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Let us leave this and say when Cortés heard of it he was very angry. Then when we saw that it was our fault that great disaster had happened, we began then and there to fill in that opening, and although it meant great labour and many wounds which the enemy inflicted while we were at work, and the death of six soldiers, in four days we had it filled in,¹ and at night we kept watch on the place itself, all three companies in the order I have already mentioned.

Let me now say that the towns situated in the lake when they saw how day by day we were victorious both on water and on land, and that the people of Chalco, Tlaxcala, and other pueblos had made friends with us, decided to sue Cortés for peace and with great humility they asked pardon if in any way they had offended us, and said that they had been under orders and could not do otherwise.² The towns that came in were Iztapalapa, Churubusco, Culucan, and Mixquic and all those of the fresh water lake, and Cortés told them that we should not move the camp until the Mexicans sued for peace or he had destroyed them by war. He ordered them to aid us with all the canoes that they possessed to fight against Mexico, and to come and build ranchos for Cortés and to bring him food, and they replied that they would do so, and they built the ranchos but brought very little food. However, our ranchos where we were stationed were never rebuilt so we remained in the rain, for those who have been in this country know that through the months of June, July and August it rains every day in these parts.

We made attacks on the Mexicans every day and succeeded in capturing many idol towers, houses, canals, and other openings and bridges which they had constructed from house to house, and we filled them all up with adobes and the timbers from the houses that we pulled down and destroyed and we kept guard over them, but notwithstanding all this trouble that we took, the enemy came back and deepened them and widened the openings and erected more barricades. And because

¹ By Friday, 28th June.

² From Cortés' account the submission of these towns appears to have taken place about 18th June.

our three companies considered it a dishonour that some should be fighting and facing the Mexican squadrons and others should be filling up passes and openings and bridges, Pedro de Alvarado, so as to avoid quarrels as to who should be fighting or filling up openings, ordered that one company should have charge of the filling in and look after that work one day, while the other two companies should fight and face the enemy, and that this should be done in rotation one day one company, and another day another company, until each company should have had its turn, and owing to this arrangement there was nothing captured that was not razed to the ground, and our friends the Tlaxcalans helped us. So we went on penetrating into the City, but at the hour for retiring all three companies had to fight in union, for that was the time when we ran the greatest risk. First of all we sent all the Tlaxcalans off the causeway, for it was clear that they were considerable embarrassment when we were fighting.

Guatemoc now ordered us to be attacked at all three camps at the same time by all his troops and with all the energy that was possible both on land and by water, and he ordered them to go by night during the modorra watch, so that the launches should not be able to assist us on account of the stakes. They came on with so furious an impetus that had it not been for those who were on the watch, who were over one hundred and twenty soldiers well used to fighting, they would have penetrated into our camp, and we ran a great risk as it was, but by fighting in good order we withstood them; however, they wounded fifteen of our men and two of them died of their wounds within eight days.

Also in the camp of Cortés they placed our troops in the greatest straits and difficulties and many were killed and wounded, and in the camp of Sandoval the same thing happened, and in this way they came on two successive nights and many Mexicans also were killed in these encounters and many more wounded. When Guatemoc and his captains and priests saw that the attack that they made on those two nights profited them nothing, they decided to come with all their combined forces at the dawn watch and attack our camp, and they came on so fearlessly that they surrounded us on two sides, and had even half defeated us and cut us off, when it pleased our Lord Jesus Christ to give us strength to turn and

close our ranks, and we sheltered ourselves to a certain degree with the launches, and with good cut and thrust, and advancing shoulder to shoulder, we drove them off. In that battle they killed eight and wounded many of our soldiers and they even injured Pedro de Alvarado. If the Tlaxcalans had slept on the causeway that night we should have run great risk from the embarrassment they would have caused us on account of their numbers, but the experience of what had happened before made us get them off the causeway promptly and send them to Tacuba, and we remained free from care. To go back to our battle, we killed many Mexicans and took prisoner four persons of importance. I well understand that interested readers will be surfeited with seeing so many fights every day but one cannot do less, for during the ninety and three days that we besieged this strong and great City we had war and combats every day and every night as well. However, when it seemed to us that we were victorious, great disasters were really coming upon us, and we were in the greatest danger of perishing in all three camps, as will be seen later on.

[*To return to Cortés' account of his doings.*]

24th June: When on my return to camp in the evening (of the 24th June) I heard about Pedro de Alvarado's reverse, I decided to go to his camp on the following morning and reprimand him for what had happened and to see how far he had advanced and where he had placed his camp. When I arrived there I was astonished to see how far he had penetrated into the city and the formidable passes and bridges which he had captured, and having seen them I could not impute much blame to him, and after talking over what was to be done I returned to my own camp.

I made several advances into the city during the next few days and was everywhere victorious. However, we had now been continuously fighting for more than twenty days, and every attack exposed us to great risk for the enemy were united and powerful and ready to fight to the death. The Spaniards, irritated at the delay, importuned me to advance and capture the market place [of Tlatelolco] for having gained that the enemy would have little space in which to defend themselves, and if they would not give in, would die of hunger and thirst

for they had nothing to drink but the salt water of the lake.

When I demurred to this plan, your Majesty's Treasurer (Julian de Alderete) told me that the whole camp was set on it and I ought to do it, and in the end they pressed me so greatly that after consultation with others I gave way. The next day (29th June) I called together the most important persons in the camp and we agreed to give notice to Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado that on the following day we should advance into the city and endeavour to reach the market place of Tlatelolco and I also sent them written instructions and asked them to send me seventy or eighty foot soldiers.

The following day (30th June) after hearing Mass there set out from our camp seven launches, more than three thousand canoes of our allies, and I followed with twenty-five horsemen and all my foot soldiers and those who had come from Tacuba, and when we reached the city I divided my force as follows:—From the position we had already gained there are three streets leading to the market place, or Tianguiz as the Indians call it, of Tlatelolco. Along the principal street I sent your Majesty's treasurer and accountant (Julian de Alderete) with seventy men and fifteen or twenty thousand of our allies and seven or eight horsemen as a rearguard, and as they carried the barricades they were to fill in the bridge openings, and for this purpose a dozen men carried mattocks, and our allies were very useful at this work. The other two streets lead from the Tacuba street to the market place, and they are narrower and there are causeways with bridges and canals. By the broadest of these two I ordered two captains to advance with eighty men and more than ten thousand Indian allies. At the entrance to the Tacuba street I posted two large cannon with eight horsemen to guard them. I myself with eight horsemen and one hundred foot soldiers including twenty-five crossbowmen and musketeers and a great host of our allies went on so as to advance along the narrowest street as far as possible.

