliged to take up arms to re-eſtabliſh the Authority of Juſtice, and to animate thoſe Cities which held for the Emperor. And notwithſtanding the Rebels had the temerity to bring an Army into the Field, and try their Strength with thoſe whom they called their Enemies; yet, after two Rencounters, in which they loſt a great number

of Men, together with their Reputation, and after the Execution of four of the principal Authors of the Sedition, their Pride abated, and their Forces dispers'd; the Prudent and the Timorous, both secured themselves as well as they could; the Cities return'd to their Obedience, the Tumult ceased, and Reason resumed her place. In short, it was but little more than a popular Commotion, which begins and ends with the same facility.

THE Account which came at that time of the Emperor's return, contributed very much to restore the publick Tranquillity: He gave assurance in his Letters, that he would leave all other Affairs, to come where his Presence was so necessary. This Assurance entirely settled every thing, and *Martin Cortez*, judging it a proper time to renew his Sollicitations, set out immediately for the Court, with the four Commissioners from his Son; where, after some small Delays, they had a particular audience of the Cardinal Regent. They informed him in general how far Matters were advanced towards the Conquest of *Mexico*, and referred him to the Letters of *Cortez* for the Particulars. They gave him also an account of the Orders they found at *Sevill*, for imprisoning any one who should come from *Cortez*, and of the Seizure of the Present they had brought for the King. Upon this occasion, they represented the Reasons they had to distrust the Bishop of *Burgos*, and lastly, desired leave to except against him in a legal way as a Judge, offering to make good the Reasons of their Exception, or suffer the Penalty of their Irreverence. The Cardinal heard them with attention, he seem'd touch'd with their Misfortune, and comforted them with Promises of a speedy Dispatch. He was particularly displeased with the Orders given at *Sevill*, and the Seizure of the Present, as being done without his knowledge. Whereupon, the Cardinal answer'd them with regard to their Request concerning the Bishop, *That they might take their remedy against him at Law, after the manner they thought most proper; and that he would protect them from any Violence they might have reason to fear in the Course of that Process*: Which sufficiently animated them for the hazardous Undertaking of engaging in a Suit with a powerful Enemy; an Enterprize in which a Man is in a manner obliged to speak in the most tender Terms, and where Fear is wont to take off a good deal from the Force of Reason.

WITH

WITH these Encouragements, to hope for better Fortune, they immediately enter'd their Exception against the President of the Council of the *Indies* in his own Court, delivering their Reasons in writing, with all the Temper and Moderation necessary to observe a due Respect. But their Reasons were so strong, and the Truth of what they alledged so well known to the other Judges, that they durst not deny Justice in an Affair of that importance, and more especially on the approach of the Emperor's Return, the Report of which was joyfully received by all who did not stand in fear of his Presence; and not only quieted the Minds of the People, but occasion'd his Ministers to act with circumspection. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, and others who have followed him, treat the Bishop too rigorously upon this occasion: *Diaz* relates what he heard, and the rest have copy'd it; but the Whole of what they say doth not seem credible, of so venerable and accomplish'd a Prelate. However, some of the Articles against him were certainly proved; as, his treating of a Marriage between his Niece and *Diego Velasques*, the sharp Expressions he used on several Occasions to the Envoys of *Cortez*, whom he treated as Rebels and Traitors, when his Passion had got the better of his Prudence. These Proofs, with the Orders he had given in *Sevill* to imprison all Persons sent from *New-Spain*, which were too publick to be deny'd, were thought sufficient to justify the Recusation. After a full Hearing, and with the approbation of the Council of State and the Cardinal, the Bishop was absolutely forbid to interfere in any Matters between *Hernan Cortez* and *Diego Velasques*; his Orders were revoked, the Embargo's at *Sevill* taken off, and the Importance of the Undertaking appear'd in its true light. The Heroick Actions of *Cortez*, which were almost obscured before by the Suspicion of his Fidelity, were now celebrated with the Praises they deserved; and the Cardinal, by several Decrees, recommended the dispatch of the Envoys, and was so sincerely desirous to forward the Affair, that even after he had received the news of his Exaltation to St. *Peter*'s Chair, he dispatch'd some Orders favourable to *Cortez*, as he was on the Road to embark. Whether he was affected by the Justice of his Cause, or that having his Mind possess'd with the Cares of the Supreme Dignity, he thought it his Duty to remove all Impediments to a Conquest

queſt, that was to prepare the way for the introduction of the Goſpel, and facilitate the Converſion of the *Indians*; an Intereſt of the Church worthy to engage the very firſt Reflections of the Sovereign Pontiff.

CHAP. VIII.

Concludes the Affairs of the precedent Chapter.

THE new Pope *Adrian*, the Sixth of that Name, was then at *Victoria*, whither he went to give the neceſſary Orders for relieving the Provinces of *Navarre* and *Guipuſcoa*, whoſe Frontiers the *French* had ravaged, in order to foment the Diſturbances of *Caſtile*: But the Affairs of *Italy*, and repeated Letters from *Rome*, obliged him to begin his Journey, leaving every thing under his charge in the beſt poſture he could. Soon after, the Emperor arrived on the Coaſt of *Biſcay*, and landing at the Port of *Santander*, found his Kingdoms almoſt recovered of the domeſtick Evils they had labour'd under. The Storm was over, but the hollow Noiſe of the yet working Sea continu'd, as it is wont to do, for ſome time after a Tempeſt, before a ſettled Calm. He thought therefore, that to chaſtiſe ſome of the Seditious (excepted out of the general Pardon) would be neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhing of Peace and Juſtice. He alſo found ſome Remainders of another Evil which *Spain* had ſuffer'd during his abſence; for the *French* had unexpectedly ſeized upon the Kingdom of *Navarre*: and though they were beaten out, after loſing a Battle, together with their Reputation, and ill-gotten Booty, yet were ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Fontarabia*; and it was abſolutely neceſſary to re-take this Place, into which the Enemy were preparing to throw a powerful Reinforcement. But notwithſtanding theſe Affairs, and others at the ſame time in *Italy*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, he found time for thoſe of *New-Spain*, to which he always had a very particular

ticular attention: He gave another audience to the Envoys of *Cortez*; and tho' those of *Diego Velasques* at the same time presented their Request, yet, as he had been well inform'd of the Case on both sides by Letters from the Pope, he, by a new Sentence, confirmed the Recusation of the Bishop of *Burgos*, and appointed Commissaries to determine finally upon this Affair, *viz.* the great Chancellor of *Arragon*, *Mercurio de Catinara*; *Hernando de Vega*, Lord of *Graial*, and Great Commander of *Castile*; Doctor *Lorenzo Galindez* of *Caravajal*; the Licentiate, *Francisco de Vargas*, Counsellor of State, and Chamberlain to the King; and Monsieur *de la Rose*, the *Flemish* Minister: Monsieur *de la Chau*, whom *Diaz* and *Herrera* have added to this Commission, could not possibly be one of the number, being dead some Years before in *Saragossa*; and the Post of Grand Chancellor, vacant by his death, being possess'd by *Mercurio de Catinara*. The Election of Persons so well qualify'd, show'd the Justice of his Majesty's Intentions: for the Kingdom did not afford Men in whom the Emperor reposed more confidence; nor were any to be found, in whom Learning, Prudence, and Equity appeared in a more eminent degree.

THE first thing the Council did, was to look over the Memorials drawn from Letters and Relations produced at the Tryal; but there they were so embarrass'd by contradictory Accounts, that they thought it necessary to order the Agents on both sides to explain themselves, *viva voce*, in the next Meeting; for they were all desirous to dispatch this Affair, and examine strictly into the Accusations brought by the Parties against each other, and into the Strength of their respective Arguments, that so they might come to the knowledge of the Truth, without tying themselves up to Forms of Law, which generally do but perplex a Cause, and are so many Obstacles to Justice.

THE next Day the Agents appeared before the Council with their Advocates; and, among those for *Diego Velasques*, *Andres de Duero* signalized himself: but People were the less surpriz'd to see him unfaithful to his Friend, knowing he had been so first to his Master. The Memorials were read, and the Parties at the same time were examined, in order to discover how they justify'd themselves from their respective Accusations, and made good their Complaints. From their Answers, the Judges drew what was sufficient

to decide the Affair: And, after some few days Hearings, the Court unanimously agreed, *That it was not reasonable for* Diego Velasques *to appropriate to himself the Advantages of the Conquest of* New-Spain, *without a better Title than that of having expended some Money in the Preparations for that Enterprize, and naming* Cortez *for Commander: That he could only have his Action for what he had laid out, making it appear to be from his own proper Stock, and not any of the Effects belonging to the King in his Government: That the nomination of* Cortez *afforded him no Pretence either to the Honour or Advantage of the Conquest; for, besides that he gave him the Commission without the Authority of the Ministers of the Royal Audience, whose Orders he should have received, or so much as acquainting them with it, he lost those Prerogatives the day that he revoked it, and could have no right to say that the Conquest was made by his order,* Cortez *being by that Revocation left free to act as he should judge most advantageous for the service of the King, with the Troops and Vessels which, for the most part, he had rais'd and equipp'd at his own expence, and that of his Friends.*

AND tho' the Judges were also very sensible, that the Conduct of *Cortez* was not, in the beginning of this Enterprize, altogether so regular as it should have been, yet they thought something was to be allow'd to his just Indignation, and much more to its admirable Effects: A Conquest so wonderful, and of so great importance, the Difficulties of which had only serv'd to manifest his incomparable Valour, and, above all, his Fidelity, and inviolable Attachment to his Duty! For which reason, they judged him worthy to be continu'd in the Command of what he had conquered, and to be encouraged and supported in an Undertaking already so far advanced: And, lastly, they censur'd *Diego Velasques*, as a Person who had show'd a very ungovernable Ambition, in aspiring, with so little reason, to usurp the Glory and Advantage of the Actions of another; and as having been guilty of a rashness which deserv'd a very severe reprimand, in sending an Army against *Hernan Cortez*, without considering the Consequences which might have attended such violent Proceedings, or regarding the Orders he had receiv'd to the contrary from the Ministers of the Royal Audience of *Saint Domingo.*

THESE

THESE Conclusions were laid before the Emperor, which being approv'd by his Majesty, Sentence was pronounced, declaring *Hernan Cortez* to be a good Minister and faithful Subject; honouring with the like approbation the Officers and Soldiers under his Command; imposing perpetual Silence on *Diego Velasques*, on the Subject of any Pretensions to the Conquest of *New-Spain*; and strictly commanding him, on pain of severe Punishment, not to raise the least Obstacle to that Affair, either directly or indirectly, with a reservation for any demand he might have on account of Moneys by him expended in the armament of the Vessels, which he was to make out his claim to, and sue for, in the ordinary way of Justice. And thus did this Affair end, the Judges referring the Honours design'd for *Cortez*, the reprimanding of *Velasques*, and other Conclusions of the Council, to the Dispatches that were to be sent in the name of the Emperor.

SOME are of opinion, that this Judgment was framed rather according to Reasons of State, than the Rigour of Justice: It is not my business to examine the Right of the pretending Parties; I have shown the Motives and Considerations upon which the Judges pronounced sentence, and I am not insensible, that in the first Steps of *Cortez* there is occasion for a favourable interpretation; but, at the same time it cannot be deny'd, that his Title to the Conquest was as good as the Emperor's to the Country conquered. Upon which consideration, the Judges might very well proceed as a Court of Equity, by taking this Affair out of the common Road, and moderating the Rigour of Justice: To which they were the more induced by the Weakness of *Velasques's* Arguments, his violent Proceedings and Disrespect to the Royal Authority. It is said he liv'd but a little while after he receiv'd the Emperor's reprimand, the very Words of Kings having the power to reward and punish. We must not refuse to *Diego Velasques* the just Praises he deserv'd, on account of his Quality, Capacity, and Courage, of which he had given signal Proofs in the Conquest of *Cuba*; but upon this occasion he was miserably mistaken in the beginning, and, by the use of improper Means, fell short of the end he proposed; and, finally, his Impatience hasten'd his death. His first Fault was Distrust, a Vice which, like Excess of Fear, produces Rashness; the second was Anger, which does

more

more than make Men irrational; for it makes them Enemies to Reason: and the third was Envy, which, in mean Spirits, supplies the place of Anger.

THE next thing taken into consideration, was the Assistance to be given *Cortez*, the Care of which the Emperor referred to the same Council: He gave a very favourable audience to his Agents, and seem'd well pleas'd that Justice had declar'd on their side: He bestow'd several Marks of his Favour upon *Martin Cortez*, on account of his Son's Merit, whom he promis'd to reward according to the Greatness of his Service. Several Regulars were named for the Conversion of the *Indians*, the first Care of the Emperor, who was always more zealous for the advancement of Religion than for the augmentation of his Empire. He order'd a considerable number of Arms and Horses to be embark'd in the first Fleet; and, considering how much it imported to use the utmost dispatch at a time when *Hernan Cortez* was engaged in War, and not without great suspicion of his Rivals, he commanded the Orders to be immediately drawn, and sent by several Letters.

ONE was directed to the Governours and Royal Audience of *Saint Domingo*, signifying to them his resolution, with orders to assist *Cortez* to the utmost of their power, and remove all Impediments to his Conquest. Another was to *Diego Velasques*, strictly enjoining him to desist from further interfering in that Enterprize, and severely censuring his violent Proceedings. There was another to *Francisco de Garay*, blaming him for attempting any thing on *New-Spain*, and forbidding him to continue that Design. The last was directed to *Hernan Cortez*, and abounded in those Marks of Honour and Favour which Kings bestow on those from whom they have received extraordinary Services, when they do not disdain to own the Obligation. The Emperor in this Letter did not only approve the past Actions of *Cortez*, but withall his present Design, and the Disposition he had made for re-taking the City of *Mexico*. He let him know how sensible he was of his Valour and Constancy, not forgetting to take notice of the Prudence and Address with which he had managed both his own Troops and those of his Confederates. His Majesty also inform'd him of the Orders he had given to secure him from his Rivals, and of the Commission he had

sent

ſent him to be Governour and Captain-General of that Country: He aſſured him at the ſame time of more ſolid Proofs of his Acknowledgment, and made particular and honourable mention of the Captains and Soldiers who had ſerved under him. He recommended to him in a moſt preſſing manner to treat the *Indians* well, and to take care to have them inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, conſidering them as a Soil capable of being cultivated by the Goſpel: He laſtly gave him hopes of ſpeedy ſuccour and aſſiſtance, referring to his Valour and Fidelity the final accompliſhment of ſo great a Work. A Letter which will for ever honour the illuſtrious Poſterity of *Cortez*! and ſuch a one as would not only give nobility, where it is wanting, but a luſtre to Families of the nobleſt Deſcent.

THESE Diſpatches were all ſigned by the Emperor in *Valladolid*, the 22d of *October*, 1522. and immediately ſent away with two of the Envoys of *Cortez*, the other two remaining behind to ſollicit Succours, and receive Inſtructions that were framing for the civil and military Government of the new conquered Country.

THO' we have a little interrupted our Account of the Exploits of *Cortez*, we thought it neceſſary to purſue this Affair to the Concluſion, that we might not leave it unfiniſhed in ſuch manner as ſhould oblige us to make another digreſſion: A Liberty not only taken by Hiſtorians, but Annaliſts, who tie themſelves up more ſtrictly to time; as we find it practiſed in *Cornelius Tacitus*, who, in the Empire of *Claudius*, introduces and concludes the Wars of *Britain*, under the two Vice-Pretors, *Oſſorius* and *Didius*, judging it leſs inconvenient to break through the Series of Years, than the Connexion of important Events.

CHAP. IX.

Cortez *receives a new Succour of Men and Ammunition: he musters his* Spanish *Troops; and the Confederates do the like, after his Example: He publishes certain military Orders, and begins his March, with a design to possess himself of* Tezeuco.

IT was now about the end of the Year 1520, when *Cortez* resolved to march with his whole Army into the Enemy's Country, and to make the last Dispositions for his grand Enterprize. He had received some few days before, a Succour of Men, whom good fortune threw in his way; for the Governour of *Vera Cruz* gave him notice, that a Merchant-Man from the *Canaries* was anchored there, with a considerable Quantity of Fire-Arms and Powder, and other warlike Provisions, three Horses, and some Passengers, who came there purposely to sell their Merchandize to the *Spaniards*, who were engaged in that Conquest.

AT that time all Sorts of Goods sold at an excessive Price in the *Indies*, and the Hopes of Gain had quite overcome all fear of so distant and dangerous a Commerce. Upon this advice, *Cortez*, desirous to make advantage of the Opportunity, immediately sent a Commissary to *Vera Cruz*, with Bars of Gold and Silver, under a sufficient Guard; and the Governour was ordered to buy the Arms and Ammunition as cheap as he could. The Governour managed the Matter with so much dexterity, and rais'd such an Opinion of the Undertaking in which his General was engaged, that not only the Merchants sold what they had brought at a reasonable rate, but the Captain of the Vessel, with the Master, and thirteen *Spanish* Soldiers,

Soldiers, went with the Commiſſary to the Camp, and join'd the Army, with a reſolution to ſeek their Fortunes in the *Indies*: a Notion which was very prevalent at that time, and which ſtill ſubſiſts among ſome who are eager to enrich themſelves that way; the Deſtruction of thoſe who have been deceiv'd, not in the leaſt diſcouraging the Avarice of others.

WITH this Reinforcement, and ſome others which *Hernan Cortez* had received beyond all expectation, he reſolved to haſten the March of his Army; and indeed he could not now delay it any longer, or ſtay for the finiſhing of the Brigantines; for the Troops of the Republick, with thoſe of their Allies, were daily arriving, and, from their Inaction, he might reaſonably apprehend ſome Inconveniences.

UPON which, he aſſembled his Captains, to deliberate what would be moſt proper for them to undertake with the Forces they had, for the Service of the grand Deſign, till ſuch time as they ſhould be join'd by all the reſt of the Troops, and were in a Condition to attempt the Recovery of *Mexico*: and after a long Debate upon variety of Opinions, they reſolved to march directly to *Tezeuco*, and, in all events, to ſeize that City; which being ſituated in the Road from *Tlaſcala*, and almoſt on the Borders of the Lake, ſeemed very proper for a Place of Arms: it was a Poſt which they could fortify and maintain, and where they might eaſily receive the Reinforcements they expected, and make Inroads from it into the Enemy's Country: Moreover, it was a ſure Retreat at a reaſonable diſtance from *Mexico*, to ſhelter them from the Accidents of War. It was alſo judged, that the Troops which were already arrived, were a Number ſufficient for that Deſign; and tho' the Canals, by which the Waters of the Lake had a communication with the City, ſeemed too narrow for the Paſſage of the Brigantines, they reſolved to conſider more at leiſure of that Difficulty afterwards, and to begin their March without any farther delay. The day after this reſolution, *Cortez* muſter'd his *Spaniards*, and found them five hundred and forty Foot, and forty Horſe, with nine Pieces of Artillery, brought on ſhore from the Veſſels. This Parade was ordered in ſight of an innumerable Concourſe of People, and had the air of a general Review, by drawing the attention of the Spectators from the numbring of the

Men,

Men, to the Pomp of the Show, in which nothing was omitted that serv'd for ostentation; as, the Finery of the Soldiers, flying of Colours, management of Horses, and the handling of their Arms, when they prepared to salute the General; and all was performed with so much Gallantry and Decorum, that the Multitude expressed their Satisfaction by repeated Acclamations: and the *Indian* Soldiers were instructed by their Example. For *Xicotencal*, who was General of the Republick, would needs muster his Troops, not that this Method was ever practised by the *Tlascalans*, but only to make his court to *Cortez*, by imitating the *Spaniards*; and first past the Drums and Trumpets, with the rest of their warlike Instruments; then the Captains, in Files, gayly adorn'd, with large Plumes of various Colours, and Jewels hanging at their Ears and Lips; they carrried their Macanas, or two-handed Swords, under the Left Arm, with their Points upward, and every one had a Page, bearing his Shield, on which were different Figures, expressing their own Exploits, and the Defeat of their Enemies; after their manner, they complimented the two Generals, and then the Troops marched by in different Bodies, distinguished by the Colour of their Plumes, and by their Ensigns; namely, the Figures of several Animals, which hanging at the end of their Pikes, served instead of Colours: The whole Army consisted of ten thousand chosen Men; for tho' the Republick had provided a much greater Number, yet the rest of their Levies were left to assist in conducting the Brigantines, the Security of which was of so much consequence, that the Senate took the engaging their Troops that way as a Favour, which might have been resented as a Slight.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA will have it, that the *Tlascalans* mustred eighty thousand Men, in which he differs from *Bernal Diaz*, and other Authors, unless he included the Troops of *Cholula* and *Guaxocingo*, which were encamped without the Town; for there is no doubt but *Hernan Cortez* marched out of *Tlascala* with above sixty thousand Men, not reckoning those who join'd him on his March, or at the Place of Rendezvous, which were so numerous, that during the Seige of *Mexico*, he had under his Command above two hundred thousand Men; and what renders this the more remarkable, is, that we have not been told of any want they had of Provisions, or of the least

Discord

Discord among so many different Nations, of any confusion in the giving of Orders, or of any want of exactness in obeying them. Much indeed was owing to the great Capacity and extraordinary Prudence of *Cortez*, but this work cou'd not be wholly his. It pleas'd God to reduce this Empire to his holy Law, and making use of him as an Instrument, he facilitated the Means which conduc'd to that End, disposing the Minds of Men for those Events which he had pre-ordain'd.

CORTEZ immediately publish'd some Ordinances which he had form'd at his leisure hours, to prevent those inconveniencies in War, by which it is wont to hazard, or lose its Character of being Just. He order'd therefore, upon pain of Death, *That no Man shou'd presume to draw his Sword against another, either in Quarters, or upon the March; That no* Spaniard *should abuse a confederate* Indian, *either by word or action; That no one should force, or otherwise abuse a Woman, tho' belonging to the Enemy; That no one should leave the Army, to go and plunder the Villages, without leave, and a number sufficient to execute the Undertaking*; and, *That they should not play away their Arms and Horses; in which Article, their Discipline had been a little too remiss.* And he particularly prohibited, on pain of Infamy and Degradation, all Swearing, Blasphemy, and other Abuses, which are generally introduc'd, as allowable, under the title of Military *Licence.*

THE same Ordinances were signify'd to the Commanders of the *Indian* Troops; and *Cortez* himself was present when they were interpreted to them by *Aguilar* and *Donna Marina*, in order to make them understand, that the Penalties regarded all without exception, and that the least of their Excesses would be punish'd with the utmost Rigour. This quickly went from the *Tlascalans* to the other Nations, and had so good an Effect, that from that moment there appear'd more regularity in the *Indians* than before; tho' during the March, *Cortez* was oblig'd to wink at some things, and make allowance for their Barbarism and the prevalency of Custom; but after the Punishment of two or three, the rest were reduc'd to better Discipline: and the Fear of being chastiz'd, join'd with the Care they took to conceal their Crimes, pass'd for a sort of Reparation to the justice of the General.

UPON the day of the March, which was the Feast of the *Innocents*, after Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* had said Mass, and address'd himself to God in a particular Prayer for the good Success of the Expedition, *Hernan Cortez* commanded the *Indians* to form themselves into gross Battalions, and after they were rang'd in order of Battle, he march'd out of the Village at the head of the *Spaniards*; and by their Example, show'd the *Indians* how to double their Files, with all the leisure which that Movement requires, their over-much haste in beginning an Engagement generally bringing them into confusion, and being one of their greatest mistakes in War. After this, he call'd together the principal Commanders of the several Nations, and, by the help of the Interpreters, made them a short Exhortation: He recommended to them, *to animate their Men by convincing them that the present Undertaking concern'd their common Interest, as being to fight for their own Liberty, and that of their Country; to send all back who were not willing to stay; to take very particular care to punish the breach of Orders;* and above all, *to lay before them the obligation they were under of following the Example of their Friends the* Spaniards, *both in their Actions of Valour, and in their Moderation.*

THEY went to put his Orders in execution, and he return'd to the Head of his own Men; who, by their Silence, show'd that they were prepar'd to hear him: *I do not pretend, my Friends and Companions* (said he) *to make you sensible by vain exaggerations of the Obligations you lie under to act in this Expedition like* Spaniards; *I have already had sufficient proofs of your Courage, and have even envy'd the gallantry of your Actions. What I am now to recommend to you, is rather under the character of your Companion than your General, that we shou'd all, with equal care, consider this great multitude of* Indians *who follow us, and who regard our Cause as their own; which lays us under two Obligations, both worthy of our particular attention. The first is, to behave towards them as Friends, and even to bear with them, if it be necessary, as Creatures of an inferior degree of Reason; and the other is, to give them an example by our Actions. You are sensible of the Orders which have been publish'd to all, and the least offence against them, amongst you, will be aggravated by the addition of setting a bad Example; every one must consider the influence his Transgressions may have, or else the rest will be oblig'd to consider the important influence of their due Punishment.*

nishment. I shall be extremely concern'd, to find myself necessitated to proceed with rigour against the Man of least account amongst you: but this concern will be unavoidable; for I am resolv'd to be Just, as well as Patient. You are all sensible of the great Undertaking we have in hand; 'tis no less than the Conquest of an Empire for our King, and will be an Action worthy to be recorded in History. The Forces we already have, with those who are yet to join us, will be proportion'd to this heroic Design; and God, whose Cause we defend, and who has hitherto miraculously supported us, will go along with us; nor is it possible to suppose, he will abandon an Enterprize, in which he hath so often declar'd himself our Leader. Let us then follow him, and not displease him. And repeating again, *Let us then follow him, and not displease him*, he ended his Speech, and gave orders for the March, with the Acclamations of his People; taking for good Prognosticks, the Satisfaction with which the Soldiers follow'd him, the extraordinary Accident by which the Number of his *Spaniards* was augmented, and the hearty Disposition of his Confederates. He consider'd all these together as a happy presage of Success, not that he made much account of such Observations, but the Understanding sometimes relaxes itself, that Hope may be diverted with the dreams of the Imagination.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Army marches, and overcomes some Difficulties. The King of Tezeuco *sends an artful Embassy to* Cortez; *he returns an Answer of the same kind, and thereby gains admittance into the City without resistance.*

THE Army march'd that day six Leagues, and, at Sun-set, took up their Quarters in a place call'd *Tezmeluca*, which, in the Language of the Country, signify'd a Grove of Oaks. It was a considerable Town situate on the *Mexican* Confines, and in the jurisdiction of *Guaxocingo*, whose Cazique took care to provide sufficiently for all the Troops, and a particular Regale for the *Spaniards*. The day following, they continued their march in the Enemies Country with all necessary precautions. They receiv'd advice, that the *Mexicans* were assembled on the other side of a Mountain, whose Woods and Rocks, render'd the Passage to the Road of *Tezeuco* very difficult; and because they came not to that place till towards Evening, and it was not advisable to march thro' such broken mountainous Ground, when Night was approaching, the Army made a Halt, and lodg'd themselves as well as they cou'd, making great Fires, which were scarce sufficient to preserve them from the intemperate Cold.

EARLY in the morning they began to mount the Hill, and penetrate the Woods, keeping pace with the Artillery; but they had not march'd much above a League, when the Vanguard return'd with an account, that the Enemy had stop'd up the way with Trees laid a-cross, and sharp Stakes, which they had fix'd in the loose Sands to wound the Horses; upon which *Hernan Cortez*, who never lost any opportunity of encouraging his Men, said to the *Spaniards* aloud,

aloud, *These valiant People don't seem very desirous to meet us, since they take so much pains to stop up the way to them*: and without the least delay, he order'd two thousand *Tlascalans* to join the Vanguard, and clear the Road of all Impediments; which they executed with so much expedition, that the Rear of the Army scarceseem'd to stop. He likewise detach'd some Companies to search narrowly those places which seem'd proper for Ambuscades; and with all the Caution, that those signs of a neighbouring Enemy requir'd, the Troops continu'd their march two Leagues further to the top of the Mountain.

