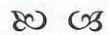


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True Account of the Expedition of  
Oñate toward the East, 1601

by Juan de Oñate

DOCUMENT NO. AJ-014



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## TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF OÑATE TOWARD THE EAST, 1601<sup>1</sup>

*Faithful and true account of the events which took place in the expedition made by the Adelantado and Governor Don Juan de Oñate, in the name of his Majesty, from these first settlements of New Mexico, toward the north, in the year of 1601.*<sup>2</sup>

WITH particular care, I mean with the consent and counsel both of our Father Commissary, Fray Juan Descalona,<sup>3</sup> and the other fathers who resided in these kingdoms occupied in ministering to souls, and of the officers of the royal troops which his Majesty has herein, and after many supplications, suffrages, sacrifices, and prayers to God our Lord, that his Majesty might reveal His divine will, knowing that that of our most Catholic king and lord Philip, God guard him through infinite years, has been and is that the most holy name of God be proclaimed in these his realms, and His holy gospel preached to these barbarous nations, bound by the power of Satan, the enemy of humankind, the governor and adelantado Don Juan de Oñate determined to make an expedition from these first settlements where at the present time this camp of his Majesty is established, to the interior, by a northern route and direction, both because of the splendid reports which the native Indians were giving of this land, and also

<sup>1</sup>“Relacion Verdadera de los sucesos de la entrada que hizo el governador D. Juan de Oñate en las poblaciones de Nueva Megico hacia el Norte” (manuscript in Lowery Collection).

<sup>2</sup>For other data regarding this expedition see especially “Breve relacion en sustancia del nuevo descubrimiento que intentó y dexó comenzado Don Juan de Oñate en la jornada que hizo entre Norte y Levante,” etc., in Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 52-60; Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones*, paragraphs 37-43.

<sup>3</sup>Fray Juan de Escalona was made commissary after the return of Father Martínez to Mexico in 1599.

because of what an Indian named Joseph, who was born and reared in New Spain and who speaks the Mexican tongue, saw while going with Captain Umaña.<sup>1</sup>

The most necessary things having been arranged for the journey, with the supply of provisions, arms, ammunition, and other requisite military stores, with more than seventy picked men for the expedition, all very well equipped, more than seven hundred horses and mules, six mule carts, and two carts drawn by oxen conveying four pieces of artillery, and with servants to carry the necessary baggage,<sup>2</sup> the journey was begun this year of 1601, the said adelantado, Don Juan de Oñate, governor and captain-general, going as commander, with Vicente de Caldivar Mendoza as his *maese de campo* and *sargento mayor*, and two religious of the order of our father San Francisco, Fray Francisco de Velasco, priest, and Fray Pedro de Vergara, lay brother. For reasons which prevented all the people from setting out together, it was necessary that some should go out ahead of the others to a convenient place where all should unite. The first left this camp of San Gabriel on the 23d of the month of June, eve of the Most Blessed Precursor, San Juan Bautista,<sup>3</sup> and having travelled for four days they reached the post or pueblo which is called Galisteo,<sup>4</sup> which is one of these first settlements.

There the greater part of the men came together in five or six days, and from there they commenced to march toward the east; and although at two leagues from this post there arose the difficulty of a large mountain which it was feared the carts could not ascend, our Lord was pleased to overcome it by opening a road through which they passed very

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that one of the avowed purposes of settling New Mexico was to explore beyond Quivira. Interest was greatly stimulated also by the report given by the Indian Jusephe.

<sup>2</sup> The Breve Relacion (*Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 54) says that Oñate took eighty men, half of whom were rather a hindrance than a help. . . . The number of men is given in "Memorial sobre el Descubrimiento" (*Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 198) as one hundred. In an inquiry made in Mexico by Factor Valverde, an eye-witness said that besides the carts Oñate had a hundred sumpter loads of provisions (*ibid.*, p. 221).

<sup>3</sup> St. John the Baptist.