At the entrance of the street I halted the horsemen and ordered them to stay there and not to follow me unless I sent for them. Then I dismounted and we reached a barricade at the end of a bridge and with the help of a small field piece and the musketeers and crossbowmen we carried it and went along the causeway, which had been broken down in two or three places. In addition to the three lines of attack which we

were following, our allies were so numerous that they swarmed over the azoteas in all directions and it seemed as if nothing could harm us. As the Spaniards carried those bridges and barricades our allies followed us along the causeway without making good, and I halted with about twenty Spaniards where there was an island, for I saw that some of our allies were surrounded by the enemy who sometimes drove them back and thrust them into the water, but with our help they rallied. In addition to this we had to take care that the people of the city did not emerge from the cross streets and attack in the rear the Spaniards who had advanced along the street, and who at this time sent to tell me that they had made great gains and were not far from the market place, and that in any case they should press forward, for they already heard the noise of battle which Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado were waging from their side. I sent to tell them on no account to go ahead without first thoroughly filling in the bridge openings so that in case of retreat the water should not trouble or impede them, for they knew that there lay the greatest danger. They sent back to say that every place they had captured had been made good, and I could go there and verify it for myself.

Having some misgiving lest they might err and be wanting in caution about filling in the bridge openings I went there and found that they had advanced across one breach in the street which was ten or twelve paces in width and the depth of the water that filled it was twice a man's height. In order to cross it they had thrown in timber and bundles of reeds and as they crossed with care, a few at a time, the timber and reeds had not given way with them, and they in the joy of victory were so dull witted as to think that they had left it quite firm.

At the moment that I reached that wretched bridge I saw that the Spaniards and many of our allies were retreating in full flight with the enemy setting on them like dogs and, when I saw that great disaster I began to shout: "Hold on!" and when I got to the water I found it full of Spaniards and Indians as though not a straw had been thrown into it, and the enemy in order to kill the Spaniards charged into the water after them, and canoes manned by the enemy came along the canals and carried off the Spaniards alive. The whole affair was so sudden

that seeing how the people were being killed I determined to stay there and die fighting.

All that I and those with me could do was to give a hand to some unfortunate Spaniards who were drowning and drag them out; some got out wounded and others half drowned, and others without arms, and we sent them to the rear. Then such numbers of the enemy charged on me and the dozen or fifteen Spaniards in my company that they completely surrounded us. As I was busy helping those who were drowning I did not see or think of the danger we were in and some of the Indians seized me and would have carried me off but for a captain of fifty (Cristóbal de Olea) who always attended me, and a youth (named Serma) of his company, who, after God, saved my life. Like the valiant man he was, Olea in saving my life lost his own.

Meanwhile the defeated Spaniards got along the causeway, and as it was small and narrow and on a level with the water, for the dogs had been careful to make it so, and many of our routed allies were pouring along it, it became so crowded that movement was slow and the enemy had time to reach it by water on either side and capture and kill at their will. A captain who was with me named Antonio Quiñones said to me: "Let us get away from here and save yourself, for you know that without you none of us will escape," but he could not prevail on me to go, and seeing this he seized me by the arms to urge me to flight, and although I was better pleased with death than with life, at the urgency of that captain and other companions who were present we began to retreat fighting with our swords and shields against the enemy who came rushing against us.

Then one of my servants arrived on horseback and cleared a small space, but at that moment from a roof he received a spear thrust in the throat which made him turn back, and while we were battling fiercely, waiting for the people to pass along that narrow causeway and gain safety and keeping back the enemy, another servant of mine brought a horse for me to mount, but such was the mud on the causeway from those who fell in and scrambled out of the water, that no one could keep his feet, all the more from the jostling of one against another in the efforts to save themselves.

I mounted, but not with the intention of fighting on the causeway for that was impossible on horseback, and if it could have been done the eight horsemen whom I had left on the island at the entrance of the causeway would have done so, but they could do no more than retreat along it, and even this was dangerous enough and two mares ridden by two of my servants fell from the causeway into the water, one being killed by the Indians and the other rescued by some foot soldiers. Another of my servants named Cristóbal de Guzman mounted a horse on the island to bring it to me so that I could escape, but before reaching me the Indians killed both him and the horse. His death caused grief throughout the camp and grief is still intense among those who knew him.

Notwithstanding all these dangers it pleased God that we who survived should reach the Calle de Tacuba which is very broad, and collect the troops while I and nine horsemen formed a rearguard. The enemy came on so greatly elated by victory and pride it seemed as though no one would be left alive, and retiring as best I could I sent to tell the treasurer and accountant to retreat to the Plaza with great caution, and I sent to say the same to the other two captains who had advanced by the street leading to the market place. Both one and the other had fought valiantly and captured many barricades and bridges which they had carefully filled in which was the reason of their suffering no loss in their retreat.

Before the treasurer and accountant retired the people of the city threw from the barricade where they were fighting the heads of two or three Spaniards which they had cut off, and the Treasurer could not tell at the time if they came from our troops or from those of Pedro de Alvarado.

We all got together in the Plaza when such hosts of the enemy charged on us from all directions that it was all we could do to keep them off, and this in a place where before our defeat they did not dare to await the approach of three horsemen or ten foot soldiers. Then they promptly burned incense of perfumes and resins of the country on the summit of a lofty tower near the Plaza as an offering to their Idols and as a sign of victory, and however much we might wish to prevent it, nothing could be done, for already our people were hastening towards our camp.

In this defeat the enemy killed thirty-five or forty Spaniards,

and more than a thousand of our Indian allies, and I was wounded in the leg, and we lost a small field piece, and many crossbows, muskets and other arms.

[*We must now turn to Bernal Diaz's account of the happenings on the 30th June.*]

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As Cortés saw that it was impossible to fill in all the openings, bridges, and canals of water that we captured day by day, which the Mexicans reopened during the night and made stronger than they had been before with barricades, and that it was very hard work fighting and filling in bridges and keeping watch all of us together (all the more as we were most of us wounded and twenty had died), he decided to consult his captains and soldiers who were in his camp, that is Cristóbal de Olid, Francisco Verdugo, Andrés de Tápia, the ensign Corral and Francisco de Lugo, and he also wrote to us in the camp of Pedro de Alvarado and to the camp of Sandoval to take the opinion of all us captains and soldiers. The question he asked was, whether it seemed good to us to make an advance into the City with a rush, so as to reach Tlatelolco, which is the great market of Mexico, and is much broader and larger than that of Salamanca, and that if we could reach it, whether it would be well to station all our three camps there, as from thence we should be able to fight through the streets of Mexico without having such difficulty in retreating and should not have so much to fill in, or have to guard the bridges. As was likely to happen in such discussions and consultations, some of us said that it was not good advice or a good idea to intrude ourselves so entirely into the heart of the City, but that we should remain as we were, fighting and pulling down and levelling the houses. We who held the latter opinion gave as the most obvious reason for it that if we stationed ourselves in Tlatelolco and left the causeways and bridges unguarded and deserted, the Mexicans—having so many warriors and canoes—would reopen the bridges and causeways and we would no longer be masters of these. They would attack us with their powerful forces by night and day, and as they always had

many impediments made with stakes ready prepared, our launches would not be able to help us, thus by the plan that Cortés was proposing we would be the besieged and the enemy would have possession of the land, the country and the lake, and we wrote to him about his proposal so that "it should not happen to us as it had happened before" (as the saying of the Mazegatos runs), when we went fleeing out of Mexico.