FROM this place they discover'd the great Lake of *Mexico*, and upon this occasion, *Hernan Cortez* put his Soldiers in mind of the prosperity and riches they had enjoy'd, as well as of what they had suffer'd in that City, mixing the good and bad, that he might animate them to Revenge by the incentives of Interest. They likewise discover'd several Fires in distant Towns, succeeding one another with some intermission: and tho' there was no doubt but these were Signals made on the discovery of the Army, they pursu'd their March, with little less Difficulty, and with the same Precaution; for the way continu'd very bad, and theWoods were so thick, that they had but little open Ground.

BUT after they had overcome this Difficulty, they discover'd, at a great distance, the Enemies Army, which took up all the Plain, without making any motion, seeming resolv'd to continue in a post, from whence they could easily make a retreat. The *Spaniards* rejoic'd at the opportunity of coming so soon to Action, and the *Tlascalans* did the same; but the Joy of the latter streight turn'd to Fury, so that *Cortez* was oblig'd to make use of his Voice, and the diligence of some of his Captains, to prevent their running into disorder through an eagerness to fight. The *Mexicans* were on the farther side of a great Barranco or Gap in the Earth, which must of necessity be pass'd. It was made deeper by a Brook, which gathering all the Waters from the Mountains, ran through it, and was, at that time, considerably swell'd. The *Mexicans* had a little wooden Bridge over it, for the use of Passengers, which they cou'd easily have broke down, but had left on purpose, as was afterwards suppos'd, that they might destroy their Enemies in that narrow Pass, thinking it impossible that they cou'd ever form themselves on the other side, when so

vigorouſly oppos'd. After this manner they reaſon'd when they were at a diſtance from danger; but when they diſcover'd the Army of *Cortez*, which they had not believ'd to be ſo numerous, their imagination was ſtruck with leſs fantaſtic Notions. They wanted Courage to defend their Poſt, but deſiring to affect a ſhew of Valour, or at leaſt to conceal their Fear, they began to retire by little and little without turning their backs, ſeeming to diſtinguiſh betwixt a Flight and a Retreat.

CORTEZ advanc'd with ſpeed, and when he came up to the Barranco, he eſteem'd it a piece of good fortune that the Enemy had quitted it; for notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* found no Reſiſtance, they had ſome Difficulty in paſſing it. He detach'd twenty Horſe, and ſome Companies of *Tlaſcalans*, to keep the Enemy in play, without engaging farther, until ſuch time as the reſt of his Troops ſhould be all paſs'd; but the *Mexicans* no ſooner ſaw them drawing up on the other ſide of the Barranco, but they laid aſide all their Policy, openly flying and diſperſing, ſome betaking themſelves to the moſt unfrequented Paths, and others ſeeking refuge in the ſhelter of the Mountains.

CORTEZ did not care to loſe time in following the Chace, becauſe 'twas of more importance to poſſeſs himſelf ſpeedily of *Tezeuco*; and whatever delay'd that, was to be eſteem'd a hindrance to the main Deſign. The Army, however, in their March, made ſome ſlaughter of the *Mexicans* who had abſconded in the Woods. The ſame night the Troops quarter'd in a place newly forſaken by the Inhabitants, within three Leagues of *Tezeuco*, where they doubled their Centries, and were, in a manner, all night under Arms. But the next day, at a little diſtance from that Town, they diſcover'd about ten unarm'd *Indians*, who were coming in haſte along the Road with the appearance of Meſſengers, or Fugitives, and brought with them a Plate of gold, in form of a Flag, hanging to the top of a Lance, which was look'd on as a ſignal of Peace. The chief of them came as Ambaſſador from the King of *Tezeuco*, deſiring *Cortez* to ſpare his People and Country, acquainting him, that he deſir'd to be his Confederate, for which end, he had provided good Quarters for all the *Spaniards*, in the City; and, that the reſt of the Nations under his command, ſhould be ſupply'd with every thing that was neceſſary, without the Walls. *Cortez* put ſome

queſtions

questions to him, and as he came well instructed, he answer'd without hesitation; adding, that his Master had just reason to complain of the Emperor who then reign'd in *Mexico*, who was about to execute his Revenge upon him by some Extortions, and other Oppressions not to be endur'd, for his having refus'd him his Vote in his Election to the Empire, for which reason he was minded to unite himself with the *Spaniards*, as one of the most interested in the ruin of that Tyrant.

OUR Historians don't say, or at least, don't agree, whether the Brother of *Cacumazin*, whom we left Prisoner in *Mexico*, for conspiring against *Motezuma* and the *Spaniards*, reign'd at this time in *Tezeuco*. It has been already related how the Crown, and electoral Vote, were bestow'd on his Brother at the recommendation of *Cortez*; and 'tis very likely that the dispossess'd Prince reign'd at this time, and that the new Emperor might think it very proper to restore him, on the account of his being a declar'd Enemy of the *Spaniards*: which also seems agreeable with the distrust conceiv'd by *Cortez*; for he no sooner receiv'd the Embassy, but he step'd aside to confer with his Captains about the Answer. They all doubted the sincerity of the Proposition, and thought it was too much to be expected from an offended Prince; but that, nevertheless, since they had already resolv'd to make themselves Masters of that place by force of Arms, it ought to be consider'd as a piece of good fortune to have their entrance free, which first Difficulty they shou'd get over by accepting the Prince's offer; and that when once they were within the Walls, where they shou'd be as much upon their Guard as if they had taken the Town by Assault, they might act as occasion required. This determination being made, *Cortez* dispatch'd the Ambassador, bidding him tell his Prince, That he agreed to the Peace, and accepted the offer'd Quarters, being desirous to correspond entirely to the good Intelligence with which he had sought his Friendship.

THE Troops continu'd their March, and lodg'd themselves that night in one of the Suburbs of the City, or Village near adjoining; deferring their entry till next morning, that they might have the whole day before them for an Enterprize, which, according to the appearances, wou'd not be over in a few hours. One ground of this Suspicion was, their finding the place utterly forsaken by the

the Inhabitants; and another, no less considerable, was the Cazique's not appearing, nor any body from him, to visit *Cortez*: but there was no sign of War, nor did any thing extraordinary happen, until at Sun-rise, *Cortez* made his Dispositions for attacking the Town, which he now thought unavoidable; tho' in a little time he perceiv'd it to be unnecessary, for he found the City open and without defence. Some Troops advanc'd to seize on the Gates, which they did without Resistance. *Hernan Cortez*, in a readiness to fight, march'd thro' the Streets, still observing the appearances of Peace while he suspected War. He advanc'd in the best order he cou'd, till he came into a large Square, where he drew up the greatest part of his Men, and order'd the rest to possess themselves of all the Streets thereabouts. The Inhabitants, who appear'd in multitudes in several places as they pass'd along, seem'd frighten'd, and show'd in their Faces the uneasiness of their Minds; and it was remark'd, that none of their Women were to be seen; circumstances which help'd to confirm the first suspicions.

IT was thought proper to seize on the chief Temple, which, by its height, commanded the whole City, and from whence might be seen the greatest part of the Lake; and for this Service, *Cortez* order'd *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Christoval de Olid*, and *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, with some Fire-Arms, and a sufficient number of *Tlascalans*. They found that Post without defence, and from the top of the Temple, discover'd that great numbers of the Inhabitants were flying from the City, some by Land to the Mountains, and others in Canoes to *Mexico*, which plainly made appear the treachery of the Cazique. *Cortez* order'd him to be sought, and brought before him, but was inform'd, that he had retir'd some little time before to the *Mexican* Troops with those few of his Men who were willing to follow him; who, as the Peasants said, were People of no account: for the Nobility, and the greatest part of his Vassals, abhorr'd his Government, and stay'd behind, pretending they wou'd follow him. It was discover'd likewise, that he had resolv'd to treat the *Spaniards* well until he had gain'd their good Opinion, in order to take advantage of their Security, and introduce the *Mexicans*, who were to destroy them all in one night; but when he was inform'd by his Ambassador of the great force *Cortez* brought with him, he wanted Courage to go on with his Design, and thought it more adviseable

viſable to retreat, abandoning the City, and his Vaſſals, to the diſcretion of his Enemies.

HERE Good-Fortune did as much as Induſtry and Valour could have done. *Cortez* deſir'd to poſſeſs himſelf of *Tezeuco*, an advantageous Poſt for a place of Arms, and neceſſary for his Enterprize; and the deſign'd Stratagem of the Cazique gave him a free Paſſage into the City without the leaſt Diſpute: his Flight remov'd the inconvenience of a continual Jealouſy and Diſtruſt; and the diſcontent of his Subjects facilitated the means of bringing them to be at his Devotion. When Affairs are to ſucceed, every thing hits right, and for this reaſon *Fortunate* is juſtly plac'd among the Attributes of a General, whoſe prudent Diſpoſitions are executed by Valour, but whoſe Prudence and Valour are both beholden to Good-Fortune. This word *Fortune* was ill underſtood by the *Gentiles*, or not underſtood at all. They adored *Fortune*, as a Deity, tho' fantaſtical and undiſtinguiſhing, always blind and inconſtant: but we underſtand by this Name, the free Gifts of Divine Beneficence: and thus the Idea of what is meant by proſperous Accidents, is rectified; Fortune reduced to its true Signification; and the Fortunate know the Spring of thoſe Favours they receive.

CHAP. XI.

The Army being quarter'd in Tezeuco, *the Nobles come and offer to serve in it.* Cortez *restores the Kingdom to the lawful Successor, leaving the Tyrant without any hopes to re-establish himself.*

THE first Care of *Cortez*, was, to remove the Apprehensions which the People of the Country were under. He order'd the *Spaniards* to treat them gently, endeavouring to gain their Affections since they ought to consider them as having already submitted; and this Order was publish'd to the Confederate Troops with greater Preciseness by the Mouths of their Chiefs; whose Obedience was the more remarkable, because they were now in an Enemy's Country, well practised in the Violences of War, and flush'd with the Presumption of being Conquerors: but such was their Respect to *Cortez*, that they not only repressed their natural Ferocity and evil Customs, but familiariz'd themselves with the Inhabitants, publishing Peace to them both by their Words and Actions. The Soldiers quarter'd that Night in the Palaces of the fugitive King, which were so capacious that there was sufficient Lodgment for the *Spaniards* and part of the *Tlascalans*, and the rest were quarter'd in the neighbouring Streets, without entering into the Houses, that they might not incommode the Inhabitants.

THE next Morning some of the Idol Priests came to sollicite good Treatment for their Gods, returning thanks at the same time for that which they had already experienced. They also acquainted *Cortez*, that the Nobility of that City waited his Permission to come and make an offer of their Obedience and Friendship, which *Cortez* agreed to, without having any occasion to affect being well pleased; for he very

very much desired what he granted. And, a little after, the Nobles came dreſt, as they uſed to appear, in their publick Solemnities, headed by a Youth of a genteel Mien, who ſpoke for the reſt, and preſented to *Cortez* this Troop of Soldiers, who came, he ſaid, to ſerve in his Army, deſiring to merit by their Actions a Shelter under the ſhade of his Enſigns; to which he added a few more Words, expreſs'd with ſuch a Force and Gravity, as gain'd him at the ſame time both Attention and Reſpect. *Hernan Cortez* heard him with Admiration, and was ſo taken with his Eloquence and good Behaviour (together with the advantage of this Offer) that without being able to contain himſelf, he took him into his Arms; but after having attributed this exceſs of his Content to the diſcretion of the young Man, he compos'd himſelf to return a ſedate Anſwer to his Propoſition.

THE reſt came forward, and after the firſt Ceremonies of Reſpect were over, *Cortez* retir'd with him who came as their Leader, and ſome others of the principal *Tezeucans*; and calling for his Interpreters, was fully inform'd of all the Cazique's Diſpoſitions in favour of the *Mexicans*, the Artifice with which he offer'd to quarter the *Spaniards* in the City, and the Cowardice with which he turn'd his back on the firſt rumour of Danger: And laſtly, they inform'd him, that the Perſon of the Cazique was ſo much abhorr'd by his Vaſſals, that inſtead of regretting his Abſence, they rejoic'd at it as a Happineſs: a Diſpoſition which *Hernan Cortez* endeavour'd to confirm them in, becauſe it imported him much, to make advantage of this their Diſaffection to their Prince, for the more ſecure Eſtabliſhment of his place of Arms; and the Anſwer they return'd him was exactly agreeable to his Wiſhes. For the moſt Antient of the Nobles perceiving the end to which his Queſtions tended, inform'd him, *That* Cacumazin, *Lord of* Tezeuco, *was not the rightful Owner of that Country, but one of the moſt monſtrous Tyrants that Nature had produced, having kill'd his elder Brother* Nezabal *with his own Hands, and ſeized his Crown; that the Prince who, as firſt of all the Nobles, had addreſs'd him in the name of all, was lawful Son of the murther'd King, and that either his Youth, or the Contempt the Tyrant had of him, had been his Security; that he, being ſenſible of the danger which threatned him, had ſo prudently conceal'd his Senſe of the Injury done him, that his Diſſimulation paſſed for want of Underſtanding; that all this Wickedneſs had been done with the*

Know-

Knowledge and by the Assistance of the Emperor of Mexico, *who reigned before* Motezuma, *and that the present Emperor supported* Cacumazin *in like manner, that he might make him his Instrument for the destruction of the* Spaniards. *But that the Nobles of* Tezeuco *mortally abhorred his Violences, and the common People could no longer endure his Government; for that instead of treating them like Subjects, he used them as his Slaves.*

THUS did the old Man deliver his Thoughts, and *Cortez* had scarce heard him out, when it immediately occurr'd to him what was fit to be done. He went up to the dispossest Prince with somewhat more of Respect, and placing him by his side, he call'd together the rest of the Nobles, who were expecting his Resolution, and commanding his Interpreters to explain aloud what he said, spoke to them after this manner. *You have here before you, my Friends, the lawful Son of your lawful King. The unjust Master, to whose ill-acquir'd Power you pay a forc'd Obedience, seiz'd the Scepter of* Tezeuco, *with a Hand dy'd in the Blood of his elder Brother; and, as the art of preserving Dominion is unknown to a Tyrant, he has govern'd by the same Violence that he made himself a King; little caring how much he deserved the hatred of his Subjects, provided he made them fear him, and treating those like Slaves who bore with his Crimes. But at last, by basely abandoning of you in time of danger, and neglecting your Defence, he hath at once shewed his own want of Courage, and put it in your power to redress your Misfortunes. I might, if I were not otherways inclined, take advantage of your defenceless Condition, and use the rights of War, by subjecting this City, which I hold, as you see, at the Pleasure of my Sword: but 'tis with difficulty that the* Spaniards *consent to do a hardship; and as he that did us the Injury, was not really your King, you ought not to suffer as his Vassals, nor for his Offence, nor ought this Prince to remain without the Kingdom, which Nature bestowed upon him. Receive then from my Hand, the Prince whom you before received from Heaven. Pay him for my sake that Obedience you owe him as the Successor of his Father, and place him on the Throne of his Ancestors; for as I less regard my own Conveniency, than I do Equity and Justice, I desire his Friendship more than his Kingdom, and your Satisfaction, rather than your Subjection.*

THIS

THIS Propoſal of *Cortez* was receiv'd by the Nobles with great Applauſe. They were freed from their Fears, and at the ſame time obtain'd all that they deſired. Some threw themſelves at his Feet, extolling his Benignity, whilſt others, more mindful of their natural Obligation, advanced to kiſs the Hand of their Prince. The News was preſently publiſh'd thro' the City, and the Satisfaction of the People appeared by their Acclamations, Dances, and Plays, ſuch as they uſed on their Feſtivals, with all other accuſtomary Demonſtrations of their mad Joy.

THE next day was appointed for the Coronation of the new King, which was celebrated with all the uſual Ceremonies, and Solemnities. *Hernan Cortez* aſſiſted at it, as Diſpenſer or Donor of the Crown, by this means ſharing in the Applauſe of the People, and gaining a more abſolute Empire over them, than if he had conquer'd them. This excellent piece of Conduct was one of thoſe which juſtly acquir'd him the Character of a prudent General: for it was of the utmoſt importance to him to ſecure this City, in order to purſue his Enterprize upon *Mexico*; and he found the way of obliging the new King with the greateſt of worldly Benefits: of intereſting the Nobility in his Reſtitution, rendering them irreconcileable with the Tyrant: of gaining the common People, by his Equity and Diſintereſtedneſs: and laſtly, of making his Quarters ſafe and ſecure, which by no other means, could have been effected. But his greateſt Satisfaction was, that in redreſſing the Injury done to the young Prince, he followed the Dictates of right Reaſon; a Conſideration to which he gave the preference before all the other Advantages which attended this part of his Conduct; it being much more agreeable to his Genius to do acts of Generoſity, than ſtrictly to purſue the Meaſures which Prudence might direct for his Intereſt.

CHAP. XII.

The new King of Tezeuco *is baptized with publick Solemnity;* Cortez *marches with part of the Army to possess himself of the City of* Iztapalapa, *where he stands in need of all his Circumspection, to prevent falling into an Ambush prepared by the* Mexicans.

HERNAN *Cortez* was applauded, and respected even to veneration among those People: The Nobles declared themselves his Friends, and, at the same time, Enemies to the *Mexicans*: The City was entirely re-peopled by the return of those Families which had retired to the Mountains; and the Prince himself was so submissive and obsequious to *Cortez*, that he not only offered his Troops, and to serve in Person in the War of *Mexico*, but also took his opinion in every thing he did: and, tho', when he was among his own People, he commanded as a King, yet when he came into the presence of *Cortez* he appear'd as a Subject, and respected him as his Superiour. He was about nineteen or twenty Years of age, and had the Capacity of a Man born in a Country less barbarous. *Hernan Cortez* took advantage of his good Disposition to introduce sometimes the Discourse of Religion; and found by his attention, and way of reasoning, a kind of propension to what was most safe, which gave him hopes of bringing him over to Christianity: for he was displeased with the barbarous Sacrifices of the *Indians*, thought Cruelty to be a Vice, and confessed that those Gods who were to be appeased with the Blood of Men, could not be Friends to Mankind. Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* bore a part in these Conversations; and finding him not only wavering in his Errors, but inclined to the Truth, he brought him in a few days to be capable of receiving

ceiving Baptiſm; the Ceremony of which was performed publickly, and with great ſolemnity, the Prince deſiring to take the name of *Don Hernando Cortez*, in reſpect to his Godfather.

THEY were now at work upon the Canals which convey'd the Waters of the Lake to the City, and the Prince ſent ſix or ſeven thouſand of his Vaſſals to help to make them broader and deeper, according to the meaſure of the Brigantines. And *Cortez*, at the ſame time, deſiring to undertake ſomething to facilitate the Enterprize upon *Mexico*, reſolved to advance with part of his Forces to the City of *Iztapalapa*, ſix Leagues forwards, that he might deprive the *Mexicans* of that ſhelter for their Canoes, which very often came from thence and diſturbed his Workmen; and partly to give the confederate *Indians* ſome Employment, who were kept quiet in the midſt of this Idleneſs by pure force of Authority, and not without coſting him a good deal of tireſome Attention and Care.

THE City of *Iztapalapa* (as we have already obſerved) was ſituate upon the ſame Cawſeway by which the *Spaniards* made their firſt entry into *Mexico*; and diſpoſed after ſuch a manner, that the greateſt part of the Buildings (which were above ten thouſand Houſes) was within the very Lake, whoſe Water was brought into that part of the Town, which was built on the Bank, by Trenches, with Sluices to let it in, as occaſion required. *Hernan Cortez*, charg'd himſelf with the care of this Expedition, and took with him the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Chriſtoval de Olid*, with three hundred *Spaniards*, and ten thouſand *Tlaſcalans*: and tho' the young King of *Tezeuco* was deſirous to accompany him, he would not permit it, telling him, his Preſence would be more uſeful in the City; the military Government of which he left to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and with both of them ſuch Inſtructions as he thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of their Quarters, and to obviate the Accidents that might happen in his abſence.

THEY preſently began their March by the Cawſeway, with a deſign to poſſeſs themſelves firſt of that part of the City which was built upon it, and diſlodge the Inhabitants from the other part with their Artillery and Fire-Arms, as occaſion ſhould offer. But the Enemy was immediately informed of their Motions, and the Army was no ſooner come within ſight of the place, than they diſcovered a Body of

about

about eight thousand Men at a little distance from the Walls, who came out to defend them in the open Field, with so much Resolution, that, tho' they found themselves inferiour in number, they stood the Engagement, and fought with Bravery enough to retire with some Reputation; which they did in little time to the City, where, without staying to defend the Entrance, or shut the Gates, they instantly disappear'd, throwing themselves into the Lake in disorder, but with the same Cries and menacing Gestures which they used in fighting.

HERNAN CORTEZ was sensible that this kind of retreat had the appearance of a Stratagem to draw him into some greater Danger, and therefore marche his Army into the City with all possible Precaution; but he found all the Houses upon the Land utterly abandoned: and tho' the Noise and Cries of the Enemy continued in that part which stood in the Water, he resolved, with the Advice of his Captains, to maintain himself in the Post where he was, and lodge within the Walls, without attempting any thing farther, the Day being too far spent. But it scarce began to be dark, when they perceived the Canals every where to overflow, the Water running impetuously to the lower Grounds. *Cortez* immediately understood that the Enemy's Design was to drown this part of the City, which they might easily do, by opening the Sluices of the great Lake; and as the Danger was inevitable, he was obliged to give instant Orders to quit the place; and tho' they made all the haste possible, the Water came above their Knees.

CORTEZ was very much mortify'd, and dissatisfy'd with himself, that he had not prevented this Stratagem of the *Indians*, as if it was possible, with the utmost Vigilance, to provide against all Accidents, or human Foresight had not its Bounds. He drew out his Army into the Road of *Tezeuco*, to which place he thought to retire, deferring the Enterprize of *Iztapalapa* to a more favourable Opportunity; for it was impracticable at this time, without a greater Force on the Lake-side, and some Vessels to drive the *Mexicans* from that place. The Troops lodged that Night as well as they could on a little Hill free from the Water; where, nevertheless, they suffered very much, being very wet, and without any Defence against the Cold; but in such good heart, that there was not the least Murmur heard among the Soldiers: And *Cortez*, who went among the

Ranks

Ranks infusing Patience by his example, strove by threatning Discourses against the Enemy either to cover his own uneasiness at having been deceiv'd, or to divert the Soldiers from calling his Prudence into question.

AT the first appearance of day, he continu'd his Retreat, as was before resolv'd, and hastned the March of his Men, rather to keep them warm, than from any fear he had of a new attack; but as soon as it was broad day, they discover'd a Body of innumerable Enemies, which came in pursuit of the Army. *Cortez*, notwithstanding this, march'd on, but more slowly; his Design was to weary the Enemy by prolonging the Chace; tho' the Soldiers mov'd on very unwillingly: they all cry'd out to halt, that they might take satisfaction, some for the Affront, and others for the Hardships they had suffer'd, according to the different Passions by which they were animated; but all with a Spirit of vengeance against their Enemies.

WHEN *Cortez* thought it convenient, he order'd his Troops to halt and face about, and the Enemies began the attack with the same precipitation that they pursu'd; but the *Spanish* Cross-Bows (for the Powder having suffer'd by the Water, the Fire-Arms were of no use) and the Bows of the *Tlascalans*, gave a check to their first Fury, and at the same time the Horse charg'd them, making room for the Confederate Troops, who entirely broke that disorderly Multitude, and oblig'd them to leave the Field with considerable loss.

CORTEZ pursu'd his March, without stopping to make any further slaughter of the Fugitives, because he had a mind to reach his Quarters before night: but the Enemy, no less diligent in rallying than retiring, advanc'd a second and third time to the attack, without being in the least terrify'd with the great slaughter they had sustain'd; till such time, as fearing to approach too near to *Tezeuco*, where the whole Strength of the *Spaniards* lay, they march'd back to *Iztapalapa*, sufficiently chastiz'd for their boldness, having lost in the three attacks, six thousand Men; and tho' *Cortez* had some wounded, he lost only two *Tlascalans*, and one Horse, who cover'd with Arrows and Cuts, yet liv'd to bring off his Master.

CORTEZ, and all his Army, celebrated this begining of their Revenge, as a satisfaction for what they had suffer'd, and a little before night they enter'd the City of

Tezeuco, with the Glory of three or four Victories obtain'd by the way, which gave a reputation to the Expedition, and cover'd the disgrace of the retreat.

IT can't be deny'd, but that the *Mexicans* laid their Design well: they sally'd out to provoke the Enemy; suffer'd themselves to be charg'd in order to engage them; feign'd a Retreat to draw them into danger; abandon'd their Houses, which they endeavour'd to lay under Water; and had provided a great Force to secure the Success. Let those who discredit this War with the *Indians*, now consider whether their Armies were, as they say, Herds of Cattle, and whether they wanted Understanding to make a Disposition, since they allow them a brutal Courage to execute. *Hernan Cortez* stood in need of his utmost diligence to escape their Snares, and not only admir'd, but even envy'd their well-concerted Stratagem; these Policies or Deceits by which Enemies are surpriz'd, being what Soldiers much glory in, esteeming them not only reasonable, but just; and more particularly, when the War is just in which they are practis'd: but in my Opinion, it is sufficient to call them, permitted, tho' in some respects they may be likewise stil'd, just, as when punishing carelessness and inadvertency, which are the greatest faults that can be committed in War.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Provinces of Chalco *and* Otumba *apply to* Cortez *for Relief against the* Mexicans. *He orders* Gonzalo de Sandoval, *and* Francisco de Lugo, *upon that Expedition; they overthrow the Enemy, and take some Prisoners of Rank, by whose means* Cortez *makes Propositions of Peace to the* Mexican *Emperor.*

WHILST *Cortez* remain'd in *Tezeuco*, he receiv'd frequent Visits from the neighbouring Caziques and other *Indians*, who came to make their Submissions, and offer him the assistance of their Troops. They all complained of the Emperor's ill Treatment, by whose Soldiers they were oppress'd and plunder'd, and treated with equal Contempt and Inhumanity. Among the rest, there came at that time Messengers in great haste from the Provinces of *Chalco* and *Otumba*, with an account that there was a powerful Army of the Enemy upon their Frontiers, who had Commission to chastise and destroy them, for having made an Alliance with the *Spaniards*. They express'd a Resolution to oppose the *Mexicans*, and desired some Succour to assist in their Defence. This Request appeared not only reasonable, but necessary to be granted; for it imported *Cortez* very much not to suffer the *Mexicans* to fix themselves in a Place where they might cut off his Communication with *Tlascala*, which was to be preserved at all hazards. He immediately dispatch'd *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and *Franscisco de Lugo* with two hundred *Spaniards*, fifteen Horse, and a sufficient body of *Tlascalans*, among whom there were some who had obtained Permission by their Importunity to retire to their own Country, and secure the Spoils they had acquired in the War; a Permission which *Cortez* thought fit to grant, because

cause as he expected a fresh recruit of Troops from the Republick, it behoved him to allure those People by the hopes of Interest, and this show of Liberty.

THESE miserable Wretches having thus changed themselves from Soldiers into Porters, marched along with the Baggage of the Army, and as Avarice regulated the weight of their Burthens, they had so overloaded themselves, that they could not always keep up with the Troops, but were forced to stop sometimes to take breath. The *Mexicans* (who, with the Army they had upon the Lake, had planted several Ambuscades in the Fields of Maiz) being advertised of this, fell upon them in one of their resting Places, with a seeming design not only to plunder them, but by their great Cries, and forming their Battalions, to provoke the *Spaniards* to a Battle. *Sandoval* and *Lugo* return'd immediately to their Relief, and hastening their march, fell upon the Enemy so opportunely, and vigorously with their whole Force, thar they turn'd their backs as soon as they were attacked.

