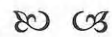


**AMERICAN JOURNEYS COLLECTION**



Report of the Viceroy  
to the King, 1583

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Report of the Viceroy  
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**C O N T E N T S**

Summary of the Expedition ..... 158

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## INTRODUCTION

WHILE the viceroy was discussing an expedition to New Mexico, more effective measures were being taken by the Franciscan order and a private citizen. On learning through the returning soldiers that the friars who went with Chamuscado had been left alone in New Mexico, the Franciscans feared for the safety of their brethren and at once considered the organization of a rescue party. To lead it, Fray Bernaldino Beltrán, of the monastery of Durango, volunteered. Hearing of the project, Antonio de Espejo, a wealthy citizen of Mexico, who was in Nueva Vizcaya at the time, offered to equip and lead some soldiers as an escort, and to pay the expenses of Father Beltrán. Through the efforts of the friar a license was secured from Captain Juan Ontiveras, *alcalde mayor* of Cuatro Ciénegas, a settlement seventy leagues east of Santa Bárbara, then in Nueva Vizcaya, but now in Coahuila.

Enlisting fourteen or fifteen soldiers, on November 10, 1582, the expedition was begun at San Bartolomé, a place nine leagues east of Santa Bárbara. Besides Father Beltrán, Espejo, the soldiers, and servants, there were several other persons in the party, as is shown by the documents.<sup>1</sup> They

<sup>1</sup>The above account is based on the statement by Espejo, who does not give all the facts. The exact process by which the license was secured is not clear. The departure was attended by trouble and a conflict of interests. When the party set out on November 10 it consisted of Espejo, twelve other soldiers, Fray Pedro de Heredia, and Fray Bernaldino Beltrán, servants, and interpreters. At that time Father Heredia was evidently the superior of the missionaries of the party and no captain had been appointed. The *justicia* of Santa Bárbara forbade their departure, but Father Heredia exhibited a license from Juan de Ibarra, *teniente de gobernador* of Nueva Vizcaya, permitting all who wished to go with him. The first night they were overtaken in camp by one Fray Luis with an

were equipped with one hundred and fifteen horses and mules. The start was made three or four months after news of the death of Father López reached Santa Bárbara and it can hardly be supposed that the report was unknown to Father Beltrán and Espejo. Perhaps they hoped to find one at least of the friars still alive. No doubt Espejo at least was curious to see the country and regarded the journey as an opportunity for exploration.

The route followed was that of the Rodríguez party, but the records tell us more of what they saw than do those of the earlier journey. Passing down the Rio Conchos, they went through the tribes of the Conchos, Pazaguantes, and Tobosos. On the Rio Grande, at the junction and for twelve days above, they passed through Jumano villages. Above the Jumano country, and apparently before reaching the river bend near El Paso, they encountered two tribes who lived in rancherías. They were probably the tribes later known as the Sumas and the Mansos. Next they travelled fifteen days, or eighty leagues, through an unsettled region. It was evidently the same unsettled stretch of eighty leagues reported by the Rodríguez party. Going twelve leagues further, passing a ranchería on the way, they entered the pueblo region. After passing for two days through a province in which they visited ten pueblos, seeing others at the right and left, they reached

order from his *custodio* requiring Father Heredia to return, because Fray Luis, Fray Juan Bautista, and Fray Francisco de San Miguel were equipped for the journey. The soldiers insisted that Heredia should continue, since some of them would be ruined by the expense of the outfit if the enterprise were abandoned. He replied in writing that he would proceed. Fray Luis went back to San Gregorio to get his companions, and while there engaged in a quarrel with Father Heredia, who also returned. In the midst of it Heredia got a message from Ibarra asking him to await for ten or twelve days his coming with a license from Heredia's *custodio*. Thereupon Heredia sent word to the party to go ahead slowly and that he would overtake them. Meanwhile Miguel Sánchez Valenciano had returned to Valle de San Bartolomé and got his wife, Casilda de Amaya, and three sons, Lázaro, Pedro, and Juan, of whom the last two were aged three and one-half years, and twenty months, respectively (Luxán, *Entrada*).

the borders of the province of the Tiguas, and learned that Fathers López and Rodríguez had been killed at Puaray.

The avowed purpose of the expedition had now been accomplished, but Espejo, seconded by Father Beltrán, decided to explore the country before returning. Going two days east with two companions, to the province of the Maguas, adjacent to the buffalo country, Espejo learned that there Father Santa María had been killed before Chamuscado left New Mexico.

