

Celluloid Conquistadors: Images of the Conquest of Mexico in *Captain from Castile* (1947)

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ABSTRACT

The Spanish Conquest of Aztec Mexico (1519-21) forever transformed greater North America, Europe, and regions beyond. In spite of this significance, there is only one extant motion picture that has attempted to portray features of this epic event. Released in 1947 by Twentieth Century-Fox, *Captain from Castile* was based on a novel of the same title and offers images of the Conquest that are intertwined with fact and fiction. Drawing upon the novel and elements of the Conquest story itself, this study separates and examines the threads of fact and fantasy that form the fundamental fabric of this film's recounting of the Spanish Conquest. This analysis is enhanced by information found in unpublished documents from several collections of motion picture production materials. Ultimately, the images of the Spanish Conquest that emerge in *Captain from Castile* reveal some elements of genuine historicity but they more often reflect, in typical Hollywood fashion, the aspirations of a studio more concerned with achieving box office success than historical accuracy.

Keywords: film, Hollywood, Conquest, Mexico, Cortés, Aztecs.

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Colston, S. "Celluloid Conquistadors: Images of the Conquest of Mexico in *Captain from Castile* (1947)." *Camino Real. Estudios de las Hispanidades Norteamericanas*. Alcalá de Henares: Instituto Franklin - UAH, 2:3 (2010): 11-33. Print.

Recibido: 27/10/2010; 2ª versión: 26/11/2010

RESUMEN

La conquista española del México azteca (1519 - 1521) transformó para siempre América del Norte, Europa y más allá. A pesar de esta importancia, existe solo una película que ha intentado retratar las características de este evento épico. Lanzado en 1947 por la Twentieth Century-Fox, *Capitán de Castilla* se basó en una novela del mismo título y ofrece imágenes de la conquista que se entrelazan con la realidad y la ficción. Basándose en la novela y elementos de la historia de la Conquista en sí, este estudio examina y separa los hilos de la realidad y la fantasía que forman el tejido fundamental del relato de la conquista española de esta película. Este análisis se ve reforzado por la información encontrada en documentos inéditos de varias colecciones de materiales de producción de cine. En última instancia, las imágenes de la conquista española que surgen en *Capitán de Castilla* revelan algunos elementos de auténtica historicidad, pero con mayor frecuencia reflejan, en la manera típica de Hollywood, las aspiraciones de un estudio más preocupado por lograr el éxito de taquilla que la exactitud histórica.

Palabras clave: cine, Hollywood, Conquista, México, Cortés, aztecas.

While the Spanish Conquest of Aztec Mexico (1519-21) was an epic event that transformed the course of world history, it has infrequently been a subject embraced by filmmakers. The earliest motion picture about the conquest was *The Fall of Montezuma*; the three-reel film was completed and released in 1912, although no copies of it are known to have survived (García Riera v. 2, 24-25). During 2006, the Conquest was in the process of being recast in a feature film titled *Conquistador* but the project was shelved because of financial difficulties.¹ There is finally a third and the only other known filmic rendering of the Conquest —*Captain from Castile* (Twentieth Century-Fox).² While this motion picture has never been—and very likely never will be—classified as a cinematic masterpiece, it has assumed an importance for historians precisely because it is the only extant feature film about the Spanish Conquest.³ This study explores the historicity of the images of the Conquest imbedded in *Captain from Castile* and further examines the processes that produced those representations.

1. HISTORICAL CREDENTIALS

Based on the bestselling novel by Samuel Shellabarger, *Captain from Castile* (1945), the motion picture of the same title opens with a text that promises its viewers they are about to see historically accurate representations of the Cortés expedition to Mexico:

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Mexican Government and to the National Museum of Mexico for their advice and cooperation in the reenactment of the historical sequences.

All scenes associated with the Cortez Expedition were photographed in Mexico, and wherever possible on the actual locations. (*Captain*)⁴

Because of plans to shoot much of the film on location in Mexico, Twentieth Century-Fox needed script approval by the Mexican Government before location shooting commenced. Accordingly, the studio provided Mexican officials with an abridged copy (along with a Spanish translation) of screenwriter Lamar Trotti's script (Trotti screenplay, September 26, 1946, folder 18, USC) for their review and subsequent approval. The Mexican Government charged Arturo Ortiz Múgica, a member of the Departamento de Información del Extranjero, with the responsibility of reviewing Trotti's script. Ortiz Múgica designated seven features of this script (mostly factual errors) that had to be corrected before the Mexican Government would approve the studio's location shooting (Arturo Ortiz Múgica to A. Klune, October 15, 1946, no folder number, USC). In the fall of 1946, Trotti made the required revisions (Trotti screenplay, October 30, 1946, folder 21, USC; Trotti final script, November 13, 1946, folder 10, King), thereby securing the Mexican Government's approval.

While *Captain from Castile* is a story of the Conquest told principally from a European perspective, the studio nevertheless endeavored to craft its representations of the Mexica ("Aztecs") with some authenticity. These efforts resulted in the production of the first post-World War II motion picture by a Hollywood studio to portray Native Americans with any semblance of sensitivity, and central to achieving this was native language training. Twentieth Century-Fox required Mexican actress Stella Inda (who played the character of Doña Marina) to speak Nahuatl ("Aztec" language) lines that had been written by the folklorist Rubín de la Borbolla. Because Inda had no prior knowledge of Nahuatl, she asked director Henry King how she might obtain rudimentary instruction on pronunciation. On King's advice, Inda contacted the Museo Nacional de Antropología. Its director, Antonio Pompa y Pompa, in turn referred her to Robert Hayward Barlow, a distinguished Nahuatl scholar from the United States who was residing in Mexico. With Barlow's guidance, Inda and the other Mexican actors

who had Nahuatl speaking parts memorized their lines entirely by phonics. Some thirty years after she had worked with Barlow, Inda recalled that the process of memorizing her Nahuatl lines by sound was one of the most challenging tasks she had ever undertaken, and at times her frustrations were so great that she was reduced to tears (Inda 128).⁵

The studio was far less successful in achieving authenticity for its location shooting. The claim that appears in the opening of *Captain from Castile* that filming was done in Mexico and “wherever possible on the actual locations” associated with the Cortés expedition is only partly true. While location shooting was done in Mexico, none of the sites used for filming were the “actual locations” that Cortés had visited. Location shooting was done in Acapulco, Guerrero, and in Uruapan and Morelia, Michoacán (tipped-in, unpaginated typescript, final script, folder 10, King; Arce 205; Guiles 217). Director Henry King had used Morelia as the setting for several of his earlier films and this city became for him what Monument Valley had been for director John Ford (Coopedge 150). The smoking volcano Parícutín, in Michoacán, can be seen in the background of several sequences of *Captain from Castile*. But however dramatic this volcano, or alluring the Acapulco beaches, these and the other shooting locations for the motion picture are situated far to the west of Cortés’ actual route of conquest.