FIVE or six *Tlascalans*, who were disarmed and embarrassed with their Burthens, perish'd upon this occasion; but the *Spaniards* recovered all the Booty with some additional Spoils of the Enemy. They continued their March, taking care not to leave again behind them those unuseful People; with whom they were incumber'd, till the Army having passed the Province of *Chalco*, approach'd the Frontiers of *Tlascala*, where they separated from it to go and secure their Baggage, freeing *Sandoval* from any further care of their Defence

THE *Mexicans* had assembled all the Troops of the neighbouring Provinces to chastise the Rebels of *Chalco* and *Otumba*; and knowing that the *Spaniards* were coming to the relief of those two Nations, they had reinforced themselves with part of the Troops quarter'd about the Lake; and having thus prepar'd a very formidable Army, had posted themselves on the Road the *Spaniards* were to pass, with a Resolution to try their Strength in the Field. *Sandoval* and *Lugo* being advertised of their design, and having given what Orders they thought necessary, advanced in order of Battle without altering their pace. But on sight of the Enemy, the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* halted, (the former with a calm Intrepidity, and the latter with an Impatience hardly to be restrain'd,) in order to examine more narrowly the Intention of that Body of Troops. The *Mexicans* had the

the Advantage in Numbers, and with the Ambition of being the first to attack, advanced in crowds according to their custom, and made the first discharge of their missive Weapons without any effect. The two Captains taking advantage of their Confusion (after they had receiv'd them with their Fire-Arms and Cross-bows) ordered the Horse to advance, whose Attack (always terrible to the *Indians*) immediately made room for the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* to enter, and break this disorderly Multitude with a very great Slaughter. The Flight of the Enemy soon became universal, and the Troops of *Chalco* and *Otumba*, which had sallied out of the neighbouring Town on the noise of the Battle, coming up at the same time, the Chase was so bloody, that the *Mexican* Army was entirely defeated, and the two Confederate Provinces succoured, with little or no Loss.

EIGHT of the most considerable Prisoners were reserv'd in order to get some Information from them, and the Army passed that Night to the City of *Chalco*; whose Cazique, after he had paid his Respects to the *Spaniards*, went before to prepare their Quarters, with great abundance of Provisions and Refreshments for all the Troops: Nor did he forget to have the Victory celebrated with Rejoicings after the usual extravagant manner of the People. The Inhabitants of *Chalco*, as Subjects of the *Mexican* Emperor, were Enemies to the *Tlascalans*, and had besides perpetual Disputes with them about the Bounds of their Frontiers; but this Night all their Quarrels were forgot at the desire of the *Chalqueses*, who own'd the Obligation they had to the *Tlascalans* for coming to their Relief, and were also sensible, that the means of preserving the Protection of *Cortez*, was to maintain a Friendship with his Confederates. The *Spaniards* were Mediators in the Treaty; and the Chiefs of both Nations being assembled, Peace was concluded with all the necessary Forms and Solemnities usual on such Occasions: *Sandoval* and *Lugo* undertaking to get it confirmed by *Cortez*, and the *Tlascalans* to have it ratified by the Republick.

THIS Affair being finish'd with so much Glory and Expedition, *Sandoval* and *Lugo* march'd back with the Army to *Tezeuco*, accompanied by the Cazique of *Chalco*, and some other principal *Indians*, who desired to return Thanks in Person to the General for the Succour he had sent them, and to offer him what Troops the two Provinces could fur-

nish. The Army was receiv'd at *Tezeuco* with great Acclamations of Applause, and *Cortez* honour'd the two Captains with particular Marks of his Approbation, without forgetting the Chiefs of the *Tlascalans*: he likewise caressed the Nobles of *Chalco*, accepting their Offers, and intimating that he would give them Notice when their Service would be necessary. After this, he ordered the eight *Mexican* Prisoners to be brought before him; he receiv'd them in the midst of his Captains, putting on an Air of Severity. They approach'd full of Fear and Confusion, showing in their Countenances a dejected Spirit, and a Mind ill-disposed to receive the Punishment, which, according to their own Customs, they believed inevitable. *Cortez* order'd them to be unbound, and desiring to make use of this opportunity to justify to his Allies the War, which he had undertaken, by making farther Advances towards a Peace, and at the same time to convince his Enemies of his Generosity, he spoke to them, by the help of his Interpreters, after the following manner: *I might, according to the Custom establish'd in your Nation, and that kind of Justice upon which the Laws of War are founded, take Satisfaction of your Offences with Fire and Sword, treating you with the same Inhumanity with which you treat your Prisoners. But the* Spaniards *do not think, that the being taken in the Service of one's King is a Crime that deserves Punishment, for we know how to distinguish between the culpable and the unfortunate; and that you may be sensible of the difference between our Clemency and your Cruelty, I give you at the same time both Life and Liberty. Repair immediately to the Standard of your Prince, and tell him from me, (for as you are noble, you ought to observe the Law with which you receive the Benefit) that I am coming to demand Satisfaction of him for the unjust War he made upon me at the time of my Retreat from* Mexico, *perfidiously breaking that Treaty by which I obliged my self to leave the City; but chiefly to revenge the Death of the great* Motezuma, *the principal Motive of my Anger. Tell him I have an Army, not only augmented with a number of invincible* Spaniards, *but that I have likewise under my Command all the Nations who abhor the* Mexican *Name; and that in a little time I intend to seek him in the midst of his Court, bringing with me all the Rigours of a War that has Heaven to favour it, resolv'd never to lay aside so just an Indignation 'till I have laid all the Towns of his Empire in Ashes, and drowned the very Remembrance of his Name in*

the

the Blood of his Subjects: But that nevertheless, if for the avoiding his own ruin, and the desolation of his Country, he shall incline to Peace, I am ready to grant it upon reasonable Conditions; for the Arms of my King (like the Lightnings of Heaven) hurt only where they find resistance, and are always more ready to obey the dictates of Humanity, than the incitements of Revenge.

THE General having concluded his Discourse, appointed a *Spanish* Escort for the eight Prisoners, and ordered a Bark to carry them back by the Lake. The Prisoners, scarcely persuaded of their Good-fortune, threw themselves at his feet, promising to acquaint their Prince with his Overtures, and to contribute all that lay in their power, towards facilitating the Peace: but they did not return with any answer; nor did *Hernan Cortez* make these advances, with a belief that the *Mexicans* wou'd incline to Peace, but for a further justification of the War he had undertaken, and to raise the reputation of his Clemency among the Barbarians; a Virtue useful to Conquerors, because it disposes favourably the Minds of those they design to subject, and being always amiable, even to Enemies, either gains the Applause of those who have the use of Reason, or forces a Respect from those who have it not.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Gonzalo de Sandoval *conducts the Brigantines to* Tezeuco. *Whilst they are finishing,* Hernan Cortez *marches out with part of his Army to view the Borders of the Lake.*

AT this time *Cortez* had an account that the Brigantines were finish'd, and *Martin Lopez* sent him word that he would quickly set forward with them, the Republick of *Tlascala* having provided ten thousand *Tamenes*, or Carriers of Burthens; eight thousand to carry the Planks, Masts, Iron-work, and other necessary Materials, and two thousand as a Relief for those who tired, without including in this number the Men who were employ'd in carrying Provisions and Ammunition; and fifteen or twenty thousand Soldiers, with their Officers, who waited this opportunity to join the Army. He sent word, that he intended to set out with these Forces next day, and that he wou'd stay in the last Town of the *Tlascalans* to expect a Convoy of *Spaniards*, not thinking it advisable to attempt the dangerous Passage thro' the *Mexican* Territories without a greater Force. These Brigantines were the only preparation wanting to lay close Siege to *Mexico*, and *Hernan Cortez* receiv'd this news with so much satisfaction, as caus'd a general Joy in the Army. He immediately order'd *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with two hundred *Spaniards*, fifteen Horse, and some Companies of *Tlascalans*, to march and join the Forces of the Republick, that they might be in a condition to resist any attempts of the *Mexicans*.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA says, there march'd out of *Tlascala*, with the Materials of the Brigantines, a hundred and eighty thousand Soldiers; which being so very unlikely,

ly, we muſt believe it to be one of the Errors of the Preſs. *Bernal Diaz* ſays fifteen thouſand, which is much more probable, conſidering the Number of *Tlaſcalans* already in the Army. The Republick gave the Command of this Body to a Cazique of one of the Quarters of their City, whoſe Name was *Chichemecal*, a young Man of twenty-three Years of age, but of ſuch a ſuperiour Spirit and Courage, that they already conſidered him as one of the moſt conſiderable Captains of their Nation. *Martin Lopez* marched out of *Tlaſcala*, reſolving to wait the *Spaniſh* Eſcorte in *Gualipar*, a Town but little diſtant from the *Mexican* Frontiers. *Chichemecal* was not pleaſed with this Delay, perſuading himſelf that he had Force and Courage ſufficient to defend the Convoy againſt all the Power of *Mexico*: However, he at laſt reſolved to obſerve the Orders of *Cortez*, and thought this Inſtance of his Obedience a great Exploit. *Lopez* regulated the March, ſo that all went out of the Town in good Order; the Archers and Slingers, ſupported by ſome Pike-Men, marched in the Front; after whom came the *Tamenes* with all their Baggage; and the reſt of the Troops formed the Rear: And after this manner they began that extraordinary Affair of carrying Veſſels by Land, which (if it were permitted us to uſe Metaphors which are ſometimes met with in Hiſtory) might be ſaid to begin now to float upon the Shoulders of Men, among the Waves formed by the different Movements, which the Inequality of the Ground occaſioned. An admirable Invention of *Cortez*, then put in practice! but which, when related, looks more like a Dream than a Reality.

IN the mean time, *Gonzalo de Sandoval* ſet forwards for *Tlaſcala*, and ſtopped one day in *Zulepeque*, a ſmall Town at a little diſtance from the Road; which refuſed Obedience, and was beſides the very Place where thoſe poor *Spaniards* of *Vera Cruz*, who were going to *Mexico*, were betrayed and murthered. He had orders, either to chaſtize or ſubject that Town in his March; but the Army had no ſooner turned their faces that Way, than the Inhabitants abandoned the Place, and fled to the Mountains. *Sandoval* ſent three or four Companies of *Tlaſcalans*, with ſome *Spaniards*, in purſuit of the Fugitives; and entring the Town, his Anger and Impatience increaſed at the lamentable Marks he met with of their paſt Barbarity: on one of the Walls he found theſe Words written with a

Coal, *In this House the unhappy* Juan Juste *was taken, with many others his Companions.* And a little after, in one of their Temples, he found the Heads of those *Spaniards* dried in the Fire to preserve them from Corruption: A dreadful Spectacle! which giving a fresh Idea of their terrible Death, made the Images and Representations of the Devil appear still more hideous. At this sight, Pity inspired them with Rage, and *Sandoval* resolved to march out with all his Men, and revenge that execrable Cruelty with the utmost Rigour. He had already given his orders, when the Companies which he had before detached, returned with a great number of Prisoners, Men, Women, and Children, having killed upon the Mountains all who endeavoured to escape, or did not immediately surrender. These miserable Wretches, bound, and almost dead with fear, testified their Repentance by Tears, and pitiful Outcries; they threw themselves at the feet of the *Spaniards*, and quickly moved them to compassion. *Sandoval* made his Officers intreat him, that the Prisoners might set the greater value upon their Pardon; and, in fine, he caused them to be unbound, and accepted their Submissions; the Cazique, and the most considerable Men among them, engaging for the whole Town, to be obedient to the King: of which Engagement they afterwards discharged themselves very faithfully, either through Fear or Acknowledgment.

AFTER this, *Sandoval* ordered his Men to gather up the miserable Remains of the sacrificed *Spaniards*, and give them burial, and continued his March to the Frontiers of *Tlascala*, where he arrived without any considerable Accident. *Martin Lopez* and *Chichemecal*, with the *Tlascalans* drawn up in rank and file, came forth to receive him: The two Armies saluted each other by Discharges and Shouts, and afterwards by Embraces, and particular Civilities. Some necessary time of Rest was allowed to the Troops newly arrived; after which, *Sandoval* directed the March, giving the Vanguard to the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* which came with him, the Main Body to the *Tamenes*, with sufficient Numbers to defend their Flanks; and *Chichemecal* with his Troops brought up the Rear: But the young Man was displeased that he was not placed in a more advanced Post; and his Discontent went so far, as to give *Sandoval* suspicion of his quitting the Army: so that he was obliged to go to him, and take some pains to satisfy

tisfy him. He endeavoured to make him comprehend, that his Poſt was the moſt honourable, as being the moſt dangerous; for that in all probability the *Mexicans* would endeavour to fall upon the Rear. But this did not in the leaſt ſatisfy him; on the contrary, he replied, *That as at the Aſſault of* Mexico, *he intended to be the firſt that ſhould ſet his foot within the Breach, he deſired always to march in the Front, and give an example to his Troops*: So that, in fine, *Sandoval* was obliged to march with him, to add to the Honour of the Rear. A remarkable Point of Vanity! and one of thoſe which are wont to produce the greateſt Inconveniencies in Armies; for the principal Duty of a Soldier is Obedience, and true Valour has its bounds preſcribed by Reaſon, which always carries a brave Man to face the Dangers which approach him, with an unſhaken Reſolution, but doth not in the leaſt oblige him to go to ſeek them.

THE Army marched in the ſame Order it at firſt ſet out, thro' the Enemies Country; and tho' the *Mexicans* ſhowed themſelves ſometimes upon diſtant Hills, they did not venture to come to an engagement, but thought their Cries and Menaces a ſufficient Exploit.

AT a little diſtance from *Tezeuco* the Army made a halt, out of complaiſance to *Chichemecal*, who deſired ſome time of *Sandoval* to adorn himſelf with his beſt Feathers and Jewels, and ordered all his Officers to do the ſame; telling them, *That as they were now drawing near to Action, Soldiers ought to celebrate ſuch a Seaſon as a Feſtival*: A Rodomontade well enough becoming his Pride and Years. *Hernan Cortez* went out of the City, attended by the King of *Tezeuco* and all his Captains, to receive this ſo much deſired Succour; and after he had careſſed the Chiefs, and allowed ſome time for the Acclamations of the Soldiers, he made his Entry with all Solemnity: The *Tamenes* marched in Files like the Soldiers; the Planks, Iron-Work, and other Materials were ſtored ſeparately in a great Work-Houſe, prepared for that purpoſe near the Canals. The whole Army rejoiced at the ſafe arrival of theſe Preparations ſo neceſſary for the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, which was equally deſired by all. *Cortez* returned thanks to God, who rewarded the Piety of his Intentions with Hopes, or rather Aſſurances, of Victory.

MARTIN

MARTIN LOPEZ immediately applied himself to the second Part in the formation of the Brigantines, and had new Workmen appointed him for the joining of the Planks, and other Work belonging to the building of a Ship. But *Cortez* understanding by the Master-Workmen, that it would be at least twenty Days before the Brigantines could be fit for Service, he resolved to employ that time in viewing personally the Country about the Lake, and what Posts were fit to be seized, to prevent any Succours from *Mexico*; and withall, to do what damage he could to the Enemy in his March. He communicated this Design to his Captains, and it being approved by all, he immediately made a disposition to execute it; leaving *Sandoval* Governour of *Tezeuco*, with particular Orders to forward the building of the Brigantines. This Captain was qualified for every thing, and, by the multitude of Business in which *Cortez* employ'd him, he sufficiently showed the great opinion he had of his Courage and Capacity.

WHILST *Cortez* was considering what Officers and Troops to take with him on this Expedition, *Chichemecal* desired an audience; and without knowing that Preparations were making to take the field, told him, *That Men like him, born for War, were ill satisfied with living idly in their Quarters, especially after having passed five Days without drawing the Sword: That his Men were refreshed, and desired to show themselves to their Enemy; and that, moved by their Instances, and the Ardour of his own Courage, he humbly requested to be ordered immediately upon some Expedition, wherein he might give proofs of his Valour, and divert himself with the* Mexicans, *until the time came of compleating their Destruction, at the Assault of their City.* *Cortez* had already resolved to take him with him, but this unseasonable Vanity displeased him; and as he was not very well satisfied with his Behaviour upon the Road, (of which *Sandoval* had informed him) he answered him in a kind of raillery, *That he had not only concluded upon an Action of importance, wherein he might assuage that Ardour which inflamed him, but that he was likewise resolved to accompany him, to be a witness of his Exploits.* *Cortez* had a natural dislike to arrogant Boasters, true Valour being seldom seen without Modesty: nevertheless, he was sensible that these Transports of Bravery were proper to his Years, being the Effect of youthful Blood, and the common Fault of young

young Soldiers, who have met with Succeſs in their firſt Tryals, and whoſe want of Experience makes them think Valour to be Fool-hardineſs, and Fool-hardineſs to be their Profeſſion.

CHAP. XV.

Hernan Cortez *marches to* Yaltocan, *where he meets with Reſiſtance; he overcomes that Difficulty, and goes forward with his Army to* Tacuba, *and after having vanquiſhed the* Mexicans *in ſeveral Engagements, makes his Retreat.*

IT was thought proper to begin the Expedition by the taking of *Yaltocan*, a Town five Leagues diſtant from *Tezeuco*, upon one of the little Lakes which diſcharged itſelf into the great one. It was of importance to chaſtiſe the Inhabitants of this Place, becauſe ſome few days before they had returned an inſolent Anſwer, and wounded the Meſſengers who were ſent to them with Offers of Peace, and to require their Obedience; and becauſe their Puniſhment might have an influence upon the reſt of the *Indians* thereabouts. *Cortez* began his March after having heard Maſs, (whereat all the *Spaniards* aſſiſted) leaving particular Inſtructions with *Sandoval*, and giving ſome friendly advice to the King of *Tezeuco*, *Xicotencal*, and other Chiefs of the Nations who ſtayed behind in the City. He took with him the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado*, and *Chriſtoval de Olid*, with two hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, twenty Horſe, and a ſplendid, numerous Body of the Nobles of *Tezeuco*. *Chichemecal* likewiſe attended him with his fifteen thouſand *Tlaſcalans*, to which were join'd five thouſand Men of thoſe commanded by *Xicotencal*. They had not marched above four Leagues before they diſcovered the *Mexicans* drawn up in Order of

Battel, and divided into ſeveral groſs Battalions, with a deſign, as it ſeem'd, to defend in the open Field the Place threatned. But upon the firſt Diſcharge of the Fire-Arms and Croſs-Bows, which was followed by an Attack of the Horſe, they were put into ſuch diſorder, that being charged by the whole Army, they were utterly broken and defeated in ſo ſhort a time, that it was ſcarce perceivable they made any reſiſtance; the greateſt Part ſaved themſelves upon the Mountains, others threw themſelves into the Lake, and ſome retreated to the Town of *Yaltocan*, leaving a great number of Dead and Wounded upon the Field of Battel, and ſome Priſoners, who were immediately ſent to *Tezeuco*.

THE Aſſault upon the Town was deferred till the next Day, and the Army poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome Houſes that ſtood near, where they paſſed the Night without any extraordinary Accident. When Day appear'd, they found the Difficulty of the Enterprize greater than they imagined; the Town was ſituated in the very Lake, and had a communication with the Land by a Cauſey, or Stone-Bridge, the Water being likewiſe eaſily forded in that Place: but the *Mexicans* who guarded that Poſt, had broke the Cauſey, and had beſides made a Ditch ſo deep, that it was impoſſible to paſs over it any other way than by ſwimming. *Cortez* advanced full of aſſurance to carry the Place at once, and when he found this unhappy Obſtacle in his way, he was for a while both confounded and vexed; but the Railleries and Scoffings with which the Enemy celebrated their Security, made him ſee that he could not deſiſt from his Undertaking, without manifeſt hazard to his Reputation.

HE was contriving how to fill up the Ditch with Faſcines and Earth, when one of the *Indians* of *Tezeuco* gave him to underſtand, that a little higher up there was a Shoal, where the Water ſcarce covered the Ground. *Cortez* took the Man along with him for a Guide, and immediately marched to the Place: The Depth of the Water was try'd, and though found greater than was related, yet not unfordable. He ordered two Companies of about fifty or ſixty *Spaniards* to make the experiment, with ſuch a number of the Allies as he thought neceſſary to make head againſt the Troops he ſaw advancing to diſpute the Paſſage. He remained himſelf on the Shore, with his Army drawn up,

up, that he might ſend ſuccour as occaſion required, and ſecure the Field againſt any Eruption of the *Mexicans.*

THE Enemy perceiving that our Army was going to gain this Paſſage, which they had endeavoured to conceal, advanced to defend it with their Slings and Arrows, wounding ſome Soldiers, and giving enough to do to thoſe who fought in the Water, which in ſome places took them up to the middle. Near the Town there was a pretty large Plain, free from Water, and our Men with Fire-Arms, who marched in the Front, were no ſooner landed, but the Enemy retired into the Place, and in the little time that the reſt of the Detachment were coming a-ſhore, they entirely quitted it, throwing themſelves into their Canoes with ſo much haſte, that the *Spaniards* entered the Town without oppoſition. The Pillage did not laſt long, (tho' permitted, as a part of the Chaſtiſement) becauſe the Inhabitants had left nothing in their Houſes, but what they could not carry off; ſome Loads, however, of Corn and Salt were tranſported to the Army, together with a great Quantity of Cotton-Clothes, and ſome ſlight Jewels of Gold, which the Owners either forgot, or deſpiſed. The Captains had no orders to keep poſſeſſion of the Town, but to puniſh the Inhabitants; and therefore ſtaying only ſo long as was neceſſary to perform their Commiſſion, they re-paſſed the Ditch at the ſame Place, having firſt ſet fire to the Temples and principal Buildings. The General approved of this Conduct, believing that the Flames of this Place would ſtrike terror into the Fugitives, and be a warning to the neighbouring Towns of the Danger that threatned them.

THE Army continued their march, and lodged that Night near *Colbatitlan*, a conſiderable Town, which the next day they found diſpeopled. The *Mexicans* ſhewed themſelves, but in a Place where they could neither attack, nor be attacked. The ſame thing happened at *Tenayuca*, and afterwards at *Eſcapuzalco*, large Towns ſituate upon the Lake-ſide, which they alſo found forſaken. The Army lodged a Night in each of them, and *Cortez* took exact notice of the Diſtances, and of whatever elſe might be uſeful to his Deſign, without ſuffering any damage to be done to the Buildings, that it might be ſeen he uſed rigour only where he found reſiſtance. The City of *Tacuba* was not above half a League diſtant from this laſt Place, and diſputed with *Tezeuco* for largeneſs, and number of

In-

Inhabitants. It was ſituated upon the extremity of the great Cauſey, where the *Spaniards* had formerly ſuffered ſo much, and was a Poſt of great importance, as being of all the Towns upon the Lake, the neareſt to *Mexico*, and the Key of the Road which the Army muſt neceſſarily paſs, in order to form the Siege of that Capital City; but at the preſent the General had no thoughts of poſſeſſing himſelf of it, by reaſon it was too far from *Tezeuco* for Succours to come to him from thence. His Intention was only to view it, and to conſider attentively what meaſures of Prevention and Caution were to be taken, when the time came, of chaſtiſing the Cazique for his former Injury; whoſe exemplary Puniſhment would be of great uſe to quell the Inſolence, and facilitate the Subjection of the Inhabitants.

THE Army advanced in the ſame good Order as if they were marching to a much more difficult Enterprize, and before they arrived at the Place, they diſcovered a great Body of Troops, without number, compoſed of thoſe *Mexicans* who had all along obſerved the march of the *Spaniards*, and of others who were appointed to aſſiſt the Gariſon of *Tacuba*. The City not being able to contain all theſe Troops, they were deſirous to attempt the defence of its Walls, by a Battel in the open Field. All their Battalions advanced at once, and charged with ſo much fierceneſs and ſuch loud cries, as might have given concern to Men leſs acquainted with the deceitful Appearances of their firſt Attacks; but having received the Diſcharge of the Fire-Arms (which always ſtruck more terror than it did hurt) and being farther terrified by the Horſe, they were eaſily diſordered, ſo that the reſt of the Army coming up, routed their Van-Guard, and pierced to the very Center of the Multitude; notwithſtanding which, they obſtinately diſputed the Victory for a conſiderable time: but at laſt they all turned their backs, the greater part flying to the City, and the reſt taking different Paths, with no other thought, but how to avoid the Danger.

THE *Spaniards* remained Maſters of the Field of Battel, and employed the remaining part of the Day in chuſing an advantageous Poſt, where they might lodge themſelves during the Night; but at break of day the Enemy appeared again in the Field, with a deſign to retrieve the Honour they had loſt the day before. The General ranged his Troops,

Troops, and giving the ſame Orders he had done the preceeding day, overthrew them with greater facility, as having their former Defeat and Flight freſh in their Memory.

CORTEZ puſh'd them with Sword and Pike into the vevery City, and following cloſe at their heels with the *Spaniards* and ſome Companies of the Allies, maintain'd the Fight in the inner part of it, until, night approaching, he drew off his Troops to their former Lodgment; permitting the Soldiers to plunder ſome Houſes they had taken poſſeſſion of, and leaving them in Flames, partly to ſhow his Indignation, and partly to keep the Enemy employ'd, that he might make his retreat without oppoſition.

CORTEZ remain'd five days in his Poſt near *Tacuba*, where the Enemy made him a viſit every day, and were always beat back to the City. His Intention was to waſte the Garriſon by theſe Sallies, and, finding by the abatement of their Ardor, and the faintneſs of their Efforts, that their numbers were greatly diminiſh'd, he reſolv'd to attack them in his turn. Orders were already given, and every thing diſpos'd for the Aſſault, when he ſaw a very conſiderable Body of *Mexicans* advancing upon the Cauſey. It was neceſſary to defeat this Succour before he cou'd carry on his Deſigns againſt the Town. He reſolv'd therefore to expect them at a diſtance from the Cauſey, that he might engage them, when they were all drawn up upon the main Land, and make the greater ſlaughter of them in a place where they would be ſo ſtreightned in their retreat; but theſe *Mexicans* had orders (and it was ſaid, from the Emperor *Guatimozin*) to ſend ſome Troops before the reſt, who ſuffering themſelves to be charg'd, and then retreating, ſhould entice the *Spaniards* to the purſuit and endeavour to draw them upon the Cauſey. This Deſign they compaſs'd with notable dexterity; for ſome of them advancing in diſorder to the main Land, and forming themſelves after a confus'd manner, *Cortez* miſtook their contriv'd Stratagem for the Effect of Fear, and leaving part of his Army to make head againſt the Garriſon of *Tacuba*, march'd directly to the Cauſey, ſuppoſing that he ſhould eaſily rid himſelf of theſe Enemies, and ſo be able to return to the Aſſault upon the City. The *Mexicans*, who were advanc'd upon the firm Land, turn'd their Backs upon the firſt approach of the *Spaniards*, and fled to join the reſt of their Troops; the whole Body of which, as ſeem-

ingly terrify'd, retir'd by little and little, in order to draw the *Spaniards* upon the Causey. The General, led away by these favourable appearances, pursu'd them without making sufficient reflection; for it was not long since the accident of *Iztapalapa*, nor could he be ignorant, that by these feign'd Flights the *Indians* often drew their Enemies into Ambuscades; but the frequent repetition of Victory (sometimes dangerous to Conquerors) did not, at that time, permit him to consider all the Circumstances that distinguish between a pretended and a real Fear.

THE *Mexicans* rally'd and made head when they perceiv'd *Cortez* and his Troops within the Causey, and whilst they endeavour'd to keep him in play by their resistance, innumerable Canoes sally'd out of *Mexico*, and invested both sides of the Causey, so that the *Spaniards* were at once attack'd both in Front and Flank. *Cortez* being now sensible of his Imprudence (though somewhat late) found it necessary to retire, withholding his Men from advancing further upon the Causey, and making a Front to the Canoes on each side. The Enemies were furnish'd with Pikes very dangerous, some of them being arm'd with the points of the Swords taken from the *Spaniards* the night of the retreat. Many of our Men were wounded, and they were very near losing a Colours; for in the heat of the Fight, Ensign *Juan Volante* fell into the Lake, by a blow of a Pike, and the *Indians*, who were nearest, seizing upon him, put him into a Canoe with a design to present him to their Emperor: He suffer'd himself to be carried away, feigning to submit; but when he found himself at a sufficient distance from the rest of the Canoes, he recover'd his Arms, and disingaging himself from those who guarded him, by killing some of them, he threw himself into the Water, and swam ashore with his Colours, with equal Bravery and Good-fortune.