After Cortés had heard our opinions and the good reasons we gave for them the only result of all the discussion was that on the following day we were to advance with all the energy we could from all three camps, horsemen as well as crossbowmen, musketeers and soldiers and to push forward until we reached the great market place at Tlatelolco. When all was ready in all the three camps and our friends the Tlaxcalans had been warned as well as the people of Texcoco and those from the towns of the lake who had again given their fealty to His Majesty, who were to come with their canoes to help the launches, one Sunday morning (30th June) after having heard mass, we set out from our camp with Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortés set out for his camp, and Sandoval with his companies, and in full force each company advanced capturing bridges and barricades, and the enemy fought like brave warriors and Cortés on his side gained many victories, so too did Gonzalo de Sandoval on his side. Then we on our side had already captured another barricade and a bridge, which was done with much difficulty because Guatemoc had great forces guarding them, and we came out of the fight with many of our soldiers wounded, and one soon died of his wounds, and more than a thousand of our Tlaxcalan friends alone came out of it injured; however, we still followed up our victory very cheerfully.

[Bernal Diaz here gives an account of the disaster which overtook the division under Cortés which has already been given in Cortés' own words.]

Let us cease speaking about Cortés and his defeat and return to our army, that of Pedro de Alvarado, and say how we advanced victoriously, and, when we least expected it, we saw

advancing against us with loud yells very many squadrons of Mexicans with very handsome ensigns and plumes, and they cast in front of us five heads streaming with blood which they had just cut off the men whom they had captured from Cortés, and they cried:—"Thus will we kill you as we have killed Malinche and Sandoval, and all whom they had brought with them, and these are their heads and by them you may know them well," and saying these words they closed in on us until they laid hands on us and neither cut nor thrust nor crossbows nor muskets availed to stop them, all they did was to rush at us as at a mark. Even so we lost nothing of our order in retreating, for we at once commanded our friends the Tlaxcalans to clear off quickly from the causeways and bad passages, and this time they did it with a will, for when they saw the five heads of our companions dripping with blood and heard the Mexicans say that they had killed Malinche and Sandoval and all the Teules whom they had brought with them, and that so they would do to us also and to the Tlaxcalans, they were thoroughly frightened, thinking it was true, and for this reason, I say, they cleared off the causeway very completely.

As we were retreating we heard the sound of trumpets from the great Cue, which from its height dominates the whole City, and also a drum a most dismal sound indeed it was, like an instrument of demons, as it resounded so that one could hear it two leagues off, and with it many small tambourines and shell trumpets, horns and whistles. At that moment, as we afterwards learnt, they were offering the hearts of ten of our comrades and much blood to the idols.

Simultaneously there came against us many squadrons which Guatemoc had newly sent out, and he ordered his horn to be sounded. When this horn was sounded it was a signal that his captains and warriors must fight so as to capture their enemies or die in the attempt, and the sound that it made echoed in their ears, and when his captains and squadrons heard it, the fury and courage with which they threw themselves on us, in order to lay hold of us, was terrifying, and I do not know how to describe it here; even now when I stop to remember, it is as though I could see it all at this minute, and were present again in that fight and battle. But I reassert that our Lord Jesus Christ saved us, for if he had not given us strength, seeing that we were all wounded, we should never otherwise have been able

to reach our ranchos, and I give thanks and praise to God for it, that I escaped that time with many others from the power of the Mexicans.

To go back to our story, the horsemen made charges, and with two heavy cannon that we placed near our ranchos with some loading while others fired we held our own, for the causeway was crowded to the utmost with the enemy and they came after us up to the houses, as though we were already conquered, and shot javelins and stones at us, and as I have said, with those cannon we killed many of them. The man who was most helpful that day was a gentleman named Pedro Moreno Medrano, for he acted as gunner because the artillerymen we used to have with us were some of them dead and the others wounded, and Pedro Moreno besides always being a brave soldier was on that day a great help to us. Being as we were in that condition, thoroughly miserable and wounded, we knew nothing of either Cortés or Sandoval nor of their armies, whether they had been killed or routed, as the Mexicans told us they were when they cast before us the five heads which they brought tied together by the hair and the beards, saying that Malinche and all the Teules were already dead, and that thus they were going to kill all of us that very day. We were not able to get news from them because we were fighting half a league apart one from the other, and for this very reason we were much distressed, but by all of us both wounded and sound keeping together in a body we held out against the shock of the fury of the Mexicans who came against us, and who did not believe that there would be a trace of us left after the attack that they made upon us.

Then they had already captured one of our launches and killed three soldiers and wounded the captain and most of the soldiers who were in it, and it was rescued by another launch of which Juan Jaramillo was captain. Yet another launch was impaled in a place from which it could not move, and its captain was Juan de Linpias Caravajal, who went deaf at that time. He himself fought most valiantly and so encouraged his soldiers, who were rowing the launch that day, that they broke the stakes on which they were impaled and got away, all badly wounded, and saved their launch. This Linpias was the first to break the stakes and it was a great thing for all of us.

Cortés sent Andrés de Tápia with three horsemen post-haste

by land,¹ at the risk of their lives, to our camp, to find out if we were alive. The Captain Andrés de Tápia made great haste, although he and two of those who came with him were wounded. When they reached our camp and found us fighting with the Mexican force which was still close to us, they rejoiced in their hearts and related to us what had happened about the defeat of Cortés. However, they did not care to state that so many were dead, and said that about twenty-five had been killed and that all the rest were well.

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Let us stop talking of this and turn to Sandoval and his captains and soldiers, who marched on victoriously in the part and streets they had captured, and when the Mexicans had defeated Cortés they turned on Sandoval and his army and captains so effectively that he could make no headway, and they killed six soldiers and wounded all whom he had brought with him, and gave Sandoval himself three wounds one in the thigh, another in the head and another in the left arm. While Sandoval was battling with the enemy they placed before him six heads of Cortés' men whom they had killed, and said they were the heads of Malinche and of Tonatio and other Captains, and that they meant so to do with Sandoval and those who were with him, and they attacked him fiercely. When Sandoval saw this he ordered all his captains and soldiers to show a brave spirit and not be dismayed, and to take care that in retreating there should not be any confusion on the causeway which was narrow, and first of all he ordered his allies, who were numerous, to clear off the causeway so as not to embarrass him, and with the help of his two launches and of his musketeers and crossbowmen, with great difficulty he retired to his quarters, with all his men badly wounded and even discouraged and six of them dead. When he found himself clear of the causeway, although he was surrounded by Mexicans, he encouraged his people and their captains and charged them all to be sure to keep together in a body by day and by night so as to guard the camp and avoid defeat. Then when he learned from the cap-

¹ Round by Coyotacan.

tain Luis Marin, that they were well able to do it, wounded and bound up in rags as he was, he took two other horsemen with him and rode post-haste to the camp of Cortés. When Sandoval saw Cortés he said: "Oh Sir Captain, what is this? Are these the counsels and stratagems of warfare that you have always impressed on us, how has this disaster happened?" Cortés replied, with tears springing to his eyes: "Oh my son Sandoval, for my sins this has been permitted; however, I do not deserve as much blame in the matter as all my captains and soldiers impute, but the Treasurer Julian de Alderete to whom I gave the order to fill in that passage where they defeated us, and he did not do it."