2. THE CADENCE OF CONQUEST

The motion picture is a chronicle of the adventures of a fictional Castilian hidalgo, Pedro de Vargas (Tyronne Power), who leaves Spain and joins the Cortés expedition to Mexico.⁶ The picture opens during the spring of 1518 among the rolling hills outside the city of Jaén in the southern Kingdom of Castile (but filmed in Pátzcuaro, Michoacán [tipped-in, unpaginated typescript, final script, folder 10, King]).⁷ Pedro incurs the wrath of the powerful Diego de Silva (a fictional character played by John Sutton), head of the local arm of the Santa Hermandad (Holy Brotherhood), for aiding the escape of one of de Silva’s slaves, a Mexica prince named Coatl (a fictional character played by Jay Silverheels).⁸ Using his position as the *supremo* of the Santa Hermandad (which the studio constructed as a thinly disguised substitute for the Inquisition)⁹, de Silva retaliates against Pedro by imprisoning his entire family on groundless charges of heresy. Aided by a soldier-of-fortune, Juan García (Lee J. Cobb) and a peasant girl, Catana Pérez (Jean Peters), Pedro and his parents escape from prison. Pedro’s mother and father ride to safety in Italy, while Pedro, Juan, and Catana secure passage on a ship bound for the Indies, a new land offering the hope of new lives. When the setting shifts from Spain to the Indies, viewers are introduced to characters and events relating to the

Cortés expedition that are constructed with differing portions of fiction and historical fact. The film sequences that most prominently feature the expedition are set in five locations—Havana, Villa Rica, Cempohuallan, Cholollan, and the terrain between Cholollan and Tenochtitlan. Each of these is examined below for its celluloid representations of Cortés' march of conquest.¹⁰

At Havana, a town crier announces the formation of an expedition sponsored by the governor of Cuba, Diego de Velázquez:

Hear ye! Hear ye! Hear ye! In the King's name! Know everyone that the fleet now in Habana Harbor sails by authority of His Excellency, Diego Velázquez, Governor of Cuba, for trade, settlement, and discovery, under the command of Hernán Cortés.

Enroll for God and King under his banner! Carry the light of our blessed Faith to those in heathen darkness!

Win the lands and profits, gold and treasure, for our gracious King, Don Carlos, and for yourselves! Enlist under the banner of Hernán Cortés!

The crier's words entice Pedro and his two companions to Cortés' headquarters where they enlist in the expedition being organized. In this sequence, viewers first meet Fernando Cortés¹¹ (Cesar Romero) and several other genuine historical figures who participated in the expedition—Father Bartolomé de Olmedo (Thomas Gomez), Pedro de Alvarado (Roy Roberts), Gonzalo de Sandoval (Harry Carter), Juan Escudero (Reed Hadley), and Diego Cermeño (John Laurenz).

While the historical Cortés used a town crier to secure personnel for his expedition, the staging ground for the expedition was not Havana but the port of Santiago (Thomas 1993: 139-142).¹² In the film, the crier's words that describe the nature of the expedition misrepresent Velázquez's instructions to Cortés, at least as far as they are known. The governor ordered Cortés to send all gold and other treasures he might acquire back to Cuba (Thomas 137-138), but he gave no instructions (as represented in the film) to trade, settlement, conversion of natives, or the acquisition of lands (Thomas 137-138, 201-202). Nevertheless, soon after he reached the Mexican mainland, Cortés began to redefine the goals of the expedition into one that would more closely resemble the words spoken by the town crier in the motion picture. The film incorrectly represents Diego Cermeño and Juan Escudero as Velázquez's representatives; while both men were loyal to the governor, they were not his formally designated agents (Thomas 221-222).

Captain from Castile then shifts its location from Cuba to Villa Rica on Mexico's Gulf Coast. On the sands of Villa Rica (but filmed at Acapulco [tipped-in, unpaginated

typescript, final script, folder 10, King]), Cortés and his followers (who include Doña Marina and several Cuban Indians) meet the first of several contingents of emissaries sent by Motecuhzoma. The Mexica envoys offer “the great white god” objects of worked gold, and express their hope that he will return home. But the gifts serve only to intensify Cortés’ appetite for gold and stiffen his resolve to secure the source of this wealth. Escudero and Cermeño remind Cortés that the governor’s instructions did not include conquest. Hearing their words as Velázquez’s challenge to his authority, Cortés responds in a way that both solidifies the support of his men and defines his independence from the governor:

CORTÉS: Do you think that 500 men and eleven ships sailed all this distance with the idea of riding back and forth in trade, or that the great emperor Motecuhzoma has stripped himself for our benefit? That there isn’t a thousand-fold more where this came from? Ha-ha, by my beard gentlemen, these are but scraps and samples. Are we going to be content with trifles when we can help ourselves to the whole treasury? And mark you, he fears us or would have sent nothing at all.

ESCUADERO: But Governor Velázquez said . . .

CERMEÑO: He gave definite orders . . .

CORTÉS: I take no orders from Governor Velázquez! *I am the law here!* [He then addresses his followers] Men, this land holds out to us a glorious prize, but it must be won. Great things were never achieved without exertion. We are few in numbers, but strong in resolution. Put your faith in me, and in the Almighty, and we will go forward and carry to a glorious conclusion the work so auspiciously begun here this day!

The final script (November 13, 1946, p. 85, folder 10, King) has production notes for elements of this shot that were included in the film and that close the sequence at Villa Rica:

As he [Cortés] concludes[,] there is a mighty outburst of cheering. Swept away by Cortez’s oratory and the lure of gold, the men hurl their hats in the air, crowd around Cortez. Escudero and Cermeño are pushed into the background, as the cheering continues.