<sup>4</sup> They descended the Rio Grande valley and crossed the mountains through the Galisteo Pass (see the Martínez map).

easily. Having travelled five days we all came to a river in an opening, with peaceful waters, covered with shady groves of trees, some bearing fruits, and with very good fish. Having reached the river on the eve of the learned and seraphic San Buenaventura, we named it San Buenaventura River.<sup>1</sup>

Next day we continued through some extensive plains with very abundant pasturage to another river which they call River of the Bagres<sup>2</sup> and justly so, because of the many catfish which it contains. After the horses had rested we continued our journey, always going east, and in three days arrived at another river, which we named Magdalena,<sup>3</sup> having reached it on her day. Although at first it did not appear promising, we having seen it at a point where it flowed sluggishly among some rocks, and as its banks were not inviting at this point, yet next day and on the other days during which we travelled along it we found it to be so verdant, pleasant, and so covered with vines and other fruits on all sides that we clearly saw that it was one of the best rivers which we had seen in all the Indies. Here some Indians of the nation called Apachi came out with signs of peace. The governor and the other men who were with him made them so many presents that they felt compelled, in view of the small number who had come at the first to see us, to return, and in a little while to come back to our camp with men, women and children, who ratified [the actions of the others] by raising their hands to the sun, which is the ceremony they use as a sign of friendship, and brought to us some small black and yellow fruit of the size of small tomatoes, which is plentiful on all that river. It was as healthful as it was pleasant to taste, for although eaten freely it injured no one.

We took joyous leave and, enjoying the great improvement in the land which we saw each day, we travelled on, following the course of this river, although upon entering the

<sup>1</sup> The map shows the route to have been nearly south from Galisteo for some distance, parallel to the mountains, and then to turn sharply east, around the range. The San Buenaventura was the Pecos, which was crossed above the junction.

<sup>2</sup> The River of Bagres was the Gallinas.

<sup>3</sup> The Canadian, which was reached just below the sharp turn to the east. The route from the Gallinas to that point evidently had been close to the south line of San Miguel County.

plains which they call Cibola or Cebolo we encountered some openings of rocks half detached, which are those which the mountains of this land give off. They caused the carts trouble, but with the great diligence of the good soldiers who were in charge of them they passed this difficult threshold very well and came out at some very extensive and pleasant plains, where scarcely any mountains like those passed could be seen.

Learning from the guide whom we were taking with us that all the country was now level, we began to travel with greater rapidity and with pleasure occasioned by the coming of the *maese de campo* with the rest of the men who remained behind. And like good soldiers, desirous of serving God our Lord and his Majesty, they were undismayed by the absence of four or five cowardly soldiers, who, frightened by military service as by a nightmare, turned their backs, just when the hopes of seeing grander things were becoming brighter. For these the country promised, since each day, as we descended, it seemed warmer, and it doubtless was warmer than the settlements from whence we had started.

At times it became necessary for us to depart from the main river in order to find a road for the carts; and although we feared the lack of watering places for the cattle, there are so many in this country that throughout the journey at distances of three or four leagues there was always sufficient water for the cattle and for the men; and in many places there were springs of very good water and groves of trees.

In some places we came across camps of people of the Apache nation, who are the ones who possess these plains, and who, having neither fixed place nor site of their own, go from place to place with the cattle always following them. We were not disturbed by them at all, although we were in their land, nor did any Indian become impertinent. We therefore passed on, always close to the river, and although on one day we might be delayed in our journey by a very heavy rain, such as are very common in those plains, on the following day and thereafter we journeyed on, sometimes crossing the river at very good fords.

Each day the land through which we were travelling became better, and the luxury of an abundance of fish from

the river greatly alleviated the hardships of the journey. And the fruits gave no less pleasure, particularly the plums, of a hundred thousand different kinds, as mellow and good as those which grow in the choicest orchards of our land. They are so good that although eaten by thousands they never injured anybody. The trees were small, but their fruit was more plentiful than their leaves, and they were so abundant that in more than one hundred and fifty leagues, hardly a day passed without seeing groves of them, and also of grapevines such that although they hid the view in many places they produced sweet and delicious grapes. Because of this the people were very quiet and [not] inclined to injure us in any way, a favor granted by our Lord, for which we did not cease to praise Him and to render a thousand thanks, and in acknowledgment of which the majority of the people endeavored to unburden their consciences and their souls; and God being pleased that on the feast of the Porciuncula, which is the 2d of August, we should reach a place which from times past had been called Rio de San Francisco,<sup>1</sup> with very special devotion to the Most Blessed Confessor the greater part of the army confessed and received communion.