The Treasurer in turn blamed Cortés for not ordering the many allies that he had with him to clear off the causeway in good time, and there were many other discussions and replies from Cortés to the Treasurer which as they were spoken in anger, will be left untold. At that moment there arrived two launches which Cortés kept in the lake and by the causeway, and they had not come in nor had anything been known about them since the defeat. It seems that they had been detained and impaled on some stakes, and, according to what the captains reported, they had been kept there surrounded by canoes which attacked them, and they all came in wounded, and said that God in the first place aided them with a wind, and thanks to the great energy with which they rowed they broke the stakes; at this Cortés was well pleased, for up to that time, although he did not publish it so as not to dishearten the soldiers, he knew nothing about the launches and had held them as lost.

Cortés strongly advised Sandoval to proceed at once post-haste to our camp of Pedro de Alvarado, and see whether we were routed, or how we stood, and if we were alive to help us to keep up the defence so that they should not break into our camp, and he told Francisco de Lugo, who accompanied Sandoval (for he well knew that there were Mexican squadrons on the road), that he had already sent Andrés de Tápia with three horsemen to get news of us, and he feared that they had been killed on the road. After saying this to him and taking leave of him he went to embrace Sandoval, and said: "Look here, my son, as I am not able to go everywhere, for you can see that I am wounded, I commit this work to your care so that you may inspire confidence in all three camps. I know well that Pedro

de Alvarado and all his captains and brothers and soldiers have fought valiantly and acted like gentlemen, but I fear the great forces of these dogs may have defeated him, and as for me and my army, you observe in what condition I am."

Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo came post-haste¹ to where we were and when he arrived it was a little after dusk and it seems that the defeat of Cortés took place before noon. When Sandoval arrived he found us fighting with the Mexicans who wanted to get into our camp by way of some houses which we had pulled down, and others by the causeway, and many canoes by the lake, and they had already got one launch stranded on the land, and of the soldiers who were in it two were dead and most of them wounded. Sandoval saw me and six other soldiers standing more than waist high in the water helping the launch to get off into deep water, and many Indians attacking us with swords which they had captured from us (and they gave me an arrow wound and a sword cut in the leg) so as to prevent us helping the launch, which, judging from the energy they were displaying, they intended to carry off with their canoes. They had attached many ropes to it with which to tow it off and place it inside the City. When Sandoval saw us in that position he said to us: "Oh! Brothers put your strength into it and prevent them carrying off the launch," and we exerted so much strength that we soon hauled it out in safety, although as I have said, all of the sailors came out wounded and two dead.

At that time many companies of Mexicans came to the causeway and wounded the horsemen as well as all of us, and they gave Sandoval a good blow with a stone in the face. Then Pedro de Alvarado and other horsemen went to his assistance. As so many squadrons approached I and twenty other soldiers faced them, and Sandoval ordered us to retreat little by little so that they should not kill the horses, and because we did not retreat as quickly as he wished he said to us with fury: "Do you wish that through your selfishness they should kill me and all these horsemen? For the love of me, dear brothers, do fall back"—at that moment the enemy again wounded him and his horse. Just then we cleared our allies off the causeway, and we retreated little by little keeping our faces to the enemy and not turning our backs, as though to form a dam. Notwithstanding

¹ By way of Coyacoacan and Tacuba to the camp on the causeway.

the number of Mexicans that the balls were sweeping away, we could not fend them off, on the contrary they kept on following us thinking that this very night they would carry us off to be sacrificed.

When we had retreated near to our quarters and had already crossed a great opening where there was much water the arrows, javelins and stones could no longer reach us. Sandoval, Francisco de Lugo and Andrés de Tápia were standing with Pedro de Alvarado each one relating what had happened to him and what Cortés had ordered, when again there was sounded the dismal drum of Huichilobos and many other shells and horns and things like trumpets and the sound of them all was terrifying, and we all looked towards the lofty Cue where they were being sounded, and saw that our comrades whom they had captured when they defeated Cortés were being carried by force up the steps, and they were taking them to be sacrificed. When they got them up to a small square in front of the oratory, where their accursed idols are kept, we saw them place plumes on the heads of many of them and with things like fans in their hands they forced them to dance before Huichilobos, and after they had danced they immediately placed them on their backs on some rather narrow stones which had been prepared as places for sacrifice, and with stone knives they sawed open their chests and drew out their palpitating hearts and offered them to the idols that were there, and they kicked the bodies down the steps, and Indian butchers who were waiting below cut off the arms and feet and flayed the skin off the faces, and prepared it afterwards like glove leather with the beards on, and kept those for the festivals when they celebrated drunken orgies, and the flesh they ate in *chilmole*. In the same way they sacrificed all the others and ate the legs and arms and offered the hearts and blood to their idols, as I have said, and the bodies, that is their entrails and feet, they threw to the tigers and lions which they kept in the house of the carnivores which I have spoken about in an earlier chapter.

When we saw those cruelties all of us in our camp said the one to the other: "Thank God that they are not carrying me off to-day to be sacrificed."

It should also be noted that we were not far away from

them,¹ yet we could render them no help, and could only pray God to guard us from such a death.

Then, at the moment that they were making the sacrifices, great squadrons of Mexicans fell on us suddenly and gave us plenty to do on all sides and neither in one way or the other could we prevail against them.

And they cried: "Look, that is the way in which you will all have to die, for our gods have promised it to us many times." Then the words and threats which they said to our friends the Tlaxcalans were so injurious and evil that they disheartened them, and they threw them roasted legs of Indians and the arms of our soldiers and cried to them: "Eat of the flesh of these Teules and of your brothers, for we are already glutted with it, and you can stuff yourselves with this which is over, and observe that as for the houses which you have destroyed we shall have to bring you to rebuild them much better with white stone and well worked masonry, so go on helping the Teules, for you will see them all sacrificed."

There was another thing that Guatemoc ordered to be done when he won that victory, he sent to all the towns of our allies and friends and to their relations, the hands and feet of our soldiers and the flayed faces with the beards, and the heads of the horses that they had killed, and he sent word that more than half of us were dead and he would soon finish us off, and he told them to give up their friendship with us and come to Mexico and if they did not give it up promptly, he would come and destroy them, and he sent to tell them many other things to induce them to leave our camp and desert us, and then we should be killed by his hands.

As they still went on attacking us both by day and by night, all of us in our camp kept watch together, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado and the other captains keeping us company during our watch, and although during the night great companies of warriors came against us we withstood them. Both by day and night half the horsemen remained in Tacuba and the other half were on the causeway.

There was another greater evil that they did us; no matter how carefully we had filled in the water spaces since we ad-

¹ They must have been at their camp on the causeway—they could not have seen this from Tacuba.

vanced along the causeway, they returned and opened them all and constructed barricades stronger than before. Then our friends of the cities of the lake who had again accepted our friendship and had come to aid us with their canoes believed that they "came to gather wool and went back shorn," for many of them lost their lives and many more returned wounded, and they lost more than half of the canoes they had brought with them, but, even with all this, thenceforth they did not help the Mexicans for they were hostile to them, but they carefully watched events as they happened.