This sequence compares unevenly with the historical record. Cortés did have eleven ships committed to his use, but only nine were fit for service. The expedition’s personnel consisted of some 530 Europeans, several hundred Cuban Indians (most probably Taino

or Ciboney), and a few black freemen and slaves (Thomas 150, 152).¹³ While the film shows actors representing the Cuban Indians in the expedition, there are no such portrayals of the blacks who had also accompanied Cortés from Cuba. Unlike its replication in the film, the Cortés expedition did not first land on the Mexican mainland at Villa Rica, but at a place that Juan de Grijalva had christened San Juan de Ulúa the previous year. San Juan is south of the settlement that Cortés founded on June 28, 1519 as Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz (Thomas 210-211).

Doña Marina served Cortés as *a* translator but not as *the* translator as depicted in the film. Cortés met a shipwrecked Castilian, Gerónimo de Aguilar, on the island of Cozumel. Aguilar had learned Yucatec Maya, a language that Marina also knew. Cortés used both individuals in tandem to communicate with the Mexica: a Nahuatl speaker would address Doña Marina who would then translate the Nahuatl address into Yucatec Maya; she would convey this translation to Aguilar who then translated the Maya-translated message for Cortés. This proved to be a workable system of communication, but was clearly imperfect. As Marina acquired a greater knowledge of Spanish, Aguilar became less important to Cortés (Townsend 41-42; Cortez 76-77). Nonetheless, Aguilar was hardly absent from the earliest chapters of the conquest story although in the film he has been rendered invisible.¹⁴

The historical Cortés met the first of several Mexica envoys and received their gifts as depicted in the film, but this event actually took place at San Juan de Ulúa and not Villa Rica.¹⁵ A native envoy named Teuhtlile (Tentlil) told Cortés at San Juan de Ulúa, using words similar to the unnamed ambassador in the film, not travel to Tenochtitlan because of the long and dangerous journey. However, Teuhtlile did not deliver this message when he first met Cortés. Teuhtlile had returned to Tenochtitlan to report to Motecuhzoma the substance of his first meeting with the Castilians. It was on his return to San Juan de Ulúa several days later that Teuhtlile conveyed the wishes of his monarch that Cortés not advance any further (Thomas 176-180, 193-195). Cortés' "scraps and samples" speech came from Shellabarger's imagination and not from any known historical text. The novelist constructed an episode in which Pedro de Vargas vividly recalled the Aztecs' offering of gifts to the Castilians, and which Trotti cleverly reworked for the film:

"Friends," Cortés had argued, urging the sacrifice of the treasure, "do you think that this prince has stripped himself for our benefit, that he hasn't a thousandfold more where this came from? By my beard, gentlemen, these are but scraps and samples. And, mark you, he fears us or he would not have sent them. Now certainly we must visit him..." (Shellabarger 167-168).¹⁶

The native ambassadors' reference to Cortés as “the great white god” in the film suggests something that is recorded in a number of colonial sources—that some Mexica, including Motecuhzoma, believed Cortés was the man-god Quetzalcoatl who had returned from the east to reclaim his throne. The historical accuracy of this belief continues to be the subject of spirited debate among Mesoamericanists, some asserting that it may have been a genuine prehispanic belief while others arguing that it was fabricated years after the Conquest.¹⁷ But such issues were of little concern to popular writers. Shellabarger (167, 272) presented the Cortés-Quetzalcoatl issue as fact and this likely explains the reason for the motion picture's reference to “the great white god.”

The celluloid Cortés' declaration of legal separation from Velázquez echoes what can be found in the historical record. The real conquistador founded Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz and created its town council that he then manipulated for his own political purposes. Placing the town council directly under his monarch, Charles V, Cortés used the council as an instrument to confer upon him legal justifications to separate himself from Velázquez and to convert, in the name of his monarch, the expedition into one of conquest (Thomas 138-139, 156-157, 198-201).

It is by no means certain that Cortés delivered a stirring speech with words that resemble those in the “glorious prize” speech in the film. However, if he did, it was just before his expedition departed from Cuba (Thomas 155-156). Because Shellabarger did not include this speech in his novel, Lamar Trotti was compelled to turn to another resource for this address. What Trotti found were words that ultimately came from the pen of Cortés' secretary and biographer, Francisco López de Gómara. López de Gómara (51-52) asserted that Cortés did give such a speech and provided a lengthy transcription of it. Some three hundred years later, William H. Prescott abbreviated this transcription and included it in his popular *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (first published in 1843). The similarity of Prescott's edited text of Cortés' speech (as given by López de Gómara) and the filmic Cortés' scripted lines leave little doubt but that Trotti had developed his dialogue by reworking a speech that had been crafted a century earlier by Prescott (1936: 145):

Before embarking, Cortés addressed his soldiers in a short but animated harangue. He told them they were about to enter on a noble enterprise, one that would make their name famous to after ages. He was leading them to countries more vast and opulent than any yet visited by Europeans. “I hold out to you a glorious prize,” continued the orator, “but it is to be won by incessant toil. Great things are achieved only by great exertions, and glory was never the reward of sloth... You are few in number, but strong in resolution; and, if this does not falter, doubt not but that the Almighty... will shield you... Go forward, then,” he concluded, “with alacrity and confidence, and carry to a glorious issue the work so auspiciously begun.”¹⁸

At the Totonac settlement of Cempohuallan (but filmed at Acapulco tipped-in, unpaginated typescript, final script, folder 10, King), the Castilians are visited by a second group of Mexica envoys. The ambassadors offer gifts to Cortés more precious than those given him at Villa Rica, prompting Cortés to say to his men: “Yes, the closer we come to the mines, gentlemen, the bigger the nuggets.” Cortés makes it clear that he plans to send these gifts to Charles V to secure his monarch’s support for his enterprise and to thwart any interference from Velázquez. Cortés and Father Olmedo then exchange words that reveal Cortés’ principal motive of conquest was gold and not God. Following this conversation, a Mexica ambassador delivers a message from Motecuhzoma to Cortés, which Doña Marina translates:

My lord, the ambassador says emperor Moctezuma knows you and your men tire after long journey and warns any further advance be dangerous. He says you must turn back, leave this country now.

Cortés immediately replies to Doña Marina: “Tell the ambassador that Castilians are never tired, and that we’re well able to meet and dispose of any dangers that lie ahead of us.”¹⁹

The Cempohuallan sequence progresses as Escudero and Cermeño hatch a plot to seize a brigantine anchored at Villa Rica and return to Cuba to gain the favor of Governor Velázquez. The treachery is uncovered by Pedro who is gravely wounded by the traitors. Accompanied by a loyal seaman, Corio (Marc Lawrence), the injured Pedro returns to Cempohuallan. He recovers from his wounds and is promoted by Cortés to the rank of captain for his services. Cortés tells Pedro that the treachery he had uncovered might be repeated as long as ships lie at anchor off Villa Rica. Realizing that Cortés meant to destroy those vessels, Pedro tries to persuade Cortés from taking such drastic action: “But sir, those ships are our only means of communication and retreat.” Cortés remains resolute and tells Pedro: “If one can’t retreat, he must go forward.” Cortés puts his words into action, and the final shot of the sequence shows him surveying his fleet as it burns at anchor in the harbor of Villa Rica.