CORTEZ, with Sword in hand, expos'd himself to the greatest dangers, and brought off his Troops with little loss to the firm Land; having sufficiently reveng'd himself upon the *Indians* for their deceit in drawing him upon the Causey; upon which, and in the Lake, their loss was as great as they could have sustain'd in a fair and open Battle: but judging it rashness to return to the Enterprize upon *Tacuba*, in spite of the *Mexican* Reinforcement (which always kept in view) he thought of retiring

to

to *Tezeuco*, which, with the approbation of his Captains, he presently put in execution. The *Mexicans* did not venture to quit the Causey or their Canoes, 'till such time as the distance of our Army, gave them Courage to follow afar off; contenting themselves with sending forth great cries, in which fruitless Fatigue, all their Revenge ended. This Expedition was of great Importance, as well for the Damage done to the *Mexicans* in the several Engagements, as for the Knowledge the *Spaniards* gain'd of this part of the Country, of which it would be necessary afterwards to make themselves Masters. And altho' our Historian endeavours to obscure the Glory of it, it was of such great Consequence to *Cortez* with respect to his main Design, that he no sooner arrived at *Tezeuco*, but the Caziques of *Tucapan*, *Mascalzingo*, *Autlan*, and of other Towns upon the North-side of the Lake, came to make their Submission, and offer the Assistance of their Troops. A sure sign that the *Spaniards* came back with Reputation, which is an Acquisition of the greatest Advantage in War, and which gains upon the Minds of Men what Force of Arms cannot obtain without great Difficulty.

CHAP. XVI.

A Fresh Succour of Spaniards *arrives at* Tezeuco. Sandoval *marches to the Relief of* Chalco; *defeats the* Mexicans *twice in the open Field, and takes the Towns of* Guastepeque *and* Capistlan.

THE Prosperity of so many Successes was almost an evident Proof, that Heaven was interested in the Conquest of this Empire; nor could some favourable Accidents, wherein human Diligence had no share, be possibly thought to come from any other hand, being so well adapted to present Necessity, and so much beyond

yond all Expectation. A Vessel of considerable burthen, sent to *Hernan Cortez*, arrived at this time at *Vera Cruz* and in her *Julian de Alderete*, Native of *Tordesillas*, with the Character of the King's Treasurer; Father *Pedro Melgareio de Urrea*, a Regular of the Order of *St. Francis*, born at *Seville*; *Antonio de Caravaial*, *Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota*, *Alonzo Diaz de la Reguera*, and several other Soldiers of distinction, with a very considerable Succour of Arms and other Necessaries. They immediately marched to *Tlascala*, (the Ammunition being carried on the Shoulders of *Zempoallan Indians*,) and there they had an Escort given them to conduct them safe to *Tezeuco*, they themselves carrying thither the first News of their Arrival.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo says, That this Vessel came directly from *Spain:* and *Antonio de Herrera*, who makes mention of it, does not say who sent it, desiring perhaps to conceal his Ignorance by that Omission. It seems very unlikely that it should come to *Cortez* from *Spain*, without bringing Letters from his Father and his Agents; and more especially at a time when they might have informed him of the good Success of their Negociations, which account, according to these Authors, he did not receive 'till a long time after. I am inclined to believe, as more probable, that it came from *Santo Domingo*, whose Governours *Cortez* had inform'd of the Difficulties he was engaged in, as has been before observed; and the coming of a Treasurer for the King, does not in the least conclude any thing to the contrary: for it was properly within the Jurisdiction of those Governours to name such Officers as were to collect the Fifth, due to the Emperor; and their Authority extended over all those Conquests. But from whence soever this Succour came, it could not have arrived more opportunely; nor did *Cortez* miss to discern the true source of it, attributing to God not only his good Fortune in the Augmentation of his Forces, but the very Vigour of Mind, which he perceived in himself, and that marvellous Constancy, which tho' agreeable enough to his natural Courage, yet seem'd to him at this time the immediate Effect of a heavenly Influence.

AT this time there arrived Messengers, dispatch'd in great haste to *Cortez* from the Caziques of *Chalco* and *Thamanalco*, to demand Succour against a powerful Army, which the Enemy were providing in *Mexico* for subjecting the Towns

Towns of their Diſtricts, which adhered to the Intereſts of the *Spaniards*. *Guatimozin* had a great Inclination to Arms, and as appeared by other parts of his Conduct, applied himſelf intirely to the Arts of War. He was continually contriving means to get the Victory over his Enemies, and had conſidered that there was no better way to compaſs his Deſign, than by ſeizing on that Frontier, whereby he might cut off the Communication with *Tlaſcala*, and prevent any Succours coming from *Vera Cruz*; a Point of ſo much Conſequence, that *Cortez* found himſelf abſolutely obliged to protect theſe Allies, to whoſe Fidelity he owed the Preſervation of this neceſſary Paſs free from the *Mexicans*. He immediately diſpatch'd *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to their Relief, with three hundred *Spaniards*, twenty Horſe, and ſome Companies of *Tlaſcala* and *Tezeuco*, amounting to ſuch a number as he thought ſufficient, the Troops of thoſe Provinces being already in Arms.

SANDOVAL made no delay, but march'd with ſo much diligence, that his Succour arriv'd very opportunely: the Caziques had aſſembled all their Troops, which, joined to thoſe of *Sandoval*, made a very conſiderable body. The Enemy was not very far off, their Army having lodg'd the Night before at *Guaſtepeque*, and it was reſolv'd to attack them before they enter'd upon the Territories of *Chalco*. In the mean time, the *Mexicans* depending upon the Number of their Forces, and having learnt that the *Spaniards* were come to the ſupport of the *Chalqueſes*, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome Barancas or hollow Ways, in order to wait the coming of our Troops in a place where they might be ſecure againſt the Horſe. The *Spaniards* were ſenſible of the Difficulty, when they came to the Charge, and *Sandoval* ſtood in need of all his Reſolution and all the Valour of his Troops to diſlodge the Enemy from that Poſt, which they did with Sword in Hand, but not without ſome Loſs: for on this occaſion died bravely fighting a *Spaniſh* Soldier, call'd *Juan Dominguez*, much eſteemed in the Army for his ſingular Skill in the managing of Horſes.

THE *Mexicans* loſt a great number in this Diſpute; however, they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to rally and draw up upon the Plain: But *Sandoval* having ſoon overcome the difficulty of the Paſſage, attack'd them ſo briskly, that he broke them before they could form. The

Van-guard of the Enemy continued the Fight for ſome time with deſperate Fury; and if their Reſiſtance had laſted a little longer, this Combat might have been call'd a Battle: but this diſorderly Multitude ſoon gave way, and diſpers'd, and the *Spaniards* followed the purſuit with ſo much Vigour, that the *Mexicans* loſt the greateſt part of their Troops. *Sandoval* remained Maſter of the Field, and choſe a place for his Army to halt in, and take a little Reſt, reſolving to advance that Night to *Guaſtepeque*, whither the greateſt part of the Fugitives were retired.

BUT ſcarce had the Troops began to enjoy the repoſe they ſo much wanted for the Recovery of their Strength, when the Scouts, who had been ſent out to view the Avenues, return'd, and gave the Alarm ſo warmly, that it was neceſſary to form the Army with all Expedition. A body of fourteen or fifteen thouſand *Mexicans* were advancing in good Order, and were ſo near, that the *Spaniards* could hear the ſound of their Drums and Horns. Theſe Troops were ſuppoſed to be ſent as a Reinforcement to thoſe which had march'd from *Mexico* before, becauſe it was impoſſible for the latter, who had been entirely broken, to have form'd themſelves in ſuch good Order in ſo ſhort a time, nor was the bold Air with which they advanced, conſiſtent with the Terror of ſuch a Defeat. The *Spaniards* advanced to receive theſe new Comers, and attack'd them ſo ſeaſonably, that putting their Front in diſorder, they made way for the Horſe to charge without any Risk; who according to cuſtom made ſuch a Slaughter of the Enemy, that they were ſoon obliged to turn their Backs, flying in Confuſion to the Town of *Guaſtepeque*, where they believ'd themſelves in Security; but the *Spaniards* followed them ſo cloſe (killing all they overtook) that they entered the place at the ſame time with the Fugitives, and maintain'd the Entrance, till the reſt of the Troops coming up, they divided themſelves into the ſeveral Streets, and with Sword in Hand drove the Enemy out of the Town: The *Mexicans* loſt great Numbers by their obſtinate Reſiſtance, and the reſt who fled, were ſo terrified, that in a little time there was not one to be ſeen thereabouts.

THIS Town was ſo large, that *Sandoval* was reſolv'd to quarter there that Night, and the *Spaniards* with the greateſt part of their Allies lay under cover. The Victory was the more joyful, becauſe the Soldiers were allow'd to plun-

plunder, provided they took nothing that was burdenſome, or would embaraſs them in the uſe of their Arms. The Cazique of the Town, and ſome of the principal Inhabitants, came a little after, and made their Submiſſion, excuſing what was paſt by the force put upon them by the *Mexicans*, and ſhewing their Sincerity by coming unarm'd, and ſurrendring themſelves to the diſcretion of the Conquerors. The *Spaniards* receiv'd them courteouſly, and after *Sandoval* had ſent out to view the Country, which was found quiet; he reſolv'd, with the Approbation of his Captains, to make his Retreat: but the People of *Chalco*, who had better Spies abroad, receiv'd advice that the *Mexicans*, who had eſcaped from the paſt Engagements, were all joined in *Capiſtlan*, and proteſted to him that to retreat now was to leave them in the ſame danger from which he came to deliver them. Upon this News, he thought it neceſſary to go and diſperſe this Body of Fugitives, before they ſhould be reinforced with freſh Troops.

CAPISTLAN was but two Leagues diſtant from *Guaſtepeque* on the ſide of *Mexico*. The Town was ſtrong by Nature, being ſeated upon the top of a great Rock, difficult of acceſs; with a River on the other ſide, which running with rapidity from the neighbouring Mountains, waſh'd the Precipices of the Rock. When the Troops came up, they found the *Mexicans* prepar'd for their defence, and that they had cover'd all the top of this Eminence with Soldiers; who celebrated their ſecurity with loud Cries, and diſcharging ſome Arrows, not ſo much to wound, as to irritate the *Spaniards*: *Sandoval* reſolv'd to drive the Enemy from this Poſt, that he might leave the neighbouring Provinces free from any fear of a new Invaſion; and finding there were only three ways by which he could make the attack, which were equally difficult, he order'd the Troops of *Chalco* and *Tlaſcala* to advance firſt, as People more accuſtomed to thoſe rugged Paſſes. But they did not obey with the ſame readineſs they us'd to do, ſhowing by the ſlowneſs of their motion, that they thought the difficulty of this Undertaking ſuperior to their Force; ſo that *Sandoval*, impatient of delay, threw himſelf into the danger at the head of the *Spaniards*, which ſo animated the *Indians*, that, finding by this Example the unreaſonableneſs of their Fear, they advanc'd by the moſt diffi-

difficult parts of the Rock, mounting it with more eaſe than the *Spaniards*, and fighting with equal bravery. The way was ſo ſteep in ſome places, that they could not make uſe of their Hands, without fear of their Feet ſlipping, and the Stones which the Enemy roll'd down from the top, wounded more than their Darts and Arrows: nevertheleſs the Fire-Arms, and Croſs-Bows, clear'd the way for the Pikes and Swords, and the Aſſailants, by their valour and conſtancy, forcing their way againſt all oppoſition, gain'd the top of the Hill at the ſame time that the *Mexicans* were retiring into the Town, ſo diſpirited, that they ſcarce made a diſpoſition to defend it, or defended it ſo weakly, that they were driven to the edge of the Precipice, where all that did not fling themſelves down were put to the Sword; and the ſlaughter was ſo great upon this occaſion, that for a while (according to the moſt exact relations) there ran ſtreams of *Mexican* Blood into the River, in ſuch abundance, that the *Spaniards* who went down to quench their thirſt, were oblig'd to refrain from drinking, or to do it with horror.

SANDOVAL had his Armour broke in two places by Stones, and ſome *Spaniards* were very much wounded; among whom, *Andrez de Tapia*, and *Hernando de Oſma*, were the moſt conſiderable, or beſt deſerv'd to be remember'd. The Confederates ſuffer'd moſt; becauſe that part of the Rock by which they attack'd was very difficult to mount, and they ran upon the Danger more precipitately.

SANDOVAL having gain'd three or four Victories in ſo ſhort a time, and the *Mexicans* being defeated and chas'd out of thoſe Provinces that needed the Protection of his Arms, he began his March the next day for *Tezeuco* by the ſame Road he came, and arrived there without any Oppoſition.

AS ſoon as the News of his Retreat was brought to *Mexico*, the Emperor ſent a new Army againſt the Province of *Chalco*, which plainly ſhewed the great deſire he had to cut off the *Spaniards* Communication with *Tlaſcala*. The *Chalqueſes* had news of this Invaſion, at a time when they cou'd have no dependance but upon their own Arms; and aſſembling in haſte the Troops they had ready, with thoſe they could get from their Allies, they took the Field with more Reſolution than formerly, and obſerving a better Order in the diſpoſition of their Men. The two Armies

mies advanc'd towards each other, and fighting with equal Bravery, the Battle was long and bloody; but in the end the *Chalqueſes* gain'd the Victory, and tho' they loſt great numbers in the Action, they ſlew more of the *Mexicans*, and remain'd maſters of the Field. The news of this Victory was receiv'd with great applauſe at *Tezeuco*; and *Cortez* was particularly pleas'd to find that his Allies were in a condition to ſupport themſelves, and that their own Forces were ſufficient to defend them. This happy Succeſs was principally owing to their Valour, but the Order and good Diſcipline which they obſerv'd in the Fight, did much contribute to the Victory, and it was of great Importance to thoſe People to have been Conquerors in other Battles, wherein they loſt the Fear they had conceiv'd of the commanding Nation, and by the help of the *Spaniards*, had diſcover'd the Secret, That *Mexicans* cou'd be beaten like other Men.

CHAP. XVII.

Cortez *marches out of* Tezeuco, *to view the Lake on the ſide of* Suchimilco: *He has two dangerous Engagements with the Enemy, who had fortified themſelves upon the Mountains of* Guaſtepeque.

CORTEZ could have wiſh'd, that *Sandoval* had not return'd without penetrating as far as *Suchimilco* upon the Lake, which was but a few Leagues diſtant from *Guaſtepeque*, it being of great Importance to take a View of that City, where there was a very broad Cauſey, which join'd the principal ones that led to *Mexico*. And as the finiſhing of the Brigantines would ſtill take up ſome Time, he reſolv'd to employ it in this Expedition. He alſo conſider'd the Advantage of covering the Paſſage to *Tlaſcala*, and anima-

ting the People of *Chalco*, who seem'd apprehensive of new Invasions. *Cortez* charg'd himself with the execution of this Design, taking with him *Christoval de Olid*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Andres de Tapia*, and *Julian de Alderete*, with three hundred *Spaniards*, and such Troops of *Tezeuco* and *Tlascala* as he judg'd necessary, supposing he should find the Cazique of *Chalco*, with his Allies, in Arms.

IN his Absence, he left the Military Command with *Sandoval*, and the Civil with the Cazique *Don Hernando*, who was always Submissive and Affectionate; and tho' his Age and Genius inclin'd him to more active Employments, he had sufficient understanding to know, that it was more meritorious to obey.

HERNAN CORTEZ set out from *Tezeuco*, on the 5th of *April*, 1521, and hearing no News of the *Mexicans*, march'd with so much diligence, that he arriv'd the next Night at *Chalco*, where he found the Confederate Caziques assembled in the City, and under an Alarm, because they did not expect any Succour from the *Spaniards*, and had discover'd on the Side of *Suchimilco* a new Army of *Mexicans*, much stronger than any of the former, who were coming with a Design to ravage and possess themselves of their Country. The Demonstrations of their Joy were equal to the Trouble they were in before: They threw themselves at the feet of the *Spaniards*, and lifted up their Eyes to the Heavens, to the favourable Disposition of which, (according to their Ideas) they attributed this sudden Change of their Fortune. *Cortez* intended to make use of their Arms, and therefore leaving them in the Opinion, that he was come only to succour them, he did what he could to recover them out of the fright they had conceiv'd, and by applauding their Victory, to give them a high conceit of their own Bravery.

THESE Caziques had their advanc'd Centrys and some Spies in the Enemies Country, who passing the Word from one to another, gave Notice continually of the Enemies Motions; and by this means they understood, that the *Mexicans*, being inform'd of the Arrival of the *Spaniards* at *Chalco*, had made a Halt upon the Mountains, which were in the Way, dividing their Troops, to garrison some Fortresses on the Tops of those Eminences that were most difficult of Access. This Conduct of the *Mexicans* might have been design'd, either to conceal the Number of their Troops,

Troops, till ſuch time as *Cortez* ſhould retire, that they might afterwards fall upon his Allies; or, what ſeems more probable, to wait the coming of their Enemies, in a Place where they had the Advantage of the Ground: But in both theſe Caſes it ſeem'd abſolutely neceſſary to attack them in their Fortifications, that no time might be loſt in marching to *Suchimilco*.

WITH this reſolution the Army marched the ſame night to a Town, deſerted by its Inhabitants, at the Foot of the Mountain, where it was join'd by the Troops of *Chalco* and of the adjacent Country: A numerous Body of good Soldiers, which animated the reſt of the Nations, who were advancing to the Defilées in ſome concern. At the firſt appearance of the Day, they began to enter the Mountains, by a narrow and difficult Path, between two ridges of Rocks. Some *Mexicans*, who came to provoke the *Spaniards*, ſhowed themſelves upon the Tops of the Rocks on both ſides The Army march'd ſlowly on, filing off, as the Nature of the Ground required, 'till they came to a Plain, at an opening of the Hills, which at ſome diſtance cloſed again. Here *Cortez* form'd his Men as well as he could, having diſcover'd on the higheſt Eminence a conſiderable Fortreſs, where the Enemy had lodg'd themſelves in ſuch numbers, as might have ſtruck a Dread, tho' in a leſs advantageous Poſt. Their deſign was to provoke the *Spaniards*, and draw them on to the Attack, in the midſt of thoſe Precipices, where the difficulty of the Way was no leſs dangerous than the Arms of the Enemy.

CORTEZ was ſtung to the quick by the inſulting railleries of the Enemy, who laugh'd at his Delay, nor could he bear, with Patience, their reproaching the *Spaniards* with Cowardice; ſo that giving way to Anger (ſeldom a good Counſellor) he march'd his Troops to the Foot of the Mountain, where, without ſtaying to chuſe the leaſt difficult Path, he ordered two Companies of Muſqueteers and Croſs-Bows, to advance to the Attack, under the Command of Captain *Pedro de Barba*, accompanied by ſome Soldiers of particular Diſtinction, who voluntarily offer'd themſelves, among which was our *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, who not ſatisfy'd with the Reputation of Valour he had already eſtabliſh'd, put in for a ſhare in every difficult Undertaking.

THE *Mexicans* retired as the *Spaniards* mounted the Hill, feigning to be in ſome diſorder, that they might entice

them

them on to the most dangerous part of the Precipice; which they had no sooner effected, but they returned, with most horrible Crys, letting fall from the Top such a terrible Shower of great Stones and entire Rocks, as barr'd up the Way, after having born down every thing it met with. This first charge did great damage, and it would have been much greater, if Ensign *Christoval del Coral*, and *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who advanc'd before the rest, had not retir'd to the hollow of a Rock, and advis'd the rest to halt, and leave the Path, it being impossible to go on, without falling into greater danger. The General was sensible, that there was no continuing the Attack that way, and fearing they would all have perish'd, sent them Orders immediately to retire, which they did with the same Danger. This Action cost the Lives of four *Spaniards*; Captain *Pedro de Barba* was hurt, and many others wounded. *Cortez* was inwardly fretted at this disgrace, as being in effect owing to his own imprudence; but in publick he call'd it the Chance of War, hiding the weakness of his Excuses with menaces against the Enemy.

HE strait resolv'd to advance with some of his Captains, in search of a less dangerous Path, whereby to gain the top of the Mountain: And to this resolution he was equally carried, by a desire of revenging his loss, and by the inconveniency of continuing his march with the Enemy at his back. Nevertheless, he could not put this design in execution; for at the same time he discover'd an Ambuscade, which gave him an opportunity of coming sooner to an Engagement. A Body of the Enemy's Troops, which had been posted on the other side of the Mountain, coming down and possessing themselves of a Wood near the Road, watch'd an opportunity to charge the Rear of the *Spaniards* when they should see them engag'd in the Defilées; and had also given notice to those above, to come down and attack the Van-guard at the same time: And this Stratagem of the Barbarians shows, what Masters Hatred and Malice are, in the Arts of War.

HERNAN CORTEZ caused his Troops to make the same movement, as if he design'd to continue his march, laying open his Flanks to the *Mexicans* in Ambuscade, and when he thought they were secure, turned short upon them: But they fled so nimbly, and were so favoured by the thickness of the Woods, that he did them little damage; and perceiving at the same time, that the Fugitives took the

Road

Road of *Guaſtepeque*, he detach'd his Cavalry for the purſuit, and made the Infantry advance ſome Paces. This Motion ſerv'd to diſcover that the *Mexicans* above had abandoned their Fort, and were following the March of the *Spaniards* by the Tops of the Mountains; ſo that the Inconvenience of leaving the Enemy behind, now ceaſing, the Army purſued their way without any other oppoſition, than the Crys of the Enemy, till about a League and a half forward, they came to another Fortreſs like the former, which the *Mexicans* had garriſon'd; and tho' their Cries and Menaces ſufficiently provok'd the General, it was too near Night, and he had a fatal Experience too freſh in his Memory, to engage with them a-new, without further precaution.

HIS Army encamped near a little forſaken Village on the Top of an Eminence, from whence they could diſcover the neighbouring Mountains. The Soldiers ſuffer'd very much in this Place for want of Water, and Thirſt was an Enemy, alone ſufficient to diſturb their Hours of Reſt. In the Morning they found relief from ſome Springs which were not far from the Camp; and *Cortez* commanding the Army to follow him, advanced to view the Fortreſs of which the Enemies had poſſeſſed themſelves, and found it more inacceſſible than the former: for the Road in going up made ſeveral Turns, and was throughout expoſed to the Darts of the Enemy. But obſerving another Eminence within Musket-ſhot, which the Enemy had neglected, he commanded *Verdugo Barba* and *Alderete*, to mount with the Musketeers, and ſeize it, in order to embarraſs the *Mexicans* in their Defence of the other Hill. This was preſently put in execution, by taking a Road covered from the Enemy, who frighted at the number of Men who were kill'd by the firſt diſcharge of the Fire-Arms, thought only of retiring to a conſiderable Town joining to their Fortreſs. The *Spaniards* below gueſs'd the truth of what had happened by the ceaſing of the Enemies Cries; and as they were preparing for the Attack, diſcovered from the neighbouring Height, that the *Mexicans* had entirely abandoned their Fort, and were flying to the diſtant parts of the Country: ſo that *Cortez* thought it unneceſſary to take a view of that Poſt, which he did not deſign to keep, and was of no Importance after is was quitted by the Enemy.

BUT before the Army renew'd their March, they diſcovered ſeveral Women on the top of the Hill, calling out

for Peace, hanging out white Cloths, which they waved up and down, and accompanying these with other signs of Submission, that obliged *Cortez* to send for them. The Cazique immediately came down, and offer'd his Obedience, submitting not only the Fort where he resided, but the other also which they had left behind, and which belonged to his Jurisdiction. He made an Apology with the air of a Man that spoke Truth, and laid all the blame of the Resistance the Army had met with upon those Mountains on the *Mexicans*, who were too powerful for him. *Hernan Cortez* admitted his Excuses, either that he believ'd them true, or that he thought it not a proper time to examine them strictly. The Cazique seemed very much concerned that he should pass through his Territories without receiving the Submission of his Vassals; and *Cortez*, to satisfy him, was obliged to send two Companies of *Spaniards* to take possession in the Name of the Emperor, according to the custom observed at that time.

AFTER this Ceremony was over, which did not detain them long, the Army march'd on to *Guastepeque*, a populous Town, which *Gonzalo de Sandoval* had left in Peace, and which they found as full of Inhabitants, and as well stock'd with Provisions as, if it had been a time of Peace, or they had suffered nothing by Oppression from the *Mexicans*.

THE Cazique with the principal Inhabitants came to wait upon *Cortez*, to assure him of his Obedience, and invite him to accept of a Lodging he had prepared for the *Spaniards* in his own Palace, and other Lodgings in the City for the Commanders of the Confederate Troops; promising to supply the rest with all necessary Provisions, which he accordingly performed with great Prudence and Liberality.

HIS Palace was so sumptuous a Building, that it might vye with those of *Motezuma*, and so large, that all the *Spaniards* were lodged in it with ease. In the Morning he carried them into a Garden he kept for his Diversion (nothing inferior to that of *Iztapalapa*) whose Spaciousness and Fertility the *Spaniards* greatly admired, because it far exceeded their Expectation, and was afterwards spoke of as one of the Wonders of that new World: It was above half a League long, and near as much in Breadth; the Ground was level and uniform, and regularly divided into Plats, with

with all the Fruit-Trees and Plants, which that Country produced, with ſeveral great Ponds which received the Water of the neighbouring Mountains, and ſeveral Squares after the manner of Parterres full of Flowers and medicinal Herbs, cultivated with great care and placed in exact order; the Work of a powerful Lord, who had a taſte of Agriculture, and had ſtudied to heighten the Beauties of Nature with the Ornaments of Art.

CORTEZ endeavour'd to engage this Cazique in his Intereſt by ſome Preſents; but receiving Advice, as he was entering into the Garden, that the Enemy were expecting him at *Quatlavaca*, (a Town lying in the way he was to paſs) he took but little pleaſure in the Beauties of the Place, and gave Orders for the Army immediately to march, not without ſome Concern that he had ſtaid longer than he ought. For ſuch is the Nature of Care, with great difficulty to admit of Interruption, and if for a while diverted, to return again with greater violence.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Army paſſes on to Quatlavaca, *where the* Mexicans *receive a new Defeat; from thence to* Suchimilco, *where* Cortez *ſurmounts a great Difficulty, and is in danger of being loſt.*

QUATLAVACA was a populous Town, ſtrong by Nature, ſituate between Barrancas, or breakings of the Earth above eight Fathoms deep, which ſerv'd as a Ditch to the Place and Paſſages for the Water that deſcended from the Mountains. The Army arrived at this Place after having ſubdued all the Towns which lay in their way without any difficulty. The *Mexicans* had cut down the Bridges, and cover'd the Banks with ſuch a number of Soldiers, that the Paſſage ſeemed impoſſible. But *Cortez* drew up his Army

Army at a convenient diſtance, and while the *Spaniards* and Confederates endeavour'd to divert the Enemy with their Fire-Arms and Arrows, he went to view the Barranca; and finding it at ſome diſtance lower much narrower, he immediately ordered two or three Bridges to be made of Trees cut at the Root, which reach'd from one ſide to the other, and which laid together as well as was poſſible, made a way, tho' ſomewhat dangerous, for the Infantry to paſs. The *Spaniards* of the Vanguard leaving the *Tlaſcalans* to keep the Enemy in play, immediately paſs'd over and form'd a Battalion on the other ſide of the Ditch, which was continually augmented by the other Allies. But the *Mexicans* who were quickly ſenſible of their Negligence, poured down upon thoſe that had paſſed with ſo much Reſolution, that they had much to do to keep their ground; and the Succeſs had been very doubtful, if *Cortez* had not opportunely arrived, followed by *Olid*, *Alvarado*, and *Tapia*, who whilſt the Foot were getting over, had found out a Paſſage for the Horſe, which tho' a very difficult and dangerous one, was of great uſe in the extream danger to which the *Spaniards* were reduced.