Let us cease talking about misfortunes and once again tell about the caution, and the manner of it, that from now on we exercised, and how Gonzalo de Sandoval and Francisco de Lugo and Andrés de Tápia and the other soldiers who had come to our camp thought it would be well to return to their posts and to give a report to Cortés as to how and in what position we stood. So they went post-haste and told Cortés that Pedro de Alvarado and all his soldiers were using great caution both in fighting as well as in keeping watch, and moreover Sandoval, as he considered me a friend, said to Cortés that he had found me and the soldiers fighting more than waist high in water defending a stranded launch, and that if it had not been for us the enemy would surely have killed the captain and soldiers who were on board, and because he said other things in my praise about when he ordered me to retreat, I am not going to repeat them here, for other persons told of it, and it was known throughout the camp of Cortés and in our own, but I do not wish to recite it here. When Cortés clearly understood the great caution that we observed in our camp it greatly eased his heart, and from that time onwards he ordered all three camps not to fight with the Mexicans either too much or too little, meaning that we were not to trouble about capturing any bridge or barricade, and, except in defence of our camps, we were not to go out to fight with the enemy.

Nevertheless the day had hardly dawned when they were attacking our camp, discharging many stones from slings, and javelins and arrows and shouting out hideous abuse, and as we had near the camp a very broad and deep opening of water we remained for four days in succession without crossing it. Cortés remained as long in his camp and Sandoval in his. This determination not to go out and fight and endeavour to capture the

barricades which the Mexicans had returned to open and fortify, was because we were all badly wounded and worn out with hardships, both from keeping watch and bearing arms without anything sustaining to eat; and because we had lost the day before over sixty and odd soldiers from all the camps, and eight horses and so that we might obtain some rest, and take mature counsel as to what should be done. From that time onwards, Cortés ordered us to remain quiet, as I have said, so I will leave off here and tell how and in what way we fought and everything else that happened in our camp.

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The Mexicans continued with their attacks every day, and our friends, the people of Tlaxcala and Cholula and Huexotzingo, and even those of Texcoco and Chalco and Tlamanalco, decided to return to their own Countries, and nearly all of them went off without Cortés or Pedro de Alvarado or Sandoval knowing about it. There only remained in Cortés' camp Ixtilxochitl, who was afterwards baptized and named Don Carlos (he was the brother of Don Fernando the Lord of Texcoco and was a very valiant man) and about forty of his relations and friends. In Sandoval's camp there remained another cacique from Huexotzingo with about fifty men, and in our camp there remained two sons of Lorenzo de Vargas and the brave Chichimecatecle with about eighty Tlaxcalans, his relations and vassals. When we found ourselves with so few allies we were distressed, and Cortés and Sandoval each of them asked the allies that remained in his camp, why the others had gone off in that way, and they replied that they had observed Mexicans speaking with their Idols during the night who promised them that they should kill us, and they believed it to be true; so it was through fear that they left, and what made it more credible was seeing us all wounded and many of us dead, and of their own people more than twelve hundred were missing, and they feared that we should all be killed. In conversations which Cortés had with Ixtilxochitl, he said to him: "Señor Malinche, do not be distressed because you cannot fight every day with the Mexicans, get your foot well, and take my advice, and that is to stay some days in your camp, and tell

Tonatio do the same and stay in his camp and Sandoval in Tepeaquilla, and keep the launches on the move night and day to prevent supplies of provisions or water from getting to the enemy for there are within this great City so many thousand *xiquipeles*¹ of warriors that they must of necessity eat up the food that they possess, and the water they are now drinking is from some springs they have made, and it is half salt, and as it rains every day and sometimes at night they catch the water and live on that, but what can they do if you stop their food and water? They will suffer more from hunger and thirst than from war." When Cortés understood this advice, he threw his arms round him and thanked him for it and made him promises that he would give him pueblos. This advice many of us soldiers had already discussed, but, such is our nature, that we did not wish to wait so long a time, but to advance into the city. When Cortés had well considered what the cacique had said, he ordered two launches to go to our camp and to that of Sandoval to tell us that he ordered us to remain another three days without advancing into the city. As at that time the Mexicans were victorious he did not dare to send out one launch alone. There was one thing that helped us much, which was that our launches now ventured to break the stakes that the Mexicans had placed in the lake to impale them, and they did it in this way, they rowed with all their strength, and so that the rowing should carry greater impetus they set about it from some distance back and got wind into their sails and rowed their best, so they became masters of the lake and even of a good many houses that stood apart from the city, and when the Mexicans saw this they lost some of their courage.

As now we had no allies, we ourselves began to fill in and stop up the great opening that, I have said before, was near our camp, and the first company on the rota worked hard at carrying adobes and timber to fill it in, while the other two companies did the fighting, and in the four days that all of us worked at it we had it filled in and levelled. Cortés did the same in his camp where the same arrangement prevailed, and even he himself was at work carrying adobes and timber, until the bridges and causeways and openings were secure so that a retreat could be effected in safety; and Sandoval did neither more nor less in his camp. With our launches close by us, and

¹ A division numbering 8,000 men.

free from any fear of stakes we advanced in this manner little by little.

Let me say now what the Mexicans did during the night on their great and lofty Cues and that was to sound the cursed drum, which I again declare had the most accursed sound and the most dismal that it was possible to invent, and the sound carried far over the country, and they sounded other worse instruments and diabolical things, and they made great fires and uttered the loudest yells and whistles, for at that moment they were sacrificing our comrades whom they had captured from Cortés and we knew that it took them ten days in succession to complete the sacrificing of all our soldiers, and they left to the last Cristóbal de Guzman whom they kept alive for twelve or thirteen days, according to the report of the three Mexican captains whom we captured. Whenever they sacrificed them then their Huichilobos spoke to them and promised them victory, and that we should die by their hands within eight days, and told them to make vigorous attacks on us although many should die in them and in this way he kept them deluded.

Once more as soon as another day dawned all the greatest forces that Guatemoc could collect were already down upon us, and as we had filled up the opening and causeway and bridge they could pass it dryshod. My faith! They had the daring to come up to our ranchos and hurl javelins and stones and arrows, but with the cannon we could always make them draw off, for Pedro Moreno, who had charge of the cannon, did much damage to the enemy. I wish to say that they shot our own arrows at us from crossbows, for while they held five crossbowmen alive, and Cristóbal de Guzman with them, they made them load the crossbows and show them how they were to be discharged, and either they or the Mexicans discharged those shots deliberately, but they did no harm with them.

Every day we had very hard fights, but we did not cease to advance, capturing barricades, bridges and water openings, and as our launches dared to go wherever they chose in the lake, and did not fear the stakes, they helped us very much. Let me say that as usual the launches that Cortés had at his camp cruised about giving chase to the canoes that were bringing in supplies and water and collecting in the lake a sort of ooze which when it was dried had the flavour of cheese, and these launches brought in many Indian prisoners. Twelve or thirteen

days had gone by since the defeat of Cortés, and as soon as Ixilxochitl observed that we had thoroughly recovered ourselves, and what the Mexicans said that they were sure to kill us within ten days was not true (which was what their Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca had promised them), he sent to advise his brother Don Fernando to send to Cortés, at once, the whole force of warriors that he could muster in Texcoco, and within two days of the time of his sending to tell him, more than two thousand warriors arrived.