The historical Cortés had left Villa Rica for Cempohuallan where he was visited by a delegation of natives, but these were Totonacs (Thomas 205-206) and not Mexica emissaries as depicted in the film. While the motion picture correctly shows Cortés sending some of his treasure to King Charles for the purpose of gaining this monarch’s support, it erroneously locates this scene at Cempohuallan rather than at Villa Rica (Thomas 219-220). Cortés’ remarks about “mines” and “nuggets” and his subsequent exchange with Father Olmedo, while fictive, go far to portray accurately the

conquistador's personal ambitions (Thomas 219-220). Mexica envoys did convey Motecuhzoma's words to Cortés about the dangers that the Castilians would face if they approached Tenochtitlan, but this was well after the expedition had left Cempohuallan. According to Cortés (81), the ambassadors told him "not to go there [Tenochtitlan], for I would suffer many hardships." The historical Cortés destroyed his own fleet at Villa Rica to deter future mutinies and to deny the faint-of-heart any avenue of retreat (Thomas 221), but he did this by ordering the ships run aground (Thomas 221-222), not by burning them.²⁰

Escudero, Cermeño and several others plotted to capture a brigantine and sail to Cuba so as to curry Velázquez's favor. The plot was uncovered by one Bernardino de Soria, and Cortés quickly arrested and hanged Cermeño and Escudero and punished the other conspirators (Thomas 221-222). Lamar Trotti based the film's "Corio" on the novel's "Bernardino de Coria" (Shellabarger 190-199), and thus ultimately the historical Bernardino de Soria. The forms of justice the historical Cortés meted out to Escudero, Cermeño, and the other conspirators were originally scripted for the motion picture (Trotti, final script, November 13, 1946, page 128, folder 10, King) but they did not make their way into the final cut:

EDGE OF TOWN –NIGHT: A jib in the form of a "T" has been erected, and in black silhouette we see the bodies of two men – Escudero and Cermeño – hanging. It is very dim, and we get merely an impression of the hanging. OVER THIS WE HEAR a man's voice counting:

VOICE: Forty - - forty-one — forty-two - - forty-three - -

CAMERA PANS DOWN to CLOSE SHOT of a seaman with his hands tied to a post, stripped to the waist. Behind him walks a man with a sack of salt, which he is throwing on the wounds. The counting continues off scene:

VOICE: - - forty-seven - - forty-eight - - forty-nine - - fifty.

CAMERA CONTINUES TO PAN along a row of other seamen tied to posts. CAMERA MOVES with the man who is salting the backs of those who have been logged. (We never actually see the men being flogged.) As CAMERA COMES to the last man, we see a big man with a whip as he steps up to the last prisoner. CAMERA DOES NOT STAY on him, however, but MOVES UNTIL IT COMES to Cortez standing looking on solemnly. OVER THIS WE HEAR the flogger starts to count again.

VOICE: One - - two - - three - - four - - etc.

Abruptly Cortez turns and walks away.

No documentation has been located that might explain the reason this scene was deleted from the motion picture. Perhaps Darryl F. Zanuck, head of production at Twentieth Century-Fox, thought the scene impeded the flow of the script, which he envisioned as fundamentally a love story (Darryl F. Zanuck to John Tucker Battle, January 20, 1945, UCLA, Box 915). Whatever the reason, its source was the studio and not the censor. The Production Code Administration gave its approval to the final script with the proviso that some details be changed, but none of these pertained to this deleted scene (Joseph I. Breen to Jason S. Joy, November 19, 1946, PCA).²¹

The setting at Cholollan (but filmed at Uruapan, Michoacán [tipped-in, unpaginated typescript, final script, folder 10, King]) offers some of the film's most dramatic portrayals of the Cortés expedition.²² At the beginning of the Cholollan sequence, Cortés meets another group of Mexica emissaries who are escorted by a large force of warriors.²³ Cacamatzin (Gilberto González), a nephew and advisor of Motecuhzoma, is carried on a great litter and is the leader of this delegation. Doña Marina conveys Cacamatzin's words to Cortés: "My lord, the royal prince says his gods are all-powerful. They threaten to bring drought, pestilence, and war if you remain." Cortés responds to the ambassador through Marina that the Mexica gods have no influence over him, and to demonstrate this, he substitutes action for words. He orders Alvarado to train a cannon on a great statue atop a stepped platform.²⁴ The cannon ball smashes the idol's head, causing the Castilians to shout with delight and the Mexica to cry out in fear. Cortés then says: "Ah, *Señor* Cacamatzin, tell your uncle, the emperor, how helpless your gods are before us."

Other expedition scenes follow in quick order during this sequence: a native scout delivers Cacamatzin a pictorial showing that eighteen ships have just landed at Villa Rica; Cortés examines the pictorial and realizes these ships carry soldiers who had been sent by Velázquez to arrest him and his loyal officers; Cortés and a contingent of his men leave Cholollan for Villa Rica to confront the landing party. In Cortés' absence, the Castilians who remain in Cholollan are surrounded by an unseen enemy represented by the low rumbling of native drums in the distance;²⁵ Cortés returns to Cholollan victorious from his battle at Villa Rica and prepares to leave for Tenochtitlan.

One of the most dramatic events of the Conquest was the Castilians' slaughter of thousands of Cholollan warriors (Thomas 261-264),²⁶ an episode absent from the film. The historical Cortés did meet with Cacamatzin who was carried on a litter as the head of a delegation of envoys. However, this meeting was not at Cholollan but at Ayotzingo, and took place well after Cortés had left Cholollan (Thomas 273-274). The film accurately describes Cacamatzin as a nephew and advisor to Motecuhzoma, but

makes no reference that Cacamatzin was also the ruler of Tetzcoco, a powerful city-state allied with Tenochtitlan.²⁷

The filmic Cortés' destruction of the idol by cannon makes good drama but poor history. Early in his march of conquest, the historical Cortés had used lombard guns to frighten natives on Cozumel and shortly afterwards to intimidate the envoy Teuhtlile at San Juan de Ulúa. Cortés ordered the destruction of idols in Cozumel, Cempohuallan, Cholollan, and later in Tenochtitlan itself (Thomas 159-160, 167, 213, 261, 327-329),²⁸ but he did not use cannon fire for that purpose. Whether by accident or design, the studio tied together two threads of genuine historicity to construct this dramatic scene: the historical Cortés a) destroyed idols and b) used cannon to intimidate natives.