THE Horſe wheel'd about in order to charge the *Mexicans* in the Rear, which they did, aſſiſted by ſome Foot brought to their Succour by *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*; who puſh'd on by his Courage, had paſſed the Ditch by the means of two or three Trees which were fallen down by their own weight, and lay a croſs the Barranca. Several *Spaniards* quitted the Skirmiſh to follow the Example of *Diaz*, as did a conſiderable number of *Indians*, who all mixed with the Horſe when they made their Charge.

BUT the *Mexicans*, who now ſaw the danger that threatned them in the midſt of their Fortifications, gave themſelves for loſt, and diſperſing, ſought only to eſcape in the beſt manner they could to the Mountains. They loſt great Numbers, both in the defence of the Ditch, and in their Flight; nevertheleſs the greateſt part ſaved themſelves among the Rocks and Precipices, where it was not poſſible to purſue them. The Town was found entirely abandoned, but with good ſtore of Proviſions, and ſome Spoils, which were given to the Soldiers. A little after, the Cazique and ſome of the chief Inhabitants who were willing to ſubmit, called to the *Spaniards* from the further ſide of the Ditch, deſiring leave to return to the Town, and prepare Quarters for the Troops;

Troops; which was immediately granted, and they were of uſe afterwards, rather by the notice they gave of the Enemy's Motions, and by their Knowledge of the Country, than for any want the *Spaniards* had of their Offers, or any dependance they had on their Excuſes, the neighbourhood of *Mexico* keeping them in a neceſſary Subjection.

EARLY the next Morning the Army took the Road of *Suchimilco*, a Place which deſerved the name of a City, ſeated on the edge of a Freſh-Water Lake, which had a communication with the great Lake; the Buildings were partly on the Land, and partly in the Water, where a great number of Canoes ſerved them to paſs from place to place: It was of great importance to take a view of this Poſt, which was within four Leagues of *Mexico*: but the March was very troubleſome; for after they had paſſed a Defilée three Leagues long, they came into a barren dry Country, where the Soldiers ſuffered very much for want of Water; the Fatigue of the March and the Heat of the Sun increaſing their Thirſt to ſuch a degree, that at their entrance into a Foreſt of Pines, they were inſenſible of any Relief from its Shade.

NEAR the Road they found ſome Houſes within the Juriſdiction of *Suchimilco*, built for Farm-Houſes, or for Pleaſure, by the Inhabitants of that Place. Here the Army lodged, and enjoyed that Night the Reſt and Refreſhment they ſo much wanted. The Enemy had purpoſely quitted them, to wait the *Spaniards* in a ſtronger Poſt. *Cortez* drew up his Army in order of Battel at break of day, and began his march, expecting to meet with a good deal of difficulty in his preſent Enterprize; it not being likely that the *Mexicans* would leave *Suchimilco*, a Poſt of ſo great importance, and ſo near to *Mexico*, without a ſtrong Garriſon, eſpecially ſince all thoſe who had eſcaped from the paſt Engagements, were retired to that Place.

HIS Conjectures proved right, for the Enemy (the relation of whoſe Numbers may be true, but ſhall be omitted as improbable) had drawn up their Battalions in a Plain at ſome diſtance from the City, having a great and rapid River in their Front, which diſcharged itſelf into the Lake. They had double-lined the Banks of this River, and diſpoſed their main Body for the defence of a wooden Bridge, which they would not cut down, having barricaded it with Planks and Faſcines, and ſuppoſing, that tho' this

Fortification ſhould be forced, they ſhould have a ſufficient Advantage in the narrowneſs of the Paſs, and be able to deſtroy their Enemies as faſt as they came over the Bridge.

HERNAN CORTEZ perceived the difficulty, but, without appearing concerned, extended the Troops of the Allies along the Bank of the River; and, whilſt both Sides were diſcharging their Arrows at each other with little effect, he commanded the *Spaniards* to advance, and gain the Bridge. The *Spaniards* met with ſuch an obſtinate Reſiſtance, that they were twice repulſed, but returning a third time to the Attack with greater Vigour, and making uſe of the Enemy's Trenches againſt them, they ſoon became Maſters of the Paſs; which ſo diſcouraged the *Mexicans*, that they began every where to fly, their Commanders ordering the Signal for a Retreat, either to cover their Diſorder, or with a deſign to rally.

THE *Spaniards* made haſte to ſeize upon the Ground the *Mexicans* had quitted, and at the ſame time ſeveral Companies of *Tlaſcala* and *Tezeuco* threw themſelves into the River, and ſwam to the other ſide, where they joined the Army. The Enemy were drawn up in Order of Battel under the Walls of the Town, but upon the firſt Advance of the *Spaniards* they began to retire, provoking them ſtill by their Cries, and ſome Diſcharges of Arrows, which did no execution, to ſignify that they retreated out of choice. However, *Cortez* fell upon them with ſo much Vigour, that at the very firſt Charge it was ſeen how near their affected Valour was to Fear. They continued retiring into the City, in the Entrance of which they loſt great numbers, and ſheltring themſelves within the Barricades, with which they had blocked up the Streets, began again to uſe their Arms, and defy their Enemies.

HERNAN CORTEZ left a part of his Troops without the Town to ſecure his Retreat, and to oppoſe any Attacks that might be made from abroad, and entred with the reſt to purſue the Chace. For which purpoſe, ordering ſome Companies to force the Barricades in the Streets, on the Right and Left, he advanced to the principal one, where the Enemy had their greateſt Force. With ſome difficulty he broke thro' their Blocade, and, carried away by the Tranſports of his Courage, forgot the Care he ought to have had of his Perſon; for throwing himſelf with more Bravery than Prudence into the midſt of a multitude of Enemies,

Enemies, he found himſelf ſurrounded by them, when he would have returned to the aſſiſtance of his Men. He ſupported himſelf for ſome time with the utmoſt Courage, until his Horſe, being tired, fell under him, and put him in extreme danger of his Life. Thoſe who were neareſt, immediately advanced, and, before he was in a condition to make uſe of his Arms, he was in a manner taken; the only thing that defended him, being the great deſire the *Mexicans* had to take him alive, for a Preſent to their Emperor. At this inſtant, *Chriſtoval de Olea*, Native of *Medina del Campo*, a Soldier of diſtinguiſhed Valour, who was not far off, ſaw the Diſtreſs of his General, and calling to ſome *Tlaſcalans* who were fighting near him, forced his Way to the Place with ſo much reſolution, and was ſo well ſeconded by thoſe that followed him, that, after having killed with his own Hand thoſe who preſſed moſt upon his General, he had the good fortune to reſtore him to his Liberty. *Cortez* immediately made uſe of it to puſh the Enemy, who eſcaping to that Part of the City which ſtood in the Water, left the *Spaniards* Maſters of all the Streets upon the firm Land.

CORTEZ came off with two ſlight Wounds, and *Olea* with three dangerous Cuts of a Sword, whoſe Scars were afterwards honourable Marks of his Exploit. *Herrera* ſaith, that *Cortez* owed his Liberty to a *Tlaſcalan*, unknown both before and after, and relates the Action as a kind of a Miracle; but *Bernal Diaz*, who was one of the firſt that came to the relief of the General, attributes the whole Honour to *Olea*; and the Deſcendants of this valiant Man, (leaving to God the Glory which is his due) may very well be excuſed, if they rather believe an Author who relates what he ſaw, than one who goes upon Conjectures.

WHILST this Engagement laſted in the Town, the Troops that were without, under the Command of *Olid*, *Alvarado*, and *Tapia*, were not idle: The Nobles of *Mexico* made an extraordinary effort to reinforce the Garriſon of *Suchimilco*, whoſe Conſervation the Emperor *Guatimozin* had very much at heart. They embarked with ten thouſand choſen Men, and landed at ſome diſtance from the Town, knowing that the *Spaniards* were engaged in the Streets, and deſigning to fall upon their Rear: but they were diſcovered, and charged with ſo much Reſolution, that they were glad to reimbark, leaving a good number of

of their Men upon the Field: But it appeared, by the resistance they made, that they were led by valiant Commanders; and the Dispute was so warm, that the three *Spanish* Captains were wounded, besides a considerable number of *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* Soldiers.

THIS happy Success made *Hernan Cortez* Master of the Field, and of all the Streets and Buildings upon the firm Land, and having placed sufficient Guards on the Waterside, he lodged his Troops in great Porticoes, near the principal Temple; which having a sort of a Wall capable of resisting the Arms of the *Mexicans*, seemed commodious for the Repose of the Soldiers, and the Cure of their Wounds. At the same time he ordered some Companies to mount, and view the Top of the Temple, which being found forsaken, he posted an Officer, and twenty or thirty *Spaniards* in the upper Court, with orders to be alert, and to relieve the Centries often, that they might observe every thing that passed both by Land and by Water: A very necessary Precaution, and of which the Usefulness was soon experienced! for at the close of the Evening, they gave notice, that they had discovered on the Side of *Mexico*, above two thousand armed Canoes, that advanced with all the speed their Oars would permit; by which timely Advice, the *Spaniards* were enabled to prevent the Dangers of the Night, by doubling their Guards at the Landing-Places; and in the Morning they saw the Enemy disembark at a great distance from the City, in appearance about fourteen or fifteen thousand Men.

HERNAN CORTEZ went out to receive them, chusing an advantageous Piece of Ground for his Horse, and leaving a good Part of his Troops for the defence of his Quarters. The two Armies quickly drew near, and the *Mexicans* began the Charge, but upon receiving the first Fire, they gave ground; so that the rest of our Troops coming up Sword in Hand, and charging them briskly, they soon turned their backs, and fled; and the whole Action was rather a Chace than a Victory.

CORTEZ continued four Days in *Suchimilco*, for the Recovery of his Wounded, the Troops never quitting their Arms, because the Neighbourhood of *Mexico* made it easy for the Enemy to send Succours from thence; and even when they were free from those Alarms, the Apprehension of them was sufficient to fatigue the Soldiers.

THE

THE Day appointed for the Retreat came, which was executed, as had been resolved; the Enemy still continuing their Persecution, and sometimes advancing to seize the difficult Passes, in order to disturb the March: but this Opposition was easily overcome, and with considerable Advantage; and *Hernan Cortez* returned to *Tezeuco*, with the satisfaction of having obtained the two Ends he proposed by this Sally, the Knowledge of *Suchimilco* (a Place of importance to his Designs) and breaking the Force of the Enemy, in order to their weaker defence of *Mexico*. However, he was inwardly dissatisfied and melancholy for having lost nine or ten *Spaniards* in this Expedition; for, besides those that were killed at the first Assault of the Mountains, the *Mexicans* took three or four alive at *Suchimilco*, as they were pillaging one of the Houses in the Water; and two of his Servants, who fell into an Ambuscade, by imprudently separating from the Army. What mightily increased his Concern, was the Circumstance of their being taken alive, in order to be sacrificed upon the Altars of the *Indian* Idols; and their Misfortune recalled to his Mind his own past Danger (when in the Enemy's power) of dying after the same abominable manner. But he always made reflections too late on the Importance of his Life; for when a time of Action came, he consulted only the Motions of his Valour, and postpon'd the hearing of what Prudence might remonstrate, to another time.

CHAP. XIX.

A Conspiracy of some Spaniards *against the Life of* Cortez, *is punished by the Death of a* Spanish *Soldier; and a Sedition of some* Tlascalans, *by the Death of* Xicotencal.

THE Brigantines were now in a condition to be launched, and the Canal had Depth and Capacity sufficient to receive them: All other necessary Preparations went on with vigour; great Quantities of Arms were made for the *Indians*, an exact account taken of all the Stores in the Magazines, and all the Artillery was proved. The Day was appointed for the Confederate Caziques to appear at the Rendevouz with their Troops; and particular care was taken to bring Provisions continually to the Place of Arms, partly for the sake of the Ransoms or Trafficking, and partly as the Discharge of an Obligation the Confederates were under. The General looked into the most minute Matters that related to the carrying on of the War, wherein great Dangers are often occasioned by small Faults, and therefore a very extensive Prudence is required.

BUT whilst *Hernan Cortez* had his thoughts employed in these Affairs, a new Accident happened, which gave him much trouble, try'd his Valour, and was a convincing Proof of his Judgment: A *Spaniard*, who had been long in the Service, came to him full of concern, and desired to speak with him in private; when that was granted, he informed him, that during his Absence, a Conspiracy had been formed against his Life, and the Lives of all his Friends. The Author of it (as he said) was a private Soldier,

dier, of very ſmall note, as may be ſuppoſed, ſince the firſt time we hear of his Name is with his Crime. He was called *Antonio de Villafana*, and his firſt Intention was to get off from that Enterprize, the Difficulties whereof to him appeared inſuperable. He ſhewed his Uneaſineſs at firſt by murmuring, and ſoon proceeded to dangerous Reſolutions. He, and thoſe of his Faction, blamed the General for his obſtinate Purſuit of that Conqueſt, declaring they would not caſt themſelves away, to gratify his Raſhneſs, and talking of returning to the Iſland of *Cuba*, as of a thing very eaſy to be performed. They met to conſult about this Point with much Secrecy, and tho' they found no great difficulty in quitting the Camp, and paſſing as far as *Tlaſcala*, by virtue of a ſuppoſed Order from the General, the Inconvenience of going to *Vera Cruz* (which was unavoidable, in order to embark) immediately occurred: for there they could not pretend a Commiſſion or Leave from *Cortez*, without a Paſs under his Hand, nor avoid the Danger of being caſt into a Goal, and ſeverely puniſhed. This put them to a nonplus, and yet they perſiſted in their Reſolution of withdrawing themſelves, without fixing on the Way how to compaſs it.

ANTONIO DE VILLAFANA, at whoſe Quarters they held all their Aſſemblies, at laſt propoſed, that all might be brought to paſs, by killing *Cortez* and his chief Counſellors, and electing another General in his room, who had not ſet his heart ſo much upon the Conqueſt of *Mexico*, and who would be more governable; under whoſe Command they might retreat, without the name of Fugitives, and give it the turn of a piece of ſervice to *Velaſques*, by whoſe Repreſentation of it to the Court of *Spain*, it might be eſteemed as a Service done to the King. They all approved of the Project, and embracing *Villafana*, the Tumult began, by applauding the Sedition: they immediately drew up a Writing, ſigned by all that were preſent, whereby they obliged themſelves to follow *Villafana* in the execution of this horrible Attempt; and this Affair was managed with ſo much dexterity, that the Numbers of thoſe who ſigned, increaſed conſiderably: and it was to be feared, that the ſecret Contagion might break out into ſuch an Evil, as would admit of no Remedy.

THEY

THEY had agreed to feign a Pacquet from *Vera Cruz*, with Letters from *Spain*, and to give it to the General, when he was at table with his Companions, all of them going in together, under colour of hearing the News; and that whilst *Cortez* was employed in reading the first Letter, they should make use of that Opportunity to murder him and all his Friends with their Ponyards; after which, they were to go out, and proclaim Liberty in the Streets, which they thought was sufficient to make the Army declare for them, and put to death the rest that were suspected. The Persons they had marked out for Destruction, according to their blind Notions, were *Christoval de Olid*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, and his Brothers, *Andres de Tapia*, the two ordinary Alcaldes, *Luis Marin*, *Pedro de Ircio*, *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, and some other Soldiers, Favourites of the General. They had agreed to chuse *Francisco Verdugo* for their Captain General, because he had married a Sister of *Diego Velasques*, and therefore they thought he might be easily brought over, and was the propereſt Person to support and credit their Party. But as they knew he was a Man of Honour, and an Enemy to Injustice, they durst not acquaint him with their Design, till the Crime was once committed, when they concluded he would be obliged to take upon himself the Employment, to prevent greater Evils.

SUCH was the account given by the Soldier, who begged his Life as a Reward of his Fidelity, for he was one engaged in the Conspiracy. *Hernan Cortez* resolved to assist in Person at the seizing of *Villafana*, and at the first measures that were to be taken, to convict him of his Crime; because the clearing up, or obscuring of the Truth, usually depends on these first Steps. The Importance of the Affair required no less Precaution, and it was no time to observe the slow Proceedures of judiciary Forms. He went immediately to secure *Villafana*, attended by the two Alcaldes, and some of his Captains, and found him in his Quarters, with three or four of his Accomplices. The trouble he was in at the sight of his General, was his first Conviction; and *Cortez*, after he had ordered him to be put in Irons, caused all to retire, pretending to examine him in private; when, making his advantage of the account that had been given him, he took out of his Bosom the Paper signed by all the Conspirators. He read it, and found

found the Names of ſome Perſons, whoſe Infidelity very much increaſed his Concern; but concealing it from his Friends, he cauſed the Soldiers, who were found with *Villafana* to be put into another Priſon, and then withdrew, leaving Inſtructions with the Officers of Juſtice, to proceed upon his Tryal with all poſſible ſpeed, without taking any notice of his Accomplices. There was not much to do in it; for *Villafana* being convicted by the ſeizing of his Paper, and believing that his Friends had betrayed him, immediately confeſſed his Crime: whereupon they proceeded againſt him by the Rules of military Juſtice, and condemned him to die, which Sentence (after allowing him the neceſſary time for diſcharging his Duty as a Chriſtian) was put in execution that very Night, and the next Morning he was ſeen hanging at the Window of his own Lodging; ſo that the Puniſhment was ſeen at the ſame time that the Cauſe of it was publiſhed, the Guilty being ſtruck with Fear, and the reſt with an Abhorrence of the Crime.

CORTEZ was equally afflicted and provoked to ſee the Number of thoſe concerned in the Conſpiracy; but it was no proper time to ſatisfy Juſtice by the loſs of ſo many *Spaniards* at the beginning of his Enterprize; and therefore to avoid puniſhing the Guilty, and at the ſame time the Inconveniences of Impunity, he gave it out, That *Villafana* had ſwallowed a Paper, torn in pieces, which he believed contained the Names or Hands of the Conſpirators. Soon after, he aſſembled his Captains and Soldiers, and gave them a ſummary Account of the horrid Deſign and Conſpiracy of *Villafana* againſt his Life, and the Lives of many there preſent; adding, "That he thought himſelf very happy in "not knowing whether he had any Accomplices; tho' the "great care *Villafana* took to deſtroy that Paper he carried "in his Boſom, made him ſuſpect he had ſome; but that "he did not deſire to know them: and only intreated his "Friends to enquire whether the *Spaniards* had any Com-"plaint to make of his Proceedings: becauſe he was deſi-"rous, above all things, to give entire Satisfaction to his "Soldiers, and was ready to correct his own Faults, as "he knew how to uſe the Rigour of Juſtice, when the "Lenity of his Puniſhments made them loſe their In-"fluence."

AT the ſame time he ordered the Soldiers, that had been taken with *Villafana*, to be ſet at liberty; and this

Declaration of his Mind, confirmed by the Care he took to shew no Change in his Countenance to those who had offended, fully persuaded them that he was ignorant of their Crime; and they afterwards served with extraordinary Care, to remove any Suspicions of their Fidelity.

IT was a very important Act of Prudence to conceal that Paper of Subscriptions, to avoid losing so many *Spaniards*, of whom he stood in need at that time; but it was a greater Action to conceal his Indignation, so as not to give them the least Occasion of Distrust: It shewed that his Reason was free, and that he had an absolute Command of his Passions. However, not thinking such an excessive Security, which lays Care asleep, and seems to invite Danger, to be consistent with Discretion, he then ordered twelve Men for the Guard of his Person, commanded by an Officer; and 'tis likely he made use of this Opportunity, that the People might, without Surprize, see this new Addition to the Support of his Authority.

SOON after, he was perplexed with another Affair, which tho' of a different sort, had yet some Circumstances of Sedition: for *Xicotencal*, who commanded the first Troops that came from *Tlascala*, either upon some Disgust, which may easily be supposed, considering his haughty Temper, or that he still preserved in his Mind some Remains of his former Enmity, resolved to leave the Army: Assembling some Companies, which, upon his earnest Intreaty, offered to stand by him. He took the advantage of the Night for his Retreat: and *Hernan Cortez*, who was presently informed of it by the *Tlascalans* themselves, was much concerned at a Behaviour of such dangerous Consequence, of so considerable a Commander among those Nations, at a time when he was just ready to put his Designs in execution. He sent some noble *Indians* of *Tezeuco* after him, to persuade him to return, or at least to stay till he had heard what he had to offer; but the Answer of *Xicotencal*, (which was not only resolute, but discourteous, and with Contempt) so provoked *Cortez*, that he immediately sent three Companies of *Spaniards*, with an additional Force of *Tezeucan Indians* and *Chalqueses*, with Orders to take him Prisoner, or kill him in case of Resistance. The latter was put in execution, for he made an obstinate Defence to the last; and the *Tlascalans*, who followed him contrary to their own Inclination, shewed but little Resolution upon this Occasion,

ſion, and returned with the *Spaniards* to the Army, leaving their Commander hanging upon a Tree.

THUS *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo* reports this Action; but *Antonio de Herrera* ſays, he was brought to *Tezeuco*, and that *Hernan Cortez*, by virtue of a Power from the Republick of *Tlaſcala*, hanged him publickly in the City: which is not ſo likely, becauſe he might have run a riſque among ſo great a Number of *Tlaſcalans*, who could not but reſent the Affront of ſo ſhameful a Puniſhment, inflicted on the Perſon of one of the firſt Men of their Nation.

SOME ſay that the *Spaniards* ſent after him by *Cortez* had private Orders to kill him, which ſeems to me the ſafeſt Reſolution could have been taken; but which way ſoever it was done, the extraordinary Foreſight and Prudence of the General in managing this Affair cannot be denied, ſince neither the *Tlaſcalans* of the Army, nor the Republick, nor even his own Father, made the leaſt Complaint for his Death; for having been informed ſome days before, that the young Man ſo far forgot himſelf as to ſpeak ill of his Conduct, and endeavoured to diſcredit among thoſe of his Nation the Enterprize upon *Mexico*, *Cortez* ſent an Account of it to *Tlaſcala*, deſiring they would recall him, upon pretence of employing him elſewhere, or make uſe of their Authority to correct his Diſorders: And the Senate, in which his own Father was preſent, anſwered, That according to the Laws of the Republick, whoſoever was guilty of Mutiny in the Army deſerved Death, and that he might proceed againſt him with the utmoſt Rigour if he found it neceſſary, as they would do both againſt *Xicotencal* and all that followed him, if they returned to *Tlaſcala*. This Permiſſion gave *Cortez* full Authority to puniſh *Xicotencal*, yet he ſuffered his Inſolence for ſome days, in hopes to reduce him by gentle means. But we are more inclined to believe that he was put to death without the City of *Tezeuco*, according to the Relation of *Bernal Diaz*; for *Cortez* very well knew the Difference between the Sight of an Action of ſo much Severity, and the Relation of it after it was done: it being an evident Maxim, That the ſtrongeſt Impreſſions upon the Mind, are thoſe which affect the Eye; whereas thoſe received by the Ear, have neither the like Strength, nor Livelineſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The Brigantines are launched, and the Army divided into three Parts for attacking the City at the same time, by the Causeways of Tacuba, Iztapalapa, *and* Cuyoacan. Hernan Cortez *advances upon the Lake, and defeats a great Fleet of* Mexican *Canoes.*

THO' these Accidents employed some part of the Cares of the General, he did not omit any thing that was necessary for the carrying on of his main Design. The Brigantines were launched by degrees, a Work happily brought to a Conclusion by the Industry of *Martin Lopez*. Before the launching, they celebrated a Mass of the Holy Ghost, at which *Cortez* received the Communion with all the *Spaniards*. The Priest blessed the Hulls, and gave each of them its Name, according to the Custom of the Sea; and whilst they were carrying on board the Sails, Rigging, and whatever else was wanting, *Cortez* reviewed his *Spaniards* under Arms: they consisted of nine hundred Men, of which a hundred fourscore and fourteen were Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, the rest were armed with Sword and Buckler, and Lance; eighty six Horse, and eighteen Pieces of Cannon, the three largest of Iron, and the other fifteen Falconets of Brass, with sufficient Stores of Powder and Ball.

CORTEZ put five and twenty *Spaniards* on board each Vessel, under the Command of a Captain, with twelve Rowers, six on each Side, and one Piece of Artillery. The Captains were *Pedro de Barba*, Native of *Sevill*; *Garcia de Holquin* of *Cazeres*, *Juan Portillo* of *Portillo*, *Juan Rodriguez de Villefuerte* of *Medellin*, *Juan Jaramillo* of *Salvatierra* in *Estremadura*, *Miguel Diaz* of *Auz* an *Aragonian*,

gonian, *Francisco Rodriguez Magarino* of *Merida*, *Christoval Flores* of *Valencia de Don Juan*, *Antonio de Caravaxal* of *Zamora*, *Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota* of *Burgos*, *Pedro Briones* of *Salamanca*, *Rodrigo Morejon de Lobera* of *Medina del Campo*, and *Antonio Sotelo* of *Zamora*, who immediately embark'd, each one prepared to defend his own Vessel, and succour the rest.

THINGS being thus disposed for the Entry by the Lake, *Cortez* resolved, with the Approbation of his Captains, to possess himself at the same time of the three principal Causeways of *Tacuba*, *Iztapalapa*, and *Cuyoacan*, without regarding that of *Suchimilco*, that he might avoid separating his Troops too far, and post them where they might receive his Orders with least Difficulty. To this end, he divided his Army into three Bodies, and committed the Expedition of *Tacuba* to *Pedro de Alvarado*, with the Title of Governor and Commander in Chief of that Avenue: He had under his Command a hundred and fifty *Spanish* Foot, and thirty Horse, in three Bodies, led by the Captains *Jorge de Alvarado*, *Gutiere de Badajoz*, and *Andres de Monjaraz*, with thirty thousand *Tlascalans*, and two Pieces of Artillery. The Attack of *Cuyoacan* was committed to the Colonel *Christoval de Olid*, with a hundred and sixty *Spanish* Foot, in three Companies, under the Command of *Francisco Verdugo*, *Andres de Tapia*, and *Francisco de Lugo*, with thirty Horse, two Pieces of Artillery, and thirty thousand confederate *Indians*. Lastly, he gave the Charge of the Attack of *Iztapalapa* to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with an hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, commanded by the Captains *Luis Marin*, and *Pedro de Ircio*, with two Pieces of Cannon, twenty four Horse, with all the Troops of *Chalco*, *Guaxocingo*, and *Cholula*, amounting to above forty thousand Men. In this Number of *Indians* who served at the three Attacks, we follow the Opinion of *Herrera*, for *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* allows no more than 8000 *Tlascalans* to each of the three Captains, and repeats it sometimes, that they were rather an Hindrance, than any Advancement to the Service; without telling us what became of so many thousand Men as came from all Parts to the Siege of that City: which plainly shews the Vanity he had of attributing all the Glory of the Action to the *Spaniards*, in our Opinion without much Discretion, because it renders that incredible, which

he would endeavour to extol, when the Truth it ſelf needed no Addition.

OLID and *Alvarado* marched together as far as *Tacuba*, where they were to ſeparate, and took up their Quarters in that City without any Oppoſition, the ſame being then abandoned, as were all the other Towns upon the Lake, the Inhabitants that were able to bear Arms, being all gone to *Mexico*, to defend their Capital, and the reſt retired to the Mountains, with what Effects they could carry off. There they had Intelligence, that the *Mexicans* had formed a conſiderable Body within half a League of the Town, to cover the Aqueducts which came from the Mountains of *Chapultepeque*. *Guatimozin* took this ſeaſonable Precaution, as ſoon as he received News of the Motions of the *Spaniards*, to preſerve thoſe Conveyances which ſupplied all the Fountains in the City with freſh Water.