When Cortés saw such a good reinforcement he was greatly delighted and said flattering words to them. At that time many Tlaxcalans with their captains also returned and a cacique from Topeyanco named Tecapancca came as their general. Many Indians also came from Huexotzingo and a very few from Cholula. When Cortés knew that they had returned he ordered that all of them, as they arrived, should come to his camp so that he could speak to them. Before they arrived he ordered guards of our soldiers to be placed on the roads to protect them, in case the Mexicans should come out to attack them. When they came before Cortés he made them a speech through Doña Marina and Jerónimo de Aguilar and told them that they had fully understood and knew for certain about the good will with which he had always regarded them and still bore them, both because they had served His Majesty, as well as for the good offices that we had received at their hands, and if he had, after reaching this city, commanded them to join us in destroying the Mexicans, he intended them to profit by it, and return to their land rich men, and to revenge themselves on their enemies, and not that we should capture that great City solely for his benefit, and although he had always found them useful and they had helped us in everything, they must have seen clearly that we ordered them off the causeways every day, because we were less hampered when we fought without them, and that he who gave us victory and aided us in everything was Our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom we believe and whom we worship as he had already often told them and warned them at other times. Because they went away at the most critical time of the war they were deserving of death, for deserting their captains when they were fighting and for forsaking them, but as they did not understand our laws and ordinances he pardoned them, and in order to understand the sit-

uation better they should observe that without their help we still continued destroying houses and capturing barricades. From that time forward he ordered them not to kill any Mexicans, for he wished to conquer them by kindness. When he had made this speech to them he embraced Chichimecatecle and the two youthful Xicotengas, and Ixilxochitl, and promised to give them territory and vassals in addition to what they now held. After the conversation with them he ordered them to depart, and each one went to his camp.

From all three camps we were now advancing into the City, Cortés on his side, Sandoval on his and Pedro de Alvarado on our side, and we reached the spot where the spring was, that I have already spoken about, where the Mexicans drank the brackish water, and we broke it up and destroyed it so that they might not make use of it. Some Mexicans were guarding it and we had a good skirmish with them. We could already move freely through all parts of the streets we had captured, for they were already levelled and free from water and openings and the horses could move very easily.

Thus the ten Companies of Pedro de Alvarado advanced fighting and reached Tlatelolco, and there were so many Mexicans guarding their Idols and lofty cues, and they had raised so many barricades that we were fully two hours before we were able to capture them and get inside. Now that the horses had space to gallop, although most of them were wounded, they helped us very much, and the horsemen speared many Mexicans. As the enemy were so numerous the ten¹ companies were divided into three parts to fight against them, and Pedro de Alvarado ordered the company commanded by a captain named Gutierre de Badajoz to ascend the lofty Cue of Huichilobos, which has one hundred and fourteen steps, and he fought very well against the enemy and against the many priests who were in the houses of the oratories, but the enemy attacked Gutierre de Badajoz and his company in such a way that they sent him rolling down ten or twelve steps, and we promptly went to his assistance.

As we advanced the squadrons with which we were fighting followed us, and we ran great risk of our lives, but nevertheless we ascended the steps which as I have said before were one hundred and fourteen in number. It is as well to mention here

¹ In the text "dos capitánias," evidently a mistake for "diez capitánias" as above.

the great danger we were in, both one [company] and the other, in capturing those fortresses which were very lofty, and in those battles they once more wounded us all very badly, nevertheless we set the oratories on fire and burned the idols, and we planted our banners and were fighting on the level after we had set fire to the oratories until night time, but we could do nothing against so many warriors.

[*Extract from the third letter of Cortés to the Emperor Charles V.*]

About 15th July: By now the Spaniards who had been wounded at the time of our defeat had recovered. Moreover, a vessel belonging to Ponce de Leon arrived at Vera Cruz, and the people of the town sent me some powder and crossbows, of which we had great need.

The people in the surrounding country had, thank God, now declared in our favour, and I, seeing how those of the city were still hostile and showing as clearly as any people could do a determination to die in its defence, was at a loss to know how to free ourselves from the dangers and hardships we were enduring without totally destroying their city, for it is the most beautiful city in the world. It was useless to tell them that we would not raise the siege, and that the launches would not cease to fight them on the water, nor that we had already destroyed the people of Matalcingo and Malinalco, and that there was no one left in the land to bring them succour, and that there was nowhere whence they could procure maize, meat, fruit, water, or other necessities, for the more we repeated this to them the less faintheartedness they showed. On the contrary, both in fighting and in stratagems we found them more undaunted than ever.

This being so, and seeing that the siege had lasted already more than forty-five days, I decided to take other means for our security and for the reduction of the enemy. The plan was to demolish every house on each side of the street as we penetrated into the city and not to advance a step until all was levelled to the ground, and what had been water was dry land, no matter what delay this would entail.

For this purpose I called together all the chieftains and leading men among our allies and explained my plan to them, and told them to summon all their labourers and order them to bring their *coas* which are like Spanish hoes. They replied that they would do so very willingly and were delighted at the plan, for it seemed to them the best way of destroying the city, which they desired above all things in the world.

Three or four days were occupied making arrangements, then one morning after hearing mass, we set out for the city, and on reaching the water opening and barricade near the great houses of the Plaza with the intention to attack it, the people of the city asked to desist, as they wished to make peace, and that a chieftain from the city was coming to speak to me. In this way they detained me for more than an hour, but in truth they had no desire for peace for while we were standing at ease they began to shoot arrows and darts and stones at us. When I saw this we attacked and carried the barricade. On entering the Plaza we found it all strewn with great stones and that the horsemen could not gallop, and we found one street barricaded with a dry stone wall and another street also full of stones. In this day we filled in the canal which goes out of the Plaza in such a way that the Indians were never able to open it again, and from this point onwards we began little by little to demolish the houses and to fill in the canals, and as on that day we had one hundred and fifty thousand warriors with us, we accomplished a good deal . . .

In this way we penetrated into the city during the following five or six days, and always on retiring we sent off our allies first while some of the Spaniards stayed in ambush among the houses, and the horsemen who were in the rear pretended to retreat hastily so as to draw the enemy out into the Plaza, and by this means and with the foot soldiers in ambush we managed to spear some of the enemy every afternoon.

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We knew already that the Indians in the city were much discouraged, and we heard from two wretched Indians who had left the city by night and come to our camp that the people were dying of hunger and that they came out by night to

search among the houses and in those parts of the city we had already captured, seeking for firewood and herbs and roots for food. As we had already filled in many of the canals and made good many of the bad places I decided to enter the city before dawn and do all the damage we were able, so the launches set out before daybreak, and I with twelve or fifteen horsemen and some foot soldiers and allies entered with a rush, but first of all while we were in hiding we stationed some spies who as soon as day dawned gave us the signal to advance, and we fell on a great multitude of people, but as they were the poor wretches who had come out hunting for food they were most of them unarmed and were women and children, and we did so much damage to them whenever we could get about the city that prisoners and dead between them numbered over eight hundred.

The launches also captured many canoes with Indians who were out fishing. When the captains and chieftains of the enemy saw us advancing through the city at this unusual hour they were dismayed, and did not dare to come out and fight us, so we returned to our camp with booty and food for our allies.