The scene in which Cortés receives information about the arrival of ships at Villa Rica also has some genuine historical features recast with uneven results. The historical Cortés received news of an armada from a native. However, this message was not delivered to Cortés by one of Cacamatzin's subordinates at Cholollan but by Motecuhzoma at Tenochtitlan (Thomas 364).²⁹ The motion picture is correct in its reference that Velázquez had sent ships with troops to pursue and arrest Cortés as a rebel but neglects to note that the armada was captained by the governor's nephew, Pánfilo de Narváez. The filmic messenger carries a pictorial that shows an armada of eighteen vessels. While Narváez's naval force did in fact originally consist of eighteen ships, the number was reduced to seventeen vessels because one was lost at sea. Moreover, the film mistakenly places the expedition's landing at Villa Rica instead of at San Juan de Ulúa (Thomas 354-356, 360-361, 461-465).³⁰

Cortés did not leave Cholollan to meet Narváez's forces but departed from Tenochtitlan for this purpose. Cortés put Alvarado in command of some one hundred and forty soldiers who remained quartered in the Mexica capital. Feeling increasingly vulnerable to the Mexica who surrounded them, and deprived of Cortés' leadership, the conquistadores succumbed to their anxieties and attacked and slaughtered several hundred noble warriors (Thomas 369, 383-393).³¹ The film's rendering of native drums thundering ominously in the hills surrounding the Castilians' camp at Cholollan conveys (whether by intent or not) Alvarado's fears of entrapment in Tenochtitlan. While the motion picture correctly shows Cortés as the victor over the forces that had been sent to arrest him, Cortés actually met Narváez at Cempohuallan and not at Villa Rica, and Cortés returned to a tense and silent Tenochtitlan and not to a jubilant Cholollan (Thomas 369-376, 394-396).

The final sequence in *Captain from Castile* begins and ends with lines scripted for Cortés. As this sequence opens, Cortés addresses Pedro and his other officers:

Gentlemen, this time last year, we were fighting mosquitoes in swamps, accepting paltry gifts, and half starving. But now, we stand knocking at the very door of the great emperor Moctezuma. We shall meet his majesty face-to-face, have done with ambassadors and specks of gold. This, gentlemen, is just the beginning.

While Cortés' address is dramatic, it was nonetheless fabricated with threads of fantasy. Shellabarger's Cortés delivers a speech inside Tenochtitlan, and it was this fictional account that inspired Trotti:

Give us time, I say. Why sirs, recall what we were doing this month last year: fighting mosquitos on the flats of San Juan de Ulúa; gaping at some paltry gifts from Montezuma; half-starving, without allies, without a base on the coast, scarce knowing which way to turn. And now—" (Shellabarger 258)

In both the novel and the film, Cortés states that a full year had passed since the Castilians had landed at Villa Rica (in the film)/San Juan de Ulúa (in the novel). But in fact, the Cortés expedition had reached Tenochtitlan less than two weeks after it had departed from Cholollan, and less than seven months after its landfall at San Juan de Ulúa (Thomas 173, 276). Consequently, even if the historical Cortés had said something resembling the inspirational words that appear in the novel and in the film, he would not have stated that the expedition had been in the field for a full year. *Captain from Castile* closes with a shot of the Cortés expedition marching toward Tenochtitlan. The film, then, does not recount the events from Cortés' first entrance in Tenochtitlan (November 8, 1519) to his conquest of that city twenty-one months later (August 13, 1521).

3. THE CONQUEST WITHOUT CONQUEST

Ultimately *Captain from Castile* offers a story of the Conquest without conquest.³² But this truncated version of the Conquest was not what the studio had originally planned for this motion picture. Shellabarger (257-413) devoted considerable space to Cortés' conquest of Tenochtitlan, and the Twentieth Century-Fox screenwriters intended to give this subject extensive treatment when the script was first being adapted from the novel (John Tucker Battle, step sheet, February 8, 1945, especially pages 11-17, folder 3, USC; Lamar Trotti, [story treatment], October 17, 1945, Box 914, John Tucker Battle to Darryl F. Zanuck, January 19, 1945, Box 915, UCLA). Producer and screen writer Joseph L. Mankiewicz went so far as to recommend to Zanuck (memorandum of Mankiewicz to Zanuck, July 16, 1945, Box 915, UCLA) that the

motion picture should not merely include the Conquest but that it should be should be fundamentally a celluloid chronicle of the Conquest:

Let me begin by reiterating the opinion I expressed during our discussion before you left; while there are many ways in which *The Captain From Castile* can be done, it is my belief that there is only one way it should be done. The background and the very reason for the existence of the book is Cortes' Conquest of Mexico. One of the two or three most thrilling and famous exploits in history—Cortes and his accomplishments are to the Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries of the world what Washington, Lincoln, Frederick the Great, Joan of Arc, Nelson and Potemkin are to the rest. Neither Cortes nor his conquest can be slighted or distorted without offending great numbers of greatly interested people. The Hays Office representatives [responsible for administering censorship guidelines for the film industry] stressed this very point during my discussion of the novel with them. Perhaps this may be one reason this fantastically dramatic subject has been one of those often dreamed of, but never realized by our industry. It's an enormous undertaking, there's no getting away from that fact... To do this picture ambitiously will cost a great deal of money. It will require Technicolor, a huge cast, great numbers of people, elaborate sets, costumes, props, locations, etc. The script will take a long time to write—thorough research will be necessary.

Mankiewicz believed if the studio followed his suggestion by fashioning *Captain from Castile* principally as a story of the Conquest, then the dominate character of the film should represent the historical Cortés and not some fictional hidalgo from Castile. Only in this way, Mankiewicz asserted, could Cortés' "military genius, his painstaking Montgomery-like preparation before attack" be faithfully represented on the screen.³³

But Darryl F. Zanuck had other ideas. From the earliest days of production, Zanuck envisioned *Captain from Castile* as a romantic adventure and thought history should be recast in ways to serve that story ("Conference with Mr. Zanuck," February 8, 1945, folder 4, USC):

... no matter how much history or other production values you add to it[,] this must be the story [of romance and adventure] which holds our attention. If it does not occupy our attention ninety percent of the time, the other things will be worthless... The other elements, such as the conquest of Mexico,... should be used only where they progress and are essential to the telling of this personal story. These things should be seen in the background, over your shoulder, so to speak.