THERE appeared on that ſide two or three Rows of Pipes, made of Trees hollow'd, ſupported by an Aqueduct of Lime and Stone, and the Enemy had caſt up ſome Trenches to cover the Avenue to it. But the two Captains marched out of *Tacuba* with moſt of their Troops; and tho' they met with a very obſtinate Reſiſtance, they drove the Enemy from their Poſt, and broke the Pipes and Aqueduct in two or three Places, and the Water took its natural Courſe into the Lake. Thus *Olid* and *Alvarado* began the Siege of this famous City, by cutting off their Water, obliging the *Mexicans* to ſeek it at a Diſtance, in the Brooks that ran from the Mountains, and to employ their People and Canoes in Carriage and Convoys.

WHEN this was over, *Olid* marched on with his Party, and took his Poſt at *Cuyoacan*; and *Cortez* allowing what time he thought ſufficient for *Sandoval* to reach *Iztapalapa*, took upon himſelf the Command on the *Lake*, that he might overſee every thing, and carry Relief where it ſhould be neceſſary: He had with him Don *Fernando*, Lord of *Tezeuco*, and his Brother, called *Suchel*, a young Man of Spirit, who was baptized ſoon after, and took the Name of *Carlos*, as a Subject of the Emperor. *Cortez* left a ſufficient Number of Troops in that City, to cover his Place of Arms, and make ſome Excurſions to ſecure the Communication of his Quarters. Having diſpoſed all things after this manner, he embark'd, drawing up his thirteen Brigantines

gantines in a Line, adorning them with Flags and Streamers, and whatever could add to the outward Show, and ſurprize the Enemy by the Novelty.

HIS Deſign was to draw near to *Mexico*, and ſhew himſelf Lord of the *Lake*, and afterwards to fall upon *Iztapalapa*, being under ſome Concern for *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who had no Veſſels to diſlodge the *Mexicans* from that Part of the City which ſtood in the Water, and continually ſerved as a Retreat for their Canoes. But in his return, he diſcover'd, at a ſmall Diſtance from the City, a little Iſland or Heap of Rocks, a conſiderable Height above the Water, on the Top of which ſtood a pretty large Caſtle, which the Enemy had poſſeſs'd themſelves of to no other end, than to provoke the *Spaniards* with ill Language and Threats from a Poſt where they thought themſelves out of danger of the Brigantines. *Cortez* did not think it convenient to leave unpuniſh'd this Inſolence in view of the City, whoſe Terraces and Balconies were filled with innumerable People, who came to ſee the firſt Action of the Fleet; and finding his Captains were all of the ſame Opinion, he drew near to the Shore of the Iſland, and landed with a hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, who took two or three different Paths that led to the top. They mounted with ſome Difficulty, by reaſon that the Enemy were numerous and made a brave Defence; till deſpairing of being able to make good the Eminence, they retired into the Caſtle, where they were ſo crowded, that they had not room to manage their Arms. Many periſh'd, tho' the moſt were ſpared, the *Spaniards* being unwilling to ſtain their Swords in the Blood of thoſe that ſurrender'd, or to be troubled with the Charge of Priſoners.

HAVING, by this ſhort Enterprize, chaſtis'd the *Mexicans*, the *Spaniards* return'd to their Brigantines; but when they were diſpoſing themſelves to make for *Iztapalapa*, they were obliged to take other Meaſures: for they ſaw ſome Canoes come out of *Mexico*, which advanc'd upon the Lake, increaſing continually in Numbers. The firſt that advanc'd, rowing gently, were about five hundred, waiting for the reſt to come up; and in a ſhort time, thoſe which came out of the City, and others that joined them from neighbouring Places, made ſo great a Number, that by the room they took up, it was judg'd they were above four thouſand; which Multitude, with the Motion of their Feathers

thers and Arms, afforded a Sight both beautiful and terrible, and seemed to cover the Lake.

CORTEZ drew up his Fleet in the Form of a Half-Moon, that he might extend his Front, and engage at Liberty: He confided in the Valour of his Soldiers, and the Advantage of his Brigantines, every one of which was able to make Head against a great Part of the Enemy's Fleet. With this Assurance, he advanced towards the *Mexicans*, to let them see he did not decline the Battle, and then ordered his Men to lie upon their Oars and rest, that they being refresh'd, he might break in upon the Enemy with the greater Force; for the Calmness of the Day left the whole Motion to the Labour of the Rowers The *Mexicans* did the same, and perhaps for the same Reason; but the Divine Providence, which had so often appeared in favour of the *Spaniards*, so order'd it, that there came up a Land-Breeze; which taking the Brigantines astern, gave them all the Force that was necessary to fall upon the *Mexicans*: They began the Attack with the Artillery, at a convenient Distance, and then the Brigantines made up with Sails and Oars, oversetting all that stood in their way. The Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows made their Discharges, without losing a Shot: The Wind too was favourable, driving the Smoke upon the Enemy, blinding them after such a manner, that they were obliged to give back, to avoid it; the Brigantines themselves playing their Parts, staving the smaller Vessels, whose Weakness made it easy to sink them, without any danger from the Shock. The Nobles of *Mexico*, who were in the first five hundred Canoes, made some Opposition; but the rest was all Disorder and Confusion, the Canoes running foul on and oversetting one another. The Enemy lost most of their Men, and their Fleet was entirely broke and defeated; the Brigantines pursuing the miserable Remains with their Cannon-shot, till they forced them into the Canals of the City of *Mexico*.

THIS Victory was of great Moment, on account of the Reputation the Brigantines gain'd of being invincible; and because it was a great Discouragement to the *Mexicans*, to see themselves depriv'd of that Part of their Power, which consisted in the dextrous Management and Swiftness of their Canoes: not for the Number of them that they then lost, which was inconsiderable, in regard of what they had still in Reserve; but because they were convinc'd that they were

of

of no uſe, and incapable of ſuſtaining the violent Shock of the Brigantines. The *Spaniards* remain'd Maſters of the Lake, and *Cortez* ſail'd about the City, firing ſome Shot into it, rather by way of Triumph, than for any Damage he did the Enemy: Nor was he diſpleaſed to behold the Multitude of People that covered the Towers and tops of the Houſes, to ſee the Event of the Engagement; on the contrary, he was ſo glad to have them Spectators of their own Loſs, that tho' in reality they were too many conſidered as Enemies, he thought them too few as Witneſſes of his Exploit.

CHAP. XXI.

Cortez *goes to view the three Bodies of his Troops, as they were poſted on the different Cauſeways of* Cuyoacan, Iztapalapa, *and* Tacuba, *and finds that in each Place, they had occaſion for the Aſſiſtance of the Brigantines; whereupon he leaves four with* Gonzalo de Sandoval, *four with* Pedro de Alvarado, *and retires himſelf to* Cuyoacan *with the other five.*

CORTEZ choſe a Poſt near *Tezeuco*, where he might paſs the Night, and reſt his Troops with ſome Security; but in the Morning, when the Brigantines were preparing to ſail for *Iztapalapa*, he diſcovered a conſiderable number of Canoes, that were making the beſt of their way towards *Cuyoacan*; whereupon he reſolv'd to carry Succour to that Place firſt, where it was immediately wanted. It was not poſſible to come up with the Enemy's Fleet, but he arriv'd ſoon after them, at the time when *Chriſtoval de Olid* was engaged on the

Causeway, and obliged to make a Front against the Enemy that defended it, and to the Canoes on each side, and was on the point of retiring and losing the Ground he had gain'd.

NECESSITY taught the *Mexicans*, as much as the Art of War could have done, for the Defence of their Causeways. They had drawn up, towards the City, the Bridges that were over the Passages, by which the Waters of the great Lake discharg'd themselves into the other; and fixing Timbers and Planks behind them, in such a manner that they might mount in Ranks to charge from the top, they left Trenches at proper distances with Water running before them, which obstructed and made the Access difficult. After this manner they had fortified the three Causeways attacked by the *Spaniards*, who in each were obliged to take almost the same Measures to overcome the Difficulty. The Fire-Arms, and Crossbows, play'd upon those who appeared above the Trench, whilst others handed Fascines to fill the Ditch; after which, they brought up a Piece of Artillery, and in few Discharges clear'd the Passage, filling up the next Ditch with the Ruins of its own Fortification.

OLID had just made himself Master of the first Ditch, when the *Mexican* Canoes arrived; but on sight of the Brigantines, all those on that side, fled with the utmost diligence, and none suffer'd but those who could not avoid the reach of the Cannon: but because the *Mexicans* on the other side, who thought themselves secure, still continued the Engagement, *Hernan Cortez* order'd the Ditch in the Rear of *Olid* to be widened, to make a Passage for three or four Brigantines: at the first sight whereof, all the Canoes fled, and the Enemy, who defended the next Bridge, finding themselves exposed to the great Shot, from both the Land and the Water, retired in Disorder to the last Rampart next the City.

THAT Night the Troops took some Rest, without abandoning the Ground they had gain'd upon the Causeway, and the next Morning continued their March with little or no Opposition, 'till coming to the last Bridge which was at the Entrance into *Mexico*, they found it fortified with stronger Works, Trenches cut in the Streets, and defended by such a multitude of People, that the Enterprize seem'd hazardous; but the Difficulty did not appear 'till

till they were engaged, and it was not proper to retire, without doing ſome Execution to terrify the Enemy. The Artillery from the Brigantines made a miſerable Slaughter of the People who were in Crowds at the openings of the Streets, whilſt *Chriſtoval de Olid* was employed in filling the Ditch, and ruining the Fortifications of the Cauſeway. Which when he had done, he charged the *Mexicans* who defended them, making room with his Van-guard for the Confederate Troops under his Command to come up. TheEnemy at the ſame time was ſupported by Troops from the City, and made an obſtinate Reſiſtance on all ſides: but they ſoon loſt ſome Ground; and *Hernan Cortez*, who could not bear the Slowneſs with which they retreated, landed with thirty *Spaniards*, and gave ſo much Life to the Attack, that the Enemy quickly turned their Backs, and the chief Street of *Mexico* was gain'd.

ANOTHER Difficulty immediately occurr'd; for the *Mexicans* that fled, had poſſeſſed themſelves of a Temple near the Entrance into the City, covering the Towers, Stairs, and all the out-ſide with ſuch numbers of Men, that the whole Building appeared like a Hill of Arms and Feathers. They defied the *Spaniards* with as much Boldneſs, as if they had been always Conquerors. *Cortez*, provok'd at their Pride, when they had juſt before ſhewn ſo much Cowardice, ordered three or four Pieces of Artillery to be landed, the firſt Diſcharge whereof made them ſenſible of their Danger, and the *Spaniards* were ſoon obliged to point their Cannon lower againſt thoſe that fled to the inward part of the City. Thus all that Quarter was forſaken; for thoſe who fought from Windows, and from the tops of the Houſes, went off with the reſt; ſo that the Army advanc'd, and the Temple was gain'd without any farther Oppoſition.

THAT Day the *Mexicans* ſuſtain'd a very great Loſs of Men. The Idols were caſt into the Fire, and ſerv'd to make Illuminations for the Victory. *Hernan Cortez* was ſatisfied that he had gained Footing in the City; and finding the Temple capable of a more than ordinary Defence, he not only reſolv'd to lodge his Troops there that Night, but had Thoughts of maintaining that Poſt, to ſtreighten the Enemy, and of removing his Quarters from *Cuyoacan* thither. He communicated his Deſign to his Captains, with the Reaſons that induced him to it; but they

they all unanimously represented to him, *That as they were ignorant what Progress* Gonzalo de Sandoval, *and* Pedro de Alvarado *had made, at their Attacks, it would be a Rashness to run the Risque of losing the Passage of the Causeway, and at the same time all hopes of receiving the Ammunition and Provision which would be necessary for the Preservation of the Troops. That they were not to trust to their being brought by the Brigantines, because those Vessels could not enter the Water Trenches of that Part, and therefore would be forced to land the Provisions at such a Distance, that they could neither receive, nor transport them to their Garrison, without fighting a Battle every time. That they ought to make their Advances equally at each Attack, in order to divide the Enemy's Forces, and be assisting to each other, until such time as they should all have taken up their Quarters in the City. And lastly, That the Resolutions which had been taken with the Approbation of all the Captains for the carrying on of that Siege, ought not to be altered without very mature Deliberation; nor ought they to expose themselves voluntarily to a Danger, without a better Reason than the Reputation of that Day's Victory; the Consequences of good Success not being always to be depended on, for that, like Flattery, it very often deceiv'd the Understanding at the same time that it pleased the Imagination. Hernan Cortez* was convinced that their Advice was good, for it was one of his best Qualities, that he easily forsook his own Opinion, to follow the Dictates of Reason; and accordingly the next Day he retired to *Cuyoacan*, protected on each side by his Brigantines, so that the Enemy durst not attempt to disturb his March.

THE same day he proceeded to *Iztapalapa*, where he found *Gonzalo de Sandoval* reduced to the last Extremity. He had possessed himself of the Buildings on the Land, and lodg'd his Army there, fortifying himself the best he could; but the Enemy who retir'd to that Part that was in the Water, endeavour'd from their Canoes to do him all the Damage they could. *Sandoval* had made great Havock among those that approached, ruin'd some Houses, and overthrown two or three Succours from *Mexico*, that came to attack him by Land; and that Day the Enemy having forsaken a large House, which was but little distant from the Land, he resolv'd to seize it, in order to enlarge his Quarter, and drive the Enemy farther off. He made a Passage

thro'

thro' the Water with Fascines, and got into the House with some of his People; but he had scarce enter'd, when a great number of Canoes, which had lain in Ambush, advanced with Troops of Swimmers, who flung themselves into the Water, and taking away the Fascines, cut off *Sandoval's* Retreat; by which means they besieged him on all Sides, shooting at the *Spaniards* from the Terraces and Windows of the neighbouring Houses.

HE was in this Distress, when *Hernan Cortez* arriv'd; who discovering that vast Number of Canoes in the Water-Streets, which look'd towards *Mexico*, made his Brigantines advance with all possible Speed, and plaid his Artillery with such good Effect, that, terrified by the Destruction the Balls made, and the Approach of the Brigantines, they all fled at once thro' the most retired Streets in the Town, with a Design to get thro' into the Lake; and such was their Disorder, that the People who were upon the Terraces, crouding into the Canoes, sunk many of them, and the rest, in their flight, fell in among the Brigantines, as they were endeavouring to avoid that Danger. The *Mexicans* sustained such a Loss that Day, as diminish'd their Forces considerably; and the *Spaniards* afterwards taking a View of that part of the City they had possess'd themselves of, made some Prisoners, and found a sufficient Booty, not to enrich, but to please the Soldiers. *Cortez* perceiv'd by the Difficulties which *Gonzalo de Sandoval* had met with at *Iztapalapa*, that it was impossible to make use of the Causeway, without first ruining that half of the City, which was the Retreat of the *Mexican* Canoes; but because this would occasion a Delay which might be of dangerous Consequence to the other Attacks, he resolv'd to quit that Post, and dispatch *Sandoval* to possess himself of *Tapeaquilla*, where there was another narrower Causeway, less commodious for attacking, but more advantageous for cutting off the Enemy's Provisions, which they began to want, and which were brought to them that way. This Design was immediately put in execution, and *Sandoval* march'd by Land, escorted by the Brigantines 'till he had got Possession of the new Quarters. The Place was forsaken, and he lodged himself there without Resistance, after which *Hernan Cortez* sailed to *Tacuba*.

ALVERADO found this City deserted, and had therefore no need of a Victory to begin his Advances. In his

 fur-

further Progreſs he met with various Succeſs; he beat down the Works, and fill'd up the Ditches after the ſame manner that *Olid* had done; but tho' he did the Enemy conſiderable Damage, and had once advanced ſo far as to fire ſome Houſes in *Mexico*, he had loſt eight *Spaniards*, when *Cortez* arriv'd. A Loſs which occaſioned ſome mixture of Regret with the Applauſes of his Valour.

HERNAN CORTEZ found the Meaſures he had taken did not anſwer his Deſigns; for this way of attacking and retreating, conſumed his time, and expoſed his Men without any great Advantage, and was rather doing Acts of Hoſtility, than making a Progreſs. To proceed by the Cauſeways was very difficult, by reaſon of the Trenches and Ditches, which the *Mexicans* were fortifyng every day, and the continual Perſecution of their Canoes, which always charged in great Numbers wherever the Brigantines quitted; for which reaſon he was obliged to think of other Meaſures for the facilitating of his Enterprize.

HE then commanded all Attacks to ceaſe 'till farther Orders, and applied himſelf to the providing ſuch a Number of Canoes, as might ſecure him the Dominion of the Lake; to which end he ſent ſuch Perſons as he could confide in, to bring all the Canoes that remain'd in the Towns of his Allies, with which, and thoſe that came from *Tezeuco*, and *Chalco*, he made up ſuch a Number as gave freſh Terror to the Enemy. He divided them into three Squadrons, manned by *Indians*, who knew how to manage them, under the Command of Captains of their own Nation; and having diſtributed this Reinforcement among the Brigantines, he ſent four of them to *Sandoval*, four to *Pedro de Alverado*, and he himſelf with the other five joined the Colonel *Chriſtoval de Olid*.

FROM that Day the Attacks were carried on with much more eaſe, and a ſtop entirely put to the Inſults of the Enemy; and *Hernan Cortez* at the ſame time order'd the Brigantines, and Canoes, to make their Rounds on the Lake, and coaſt along the three Cauſeways, to hinder the ſupplying of the City, by which means many Veſſels were taken that endeavour'd to paſs with Proviſions and Barrels of Water, and they were inform'd of the great Diſtreſs to which the Beſieged were reduced. *Olid* ſometimes advanced ſo far, as to demoliſh ſome Houſes in the Suburbs of the City. *Alverado* and *Sandoval* did the ſame at their

their Attacks; with which good Succeſs, the Face of Affairs entirely changed, the Army conceiv'd freſh Hopes, and the meaneſt Soldiers facilitated the Undertaking, engaging with that chearful Confidence, which looks like Valour, and makes thoſe bold, who are prepoſſeſſed with a Notion of Victory, becauſe they have had the good Fortune to be in company with Conquerors.

CHAP. XXII.

The Mexicans *make uſe of various Stratagems for their Defence: they lay an Ambuſcade of Canoes for the Brigantines.* Hernan Cortez *receives a conſiderable Defeat, and is forc'd to retire to* Cuyoacan.

THE Diligence and Induſtry of the *Mexicans* in defence of their City, was not only remarkable, but in ſome of its Circumſtances worthy of Admiration. 'Tis true they were naturally Valiant, and bred up in Arms, which was the only way to arrive at the greateſt Dignities: But on this occaſion, they did not only ſhow Valour, but added military Skill; for they ſtood in need of new Inventions, againſt an Invaſion, by a People, whoſe Weapons and Conduct in War, were utterly unknown in their Country, and they gained ſome Advantages whereby they raiſed the Reputation of their good Senſe. We have already related after what manner they fortified their Cauſeways; and what they did afterwards, was no leſs remarkable, when they ſent by round-about Ways Canoes of Pioneers to clear the Ditches which the *Spaniards* had been filling up, that they might fall upon 'em with their whole Force, when they ſhould be obliged to retire: A Stratagem which occaſion'd the loſs of ſome Soldiers in the firſt Attacks. By degrees they found out another ſtill more remarkable

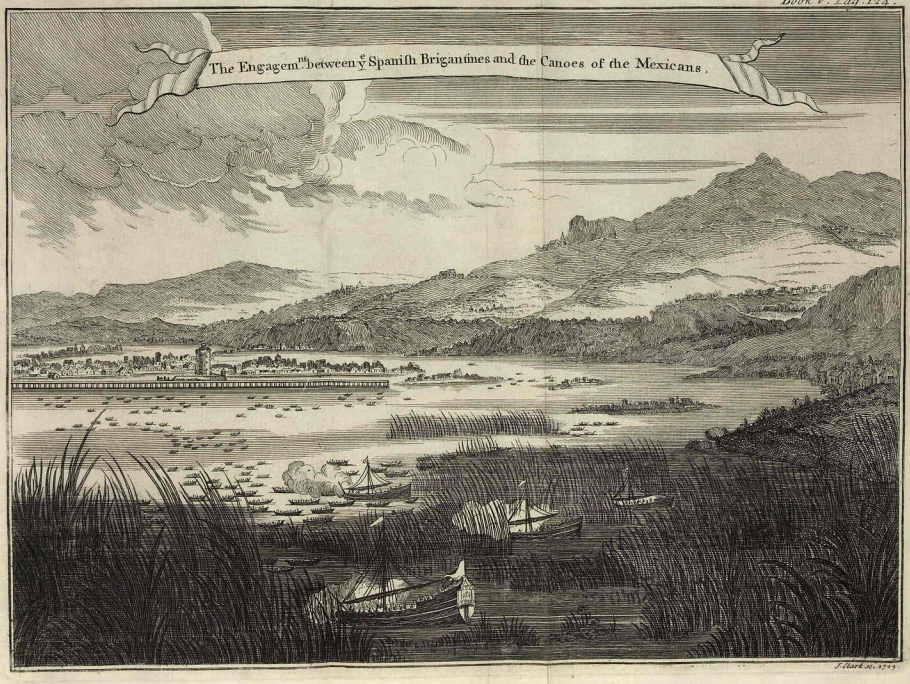
markable, for they acted contrary to their Custom, when Occasion requir'd, and made some Sallies by Night, only to alarm their Enemies, and fatigue them by want of Sleep, that they might afterwards attack them with the Advantage of fresh Troops.

BUT nothing show'd their Industry and Ingenuity more than what they contriv'd against the Brigantines, whose superior Force they endeavour'd to destroy by engaging them separate; for which end they built thirty great Vessels of that sort which they call'd *Piraguas*, but of a larger Size, and strengthen'd with great Planks, to receive the Shot, and engage under better Shelter. They sallied forth in the Night with this Fleet, to post themselves behind the Reeds in the Lake, which grew so high and thick, that they form'd, as it were, several Groves impenetrable to the Sight. Their Design was to draw thither the Brigantines, which used to cruize about, two at a time, to prevent any Relief getting into the City; and in order to entice them to that Wood of Reeds, they had provided three or four Canoes laden with Provisions as a Bait, having likewise fix'd a good Number of large Stakes in the Water, in hopes either to destroy the Brigantines, or to make it easier to board them. These Contrivances sufficiently shew that they knew how to defend themselves, and offend their Enemies, and that they wanted not those Subtilties, which make Men ingenious in each other's Destruction, and are in a manner the Rudiments of the military Art, or rather unrighteous Maxims on which the Rights of War are founded.

THE next day two of the four Brigantines that attended *Sandoval*, went out to cruize about that Part under the Command of the Captains *Pedro de Barba*, and *Juan Portillo*. As soon as the *Mexicans* spy'd them, they sent out their Canoes another way, that being seen at a distance, they might pretend to fly, and so retire among the Reeds; which was so well executed, that the two Brigantines pursued the Prize, with the utmost force of their Oars, and soon fell in among the hidden Stakes, where they were so embarrass'd, that they could neither go forward nor backward.

AT the same time the Enemies *Piraguas* came out, and attacked them on all sides with desperate Fury. The *Spaniards* were near being lost; but employing the utmost Efforts of their Courage, they maintained the Fight, and

kept



J. Clark sc. 1749.

kept the Enemy in play until ſuch time as certain expert Swimmers by main Strength of Arms, and with Hatchets and other Tools, removed thoſe Stakes, among which the Brigantines were faſtned; and our Men being thus at liberty to work their Veſſels, and play their Artillery, ſunk moſt of the *Piraguas*, and followed the reſt as far as the Cannon-Ball would reach. The *Mexicans* ſuffer'd ſufficiently for their Stratagem, but the Brigantines were very much damaged, ſeveral *Spaniards* wounded, and all very much fatigued. Captain *Juan Portillo* was killed valiantly fighting, to whoſe indefatigable Bravery the Succeſs was chiefly owing; and Captain *Pedro de Barba* receiv'd ſeveral Wounds, of which he died three Days after. Both theſe Loſſes *Hernan Cortez* greatly lamented, and particularly that of *Pedro de Barba*, for in him he loſt a Friend, ever ſteady in all Turns of Fortune, and a brave Soldier, without Arrogance, and diſcreet without being timorous.

IT was not long before this Diſaſter was revenged; for the *Mexicans* having repaired their *Piraguas*, and reinforced them with new Veſſels of the ſame kind, conceal'd themſelves a ſecond time among the Reeds, fortifying the Avenue with a greater Number of Stakes, indiſcreetly imagining that the *Spaniards* would again fall into the ſame Snare, without their giving a different Colour to the Deceit. *Cortez* very luckily got Intelligence of this Motion of the Enemy, and being extreamly deſirous of revenging the Loſs he had ſuſtained as ſoon as poſſibly he could, he ordered ſix Brigantines to file off in the Night, and to lie in ambuſh among another Parcel of Reeds not far from the Place where the Enemy had hid themſelves; and that making uſe of their own Stratagem, one of them ſhould ſally forth early in the Morning, ſeeming by her different Courſes to be in ſearch of the Canoes laden with Proviſions, and afterwards draw as near the conceal'd *Piraguas*, as was neceſſary to let them ſee they were diſcover'd; which done, ſhe was to tack about, and by a haſty Flight, to entice them to the Place of the Counter-Ambuſcade. Every thing ſucceeded as could have been wiſhed: the Enemy ſallied out with their *Piraguas* in purſuit of the Brigantine, making after this Prize, (which they look'd upon as their own) with great Shoutings, and greater Speed, 'till being come within a convenient Diſtance, the other Brigantines ruſh'd out upon them, and be-

fore they could possibly stop, or turn about, gave them such a terrible Salute with all their Artillery, that the very first Discharge overset a great part of them, and put the *Mexicans* who were on board the rest into such a Consternation, that before they cou'd recover themselves to think of flying, almost all the *Piraguas* were sunk by the next Volleys, and most of the Men perished: So that not only the Death of *Pedro de Barba*, and *Juan de Portillo* was reveng'd, but the Enemy's Fleet entirely ruin'd; and tho' *Hernan Cortez* was sensible, that he owed to the *Mexicans* the Cunning or Invention of laying Ambushes in the Water, he had the singular Satisfaction of having so well imitated them, as to give them a Defeat by the Use of their own Stratagem.

THE *Spaniards* had frequent Intelligence of what passed in the City by the Prisoners they continually took; and *Cortez* finding that Hunger, Thirst, and want of all Necessaries, began to occasion Murmurings among the People, and a Difference in Opinion among the Soldiers, he applied himself with the greater Diligence to cut off all Relief from the City; and that he might still farther justify his own Proceedings, he sent two or three Noblemen, who were his Prisoners, to *Guatimozin*, with Overtures of Peace upon very advantageous Conditions, offering to leave him in full Possession of his Empire, and all his Grandeur, provided he would only acknowledge the Sovereign Dominion of the King of *Spain*, whose Right was already own'd among the *Mexicans* by the Tradition of their Ancestors, and the Consent of several Ages. This was the Substance of his Proposal, which he repeated several Times; for in reality, it grieved him to destroy so beautiful and so wealthy a City, which he already look'd upon as a rich Jewel in his Sovereign's Diadem.

GUATIMOZIN receiv'd the Proposal made him by the *Spanish* General with somewhat less Pride and Arrogance than he was wont, and, as several Prisoners afterwards reported, he assembled a Council of his chief Officers and Ministers, together with the Priests, whose Opinions were principally consider'd in all publick Affairs. "He "laid before them the miserable Condition to which the "City was reduced; the Numbers they had lost; the "Complaints of the People upon their beginning to "want; the Destruction of their Habitations; and lastly, he

" he desir'd their Advice, expressing as much Inclination " to Peace, as was sufficient to give room for their Flattery or " Respect to second him." This so far succeeded, that all his Officers and Ministers concluded immediately to receive the Overtures towards an Accommodation made him by *Cortez*, leaving it 'till afterwards to consider of such particular Conditions of a Peace, as would be most for the Interest of the State.