Proceeding on the day of the Glorious Levite and Martyr, San Lorenzo, God was pleased that we should begin to see those most monstrous cattle called *cibola*. Although they were very fleet of foot, on this day four or five of the bulls were killed, which caused great rejoicing. On the following day, continuing our journey, we now saw great droves of bulls and cows, and from there on the multitude which we saw was so great that it might be considered a falsehood by one who had not seen them, for, according to the judgment of all of us who were in any army, nearly every day and wherever we went as many cattle came out as are to be found in the largest ranches of New Spain;<sup>2</sup> and they were so tame that nearly always, unless they were chased or frightened,

<sup>1</sup>This is an indication that the country was known to this point. Forty leagues from the Pecos, Zaldívar had celebrated the feast of San Francisco, near a stream flowing from the Taos and Picuries. It was clearly the Canadian or a branch of it. He could hardly have been as far east as Oñate now was.

<sup>2</sup>Some of these are named on p. 219.

they remained quiet and did not flee. The flesh of these cattle is very good, and very much better than that of our cows. In general they are very fat, especially the cows, and almost all have a great deal of tallow. By experience we noted that they do not become angry like our cattle, and are never dangerous.

All these cattle are of one color, namely brown, and it was a great marvel to see a white bull in such a multitude. Their form is so frightful that one can only infer that they are a mixture of different animals. The bulls and the cows alike are humped, the curvature extending the whole length of the back and even over the shoulders. And although the entire body is covered with wool, on the hump, from the middle of the body to the head, the breast, and the forelegs, to just above the knee, the wool is much thicker, and so fine and soft that it could be spun and woven like that of the Castilian sheep. It is a very savage animal, and is incomparably larger than our cattle, although it looks small because of its short legs. Its hide is of the thickness of that of our cattle, and the native Indians are so expert in dressing the hides that they convert them into clothing. This river is thickly covered on all sides with these cattle and with another not less wonderful, consisting of deer which are as large as large horses. They travel in droves of two and three hundred and their deformity causes one to wonder whether they are deer or some other animal.<sup>1</sup>

Having travelled to reach this place one hundred and eleven leagues, it became necessary to leave the river, as there appeared ahead some sand dunes;<sup>2</sup> and turning from the east to the north, we travelled up a small stream until we discovered the great plains covered with innumerable cattle. We found constantly better roads and better land,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps elk. The viceroy rather contemptuously remarks that besides buffalo Oñate saw "naught else but some birds and animals, particularly some deer out of all proportion in size" ("Breve relacion en sustancia del nuevo descubrimiento," in *Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 53).

<sup>2</sup> Sand dunes are found at various places along the Canadian. The place where the turn was made seems to have been the Antelope Hills, just east of the Texas Panhandle. In this case the arroyo ascended was Commission Creek. From this point the route was apparently close to the line of the present Santa Fé Road from the Canadian to Wichita, Kansas.



such that the carts could travel without hindrance or difficulty, and although we encountered some large ravines and broken hills, nowhere were there any over which the carts had to pass, as the land was in general level and very easy to traverse. We continued in this direction for some days, along two small streams<sup>1</sup> which flowed toward the east, like the one previously mentioned. We wandered from the direction we had been following, though it did not frighten us much, as the land was so level that daily the men became lost in it by separating themselves for but a short distance from us, as a result of which it was necessary to reconnoitre the country from some of the stopping places. Therefore the camp continued its march by the most direct route possible.

In order to further insure our safety, the governor and adelantado decided to send ahead the *maese de campo* with some companions, and, with the lucky star which ever guides him, in a short time he returned, having found many signs of people, and a country full of pasture lands, which was the matter of deepest concern, since they had been lacking for several days, as there had been none for many leagues, for the fields there were covered with flowers of a thousand different kinds, so thick that they choked the pasture. The cattle of this territory must eat these flowers far better than ours are wont to do, because wherever they were there were multitudes of cattle. Great was the joy felt by all at this good news, because it was what they were hoping for. With the forethought and diligence of the *maese de campo*, which, like a good soldier, he always displayed in matters of war, he had his people prepared and ordered for whatever might happen; and all together we continued our journey and route and reached a small river, carrying little water but so grown with timber that its banks resembled thickly wooded mountains. Here we found many walnut trees loaded with nuts which were nearly as good as those of our country, the trees being taller and having more abundant foliage, and the land being so grown with pasture that it could scarcely be seen. Having slept one night in this pleasant spot, we went on next day three leagues from this point to where flowed a river carrying more water than the last one, and with many fish and

<sup>1</sup> These were Beaver Creek (North Fork) and Cimarron River.

larger groves, both of walnuts and of oak, and other valuable timbers. The land was better than that which we had hitherto seen, so good indeed that all said that they never had seen any better in their lives. The cattle were innumerable, and of all kinds of game there was a great abundance—Castilian partridges, turkeys, deer, and hares.