Zanuck later thought the battle for Tenochtitlan could be entirely deleted. He believed the "emotional pinnacle" of the story was reached when Cortés and Motecuhzoma first

meet in Tenochtitlan (Zanuck to Lamar Trotti, May 15, 1946, folder 13, USC),³⁴ and was thus well before the episodic battle for this city that is described so vividly in the novel. Zanuck believed, then, that the recounting of this battle would detract from the dramatic “personal story” that he wanted to produce. In his quest for achieving this personal drama by eliminating the great battle in his reworking of the Conquest story, he was guided by a practice that he had followed several years earlier, which he related to Trotti (Zanuck to Trotti, May 15, 1946, folder 13, USC):

This [the ending of the film when Cortés and Motecuhzoma meet] will also enable Henry [King] and you to more fully develop the dramatic elements in the first half of the book. When I think of what I got away with in HOW GREEN WAS MY VALLEY [1941] and won the Academy Award with this picture, it is really astonishing. Not only did we drop five or six characters but we eliminated the biggest thing in the book which was the labor and capital battle in connection with the [coal miners] strike.

Trotti revised his script in accord with Zanuck’s ideas, drafting a screenplay that allowed for the full emergence of the Pedro-Catana romance; elements of adventure were retained but in ways that would enhance, but not eclipse, the love story. Trotti also resituated Zanuck’s “emotional pinnacle” so that it was now framed in a new sequence that closed the motion picture (“Conference with Mr. Zanuck,” October 21, 1946, folder 20, USC). Zanuck read Trotti’s revised treatment and voiced his assessment with evident enthusiasm during a conference with his staff: “It is a wonderful love story, and a tremendous adventure story. It has drive, power and pace, and it is beautifully written” (“Conference with Mr. Zanuck,” October 21, 1946, folder 20, USC).³⁵

Zanuck envisioned the Conquest from the vantage of a studio executive and not from the perspective of a historian. Above all, he wanted to produce a motion picture that would acquit itself well at the box office rather than create a celluloid history lesson. The film’s consequent uneven historicity was noted in a magazine review (“The Halls of Montezuma” 1948) that appeared shortly after the motion picture’s national release:

...any resemblance to history in this account of the conquest of the Aztecs is a swashbuckling, technicolored coincidence conceived with box-office afterthought and dedicated to starry-eyed escapists.

The process of refashioning the past with the end of producing a marketable commodity was something that Zanuck both understood and embraced.

4. THE CONQUISTADOR WITH A CONSCIENCE

Captain from Castile subverts the one-dimensional stereotype of Spaniard-as-ruthless-invader by casting the character of its title role as a highly moral outsider. John Tucker Battle, who initiated the process of adapting the novel to a script, was the first to suggest to Zanuck that Pedro de Vargas might be developed as a sympathetic character who would never take “part in an act of aggression against the Indians per se...”(John Tucker Battle to Zanuck, January 1945, Box 915, UCLA). Motivated by practical and not theoretical considerations, Zanuck drew upon Battle’s vision of Pedro and developed a character to serve as a moral counterpoise to the other conquistadors. From Zanuck’s perspective, situating Pedro on high moral ground was a strategy that would enhance the entire motion picture (“Conference with Mr. Zanuck,” May 22, 1946, pp. 1-2, Box 914, UCLA):

Whether or not this story will be an adult story depends on the character of Pedro. In pictures of this type these swashbuckling characters are never very adult, and they make up for their lack of credibility by swordplay and daring deeds. We want to get away from this standard hero in our picture, and in order to do this we will give Pedro a viewpoint, a mental objective. We don’t want to tag him as a liberal or anything like that, but we ought to make him a kind of rebel against his kind of life. Not so much a rebel perhaps, as a man who has a sense of justice, who, although all his life has been spent amidst surroundings where slaves were an accepted part of his life, still feels that for one man to enslave another is wrong. He has strange misgivings about some of the accepted standards of the hidalgos.

Perhaps Mr. Trotti can give Pedro some of Father Bartolomé’s views; perhaps Pedro instinctively feels as does Father Bartolomé about forcing Spanish beliefs and customs on Mexico, but he had never been able to put his beliefs [into action] until he heard them aired by the Father. At no time, of course, should he be preachy or adopt a holier-than-thou attitude toward the other Spanish conquerors; he merely feels instinctively that conquest and enslavement of people are wrong.

The foundation of Pedro’s “viewpoint” was established early in the film. Within the first few minutes of *Captain from Castile*, the audience is introduced to an Aztec prince named Coatl who was living in Spain as a slave (before the Conquest!) and, with the help of his friend Pedro, escaped and returned to Mexico. The two friends later meet in Mexico and have a discussion that centers on the morality of the Spanish invasion:

COATL: I think of what you do for me in Spain. I think I speak to you now. Maybe I understand why you come here. This is my country, senor, my people, my gods. We not come tell you to stop loving your gods, we not come make you slaves. Why you do this, senor?

PEDRO: Well, I'm afraid I haven't any answer for that. It isn't right for men to worship idols. There's only one true God.

COATL: Maybe your God and my God same God. Maybe we just call Him by different names.

PEDRO: Perhaps.

This dialogue, which is absent in the novel, clearly established Pedro as “the other” among the conquistadors. The fundamental humanity that he shared with Coatl forced the captain from Castile to acknowledge that the Conquest should be directed to achieve spiritual, and not material, aims. Zanuck would not have Pedro scripted in a way that might appear “preachy” but had no such prohibition for the character of the expedition’s priest, Father Bartolomé Olmedo. Because Zanuck believed Pedro and Father Bartolomé pointed to the same direction on the moral compass, the priest is allowed to preach on Pedro’s behalf. Late in the motion picture, Father Bartolomé embellishes Pedro’s sentiments about a spiritual conquest in a stirring sermon that he delivers to the conquistadors:

I charge you to put this greed for gold out of your hearts. Open your eyes to what lies before you. Go forward not as conquerors but as men of God. The sun shines here as fair as in Spain. Let it shine on all men alike. Here there shall be neither master nor slave, no looking up, no looking down. But here, all men shall be equal in God’s plan. The Lord has indeed blessed this land. In its richness it may yet out-value all the gold of Montezuma. And in God’s own time, it will blossom forth under the cross of Christianity, a haven for the weak, a refuge for the strong, with all the good of the Old World and none of its ills.