BUT the Priests positively opposed all manner of Treaty, either feigning to have received some Answers from their Idols, which gave them fresh Assurances of Success and Victory over their Enemies, or perhaps what they deliver'd were not Lyes of their own Invention, but what they really had receiv'd from them; for the Devil at that time was extremely busy, instilling into the Ears of those deluded People strange and fallacious Notions, tho' he could not inspire their Hearts with true Courage.

THE Opinion of the Priests, being back'd by Zeal for Religion, or, if that was wanting, by the outward show of Piety, so far prevail'd, that all who had Votes concurr'd with them, and *Guatimozin*, not without much Regret, because he already began to presage his own Ruin, resolv'd to carry on the War; telling his Ministers, " That he assuredly would put to death the first Man who should " presume again to mention Peace, whatever Distress the " City should be reduced to, without excepting even the " Priests themselves, who were most of all obliged to support the Oracles of their Gods."

CORTEZ being inform'd of this Determination, resolved to push on his Hostilities, by the three Causeys at the same time, and to carry Fire and Sword into the very Heart of the City; and sending his Orders to the Commanders of the two Attacks of *Tacuba*, and *Tapeaquilla*, he at the time appointed marched himself by the Causey of *Cuyoacan*, at the Head of the Troops commanded by *Christoval de Olid*. The Enemy had clear'd the Ditches, and cast up Works as they were wont to do; but the five Brigantines which were upon that Attack, easily overthrew their Fortifications at the same time that the Ditches were filling up, and the Army advanced without any considerable Opposition, 'till coming to the last Bridge which open'd upon the Key of the City, they met with another sort of Difficulty. The *Indians* had broke down some part of the Causey,

Causey, to enlarge that Ditch, which was sixty Foot long, and turn'd into it the Water of the Canals, that it might be the deeper.

ON the opposite Bank they had rais'd a Fortification made of Timbers strongly united, and cover'd with Planks, in which there were two or three Rows of Loop-holes, with some sort of Traverses, and they had provided a prodigious Multitude of Men to defend that Post; but the first Discharges of the Artillery destroyed all that Fortification, and the Enemy having suffer'd much by the Fall thereof, and finding themselves exposed to the murdering Balls, retir'd into the City without turning their backs or ceasing their Menaces. Thus they left the Shore free, and *Cortez* unwilling to lose a Moment, immediately order'd the *Spaniards* to possess themselves of it, making use of his Brigantines, and the Canoes of his Confederates to land his Men; and the Horse passed the same ways with three Pieces of Artillery, which he thought sufficient for that Day's Service.

BEFORE *Cortez* advanced against the Enemy, who were still posted behind the Trenches made across the Streets, he order'd the Treasurer *Julian de Alderete* to stay there and fill up and secure that Ditch; and the Brigantines to draw near by the great Canals, to the place where the Action was, and do what Damage they could to the Enemy. The first Engagement presently began, and *Julian de Alderete* hearing the Noise of the Battle, and seeing the Advances of the *Spaniards*, look'd upon the Employment of filling up a Ditch to be very little honourable, when his Companions were fighting, and inconsiderately advanced to join the rest, leaving that Charge to another of his Company, who either did not know how to perform it, or else would not take upon him a piece of Work which was thought dishonourable by him who committed the Care of it to him: so that all the Men under his Conduct follow'd him to the Engagement; and that Ditch, which, at the time of the Attack, had been thought impracticable, remained entirely abandoned.

THE *Mexicans* resolutely stood the first Charge. It cost the *Spaniards* no small Trouble, and some Blood, to make themselves Masters of their Trenches, and the Hazard was still greater, when they had passed the ruin'd Buildings, and were obliged to defend themselves from the Arrows and Darts of the Enemy, which came pouring on them from the

the Tops of the Houſes and Windows; but in the very Heat of the Engagement, there appear'd a ſudden Slackneſs in the Enemy, which ſeem'd to be the effect of ſome new Order; for they haſtily quitted the Ground which they had defended.

THIS Change, as was then ſuppos'd, and afterwards appeared, proceeded from *Guatimozin*'s being inform'd, that the great Ditch was abandoned; whereupon he order'd his Commanders to preſerve their Troops, and to fall upon the *Spaniards* in their Retreat. *Cortez* ſuſpected this Motion of the Enemy, and in regard that he had but barely time enough now to return to his Quarters before Night, he began his Retreat, ordering firſt ſome Houſes to be ſet on fire and deſtroy'd, in order to prevent their receiving any Damage from them on the next Attack.

BUT they had ſcarce began to march, before their Ears were ſtunn'd with the terrible and melancholy Sound of the *Sacred Trumpet*, ſo call'd by them, becauſe it was not permitted to any but the Prieſts to ſound it, and that only when they denounced War, and animated the People on the part of their Gods. The Sound was vehemently loud and ſtrong, and the Tune compos'd of diſmal and unharmonious Notes, which inſpir'd thoſe *Barbarians* with a new kind of Savage Rage, ſuch as made them deſpiſe Life thro' a Motive of Religion. Next follow'd the intolerable Din of their hideous Outcries; and when the Army march'd out of the City, there fell upon the Rear, which was brought up by the *Spaniards*, an incredible Multitude of their moſt reſolute Warriours, pick'd out of the whole Army for this Action, which had been before contriv'd. The Fire-Arms and Croſs-bows fac'd about, and made head, and *Cortez*, with the Cavalry, endeavour'd to put a ſtop to the Enemy; but being inform'd of the Difficulty of the Ditch, which hindred the Retreat, he would have form'd his Battalions, and could not; becauſe the Confederates, who had receiv'd Orders to retire, being the firſt that came to the Ditch, precipitated themſelves into it in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable; ſo that his Orders were either not heard, or not obey'd.

MANY got over to the Cauſey in the Brigantines and Canoes, but many more flung themſelves into the Water, where they found whole Troops of *Mexican* Swimmers,

 who

who either wounded, or drowned them. *Cortez* was left with some of his own People to maintain the Fight, his Horse was killed under him with Arrows, and Captain *Francisco de Guzman* alighting to give him his, was taken Prisoner, without any Possibility of being rescued. *Cortez* at last got to the Brigantines, and return'd to his Quarters, wounded, and little less than defeated, without receiving any Comfort, or thinking himself any ways recompens'd by the great Slaughter of the *Mexicans*. Above forty *Spaniards* were taken alive, to serve as Sacrifices to their Idols; one Cannon was lost, above a thousand *Tlascalans* were kill'd, and there was scarce any one *Spaniard* that was not hurt. This was in Reality a very terrible Blow, the Consequences of which *Cortez* was very sensible of, but he would not suffer his Countenance to speak the Grief of his Heart, lest it should discover too much the greatness of the Misfortune: A hard and inevitable Task attending the Commanders of Armies, who are obliged in all Adversities to conceal their inward Concern, and to appear with an outward Air of Tranquillity.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Mexicans *celebrate their Victory with the Sacrifice of the* Spanish *Prisoners.* Guatimozin *terrifies the Confederates, and occasions many of them to forsake* Cortez; *but they return in greater numbers, and it is resolv'd to make Lodgments within the City.*

SANDOVAL and *Alvarado* enter'd the City at the same time, and met with the same Opposition, with very little difference in the Success of their Attacks; they gain'd Bridges, fill'd up Ditches, forc'd their way into the Streets, destroy'd Houses, and were set upon in their Retreat with the utmost fury of the Enemy. But they did not meet with the Misfortune of the

the great Ditch, and therefore their Loſs was leſs; tho' in both Attacks they loſt about twenty *Spaniards*, which makes up the Account of thoſe who ſay, That *Cortez* loſt above Sixty of his own People in the Action of *Cuyoacan*.

THE Treaſurer *Julian de Alderete*, conſidering the Damage which his Breach of Orders had occaſioned, was ſenſible of his Offence, and haſten'd to the General's Preſence with much Sorrow, offering his Head to attone for his Crime, who gave him a very ſevere Reprimand, without any farther Puniſhment; not thinking it proper at that Juncture to diſcourage the Soldiers by inflicting upon that Officer the Chaſtiſement which he merited. *Cortez* was obliged at this time to ſuſpend the offenſive War, and contented himſelf with blocking up the Place more cloſely, and ſtreightning the Enemy in their Proviſions, that he might take care of the Wounded, whoſe Numbers far exceeded thoſe who were unhurt.

UPON this Occaſion they were ſenſible of the ſingular Gift of a private Soldier, nam'd *Juan Catalan*, who without any other Medicine than a little Oil, and certain Words and Benedictions, cur'd their Wounds in ſo ſhort a time, that it did not look like the Work of Nature The Vulgar call this kind of Surgery, curing by *Enſalmo*, without any other Reaſon for it, than the having heard ſome Verſes out of the *Pſalms* among the Bleſſings: A Skill or Profeſſion which Morality does not always allow, and which is ſometimes permitted after a very ſtrict Examination. However in this Caſe it would be no Preſumption to look upon ſuch a marvellous Effect as the Work of Heaven, the Grace of healing being one of thoſe Gifts God is pleaſed ſometimes of his meer Goodneſs to confer upon Man: Nor is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that there ſhould be any Concurrence of the evil Spirit in the means of curing ſo many *Spaniards*, when that Enemy was endeavouring at the ſame time to deſtroy them by the Suggeſtions of his Oracles. *Herrera* ſays, that this wonderful Cure was wrought by a *Spaniſh* Woman, call'd *Iſabel Rodriguez*, but we rather chuſe to follow *Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo*, who was then upon the Spot; and notwithſtanding it is certainly a great Misfortune to an Hiſtorian to meet with theſe Contradictions in Authors, yet he is not always oblig'd to diſcuſs and canvaſs them; for the Fact being undeniable, it is of ſmall Importance to know who was the Inſtrument of doing it.

BUT

BUT let us return to the *Mexicans*, who celebrated their Victory with great Rejoycings. That Night the *Spaniards* saw from their Quarters, all the Temples of the City crown'd with innumerable Lights, and Vessels of Perfumes, and in the principal Temple, dedicated to the God of War, they heard the Sound of military Instruments in several Concerts, which were not altogether disagreeable. With these pompous Preparations, they celebrated the Sacrifice of those miserable *Spaniards* who were taken alive, the Blood of whose leaping Hearts still warm, was sprinkled upon their horrible Idol; while those wretched Victims with their latest Breath were calling upon the God of Truth. This was suppos'd to be the occasion of that extraordinary Solemnity, and the Fires gave so great a Light, that the Motion of the People was perceiv'd; but some Soldiers went so far as to affirm, that they could distinguish the Voices, and knew the particular Men. A dismal Spectacle, which affected the Imagination still more than it did the Eye, and the Consideration was so melancholy and moving, that *Cortez* himself could not refrain from shedding Tears; nor those who were with him, forbear following his Example.

THE Advantage they had gain'd, joined to the Satisfaction of having appeas'd their God of War, by the Sacrifice of so many *Spaniards*, so far rais'd the Pride of the *Mexicans*, that the very same Night, a little before break of Day, they advanced by the three Causeys to beat up the Quarters, with a design to set fire to the Brigantines, and to compleat the Destruction of those People, whom they, with good Reason, concluded to be either wounded, or quite spent with Fatigue: but they knew not how to conceal their Motion; for the infernal Trumpet, which inspir'd them with so much Fury, turning their Despair into religious Worship, gave notice of their Approach, and the *Spaniards* were so well prepar'd to receive them, that they were repuls'd by the Artillery of the Brigantines, and some Pieces which were mounted at their Lodgment, which playing along the Causeys upon those Throngs of People, sufficiently chastis'd them for their Presumption.

THE next Day *Guatimozin* employ'd several Artifices (suggested to him by his own Ingenuity) which the most Skilful in military Affairs are wont to value themselves upon. He gave out, that *Cortez* had been kill'd in his Retreat

on

on the Cauſey; thereby giving the People hopes that they ſhould ſhortly be deliver'd from their Oppreſſors: he ſent the Heads of the ſacrificed *Spaniards* to all the neighbouring Towns, that thoſe Tokens of his Victory might bring thoſe who had fallen off from him back to their Obedience; and laſtly, he reported, that their ſupreme Deity, the God of War, being appeas'd by the Heart's Blood of thoſe their Enemies, had inform'd him, in an intelligible Voice, that the War ſhould be at an end in eight Days, and that all ſhould infallibly periſh who neglected this Advice. This he invented, concluding that he ſhould quickly make an end of all the *Spaniards*; and he found means to ſend ſeveral Perſons unknown into the Enemies Quarters, who ſpread theſe Threatnings of his God among the *Indian* Nations, which ſerv'd againſt him: A notable Contrivance entirely to deject the Spirit of thoſe People, already diſheartned by the Death of ſo many *Spaniards*, and the dreadful Slaughter of their own Troops, the Multitude of the wounded, and the great Concern of their Commanders.

THE Oracles of that Idol had ſuch an eſtabliſh'd Reputation among the moſt diſtant Nations, that the *Indians* were eaſily perſuaded of the Infallibility of thoſe Threats; the number of eight Days, ſo preciſely limited for the fatal Period of their Lives, having ſuch an Effect upon their Imagination, that they reſolv'd immediately to quit the Army, and during the two or three firſt Nights, the greateſt part of the Confederate Troops abandoned their Quarters; and that ſenſeleſs Apprehenſion was ſo powerful among thoſe Nations, that even the *Tlaſcalans* and *Tezcucans* disbanded with the ſame Diſorder, either becauſe they really fear'd the Oracle as well as the reſt, or that they were led away by the Example of thoſe who did. None remain'd behind, except the Commanders and Men of Note, who perhaps were as much affraid; but if they were, they ſtill valu'd their Lives leſs than their Honour.

THIS unlook'd for Accident was a freſh Affliction to *Cortez*, as almoſt cauſing him to deſpair of the Succeſs of his Enterprize; but the moment that he was acquainted with the Occaſion of that ſudden Change, he ſent their own Commanders after the Fugitives to ſtop them, temporizing with their Fear, 'till ſuch time as the eight Days aſſign'd by the fallacious Oracle, being paſt, they might be ſenſible of the

Imposture and Falsity of the Prediction, and better dispos'd to return to the Army. This notable Contrivance of *Cortez* had the desir'd Effect; for when the eight Days were expir'd, the *Indians* became capable of Persuasion, and having fully recover'd from their Fright, return'd to their Quarters with fresh Vigour and Resolution.

DON *Hernando*, Prince of *Tezeuco*, sent his Brother to bring back those of his Nation; who return'd with them, and some new Levies that were coming to join the Army.

THE *Tlascalan* Deserters, who were of the meanest sort of People, did not dare to proceed on their Journey, for fear of exposing themselves to a certain Punishment; but waited to see the Event of the Prediction, with a design to join such of their Nation, as should have the good fortune to escape after the imaginary Defeat: but at the same time that they were undeceiv'd of their vain Credulity, they had the good luck to have an Opportunity of incorporating themselves with a Reinforcement that was coming from *Tlascala*, and were the better receiv'd in the Army upon their Return.

THIS Increase of Forces, and the great Noise the Distress of the Capital City made in the neighbouring Countries, prevail'd with several Nations who had 'till then been either Enemies, or Neuters, to declare in favour of the *Spaniards*. One of the most considerable was the Nation of the *Otomies*, a fierce untamed People, who, after the Example of Beasts, preserv'd their Liberty amongst Woods and Mountains, and had hitherto kept themselves free from the Subjection of the *Mexican* Empire, without any other Fortification than the Misery and Sterility of their Country, which afforded no Temptation to a Conqueror. Thus *Cortez* once more found himself at the Head of an Army of upwards of two hundred thousand Men, passing in a few Days from a terrible Storm to an agreeable Calm; attributing, as he always did, this wonderful and sudden Change to the immediate Finger of God, whose ineffable Providence often permits Adversities, to awaken in the Minds of Men the Sense of his Bounties and Benefits.

THE *Mexicans* were not idle during this Suspension of Arms to which the *Spaniards* were reduced. They made frequent Sallies, beating up the *Spanish* Quarters both by Night and Day, and were always repuls'd with great Loss, without either damaging or terrifying their Enemies. By some

of

of the laſt Priſoners, *Cortez* was inform'd of the great Diſtreſs the City was in, that the Soldiers were diſſatisfy'd, and the People reduced to Extremity for want of Bread and Water. That abundance of People died by drinking the brackiſh Water of their Pits, and that the inconſiderable quantity of Proviſions they got by the means of thoſe Canoes which had eſcap'd the Brigantines, were equally divided among the Nobles, and became an additional Subject of Impatience and Diſcontent to the Populace, whoſe Clamours began to give ſome Suſpicion of their Fidelity: Upon which Intelligence, *Cortez* aſſembled his Captains to conſult, what was moſt proper to be done in the preſent Situation of Affairs.

HE repreſented to them the ſmall Hopes he had that Want would oblige the Beſieged to ſurrender, becauſe of the implacable Hatred they bore the *Spaniards*, and of thoſe Anſwers of their Idols, with which the Devil fomented it. He gave his own Opinion, that it was beſt to proceed immediately to Action, for the Reaſon he had alledged, and for fear the Allies ſhould again deſert him; a People eaſily mov'd, and who, as they were ſerviceable in the Day of Battle, were endanger'd by the Idleneſs of Quarters, being always deſirous to engage, and not capable of conceiving that the Siege they were then carrying on was a real War, or that in thoſe Intervals between the Attacks any Detriment was done to the Enemy.

THEY were unanimouſly of Opinion, to continue to make Aſſaults, without quitting the Siege; and *Cortez*, who was ſenſible, by the Succeſs of the laſt Engagement, how much he ſuffered in his Retreats, always expoſed to the utmoſt Fury of the Enemy, reſolv'd to leave ſtrong Garriſons in his Quarters, and in the Place of Arms, and make a general Attack by the three Cauſeys at once, in order to take Poſts within the City, which were to be maintain'd at all hazards; each Body endeavouring to advance as far as the great Square call'd *Tlateluco*, where they were to join and act as occaſion ſhould require. The Enterprize upon *Mexico* would have been much forwarder, or perhaps quite over, if they had taken this Reſolution at the Beginning: But human Prudence and Fore-ſight is ſo limited and confin'd, that it is no ſmall Token of Judgment, to be inſtructed by Miſcarriages and ill Succeſs: and Men are very often obliged to found their juſt Maxims of Conduct upon the Correction of Errors.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Cortez *carries on his three Attacks at once. The whole Army joins in the great Square of* Mexico, *call'd* Tlateluco. Guatimozin *retires to the fartheſt Part of the City. The* Mexicans *make ſeveral Efforts, and uſe divers Stratagems, to divert the* Spaniards.

CORTEZ having made proviſion of Water, Victuals, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of his Troops in a City where all things were wanting, the three Captains, at the dawning of the appointed Day, marched out of their reſpective Quarters; *Pedro de Alvarado* from *Tacuba*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval* from *Tapeaquilla*, and the General himſelf, with the Body of Troops, commanded by *Chriſtoval de Olid*, from *Cuyoacan*; each of them having his Brigantines and Canoes to ſupport him. They found the three Cauſeys in a Poſture of Defence, the Bridges drawn up, and the Ditches all cleared and guarded with ſuch an enormous multitude of Men in Arms, as if the War had been but that Day begun. All theſe Difficulties they however ſurmounted with the ſame Induſtry as they had done all the reſt; and after ſome, not very conſiderable Detention, the three Bodies, much about the ſame time, arrived in the City: They eaſily gained the ruined Streets, by reaſon they were but faintly defended by the Enemy, whoſe main Dependance was upon thoſe where the Tops of the Houſes were all mann'd. All that the *Spaniards* attempted the firſt Day, was only to lodge themſelves, each Body fortifying their Quarters with the Ruins of the Houſes in the beſt manner they could, but depending chiefly upon the Vigilance of their Centinels.

THIS

THIS new Method of Proceeding caus'd great Trouble and Confusion among the *Mexicans*, and intirely broke all the measures they had taken to charge the *Spaniards* in their Retreat. The Rumour of it was soon spread throughout *Mexico*, the Danger greatly magnify'd, and every one's Thoughts were employed about providing some speedy Remedy against the impending Evil; and the Ministers and Nobles instantly repaired to *Guatimozin's* Palace, and, by their pressing Intreaties, prevailed with him to retire that very Night to a more distant Part of the City. Councils were continually held, and the Opinions were various and different; being either bold and resolute, or timorous and dejected, according as the Understanding followed the Dictates of the Heart. Some voted, that the King, for the Security of his Royal Person, should immediately be conveyed to some Place less exposed; others were for fortifying that Part of the City where the Court then was; and others proposed, that the first step they took, should be to use their utmost Efforts to dislodge the Enemy from the Posts they had possessed themselves of. *Guatimozin* inclined to the Advice of those who expressed the greatest Resolution; so that, rejecting all thoughts of abandoning *Mexico*, he declared, that he was fully determined to share his Fate with his People; and that moment gave orders, that preparation should be made to attack the Enemy in their Quarters at Day-break, with the whole Remainder of his Forces. To this purpose, the Chiefs, with all possible Expedition, assembled all their Troops, which were divided into three Bodies, with the design of exerting their last Strength, in this definitive Effort, to the total destruction of the *Spaniards*. Soon after the Dawning of the Morning, the Enemy presented themselves within sight of the three Lodgments, whither the News of their Motions was already arrived, but the Artillery, which play'd upon the Avenues, made such a terrible Slaughter in their Van-Guard, that they durst not advance to put their Orders in execution, and were soon convinced, that their Attempt was wholly impracticable: So that, without venturing near enough to come to Handy-Blows, they began to give back, endeavouring to make what was a real Flight be look'd upon only as an orderly Retreat; but that Motion, as it was slow in the Front, gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity

to advance, till they could use their Weapons upon the terrify'd *Indians*: insomuch, that without any other trouble than what they were at in the Pursuit, they entirely routed and dispersed the Enemy, and bettered their Quarters for the ensuing Night.

HOWEVER, the Difficulties which the *Spaniards* had to encounter afterwards, were still greater; being obliged, as they advanced, to destroy Houses, to level Works, and to fill up the Ditches which were cut cross every Street. All this was nevertheless so happily, and so expeditiously effected, that, in less than four Days, the three Leaders came in sight of the *Tlateluco*, which was the Center whither, by different Lines, they had all directed their course.

PEDRO DE ALVARADO was the first who arrived at that spacious Square, where he found the Enemy, which still had retreated before him, endeavouring to draw up in Battle-Array, and to make a stand; but he gave them not time to do as they intended, neither was it indeed an easy matter for those *Indians*, when they were once in disorder, to return to a Charge; so that, at the very first Onset, they abandoned the Ground, and, in great confusion and precipitation, retired to the Streets on the opposite Side. *Alvarado*, being now at leisure to look about him, observed that there was, at a small distance, a very large Temple, the Towers and Ascent whereof were possessed by the Enemy; and thereupon he immediately detached some Companies to drive them from thence, and to post themselves there, in order to secure his Rear; which Orders, with little or no difficulty, they soon perform'd, by reason that the *Indians* who were left to defend that Post, were already retiring, after the example of the rest. He then, in order to make his lodgment, drew up his Troops into one Body, making a smoke from the Top of the above-mentioned Temple, either as a Signal for the other Captains, his Friends, to know where he was, or, by that means, to gain their Applause for his successful Diligence.

SOON after came up, by a different Avenue, the Detachment properly belonging to *Christoval de Olid*, but then under the Command of General *Cortez*, himself; and the confused Throng of *Mexicans* which fled before him into that Square, fell in upon the Battalion which *Alvarado* had, though with another design, just before drawn up in Order of Battel; where those Wretches, being attacked

attacked on every ſide, moſt of them periſhed: and the like Fate attended thoſe who were driven in thither by *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who likewiſe, preſently after, arrived.

THOSE of the Enemy who had retir'd to the Streets which led to the other parts of the City, perceiving that the whole Force of the *Spaniards* was united, ran away with the utmoſt precipitation to defend the Perſon of their Prince, believing themſelves now come to the laſt Conflict; whereby the *Spaniſh* General had an Opportunity to lodge himſelf to the beſt advantage without any Oppoſition or Interruption: which he did, and poſted ſome Companies in the adjacent Streets to ſecure his Quarters from the Enemies Inſults, ordering the Commanders of the Brigantines and Canoes to ply continually about the three Cauſeys, and to give him Notice of whatever ſhould occur worth Obſervation.

IT was at the ſame time abſolutely requiſite to clear the Place from the dead Bodies; and ſeveral Companies of the Confederate *Indians* were employ'd to caſt them into the Canals of thoſe Streets where the Water was deepeſt; but thoſe *Indians* had *Spaniſh* Overſeers and Commanders, to prevent their running away with their wretched Burdens to make a Banquet of human Fleſh, which was the deteſtable Solemnity with which thoſe miſguided People were ever wont to conclude the Celebration of their Victories: notwithſtanding which Precaution, it was not poſſible wholly to prevent that Abomination, yet they obſtructed its Exceſs, and diſguis'd that Toleration under the Mask of Ignorance.

THIS Night ſeveral Parties of miſerable Peaſants, more than half dead with Famine, came to the Quarters to ſurrender themſelves, giving up their Liberty for Subſiſtence; and notwithſtanding it was generally ſuſpected that they had been diſmiſs'd as uſeleſs Mouths, yet their deplorable Condition rais'd ſuch Commiſeration in all the Beholders, that the General order'd them ſome Refreſhment, that they might be enabled to ſeek their Livelihood abroad in the Country.

THE next Morning all the Streets within the Enemy's Diſtrict were filled with armed *Indians*, but they were poſted there only to cover thoſe who were working upon the Fortifications, which they were making for their ultimate Retreat;

treat; and *Cortez* perceiving that they did not attempt any Hostilities, nor by any of their usual Insults offer to provoke him, suspended the Attack which he at first had determined, being inclined once more to offer them Peace, as supposing that they might be now dispos'd to come to an Accommodation, or at least, that they would be convinced that he did not thirst after their Destruction, since he proffer'd them favourable Conditions at a juncture when his whole Power was united in the very Heart of their City, the greatest part whereof was already in his possession. The Message was carried by three or four of the principal Prisoners, and *Cortez* was impatiently waiting for an Answer, as not doubing but that the Proposal would be gladly receiv'd, because it was observ'd that those Multitudes of the Populace who were wont to be always ready to advance to defend the Streets, were intirely withdrawn.

THE Quarter to which *Guatimozin* with his Ministers, Nobles, and Soldiery, was retir'd, was a very spacious Angle of the City, the greatest part whereof was defended by its bordering upon the Lake; and the rest, which was at no great distance from the great Square of *Tlateluco*, was at every Avenue fortify'd by a sort of strong Wall, made of huge Planks and Fascines, which reach'd the Buildings on either side of those respective Streets, before each of which was a broad and deep Ditch full of Water, which they had dug across the Streets to give a Current to the Waters of the Canals. The ensuing Morning *Cortez*, followed by the greatest part of the *Spaniards*, march'd out to view the Ground, which the Enemy had forsaken, and advanced till he came within sight of those Fortifications, which he found cover'd with an incredible Multitude of Men in Arms, but who yet seem'd to be dispos'd to Peace, for they neither sounded their warlike Instruments, nor made the accustom'd Out-cries. The General drew back, and return'd several times with the *Spaniards*, without once offering to molest or provoke them; and it appeared that the *Mexicans* had Orders to do the like, because they still pointed their Weapons downwards, signifying, by their Silence and Stillness, that the Treaty which occasion'd that sort of Truce was no way disagreeable to them.