From this point the *maese de campo* began again to explore the country, and having travelled three leagues he discovered a large ranchería, with more than five thousand souls; and although the people were warlike, as it later developed, and although at first they began to place themselves in readiness to fight, by signs of peace they were given to understand that we were not warriors, and they became so friendly with us that some of them came that night to our camp and entertained us with wonderful reports of the people further on. Having heard these reports, at daybreak next day the whole camp marched on through this good country, bounded on both sides by the coolest of rivers and by pleasant groves.

At three in the afternoon we arrived within an arquebus shot of this ranchería, and at some pools that were there we stopped with due care and precaution. From there the governor and the religious went with more than thirty armed horsemen to reconnoitre the people and the ranchería,<sup>1</sup> and they, all drawn up in regular order in front of their ranchos, began to raise the palms of their hands towards the sun, which is the sign of peace among them. Assuring them that peace was what we wanted, all the people, women, youths, and small children, came to where we were; and they consented to our visiting their houses, which all consisted of branches an *estado* and a half long, placed in a circle, some of them being so wide that they were ninety feet in diameter. Most of them were covered with tanned hides, which made them resemble tents. They were not a people who sowed or reaped, but they lived solely on the cattle. They were ruled

<sup>1</sup> Called on the map and in other sources the Escanjaques. Sometimes corrupted to Escansaques. The map gives it six hundred houses, and other sources give it five thousand or six thousand inhabitants. It was not a permanent village, but a temporary camp (see "Breve relacion en sustancia del descubrimiento," p. 53; "Memorial sobre el Descubrimiento," p. 199).

and governed by chiefs, and like communities which are freed from subjection to any lord, they obeyed their chiefs but little. They had large quantities of hides which, wrapped about their bodies, served them as clothing, but the weather being hot, all of the men went about nearly naked, the women being clothed from the waist down. Men and women alike used bows and arrows, with which they were very dexterous.

We learned while here that this nation was at war with the people settled eight leagues distant towards the interior, and they, thinking that we were going to avenge the murder of the Spaniards who had entered with Umaña, of course took the opportunity to throw the blame upon their enemies and to tell us that it was they who had killed them. Thinking that we were going for this purpose only, they were much pleased, and offered to accompany us, and as we were unable to prevent it, lest we should cause them to make trouble, they went.

They guided us to a river<sup>1</sup> seven leagues from this place, with wonderful banks, and, although level, so densely wooded that the trees formed thick and wide groves. Here we found a small fruit the size of the wild pear or yellow sapodilla, of very good flavor. The river contained an abundance of very good fish, and although at some points it had good fords, in other parts it was extremely deep and vessels could sail on it with ease. It flowed due east,<sup>2</sup> and its waters were fresh and pleasant to taste. Here the land was fertile and much better than that which we had passed. The pastures were so good that in many places the grass was high enough to conceal a horse. The Indians who came with us to this place, in a few hours quickly built a ranchería as well established as the one left behind, which caused no little wonder to all, with the intention of there awaiting the result of our journey, or of awaiting us on our return with evil intent, as later developed, when they threw off their disguise and shamefully made war on us.

We set out from this place the next day, and, leaving the river and passing through some pleasant plains, after having

<sup>1</sup> This stream was clearly the Arkansas.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 252, note 3. These two emphatic statements regarding the course of the great river where it was encountered cannot be overlooked.

travelled four leagues we began to see people who appeared upon some elevations of a hill. Although hostile to this nation they came on, inviting us to battle and war, shouting and throwing dirt into the air, which is the sign used in all this region to proclaim cruel war. Three or four hundred people awaited us in peace, and by the signs which one side was able to make to the other we were assured of friendship. Peace being made, some of these people came to us, and throwing among us some beads which they wore about their necks, proclaimed themselves our friends. They invited us to their houses, but as it was already late it was not possible to go that day, and it became necessary to go to the banks of a large river<sup>1</sup> called the Rio de San Francisco, whose banks in these parts were most beautiful to look upon and were covered with mulberry trees and other trees bearing fruit of very fine flavor. Many people constantly came and went to see us, bringing ears of maize, which were the first we had seen in this good country, and some round loaves of bread, as large as shields and three or four fingers thick, made of the same maize.