The next day we again entered the city and as our allies observed the orderly method with which we were carrying out its destruction they accompanied us every day in untold numbers. That day we succeeded in gaining the whole of the Tacuba street and filling in the bad places in such a way that we could communicate with the camp of Pedro de Alvarado through the city, and we also captured two bridges on the principal street leading to the market place, and solidly filled in the canals. We also set fire to the houses of the Lord of the City, a youth of eighteen years named Guatemoc, who was the second Lord after the death of Montezuma. These houses were large and well fortified and were surrounded by water. We also gained two bridges near this on the other streets leading to the market place, so that three quarters of the city were already in our hands and the Indians were forced to retire to their stronghold, which was among the houses more completely surrounded by water.

25th July: The next day, which was the festival of the apostle Santiago (St. James), we entered the city in the same order and followed the great street which leads to the market place, and captured a very large water-opening which the enemy

thought they held securely. It was a very dangerous operation and caused much delay as the opening was so wide, and we were not able that day to fill it in solidly so that the horsemen could pass. Observing this, the Indian reinforcements, splendid in appearance, attacked us, but as we continued to face them and had with us many crossbowmen we drove them back to their barricades.

26th July: When we returned very early next morning we found the water-opening we had been filling up in the same state as we had left it, and advancing two bowshots ahead we captured two great water-openings which the enemy had broken through the road-bed, and we reached a small idol tower, where we found the heads of some of the Christians whom the enemy had killed, which caused us great grief. This street which we had been following leads directly to the causeway to Sandoval's camp, and a street to the left leads to the market place. In this latter street there was no water except one water-opening which the enemy were defending against us and on that day, when we were getting ready to enter the city at nine in the morning, we observed from our camp that smoke was ascending from the two lofty towers which stand in Tlatolco, the market place of the city, and could not think what it could be, for it was more copious than the smoke of incense which the Indians offer to the Idols, and we concluded that Pedro de Alvarado's men must have got there, which turned out to be the fact, though we could hardly believe it.

That day we did not attempt to capture the bridge and canal which separated us from the market place, but contented ourselves by filling in and levelling all the bad places. On retiring the enemy attacked us fiercely although at great cost to themselves. The next morning we had only to capture the canal across the road and its barricade which was near the Idol tower to reach the market place. When we began the attack a standard bearer and two or three other Spaniards threw themselves into the water and the enemy gave way before them, and we began to fill in the opening so that the horsemen could cross; and while this was being done, Pedro de Alvarado with four horsemen came along the street, and this gave the greatest delight to all of us, for it meant the speedy end of the war.

Pedro de Alvarado placed guards to defend our flanks, and as the opening was soon filled I ordered my troops not to ad-

vance any further, and went forward myself with a few horsemen to see the market place. We rode for a short time about the Plaza, observing the arcades where the enemy were clustered in great numbers on the roofs, but as they saw us riding freely about the great Plaza they did not dare to approach us.

Then I ascended the great tower which is near the market place, and on it and on others we found the heads of the Christians they had killed and offered to their Idols, as well as the heads of our Tlaxcalan allies. From the great tower I could see that we had captured seven-eighths of the city, and knew that the enemy were so numerous that they could not exist in that narrow space, especially as the houses left to them were small and each one stood by itself in the water. And above all, knowing of the great hunger they were suffering, for we had found in the streets gnawed roots and bark of trees, we determined to cease fighting for a day, and derive some means to save such a multitude from destruction. However they said they would never make peace, and that if only one was left he would die fighting. . . .

Several days passed without fighting, and then one day when we returned to the City we found the streets full of women and children and other miserable people, thin and afflicted, who were dying of hunger, the most pitiable thing in the world to see and I ordered our allies to do them no hurt, but not a single warrior appeared where he could be got at although we saw them on the roofs, covered with their cloaks and unarmed.

Again I tried this day to bring them to peace but their replies were evasive. After passing most of the day in these efforts I sent to tell them I should attack them and that they must call in all their people, otherwise I should allow our allies to kill them. They still said they wanted peace, so I replied that I did not see there the Lord with whom I could treat for peace and that if he would come I would give him all the security he might ask for and that we would discuss peace.

However, when we saw that it was all a mock and that they were all getting ready to attack us, after having warned them many times so as to constrain them to the utmost necessity, I ordered Pedro de Alvarado and all his men to enter the large quarter which the enemy still held, which consisted of more than a thousand houses, while I entered with all my men from

the other side on foot, as the horsemen were useless there. The battle was waged fiercely until we captured the whole of the quarter and the slaughter effected by our allies was so great that dead and prisoners numbered more than twelve thousand souls, and the cruelty of our allies was so great that on no account would they spare a life in spite of our reproofs and example.

[*To return to Bernal Diaz.*]

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As we were all of us now in Tlatelolco, Cortés ordered all the companies to take up their quarters, and keep watch there, because from our camp we had to come more than half a league to where we were now fighting. So we stayed there three days without doing anything worth mentioning, because Cortés ordered us not to advance any further into the City nor to destroy more houses, for he wished to stop and demand peace. During those days that we were waiting in Tlatelolco Cortés sent to Guatemoc begging him to surrender, and not to have any fear, and with many promises he undertook that his (Guatemoc's) person should be much respected and honoured by him, and that he should govern Mexico and all his territory and cities as he was used to do, and he sent him food and presents such as tortillas, poultry, tunas and cacao, for he had nothing else to send. Guatemoc took counsel with his captains and what they advised him to reply was that he desired peace but that he would wait three days before giving an answer, and that at the end of three days Guatemoc and Cortés should meet and make arrangements about the peace, and that during those three days they would have time to know more fully the wishes and reply of their Huichilobos, and he might have added to mend bridges and to make openings in the causeway and prepare arrows, javelins, and stones and make barricades.

Guatemoc sent four Mexican chieftains with that reply, and we believed that the promise of peace was true, and Cortés ordered the messengers to be given plenty to eat and drink and then sent them back to Guatemoc, and with them he sent more

refreshments the same as before. Then Guatemoc sent other messengers, and by them two rich mantles, and they said that Guatemoc would come when everything was ready. Not to waste more words about the matter he never intended to come (for they had counselled him not to believe Cortés and had reminded him of the end of his uncle the great Montezuma, and of his relations and the destruction of all the noble families of Mexico; and had advised him to say that he was ill) but intended that all should sally out to fight and that it would please their Gods to give them the victory they had so often promised them. As we were waiting for Guatemoc and he did not come, we understood their deceit and at that very moment so many battalions of Mexicans with their distinguishing marks sallied out and made an attack on Cortés that he could not withstand it, and as many more went in the direction of our camp and in that of Sandoval's. They came on in such a way that it seemed as though they had just then begun the fighting all over again, and as we were posted rather carelessly, believing that they had already made peace, they wounded many of our soldiers, three of them very severely, and two horses, but they did not get off with much to brag of, for we paid them out well. When Cortés saw this he ordered us again to make war on them and to advance into the City in the part where they had taken refuge. When they saw that we were advancing and capturing the whole City, Guatemoc sent two chiefs to tell Cortés that he desired to speak with him across a canal, Cortés to stand on one bank and Guatemoc on the other and they fixed the time for the morning of the following day. Cortés went, but Guatemoc would not keep the appointment but sent chieftains who said that their Lord did not dare to come out for fear lest, while they were talking, guns and crossbows should be discharged at him and should kill him. Then Cortés promised him on his oath that he should not be molested in any way that he did not approve of, but it was no use, they did not believe him and said "lest what happened to Montezuma should happen to him." At that time two of the chieftains who were talking to Cortés drew out from a bag which they carried some tortillas and the leg of a fowl and cherries, and seated themselves in a very leisurely manner and began to eat so that Cortés might observe it and believe that they were not hungry. When Cortés observed it he sent to tell them that as they

did not wish to make peace, he would soon enter into all their houses to see if they had any maize and how much more poultry.