Father Bartolomé’s words provide further moral definition to Pedro de Vargas as “the other” among conquistadors both filmic and historical.

5. CONCLUSION

Captain from Castile offers insights to two historical eras separated by more than four centuries. The historicity of the film’s representations of the Spanish Conquest of Aztec Mexico is as uneven as Darryl F. Zanuck’s hand was steady in shaping those images. While this motion picture falls within the corpus of films often categorized as “history by Hollywood,” *Captain from Castile* should be more precisely described as “history by Zanuck.”

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NOTES

¹Nicholas Kazan developed the screenplay for *Conquistador* in 1988, which he had then titled "Cortés." By 1991, Hollywood producer Edward R. Pressman had read the screenplay, liked it, and contacted the Mexican Government about location shooting. Pressman contacted a number of directors at that time (including Oliver Stone) to direct the film, but none committed themselves to the project. Andy Garcia was then being considered for the title role of the film (Koch 1991). Kazan's screenplay was translated into Spanish, and Waddington was selected by a team of Hollywood producers to direct the film, which was titled *Conquistador* (Lerman, Villasmil). Spanish actor Antonio Banderas was playing the role of Cortés when production on *Conquistador* was terminated. Banderas asserted in an interview that financial backers withdrew their support because the dialogue of *Conquistador* was in Spanish and Nahuatl and not in English (Chico).

²Two Mexican motion pictures have been recently released that portray elements of Spain's conquest of native Mexico, but neither specifically recounts the exploits of Cortés during the conquest of the Aztecs. *La Otra Conquista* (Carrasco & Domingo Films, 1999) centers on the life of a fictional Aztec noble youth (Topiltzin), covering the period beginning immediately after the fall of Tenochtitlan (1521) and continuing to 1531; several scenes feature appearances of a filmic Cortés but these are all set well after the conquest. *Eréndira Ikikunari* (CUEC, 2007) interprets the resistance of a legendary Purépecha (Tarascan) woman who led a resistance movement of her people against Nuño de Guzmán during his conquest of Michoacan (1529-30).

³The importance of this motion picture for historians first became evident to me during the lively question/answer session following my presentation about this film: "The Conquest According to Hollywood: *Captain from Castile*," Eighth Annual Latin American Symposium of the San Diego Museum of Man, "La Conquista: Divergent Cultural Perspectives," San Diego, California, February 22, 1997.

⁴Dialogue, which is quoted extensively below in this study, has been taken directly both from this film (*Captain 2007* [1947]) and from the final script by Lamar Trotti. A copy of the final script (dated November 13, 1946) is in King (folder 10). Dialogue that is not cited was taken directly from the film, and in those instances the citation of that source (*Captain 2007* [1947]) is implied. The film's dialogue was transcribed in a 61-page typescript, titled "Dialogue Taken From the Screen" (dated November 26, 1947), and is in UCLA (Box 914). There are occasional significant differences between the dialogue contained in the final script and the UCLA transcription. However, the differences between my transcription and the UCLA transcription are minor, and are largely confined to matters of punctuation. For spelling differences, see below, note 11.

⁵ Inda recalled (127) that when she saw herself in *Captain from Castile*, it seemed strange to hear herself speaking in two foreign languages (English and Nahuatl) but never in her native Spanish. She later studied Nahuatl under Linares Moctezuma (Inda 128).

⁶ Pedro's Castilian origins are significant because the so-called "Spanish" conquest and subsequent settlement of the Americas was fundamentally a Castilian enterprise. Taves (15-55) has classified adventure films into five categories. One of these is the "empire adventure" that features "the depiction of imperialism as a liberating experience" (Taves 38). Because Pedro and his companions find "liberation" from the restraints of the Old World in the New, Taves offers valuable insights (39, 117-119, 131-132) to *Captain from Castile* as an "empire adventure." Toplin has written a brief but insightful analysis of the principal elements of another category of motion picture to which *Captain from Castile* belongs, "historical cinema."

⁷ The first 40% of the film (56 of 141 minutes) is set in Spain, in contrast to 28% of the novel (142 of 503 pages).

⁸ In the novel, Coatl is a Zapotec, a people described as "[s]ome tributary state" of the Aztecs (Shellabarger 303). The Mohawk actor Silverheels later gained fame playing the character "Tonto" in the 1950s television series, "The Lone Ranger."

⁹ Twentieth Century-Fox substituted the Inquisition, which appears in the novel (Shellabarger 110), by the Santa Hermandad (Holy Brotherhood). The Santa Hermandad was a militia organization that Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand formed in 1476. During its twenty-two years of existence, the Holy Brotherhood was never formally associated with the Inquisition (Lunenfeld 1970). The studio disguised the Inquisition as the Santa Hermandad in an effort to dissociate the Church from the Inquisition and thereby appease the Legion of Decency (Brady; Walsh 221), a Catholic organization that rated motion pictures for their moral content. Darryl F. Zanuck, head of production at Twentieth Century-Fox, believed that this substitution was critically important and offered advice to screenwriter John Tucker Battle (Memorandum of Darryl F. Zanuck to John Tucker Battle, January 20, 1945, Box 915, UCLA) how this might be achieved: "You do not have to use the actual name 'Inquisition.' Give it some other name. Also, you do not have to mention the Catholic Church. Keep crosses and crucifixes and all such out of it completely. The Inquisitors are just the local Ku-Klux-Klanners, so to speak."

¹⁰ A sequence is generally understood to mean a structural unit of film made of interrelated scenes, and that is the meaning used in this study.

¹¹ The spelling here of Cortés' name, and of Motecuhzoma's, requires some explanation. The leader of the 1519 Castilian expedition to Mexico signed his name "Fernando Cortés" to many legal documents. Most historians who have examined these records (to name but two, Michael G. Riley [1973] and Henry R. Wagner [1944]) use "Fernando Cortés" as the spelling of this conquistador's name. The name of the Mexica *tlatoque* (ruler) who met Cortés is more conjectural. Colonial and modern writers have offered variant spellings of this name, which include Moctezoma, Moctezuma, Montezuma, Moteuczoma, and an array of others. Following Nicholson, I have elected to use "Motecuhzoma." For the purpose of spelling the proper names that are in the dialogue that I have taken directly from the script, I have followed the spelling given in the final script of November 13, 1946 (folder 10, King). For example, "Fernando Cortés," "Velázquez," "Motecuhzoma," and "Cermeño" appear respectively as "Hernan Cortez," "Velasquez," "Moctezuma," and "Cermeno." In those instances when I have taken dialogue directly from the film, I have followed the spelling of proper names found in the scholarly

literature. The one exception is the spelling of Cortés' first name in the town crier's announcement, and this was because the actor playing the crier clearly sounded Cortés' first name as "Hernán."