All that night we took the necessary care and precaution, but at dawn the following day the people who had represented themselves as friendly to us were stationed at our rear in a great multitude, threatening the other tribe "to beat a Roldan," and awaiting their chance to attack them. We inquiring again regarding the country, they told us that in this region they had murdered the Spaniards,<sup>2</sup> surrounding them with fire and burning them all, and that they had with them one who had escaped, injured by the fire.<sup>3</sup> Counsel and opinion being taken as to what must be done in a matter of such importance, it was decided to seize some Indians, both to take with us as guides and also to verify the statements of their enemies, and it was a fortunate coincidence that their chief, or captain, whom they call Catarax, was there at the time. It was remarkable to note how they obeyed him and served him, like a people more united, peace-

<sup>1</sup> This was evidently the same river as that just previously mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> The Humaña party.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the mulatto woman told of by Father Zárate (*Relacion*, in *Land of Sunshine*, XII. 45).

ful, and settled. As evidence of this it is enough to say that while they might with justice have become aroused because of his arrest, they did not do so, merely because he signalled to them that they should withdraw.<sup>1</sup>

We took him with us, treating him well, as was proper, and in order to carry out our plans we crossed the river, at a very good ford. Having travelled half a league we came to a settlement containing more than twelve hundred houses, all established along the bank of another good-sized river which flowed into the large one.<sup>2</sup> They were all round, built of forked poles and bound with rods, and on the outside covered to the ground with dry grass. Within, on the sides, they had frameworks or platforms<sup>3</sup> which served them as beds on which they slept. Most of them were large enough to hold eight or ten persons.<sup>4</sup> They were two lance-lengths high and all had granaries or platforms, an *estado* high, which they must have used in summer, and which would hold three or four persons, being most appropriate for enjoying the fresh air. They entered them through a small grass door. They ascended to this platform by means of a movable wooden ladder. Not a house lacked these platforms. We found the pueblo entirely deserted but not lacking maize, of which there was much and of good quality. For this reason the enemy wished to sack it; but in no manner were they per-

<sup>1</sup> Father Zárate says that Catarax was rescued. He says: "The ambassador did not dare to cross the river which separated them from the Spaniards; but the adelantado sent some soldiers to try to catch him from behind, which they did, and put irons on him. He was an Indian of importance. But the Indians had a sharper trick; for making a feint of attack, while the Spaniards were getting the arms, they took care to carry off the prisoner bodily, ironed as he was" (*Relacion*, par. 38, *Land of Sunshine*, XII. 45).

<sup>2</sup> The stream was the Arkansas. The two streams crossed just below were branches of the Ne-Ne-Schah, as is clear from the Martínez map, where the second is called Rio del Robredal. Such a network of streams is found on the border of Sedgwick and Kingman counties, and another in Reno County. After leaving the ranchería, Oñate turned north and reached the Arkansas opposite the mouth of a stream coming in from the north. This could be either the Little Arkansas, at Wichita, or Cow Creek, at Hutchinson. The statement that the river flowed east points to Hutchinson, but ethnological considerations point to Wichita. The Indians were probably the Jumano (Wichita, Panipiquet).

<sup>3</sup> *Canicos*, i. e., cañizos.

<sup>4</sup> This description fits the Wichita grass lodges.

mitted to do so,<sup>1</sup> nor to do any damage except to take away a little maize. Thereupon the governor dismissed them and gave them express commands to go to their *ranchería*, which they did.

We remained here for one day in this pleasant spot surrounded on all sides by fields of maize and crops of the Indians. The stalks of the maize were as high as that of New Spain and in many places even higher. The land was so rich that, having harvested the maize, a new growth of a span in height had sprung up over a large portion of the same ground, without any cultivation or labor other than the removal of the weeds and the making of holes where they planted the maize. There were many beans, some gourds, and, between the fields, some plum trees. The crops were not irrigated but dependent on the rains, which, as we noted, must be very regular in that land, because in the month of October it rained as it does in August in New Spain. It was thought certain that it had a warm climate, for the people we saw went about naked, although they wore skins. Like the other settled Indians they utilize cattle in large numbers. It is incredible how many there are in that land.