We went on in this way for another four or five days without attacking them, and about this time many poor Indians who had nothing to eat, would come out every night, and they came to our camp worn out by hunger. As soon as Cortés saw this he ordered us not to attack them for perhaps they would change their minds about making peace, but they would not make peace although we sent to entreat them.

In Cortés' camp there was a soldier who said that he had been in Italy in the Company of the Great Captain¹ and was in the skirmish of Garallano and in other great battles, and he talked much about engines of war and that he could make a catapult in Tlatelolco by which, if they only bombarded the houses and part of the city where Guatemoc had sought refuge, for two days, they would make them surrender peacefully. So many things did he say to Cortés about this, for he was a very faithful soldier, that Cortés promptly set to work to make the catapult and they brought lime and stone in the way the soldier required, and carpenters and nails and all that was necessary for making the catapult, and they made two slings of strong bags and cords, and brought him great stones, larger than an arroba jar. When the catapult was made and set up in the way that the soldier ordered, and he said it was ready to be discharged, they placed a suitable stone in the sling which had been made and all this stone did was to rise no higher than the catapult and fall back upon it where it had been set up. When Cortés saw this he was angry with the soldier who gave the order for making it, and with himself for believing him, and he said that he knew well that in war one ought not to speak much about a thing that vexes one, and that the man had only been talking for talking's sake, as had been found out in the way that I have said. Cortés at once ordered the catapult to be taken to pieces. Let us leave this and say that, when he saw that the catapult was a thing to be laughed at, he decided that Gonzalo de Sandoval should go in command of all the twelve launches and invade that part of the City whither Guatemoc had retreated, which was in a part where we could not reach the houses and palaces by land, but only by water. Sandoval at

¹ Gonzalvo de Córdoba.

once summoned all the captains of the launches and invaded that part of the City where Guatemala had taken refuge with all the flower of his Captains and the most distinguished persons that were in Mexico. Cortés ordered Sandoval not to kill or wound any Indians unless they should attack him, and even if they did attack him, he was only to defend himself and not do them any other harm, but he should destroy their houses and the many defences they had erected in the lake. Cortés himself ascended the great Cue of Tlatelolco to see how Sandoval advanced with the launches.

Sandoval advanced with great ardour upon the place where the Houses of Guatemala stood, and when Guatemala saw himself surrounded, he was afraid that they would capture him or kill him, and he had got ready fifty great piraguas with good rowers so that when he saw himself hard pressed he could save himself by going to hide in some reed beds and get from thence to land and hide himself in another town, and those were the instructions he had given his captains and the persons of most importance who were with him in that fortified part of the city, so that they should do the same.

When they saw that the launches were getting among the houses they embarked in the fifty canoes, and they had already placed on board the property and gold and jewels of Guatemala and all his family and women, and he had embarked himself and shot out into the lake ahead, accompanied by many Captains. As many other canoes set out at the same time, the lake was full of them, and Sandoval quickly received the news that Guatemala was fleeing, and ordered all the launches to stop destroying the houses and fortifications and follow the flight of the canoes. As a certain García Holguin a friend of Sandoval, was captain of a launch which was very fast and a good sailor and was manned by good rowers Sandoval ordered him to follow in the direction in which they told him that Guatemala was fleeing with his great piraguas, and instructed him not to do Guatemala any injury whatever beyond capturing him in case he should overtake him, and Sandoval went in another direction with other launches which kept him company. It pleased our Lord God that García Holguin should overtake the canoes and piraguas in which Guatemala was travelling, and from the style and the awnings and the seat he was using he knew that it was Guatemala the great Lord of Mexico, and he made sig-

nals for them to stop, but they would not stop, so he made as though he were going to discharge muskets and crossbows. When Guatemala saw that, he was afraid, and said: "Do not shoot—I am the king of this City and they call me Guatemala, and what I ask of you is not to disturb my things that I am taking with me nor my wife nor my relations, but carry me at once to Malinche." When Holguin heard him he was greatly delighted, and with much respect he embraced him and placed him in the launch, him and his wife and about thirty chieftains, and seated him in the poop on some mats and cloths, and gave him to eat of the food that he had brought with him, and he touched nothing whatever in the canoes that carried Guatemala's property, but brought it along with the launch. By this time Gonzalo de Sandoval knew that Holguin had captured Guatemala and was carrying him to Cortés, and he overtook Holguin and claimed the prisoner, and Holguin would not give him up and said that he had captured him and not Sandoval. When Cortés knew of this dispute he at once despatched Captain Luis Marin and Francisco de Verdugo to summon Sandoval and Holguin to come as they were in their launches without further discussion, and to bring Guatemala and his wife and family with all signs of respect and that he would settle whose prisoner he was and to whom was due the honour of the capture.

While they were bringing him, Cortés ordered a guest chamber to be prepared as well as could be done at the time, with mats and cloths and seats, and a good supply of the food which Cortés had reserved for himself. Sandoval and Holguin soon arrived with Guatemala, and the two captains between them led him up to Cortés, and when he came in front of him he paid him great respect, and Cortés embraced Guatemala with delight, and was very affectionate to him and his captains. Then Guatemala said to Cortés: "Señor Malinche, I have surely done my duty in defence of my City, and I can do no more and I come by force and a prisoner into your presence and into your power, take that dagger that you have in your belt and kill me at once with it," and when he said this he wept tears and sobbed and other great Lords whom he had brought with him also wept. Cortés answered him through Doña Marina and Aguilar very affectionately, that he esteemed him all the more for having been so brave as to defend the City, and he

was deserving of no blame, on the contrary it was more in his favour than otherwise.

What he wished was that Guatemoc had made peace of his own free will before the city had been so far destroyed, and so many of his Mexicans had died, but now that both had happened there was no help for it and it could not be mended, let his spirit and the spirit of his Captains take rest, and he should rule in Mexico and over his provinces as he did before. Then Guatemoc and his Captains said that they accepted his favour, and Cortés asked after his wife and other great ladies, the wives of other Captains who, he had been told, had come with Guatemoc. Guatemoc himself answered and said that he had begged Gonzalo de Sandoval and García Holguin that they might remain in the canoes while he came to see what orders Malinche gave them. Cortés at once sent for them and ordered them all to be given of the best that at that time there was in the camp to eat, and as it was late and was beginning to rain, Cortés arranged for them to go to Coyoacan, and took Guatemoc and all his family and household and many chieftains with him and he ordered Pedro de Alvarado, Gonzalo de Sandoval and the other captains each to go to his own quarters and camp, and we went to Tacuba, Sandoval to Tepecaquilla and Cortés to Coyoacan. Guatemoc and his captains were captured on the thirteenth day of August at the time of vespers on the day of Señor San Hipólito in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ and our Lady the Virgin Santa Maria, His Blessed Mother. Amen.

APPENDIX