¹² Shellabarger (143-56) incorrectly located this event at Trinidad.

¹³ To clarify this reference to Thomas, I must explain that Thomas did not specify that the Cuban Indians who accompanied Cortés were Taino or Ciboney. I added the parenthesis that these Cuban Indians were most probably Taino or Ciboney based on the historical evidence of the numerous settlements of those native groups in Cuba at the time of first European contact (Wilson 52-55, 58-60). The native people of Cuba, as elsewhere in the Greater Antilles, were devastated by the effects of European diseases (Wilson x, 2).

¹⁴ Shellabarger (1945: 159 and ff.) includes Aguilar in his novel. The historical Doña Marina was around eighteen when she joined the Cortés expedition, but she is portrayed in the film by an actress (Inda) who was at the time of production well beyond her teens. Shellabarger (160, 163, 165) described Marina as a "girl" who had been sold to native slave dealers.

¹⁵ Cortés (23-24) described the gifts he offered to and received from the Mexica at San Juan de Ulúa. While the historical Cortés exchanged gifts several times with various groups of natives during the expedition, the film only shows the Mexica giving gifts to (but never receiving gifts from) the Castilians.

¹⁶ While Shellabarger did not establish that this gift-giving happened at San Juan de Ulúa (where it actually took place), he suggested that the event occurred sometime before the Spaniards had reached Cempohuallan, and thus early in the expedition.

¹⁷ Carrasco (205-240) argues that this association was a probable prehispanic belief at the time of the Conquest, while Restall (211-216) asserts that this association was constructed years after the Conquest. H.B. Nicholson has made the most thorough study of the subject (Nicholson 2001b), and has offered (2001a:15) an informed opinion that the belief may have had an influence on the outcome of the Conquest: "the view that it did play a role in the events of 1519-21 that resulted in the triumph of Cortés can at least be advanced as a serious working hypothesis."

¹⁸ Trotti could have used any one of several editions of Prescott's history for his source. The Modern Library Edition [1936] of this history was one that would have been readily available to Trotti at the time he was working on his script. Prescott referred in a note ([1936:] 712-13, note 98) to having used López de Gómara's account as it appeared in Barcia, suggesting that this was the 1749 Madrid edition produced by Andrés de González de Barcia Carballido.

¹⁹ The final script (pages 96-99, folder 10 King) places these events during the sequence set at Cholollan rather than Cempohuallan.

²⁰ Shellabarger (1945: 206) correctly recounted that Cortés disabled his ships by running them aground.

²¹ The final script of November 13, 1946 (folder 10, King) contains revisions dated November 20, 1946 and January 24, 1947.

²² In contrast, Shellabarger (259, 298) makes only two brief references to Cholollan.

²³ Natives from the local sierra played these Mexica warriors (Inda 127).

²⁴ The prop statue appears to be a rather fanciful rendering of the Mexica goddess Coatlicue. Before the cannon is fired, Doña Marina instructs the ambassadors to cast their eyes toward the statue. Stella

Inda delivered her lines in Nahuatl, but the Spanish “dios” (god) was later dubbed on the soundtrack for the Nahuatl “teotl” (god).

²⁵ Pedro and Coatl have a conversation that reveals Pedro’s doubts about the rectitude of a military conquest, but leave no doubt that he believed a spiritual conquest was justified. Pedro tells Coatl: “... there is only one true God. It’s not right that men should worship idols.”

²⁶ Most sixteenth-century accounts give the number of Cholollan warriors killed between 4,000 and 6,000 (Thomas 699, note 70).

²⁷ A moving arrow superimposed on a map introduces the Cholollan sequence and correctly shows the expedition travelling from Cempohuallan to Jalapa, to Chololoyan, to San Antonio Limón, and then to Cholollan (Cortés “Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century” [map], n.p.). The film has the expedition stopping at Humantla, but there is no historical evidence supporting this. Moreover, several native settlements that Cortés visited en route to Cholollan are not referred to in the film, most notably Tlaxcallan.

²⁸ In the novel (Shellabarger 260), Andrés de Tapia expresses the hope that his “chances in purgatory [will be] more improved by the last few days of temple-cleaning...” Father Bartolomé Olmedo replies: “When it’s time for idols to fall... they fall of themselves.” This dialogue is essentially echoed in the motion picture during the Cholollan sequence save that the filmic Cortés replaces Tapia in the exchange with Father Olmedo.

²⁹ This reporting was accurately portrayed in the novel (Shellabarger 281-82).

³⁰ While Thomas believes that Narváez originally had eighteen ships, he remarked (720, note 1) that one sixteenth-century source (Bernal Díaz del Castillo) gave the number as nineteen.

³¹ The Castilians’ attack on the Mexica warriors (the Toxcatl massacre) was described at some length by Shellabarger (289-300).

³² In fact, the film largely omits representations of Castilian-native conflict. The only incident of violence between a Castilian and a native occurs late in the motion picture when Coatl strangles Diego de Silva, and this action was motivated by personal revenge and not by military considerations.

³³ Mankiewicz (Memorandum of Mankiewicz to Zanuck, July 16, 1944, Box 915, UCLA) gave his Cortés character other attributes—“the gambler on a great scale, the historic conqueror, the great general and leader... his political shrewdness, above all his unlimited ambition”—that were later represented by the filmic Cortés (Cesar Romero).

³⁴ Zanuck noted in this memorandum that a day before he issued this document, Trotti had offered him the suggestion that the film might conclude with the Castilians in Tenochtitlan. Zanuck thought Trotti’s recommendation was “a brilliant idea” (Zanuck to Trotti, May 15, 1946, folder 13, USC).

³⁵ Zanuck’s opinions were based on his review of an incomplete script (“Conference with Mr. Zanuck,” October 21, 1946, folder 20, USC). Trotti completed the final script on November 13, 1946 (folder 10, King).