Here we took new information from the Indian, who appeared to be one of the *caciques* or lords of the land, regarding what there was further ahead, and he informed us that up the river were settled people like these in large numbers, and that at one side was another large river which divided into six or seven branches,<sup>2</sup> on all of which there were many people, and that the people whom Umaña had brought had been killed eighteen days' journey from here. We compared the statements of these Indians with those of Indians of the *ranchería* who had remained in our company, and without discrepancy in any point they said the same, adding that down the river also, going due east, it was all settled by

<sup>1</sup> Eyewitnesses declared in Mexico that the Escanjaques had already begun to burn some of the houses when Oñate forbade it (*Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 225). Zárate adds that Oñate's interference was at the instance of Father Velasco, who, "moved with pity for the damage which those Indians kept doing, prayed the adelantado that they be on hand amid the damage" (*Land of Sunshine*, XII. 45).

<sup>2</sup> The Kansas River answers this description. Between Manhattan and Saline, a distance of some fifty miles or more, it divides into the Big Blue, the Republican, the Solomon, the Saline, and the Smoky Hill Rivers, not to mention several smaller streams.



people. They accordingly persuaded us that under no circumstances should we proceed, saying that the people who had withdrawn from this settlement had done so in order on the third day to assemble their friends, who were so numerous that in the course of a whole day they would not be able to pass by their houses, and that undoubtedly, our number being so small, they would soon put an end to us, not a single person escaping.

Although this spurred us on to go ahead, on the following day, having travelled three leagues, all the way through a populated district,<sup>1</sup> and seeing that the houses continued beyond, and having positive knowledge of the large assemblage of people which was awaiting us, it was necessary to take counsel as to what should be done. And seeing that the horses and mules were tired out and exhausted, because of the many leagues travelled, and that the chief purpose of our journey had been achieved, and that his Majesty would be better served by learning the wonders of this land, that he might issue the orders most necessary to the royal service and to the acceleration of the salvation of these souls, and seeing that it would be foolhardy for our small number to proceed where more than three hundred persons<sup>2</sup> were necessary, it was unanimously agreed to present a petition to the governor and adelantado, representing to him the combination of just reasons for not proceeding, making known to him how much greater service would be rendered to his Majesty by informing him of the fertility of the soil, of its many people, of the wealth of the innumerable cattle, so beyond number that they alone would suffice to enrich thousands of men with suet, tallow, and hides; of the suitability of the land for founding many important settlements, fortunately possessing all materials necessary for the purpose; and above all, of how important it was that the King our Lord should speedily learn what all the world had so much desired to know, so that his Majesty's orders might be carried

<sup>1</sup>This assertion is borne out by other documents. For the doings of the Spaniards at the pueblo see *Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 54, 199, 225; Zárate, *Relacion*, pars. 38-39, in *Land of Sunshine*, XII. 45-46.

<sup>2</sup>That number was asked for later by Oñate through Zaldívar for the purpose.

out; and although it was a hard blow to the governor's courage and bravery, and though he was very sorry to curtail his journey, upon realizing the justness of the petition<sup>1</sup> made in his Majesty's name, he granted it.

Having travelled up to this point more than two hundred and twenty leagues,<sup>2</sup> matters were rearranged so as to return as speedily as possible. On reaching the place whence we had set out the previous day, which was that of the first settlement, unsuspecting any treason, we found therein the Indians who at first had pretended to be friends, now converted into cruel enemies, and entrenched within the same houses,<sup>3</sup> ready to carry out their evil intent. This being so contrary to our intent, the *maese de campo* had gone forward half a league with a dozen companions, without taking any military precautions, to explore the land. When he reached the point where the people were they failed to come out with signs of peace, but on the run began to surround him and his companions, with bows and arrows in their hands; but he, like a good soldier, did not give them a chance to do so, for, retreating in good order, he emerged from among them with no more damage than the loss of a horse or a couple of arrow wounds.