IT was very remarkable upon this Occasion, with what Care they endeavour'd to disguise their Distress, and conceal

ceal the Neceſſities under which they labour'd, and what Oſtentation they uſed to make the *Spaniards* believe, that notwithſtanding they had no Averſion to the Overtures of Peace, it was not thro' want of Means or Courage to proſecute the War, that they were willing to accept it. They ſat in publick upon the Works to eat, and flung Cakes of *Maiz* among the common People, to ſhew that they had Plenty of Proviſions; and from time to time ſeveral of their Chiefs ſally'd out, and challeng'd the ſtouteſt Champion of the *Spaniards* to a ſingle Combat: But thoſe Challengers did not long continue there, ſoon retiring in again, as well pleaſed with the Bravado, as they could have been with the Victory, had they obtained it. One of them indeed advanced near the Place where *Cortez* ſtood, and, by the Ornaments of his Nakedneſs, ſeem'd to be a Perſon of ſome Diſtinction; his Arms were a Sword and Buckler of one of the *Spaniards*, whom they had ſacrificed. This *Indian*, with the greateſt Arrogance, perſiſted in his Defiance, inſomuch that *Cortez*, quite out of Patience with his Noiſe and preſumptuous Behaviour, order'd his Interpreter to tell him, "That if he would bring ten others like himſelf, he "would give leave to that *Spaniard* (*pointing to his Page* "*who bore his Shield*) to engage them all at once." The *Mexican* was not inſenſible of the Contempt, but, without ſeeming to take any notice of it, continued his Defiance with ſtill greater Inſolence; and the Page, whoſe Name was *Juan Nunez de Mercado*, a Youth about ſixteen, or at moſt ſeventeen Years of Age, ſuppoſing that this Affair regarded him, ſince his Maſter had directly pointed him out, without being obſerved got out of the Croud, and, making the beſt ſhift he could to get over the Ditch, attack'd the Challenger, who ſtood ready prepar'd; but the Page, receiving the firſt Blow upon his Shield, at the ſame Inſtant gave his Adverſary ſo bold and vigorous a Thruſt, that, without needing a ſecond Wound, he brought him down dead upon the Spot. This Action was greatly applauded by the *Spaniards*, and admired by the Enemy. The Page, immediately after his Exploit, returned, and threw down the Sword and Buckler of the vanquiſhed *Mexican* at the General's Feet, who was ſo highly pleaſed with ſuch early Valour, that he embraced him with great Tenderneſs, and, with his own Hand, girt on upon him that Sword which with ſuch Bravery he had won, and enhanced the Reputa-

tion which he had acquired by his Merit, by admitting him, tho' so young, into the Conversation of the gravest and most distinguish'd Persons in the Army.

DURING the three or four Days Suspension of Arms, *Guatimozin* held several Councils to deliberate on the Overtures of Peace which had been made him, and the Majority voted for the admitting the Treaty, being sensible of the miserable Condition to which they were already reduced; while others, conforming their Suffrages to the Inclination of their Sovereign, shewed themselves willing to continue the War; but the detestable idolatrous Priests, whose Opinions were looked upon by those deluded People as the immediate and absolute Commands of their false Deities, supported the lesser Number, assuring Victory with dark and mysterious Menaces, and, like Oracles, inspiring the whole Assembly with the same diabolical Fury which possessed their own Breasts. Upon this it was unanimously resolved to prosecute the War, and immediately to renew their Hostilities, while *Guatimozin* disguised his Obstinacy under the specious Pretext of Obedience to his Gods; but before he broke up the Council, he gave Orders that all the *Piraguas* and *Canoes* should retire to a certain sort of Bay, which the Lake made in that part of the City, in order to secure a Retreat in case they should be driven to Extremity.

THIS Order was instantly put in execution, and an incredible Number of those Vessels made to that Bay, with no more People in them than were just necessary to conduct them thither; of which Motion immediate Notice was sent from the *Spaniards*, who were upon the Lake, to *Cortez*, who, without hesitation, presently concluded, That the *Mexicans* were using those Precautions with no other View than to secure their Prince's Person, leaving the War still on foot, and the Possession of the City to be disputed. Hereupon he appointed *Gonzalo de Sandoval* for Commander in Chief of all the Brigantines, with Orders to surround the Bay at a distance, and to have a watchful Eye upon whatever Motion the Enemy should happen to make. Soon after he advanced with his Troops, with a Design of approaching their Fortifications, and to forward the Peace by the Appearance of War: But the Enemy had already received Orders to defend themselves, and before the advanced Guard of the *Spaniards* came up, the

the *Indians* declared the Breach of the Treaty by their hostile Cries, and with a steady and resolute Countenance prepared for the Encounter; but it presently appear'd that their Haughtiness and Courage began to fail them: for they no sooner perceived the terrible Havock which the first Discharges of the Cannon made in their wooden Fortification, which they had foolishly imagin'd to be impenetrable, but they became sensible of their Danger, and, according to Appearances, they sent notice thereof to *Guatimozin*; for it was not long before they made Signs of demanding a Parley, by hanging out white Cloths, and very frequently repeating the word *Peace*.

THEY were given to understand by the Interpreters, that whoever had any Proposals to offer from their Prince, might approach; upon which Assurance three or four *Mexicans*, who by their Apparel seem'd to be Persons of some Note, appear'd on the further Side of the Ditch. These Deputies, having first made their accustom'd Humiliations, with an affected Gravity, told *Cortez*, "That the "Supreme Majesty of *Guatimozin*, their Lord and Sove-"reign, had named them his Servants to treat of an ami-"cable Accommodation, and had sent them to hear what "Proposals the Captain of the *Spaniards* had to make, in "order to inform his *Mexican* Majesty of the Articles of "the Capitulation." *Cortez* reply'd, "That his real and "only View was Peace, and that notwithstanding he had "it in his power to give Laws to those who so long had "refus'd to hearken to Reason, yet he once more offer'd "them Peace, and was ready to renew the Treaty which "they had broken: But that Affairs of this nature were "difficult to be adjusted by third Persons, wherefore it was "requisite that their Prince should either appear in Person, "or at least that he should approach with his Counsellors "and Ministers nearer at hand, in order to be the more "conveniently consulted, in case any Dispute or Difficulty "should arise; assuring them, that he was fully disposed "to agree to every thing that was not repugnant or inju-"rious to the superiour Authority of his own Sovereign; "with which View he promis'd upon his Word of Honour, "(which he also confirmed by an Oath) That he would not "only, on his Part, cause all Hostilities to cease, but "would likewise take particular Care that his Royal Person "should be in the greatest Security, and that he should be

"treated

" treated with all the Deference and Respect due to the " *Mexican* Emperor."

THE Deputies upon this immediately retir'd, seeming very well satisfied with this Answer, and the same Evening return'd to the same Place, with a Message to *Cortez*; telling him, " That his *Mexican* Majesty would not fail of " coming thither the next day, with his Ministers and Atten- " dants, to be near at hand to take Cognizance of the Arti- " cles of the Treaty." His real Intent was, with various Pretexts, to continue and prolong the Conferences, 'till all the *Piraguas* and Canoes could be got together in a Readiness, in order to secure his Retreat, which had been already positively resolv'd on: and accordingly the same Messengers return'd again at the Hour appointed, pretending, " That " a certain unforeseen Accident had prevented their Prince " from keeping his Word, and that he could not possibly " come 'till the Morrow." After this, *Guatimozin* again put off his Assignation, on pretence, of first adjusting some Points and Conditions relating to the Ceremonies and Formalities of that Interview; and in a word, four Days pass'd in these Excuses and Delays: nor was the Artifice discover'd 'till somewhat later than it should have been; for *Cortez* firmly believ'd that they really desir'd Peace, founding that Belief upon the Exigence of their present Condition, and had actually made some Preparations for the Reception of *Guatimozin*, with State and Magnificence. But when Information was brought him of what pass'd in the Lake, he was inwardly asham'd of his having suffer'd himself to be so impos'd upon, and for having retain'd so good an Opinion of the Sincerity of those Barbarians, after so many Delays, and could not forbear breaking out into Threats against them; shewing that Anger and Resentment, to conceal his Confusion, and seeming sensible of the Difference there is between being openly insulted, and deceitfully surpriz'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Mexicans *attempt to make their Retreat by the Lake. They engage the Brigantines with their Canoes, in order to facilitate* Guatimozin's *Escape. He is made Prisoner, and the City surrenders.*

THE Day being come, which *Cortez* had appointed the *Mexican* Deputies, as the utmost Period of Time he would allow them to resolve in, *Gonzalo de Sandoval* discover'd, at the Dawn of the Morning, great Multitudes of *Mexicans* with all imaginable diligence imbarking on board the Canoes, which were in the Bay. Of this Motion he sent immediate Notice to *Cortez*, and getting together the Brigantines which were distributed in divers Creeks, he slowly made towards them 'till he was near enough to play his Artillery. At the same time the Canoes of the Enemy, on board of which were all the Nobility, and almost all the principal Persons of the City, began to move, they having unanimously resolv'd to make their last Efforts against the Brigantines, and at all Hazards to maintain the Fight, till their Prince had made his Retreat; after which, they were to disperse and follow him by several Ways. Accordingly they put this Design in execution, attacking the Brigantines with such Vigour, that without being any wise dismay'd at the Havock the Cannon made among them at a distance, they undauntedly advanced to receive the Strokes of Swords and Lances. But at the same time that the *Mexicans* were engaging with such extraordinary Fury, *Gonzalo de Sandoval* observed that from the farthest part of the Bay, six or seven *Piraguas*, with the utmost force of Oars, were making the best of

 their

their way; upon which he immediately order'd Captain *Garcia de Holguin* to chace them with his Brigantine, and, with as little Damage as possible, to endeavour to take them.

HE pitched upon *Holguin* for this Action, as well for the Confidence he had in his Courage and Diligence, as for the great Swiftness of his Vessel, which Difference of that Brigantine from the rest, might perhaps depend upon the Strength and Dexterity of his Rowers; or probably was rather owing to the Goodness of her Make, by which she was more obedient to the Oars; a Circumstance of no small Advantage and Importance in those Vessels. That Captain, without losing a moment's time, more than was just necessary for tacking about, and for the Rowers to take Breath, used such extraordinary Diligence, that he soon overtook them; when turning the Head of his Brigantine, he fell in upon the foremost *Piragua*, which seem'd to command the rest. They all at once ceas'd from rowing, and lay upon their Oars when they found themselves attacked, and some of those who were in the first *Piragua* call'd out amain to the Brigantine not to fire; saying, the Royal Person of his *Mexican* Majesty was on board that Vessel, which Words were interpreted by some *Spanish* Soldiers, who began to have a small smattering of the *Mexican* Language: and the better to make themselves understood, they flung down their Arms, accompanying their Request with all the Demonstrations of People who surrendred. Upon this, the Brigantines boarded the *Piragua*, into which *Garcia de Holguin*, with some of the *Spaniards*, immediately leap'd, in order to secure the Prize. *Guatimozin* instantly advanc'd, and, distinguishing the Captain by the Respect paid him by the rest, said, *I am your Prisoner, and ready to go whithersoever you think fit to conduct me: All I have to desire of you, is, that some regard may be had to the Honour of the Empress my Consort, and to that of the Women who accompany her.* He then pass'd into the Brigantine, and gave his Hand to that Princess to help her up; and was so much master of himself, and so far from being in any Consternation, that perceiving *Holguin* to be in some Concern about the other *Piraguas*, he with great Sedateness of Countenance, added, *You have no occasion, Sir, to give your self any Trouble concerning those my Followers, for they will all come to die at the Feet of their Prince*: and upon the first Signal he made them, they let their Weapons drop out of their Hands, and followed the

J. Clark sc. 1724.

the Brigantine as Priſoners, in obedience to their Sovereign's Command.

GONZALO DE SANDOVAL was all that time hotly engaged with the Canoes, and, by the Reſiſtance he met with, he became ſenſible of the Quality of thoſe who defended them, and of the great Courage and Fidelity of the *Mexican* Nobility; who, at the hazard of their own Lives, had undertaken to ſecure their Prince's Liberty. But the Conflict was of no long continuance, becauſe they ſoon had notice of his being taken; which they no ſooner underſtood, but their loud military Cries were converted into dolorous, yet leſs noiſy Lamentations. They did not only ſurrender with little or no reſiſtance, but ſeveral of the Nobility requeſted that they might be taken on board the Brigantines, to follow the Fortune of their Prince.

GARCIA DE HOLGUIN came up at the ſame time, having firſt diſpatch'd away a Canoe with the News to *Cortez*; and without bearing down too near upon *Sandoval's* Brigantine, he gave him, as he paſſed by, a brief Account of what had happen'd: but perceiving that he was deſirous of taking charge of that important Priſoner, he made the beſt of his way, leſt *Sandoval* ſhould ſend him an Order to that purpoſe, and his refuſing to obey, ſhould be look'd upon as a Crime.

THE *Spaniards* in the City were, in the mean while, carrying on their Attack againſt the Wooden Fortification, and the *Mexicans* who had undertaken to defend it, in order to make a Diverſion on that ſide, maintain'd their ground with notable Courage and Reſolution, till being inform'd by their Sentinels of the Misfortune of the *Piraguas* which attended *Guatimozin*, they, more like Men aſtoniſhed than terrify'd, retired in confuſion and diſorder.

THE Occaſion of that ſudden Change was ſoon known: for at that very inſtant arrived the Canoe ſent by *Holguin*; and *Cortez*, lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, as acknowledging the Supreme Author of all his Fortune and Succeſs, ordered his Captains to keep their ground within view of the Fortifications, without attempting any thing till farther Inſtructions; ſending at the ſame time two Companies of *Spaniards* to the Landing-Place to guard the Royal Priſoner, and then went himſelf to receive him not far from the Quarters, which he did with very great Courteſy and Reſpect, Signs and Geſtures ſerving inſtead of

of Words: to which, *Guatimozin* made a return in the ſame Language, endeavouring to conceal the Agitations of his Breaſt, by a forced Complaiſance.

BEING come to the Entrance into the General's Quarters, they all made a ſtop, and *Guatimozin*, with the Empreſs, went in firſt, affecting to ſhew that he had no reluctance to his Confinement. They both immediately took their ſeats; but that Prince, ſeeming to recollect himſelf, preſently roſe up again, and deſired *Cortez* to ſit down. He was, in theſe Beginnings of his Adverſity, ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that, knowing the Interpreters by the Place where they were poſted, he began the Converſation, ſaying to the General, *Why do you delay, valiant and renowned Captain, with that Sword you wear by your Side, to take away my Life? Priſoners of my Rank are but a Burden to the Conqueror. Diſpatch me then at once, and let me have at leaſt the ſatisfaction of dying by your Hand, ſince I could not obtain the Happineſs of loſing my Life in my Country's Defence.*

HE would gladly have proceeded; but here all his Conſtancy fail'd him, and only his Tears uttered the reſt, putting a ſtop to his Words, and forcing their way thro' his unwilling Eyes. His Royal Conſort bore him company with leſs reſerve, and *Cortez* found himſelf obliged to do violence to his Pity and Compaſſion, to avoid following their Example: but after allowing thoſe Illuſtrious Priſoners ſome time to vent their Sorrow, he anſwered *Guatimozin*, "That he was not his Priſoner, nor was his Greatneſs fallen into ſo inglorious a Condition as that; but "that he was Priſoner to a Monarch ſo great and powerful, "that the whole Univerſe had no one Potentate who was "his Superior in any reſpect, and ſo good and bountiful "withal, that, from his Royal Clemency, he might not "only hope to regain his loſt Liberty, but even the Empire of his Anceſtors, with the glorious Addition of his "Friendſhip: And that, in the mean while, till he could "receive his Sovereign's Inſtructions, he ſhould be reſpected "by the *Spaniards*, and treated among them in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould not miſs his own *Mexican* Subjects." *Cortez* would have proceeded to comfort him with ſome Examples of other unfortunate Princes, but *Guatimozin* was then too heavily oppreſſed with Grief to admit of any Con-

Consolation, for which reason the General fearing that he should rather mortify, than appease him, desisted for the present; consolatory Words and Persuasions being of little Force or Efficacy to make any Impressions upon the Minds of dethroned Potentates; neither is it an easy matter to find Resignation in those Hearts which are ignorant of the True God.

GUATIMOZIN was a Prince about twenty three, or twenty four Years of Age, so brave, that, at those Years, he had by his Exploits, and Victories in the Field, risen to those Honours which qualified the Nobles to ascend the Throne. He was, as to his Person, extreamly well proportion'd, tall, yet robust and strong built, and of so fair a Complexion, that among those of his own Nation, he look'd like one of a different Climate. His Face, which suited well with the rest, discover'd a haughty Mind, and was so habituated to command Respect, that even amidst the inward Agitations of his Soul, he lost nothing of the Majesty of his Air. The Empress, who was about the same Age, by the Gracefulness of her Carriage, and the Vivacity of her Mien, attracted the Eyes of all; but her Beauty was rather manly and majestick, than delicate, looking well at the first Sight; which Agreeableness soon diminish'd, tho' the Majesty of her Presence still continu'd. She was Niece to the Great *Motezuma*, or, as some say, his Daughter; which when *Cortez* understood, he renew'd the Offers of his best Service, professing himself oblig'd to pay to the Person of that Princess, the Veneration he ow'd to the Memory of that Monarch.

IN the mean while he thought it necessary to return to his Troops, in order to reduce that part of the City, which was still in the Enemy's possession; so that breaking off the Conversation for the present, he very courteously took leave of his Royal Prisoners, giving them in charge to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with a sufficient Guard; but before his Departure, word was brought him, that *Guatimozin* desir'd to speak with him: his Design, as it presently appear'd, being to intercede for the *Mexicans*, his late Vassals. When the General came, that Prince, in the most pressing Terms, conjur'd him, *not to injure or misuse them; since they only wanted the knowledge of his being a Prisoner, to in-*

duce them to surrender. He had so much Presence of Mind, that he readily guess'd at the Occasion of the General's Departure, and in the midst of his Afflictions had the Welfare and Preservation of his Subjects at heart: a Care truly worthy of a princely Mind! And notwithstanding *Cortez* gave him Assurances that he would treat them with Lenity, yet he earnestly desir'd Permission for one of his own Ministers to go along with him, to dispose the *Mexican* Troops, and the rest of his Subjects to submit, and to tell them from him, "That they should obey the General of "the *Spaniards*, since it was not reasonable or prudent in "them to incense a Person who had their Prince in his "power, or refuse to conform themselves to the Decrees "of their Deities."

CORTEZ found the Army in the same Posture in which he had left it, nor had the least Alteration happen'd during his Absence; for the Enemy, who had retir'd upon the first Consternation they had been put into, by the news of their Emperor's being taken, had neither Courage enough left to defend themselves, nor Judgment to capitulate. *Guatimozin's* Minister enter'd their Quarters, and immediately upon his acquainting them with the Orders he brought, they threw down their Arms, and submitted.

BY the Mediation of that Minister, it was agreed, that they should march out without Arms or Baggage, which they immediately put in execution after so precipitate a Manner, that in a few Moments the Place was evacuated. It rais'd Admiration in the Beholders, to see the Multitudes of military Men that still remain'd, after so many Defeats and such considerable Losses. Great Care was taken to prevent their being any way molested or ill used in their Retreat; and such Deference and Regard was paid to the General's Orders, that there was not so much as an opprobrious or injurious Word heard among the Confederate *Indians*, who so mortally hated the *Mexicans*.

THE Troops then march'd into that remaining part of the City, where they found nothing but miserable Objects, horrible to the Sight, and dreadful even to the Thought; some sick and disabled Wretches, who could not follow the rest, and others grievously wounded, all calling upon Death to relieve them from their Misery, and exclaiming against the unseasonable Clemency of the Conquerors: but nothing

thing made so great an Impression upon the *Spaniards*, and fill'd their Souls with Horror so much, as the sight of certain Courts and deserted Houses, where the *Indians* had heap'd up the Bodies of all the Men of Note who had been slain in Battle, in order at leisure to celebrate their Funeral Obsequies; from whence proceeded such an intolerable Stench, that they were even afraid to breathe; and, in effect, the Air was little less than infected therewith, which obliged them to hasten their Retreat. *Cortez* having assign'd Quarters to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and *Pedro de Alvarado*, at some distance from that contagious Place, and given what other Orders he thought requisite, retired with his Prisoners to *Cuyoacan* (taking with him the Body of Troops commanded by *Christoval de Olid*) 'till the City could be cleans'd and freed from those Horrors; whither in a few days after he return'd, to consider of the propereſt Means to establish and maintain his Conquest, and to take necessary Precautions and Measures with regard to the Consequences which might attend this prosperous Expedition.

THE Imprisonment of *Guatimozin*, and the entire Reduction of *Mexico*, happened on the Thirteenth of *August*, in the Year 1521, being the Day of *St. Hypolito*; in Memory whereof, the City, to this day, celebrates the Festival of that great Martyr, under the Title of *Patron* of *Mexico*. The Siege continued ninety-three Days; and in the various Events of prosperous and adverse Fortune, the Judgment, Intrepidity, and Constancy of *Cortez*, is equally to be admir'd with the indefatigable Perseverance and Valour of the *Spaniards*, and the Unanimity and Obedience of the Confederate Nations; allowing to the *Mexicans* the Honour of having defended their Prince and Country with the utmost Efforts of Bravery and Patience.

AFTER the taking of *Guatimozin*, and the Conquest of the Capital City of that vast Empire, the Tributary Princes first came in to acknowledge, and to do Homage to the Conqueror; and their Example was soon follow'd by the Caziques of the circumjacent Districts, some being induced to it by the great Reputation of the *Spaniards*, and others compell'd by force of Arms; and in a short time was erected that noble Monarchy, which merits the Name of *New Spain*, the Great Emperor *Charles* the

the Fifth owing to *Hernan Cortez*, no less than a new Crown, well worthy of his Imperial Temples. A Wonderful Conquest, and a most Illustrious Conqueror, among those which many Ages rarely produce, and of which there are but few Examples in History!

FINIS.

ERRATA.

BOOK I.

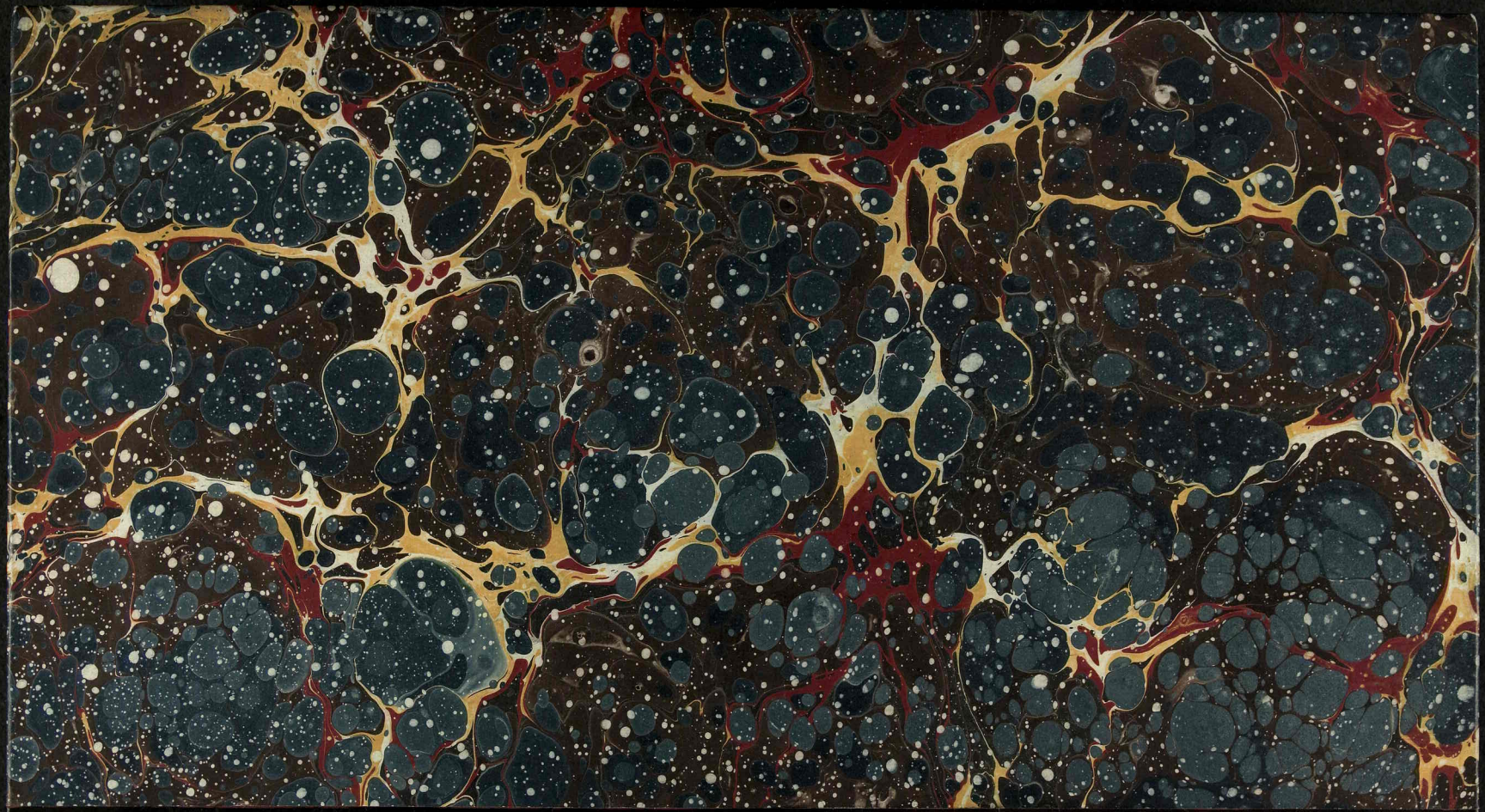
PAGE 18. *Line* 34. out of the, *read* to make a.
P. 44. *l.* 39. where, *r.* and where.
P. 45. *l.* 34. it, *r.* and it.
P. 55. *l.* 29. but had, *r.* but they had.
P. 57. *l.* 6. *dele* out.
P. 59. *l.* 27. James, *r.* Diego.
P. 60. *l. ult. dele* who.

BOOK II.

P. 69. *l.* 6. happening, *r.* happened.
P. 81. *l.* 14. *dele* the.
P. 82. *l.* 24. *dele* ordered.
P. 85. *l.* 41. *dele* inspired him.
P. 91. *l. ult.* brought over, *r.* brought back.
P. 97. *l.* 39. Content, *r.* Discontent.
P. 98. *l.* 19. Ears, *r.* Hearers.
P. 100. *l.* 22. some Rest, *r.* some Repose.
P. 104. *l.* 17. *dele* and.
P. 115. *l.* 10. new Friends, acquir'd *r.* new acquir'd Friends.
P. 121. *l.* 12. *after* use, *add*, and a desire that they should enlarge in his Praise.
P. 132. *l.* 15. and, *r.* which.
P. 143. *l.* 38. their own, *r.* our own.
Ditto l. 39. their Weariness, *r.* our Men.
P. 144. *l.* 25. and making, *r.* and yet making.

BOOK III.

P. 10. *l.* 38. to join, *r.* to get together.
P. 18. *l.* 6. and stop the Waters to annihilate them, *r.* and let loose the Floods to drown them.
Ditto l. 35. and different, *r.* and which requir'd different.
P. 20. *l.* 37. observed, *r.* observe.
P. 44. *l.* 31. Proposition and Agreement, *r.* Proportion and Suitableness.
Ditto l. 32. directed, *r.* pursued.
Ditto l. 34. prejudic'd Opinions, whose Subtilties, *r.* Subtilties and fond Conceits which.
P. 60. *l.* 26. Accounts, *r.* Examples.
P. 116. *l.* 35. leave him to the use of his own Reason, *r.* suffer our selves to be blinded by the plausibleness of his Reasons.
Ditto l. 36. bring it into the Judgment of the History, *r.* call them into Judgment in the History.
P. 117. *l.* 27. influenced, *r.* inspir'd.
P. 137. *l.* 15. said, *r.* and said.

F1230
.S697
Copy 3
RBSCD
fol.

16005370