Seeing the treason and that it was necessary to pass where they were, or very near to them, the governor ordered that all the men should provide themselves with armored horses, which they always had with them, and, the *maese de campo* telling them what they should do, the whole camp marched forward with express orders that all should enter in peace, since they had not come to injure anybody; but although they did all this, and entered with the signal which the Indians used, which was to raise their hands as a token of peace, those who most desired war began it with very great fury, presenting in their first stand more than fifteen hundred persons, who, placed in order in a semicircle, attacked with great valor and force.

<sup>1</sup> Other sources show that the men made a written request to go back (see *Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 225).

<sup>2</sup> This is important evidence regarding the route. The point where the Canadian was left was midway of the journey.

<sup>3</sup> The houses of the Quiviras.



The governor, noting that they did not cease their attack, that the shower of arrows was great, and that they made no sign [of peace], gave the signal to his people to defend themselves; and, the battle thickening on both sides, it pleased God our Lord to take our part, for without this aid it would have been almost impossible, as their people were multiplying. The brave soldiers showed an excess of courage and spirit, and in a short while repelled the attack of the people, killing and wounding many of a group who were stationed at an *arroyo*, whereas only two of our soldiers were wounded. But the battle continued and the Indians became more furious than at the beginning, keeping it up for more than two hours with the greatest of courage, although at their own cost, for they proved the valor of the Spanish nation.<sup>1</sup> At the end of this time, the greater part of our men being wounded, though not dangerously in any case, the adelantado and governor, seeing the great barbarity of our enemies, and that many of them were dead, and that they were not to be frightened and would not turn their backs, ordered his men to retreat; and, freeing some women whom the soldiers had captured, he would not consent that they be further injured, although they took some boys upon the request of the religious, in order to instruct them in the matters of our holy Catholic faith, and an Indian who could furnish information of all this land.<sup>2</sup>

Thereupon we returned to the camp to sleep, and, the

<sup>1</sup>The "Memorial sobre el Descubrimiento," p. 199, states that "they had with them an obstinate struggle, from which most of the men came out wounded." Members of the expedition declared in Mexico that "they fought with the entire army from ten in the morning till night, thirty soldiers being wounded" (*Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 225). By the time Father Zárate wrote the event had become a great victory for the Spaniards, in which nearly one thousand Escanjaques were slaughtered (*Zárate, Relacion*, par. 38, in *Land of Sunshine*, XII. 45).

<sup>2</sup>His name was Miguel. He was a captive, and according to his own statement a Tancoa. In Mexico he told much about gold, and he drew a map for the factor Vergara, a copy of which, from the original, I have in my possession. Father Zárate tells of a map drawn by him in the possession of the Duke of the Infantado, Spain. According to Zárate, his reports induced the king to order an expedition of one thousand men, one-half furnished by a private individual, to be sent to the north country. The viceroy, Count of Monterey, did not think much of Miguel's testimony (see *Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 54-55, 199, 212; *Zárate, Relacion*, in *Land of Sunshine*, XII. 46).

wounded having recovered, on the following day we set out, travelling with our usual care, and in fifty-nine days we reached this camp of San Gabriel, having spent in the entire journey the time from the 23d of June until the 24th of November.

The carts went over the country to the settlements very nicely, and so far as the nature of the land was concerned they could have gone as far as the North Sea,<sup>1</sup> which could not have been very far, because some of the Indians wore shells from it on their foreheads. May God our Lord be forever praised, and may He be pleased to hasten the salvation of so many souls, and may He have pity on this land, so that in it His holy gospel may be preached and many poor souls be saved, for, judging from what we have seen, it must in time become their place of refuge and bring wealth to many.

*Auto.*

In the pueblo of San Gabriel of New Mexico, Señor Don Juan de Oñate, governor, captain-general, and adelantado of this kingdom of New Mexico, said that whereas his Lordship had set out from this camp to make an expedition to the great settlement which lies towards the north, in which undertaking he spent five months in going and returning, that he might be able to give to the king our lord and to whom he might deem it proper an account of all that might be discovered or all that might happen, he entrusted the writing of the said account to a person of much fidelity and trustworthiness, who prepared it;<sup>2</sup> and that it might be examined and learned whether what it contains is the truth, or if there is anything to be taken from it or added to it, in order that his Majesty might be more truthfully informed, he ordered that it be read to all the persons who went with his Lordship on said journey, that they might declare under oath if it were true, and, that

<sup>1</sup>In Mexico the authorities concluded that the point reached must have been about three hundred leagues from the North Sea and the same distance from the South Sea, and in lat. 39° or 40°. They were not so far wrong regarding the latitude. On this Bancroft was in error.

<sup>2</sup>It has not been determined who wrote it.

done, to take the other necessary steps. Thus he ordered and signed on the 14th day of December, 1601.

Don JUAN DE OÑATE.

Before me, JUAN GUTIERREZ BOCANEGRA, secretary.

*Authentication.*

On this said day the said Señor governor requested the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Velasco, guardian of the monastery of the pueblo, and the commissary who went on the said journey, and Father Fray Pedro de Vergara, lay-brother who also went on the said journey, to make a declaration according to the above *auto*. In compliance therewith, the said Fray Francisco de Velasco took oath, placing his hand upon his breast in *verbis sacerdotis*, as is the custom, and the said Fray Pedro de Vergara took oath in due form, in the name of God and with the sign of a cross. They promised to tell the truth, and, having seen the above account of the governor, they testified that all it contains is the truth, and that which actually occurred, and what they saw on the journey which they had made with the Señor governor, and that it contains no exaggerations, as everything occurred as stated therein, and the said Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Velasco signed the same. The said Fray Pedro de Vergara did not sign as he did not know how. All this they said with permission from the Very Rev. Father Fray Juan Descalona, their commissary general, which he gave to them in my presence, to all of which I testify.

Fray FRANCISCO DE VELASCO.

Before me, JUAN GUTIERREZ BOCANEGRA, secretary.

On this said day, month, and year, the said governor having ordered that all the captains and soldiers who went with him on the said journey should assemble, and all being assembled, I, the present secretary, read to them the whole of the relation, word for word, and I asked them if it were true, because they would have to swear to it; and all together they stated that the said account, so far as pertains to the report of the many people living beyond,<sup>1</sup> was not sufficient, because

<sup>1</sup>That is, beyond the New Discovery.

all the Indians had represented the settlements as follows: their ranchería, containing more than five or six thousand souls, they represented by making a circle<sup>1</sup> with seventeen kernels of maize; and for many of the settlements beyond they placed in the circles many grains of maize; and for one in particular they placed seven hundred and twenty-seven kernels of maize, which, in the opinion of all or most of those who were present, meant two hundred thousand people and more, and this in but one of the many settlements which they indicated. This, they said, was lacking in the said relation, and that all of it and of this was the truth by the oath which they had taken in due form; and that on the rivers where these many people were there was a great quantity of sumac, and other things which, if they were utilized, would be of great benefit. All who were able to do so signed it, and for those who could not write a witness signed, the witnesses to all the above being Captain Bartolome Romero, Captain Antonio Gomez Montelirios, and Alonso Naranjo, and I the said secretary, who testifies to the same.—Vicente de Caldivar Mendoza, Juan de Vitoria Carbajal, Juan de Moreno de la Rua, Gaspar Lopez de Tabora, Juan Martinez de Montoya, Bartolome Gonzalez de Almocer, Don Pedro de Trugillo Gallegos, Francisco Garcia, Juan Munoz, Diego Martin de Guebara, Juan de Mallea, Francisco Vido, Don Cristobal de Oñate, Pedro Barela, Juan de la Cruz, Simon de la Paz, Juan Rodriguez, Rodrigo Zapata, Miguel de Villaviciosa, Miguel Montero de Castro, Juan Belarde, Alonso Nuñez Inojosa, Alonso Robledo, Juan Ranjel, Francisco Rascon, Juan de Leon. Witnesses, Alonso Gomez Montesinos, Baltasar Martinez Coxedor, Alonso Sanchez, Isidro Juarez de Figueroa. Before me, JUAN GUTIERREZ BOCANEGRA, secretary.

And I, the said Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, secretary and captain of this kingdom, was present at all this, and have signed it by order of the governor, who here signed his name. I made this copy from the original, which remains in the government archives. It is a true copy, in witness whereof I here sign. Don JUAN DE OÑATE. JUAN GUTIERREZ BOCANEGRA, secretary.

<sup>1</sup> On the map made by the Indian Miguel settlements were likewise represented by circles.