Returning to the Tiguas, the whole party went six leagues to the Quires, and then visited Sia, fourteen leagues to the northwest, and the Emeges (Jemez), six leagues further northwest. Turning southwest, they now went to Ácoma, and thence to Zuñi. At this point Father Beltrán and about half of the party decided to return to Nueva Vizcaya. But Espejo and nine companions set out northward in search of a lake of gold said to be in that direction. He did not find the lake, but he visited the province of Mohoce (Moqui), and was given there a present of four thousand cotton blankets (*mantas*). Sending these back to Zuñi by five men, with the remaining four Espejo went west in search of mines of which he had heard. After travelling forty-five leagues he found them in western Arizona, and secured rich ores. Returning to Zuñi by a shorter and better route, he found Father Beltrán and his companions still there.

His party being increased by another of Espejo's men, Fray Beltrán now returned to San Bartolomé; but Espejo, bent on further explorations, turned east again and ascended the Rio Grande to the Quires. Going east from there six leagues, he visited the Ubates, and found mineral prospects near by. One day from the Ubates he visited the Tanos pueblos, who would neither admit him nor give him food. In view of this hostility and of the smallness of his party, Espejo now set out for home, but by a different route from

that of the entrance. Going to Cicquique (Cicuye), he descended the Río de las Vacas (Pecos) one hundred and twenty leagues, over a trail followed by Alvarado forty years before. From here, conducted by Jumano Indians, he crossed over to the mouth of the Conchos. Thence he returned to San Bartolomé, reaching it on September 20, 1583, nearly a year after setting out. Fray Beltrán had preceded him by several days. The report brought back by Espejo of the Lake of Gold (Laguna de Oro) and of the mines in western Arizona played a large part in directing the western exploration of Oñate and his subordinates two decades later.

The principal published source of information regarding the expedition is Espejo's own account (printed hereinafter), written at Santa Bárbara shortly after his return from New Mexico. This was published by Pacheco and Cárdenas in their *Colección de Documentos Inéditos*, XV. 101–126, under the title "Relacion del viage, que yo Antonio Espejo, ciudadano de la ciudad de México, natural de Cordoba, hize con catorce soldados y un religioso de la orden de San Francisco, á las provincias y poblaciones de la Nueva México, a quien puse por nombre, la Nueva Andalucía, á contemplacion de mi patria, en fin del año de mill e quinientos e ochenta e dos."<sup>1</sup> This version of the relation will be designated here as A. It is preceded in the *Colección* by a letter of transmittal to the king, dated at San Salvador, April 23, 1584. Another version of the relation, bearing the same title as A, is in the same volume of the *Colección*, pp. 163–189.<sup>2</sup> This version will be referred to as B. With it is printed (pp. 162–163) the letter of transmittal by Espejo to the viceroy, at the end of October,

<sup>1</sup> It is comprehended in the *expediente* entitled "Testimonio dado en Méjico," etc., noted on page 139, above.

<sup>2</sup> It is comprehended in a group of documents entitled "Expediente sobre el Ofrecimiento que hace Francisco Diaz de Vargas, de ir al Nuevo México, y refiere la Historia de este Descubrimiento, con documentos que acompañan. Año de 1584." The originals are in the Archivo de Indias, Patronato, *est.* 1, *caj.* 1.

1683. The two versions differ very little, but A, though of slightly later date, is marred by fewer misprints than the other, and on it the translation is therefore based. All essential differences in B are indicated in the foot-notes.

Other documents in the same volume of the *Colección* containing incidental information regarding the expedition are the *Relación Breve* by Escalante and Barrado (pp. 146–150), printed hereinbefore, pp. 154–157; the petition of Francisco Días de Vargas for license to make a new expedition (pp. 126–137); the memorial of Espejo to the king, asking authority to settle the country he had discovered, pp. 151–162; the power of attorney by Espejo to Pedro González de Mendoza, his son-in-law, Joan García Bonilla, and Diego de Salas Barbadillo, April 23, 1583 (pp. 189–191). So far as the editor knows, none of the documents have been published in English heretofore.

Another relation of this expedition, still unpublished, was written by Diego Pérez de Luxán, a member of the expedition, under the title, “Entrada que hizo en el Nuevo Mexico Anton de Espejo en el año de 82” (A. G. de I., 1–1–3/22). A copy of this manuscript, which has recently come to light, is contained in the Ayer Collection. The “Cronica” of Obregón cited above also contains a detailed account of the expedition. So far as the editor knows, these important sources have not been used hitherto.

In Mendoza’s *History of the Kingdom of China* (trans. in Hakluyt Society Publications, London, 1854), II. 228–252, is a contemporary account of the Espejo expedition; also in Hakluyt, *Voyages* (London, 1599–1600), III. 383–396.

ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY TO THE  
PROVINCES AND SETTLEMENTS  
OF NEW MEXICO, 1583

*Account of the Journey which I, Antonio Espejo, Citizen of the City of Mexico, native of the City of Cordoba, made at the close of the year 1582, with Fourteen Soldiers and a Religious of the Order of San Francisco, to the Provinces and Settlements of New Mexico, which I named Nueva Andalucía, in Honor of my Native Land.*<sup>1</sup>

IN order that this account may be better and more easily understood it should be observed that in the year 1581 a friar of the Order of San Francisco, named Fray Agustin y Ruiz,<sup>2</sup> who resided in the valley of San Bartolomé, having heard through certain Conchos Indians who were communicating with the Pazaguates, that to the north there were certain undiscovered settlements, endeavored to obtain permission to go to them for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the natives. Having obtained permission from his prelate and from the viceroy, the Count of Coruña, this friar and two others, named Fray Francisco Lopez and Fray Jhoan de Santa Maria, with seven or eight soldiers of whom Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado was leader, went inland in the month of June of 1581, through the said settlements, until they arrived at a province called Tiguas, situated two hundred and fifty leagues north of the mines of Santa Bárbara, of the government of Nueva Vizcaya, where they began their journey. There Fray Jhoan de Santa Maria was killed,<sup>3</sup> and as they saw that

<sup>1</sup> Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Inéd.* (A), XV. 101-126; (B), *ibid.*, 163-189.

<sup>2</sup> This name should be Rodríguez.

<sup>3</sup> Father Santa María was killed among the Maguas, as Espejo himself tells further on.



there were many people, and that for any purpose either of peace or of war they themselves were too few, the soldiers and their leader returned to the mines of Santa Bárbara, and from there went to Mexico, which is one hundred and sixty leagues distant, to report to the viceroy, in the month of May, 1582.

The two religious who remained, with the desire to save souls, believing that they were safe among the natives, did not wish to come away, but preferred to stay in the said province of the Tiguas, through which Francisco Vasquez Coronado long ago passed on his way to the conquest and discovery of the cities and plains of Cibola.<sup>1</sup> And thus they remained with three Indian boys and a half-breed, whereat the Order of San Francisco was greatly grieved, regarding it as certain that the Indians would kill the two religious<sup>2</sup> and those who remained with them. Entertaining this fear, they wished and endeavored to find someone who would enter the said land and bring them out and succor them. For this purpose another religious of the same order, named Fray Bernaldino Beltran, a resident of the monastery of the Villa of Durango, capital of Nueva Vizcaya, offered to make the journey, with the authority and permission of his superior.

And as at that time it happened that I was in that jurisdiction, and that I heard of the wise and pious desire of the said religious and of the entire order, and knowing that by so doing I would serve our Lord and his Majesty, I offered to accompany this religious and to spend part of my wealth in paying his expenses and in taking some soldiers, both for his protection and defense and for that of the religious whom he was going to succor and bring back, if the royal justice, in his Majesty's name, would permit or order me to do so. Accordingly, having learned of the holy zeal of the said religious and of my intention, and at the instance of the said Fray Bernaldino, Captain Joan de Ontiveros,<sup>3</sup> *alcalde mayor* for his Maj-

<sup>1</sup> For references to the province of the Tiguas (Tiguex) in the report of the Coronado expedition, see Winship, "The Coronado Expedition," in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), pp. 491, 497, 500, 503, 519, 520, 524, 569, 575, 587, 594.

<sup>2</sup> This would imply that the Franciscans knew that Father Santa María had been killed before Chamuscado returned.

<sup>3</sup> B gives this name as "Onteveros" (p. 165).

esty in the pueblos called the Cuatro Ciénegas,<sup>1</sup> which lie within the said jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya, seventy leagues east of the mines of Santa Bárbara, gave his order and commission that I, with some soldiers, should enter the new land to succor and bring out the religious and men who had remained in it.

And so, by virtue of said order and commission, I enlisted fourteen soldiers, whose names are Joan Lopez de Ibarra, Bernardo de Luna, Diego Perez de Lujan, Gaspar de Lujan, Francisco Barreto,<sup>2</sup> Gregorio Hernandez, Miguel Sanchez Valenciano, Lazaro Sanchez and Miguel Sanchez Nevado, sons of the said Miguel Sanchez, Alonso de Miranda, Pedro Hernandez de Almansa, Joan Hernandez, Cristóbal Sanchez, and Joan de Frias, all of whom, or the major part of whom,<sup>3</sup> I supplied with arms, horses, munitions, provisions, and other things necessary for so long and unaccustomed a journey. Beginning our journey at Valle de San Bartolomé, which is nine leagues from the mines of Santa Bárbara, on November 10, 1582, with one hundred and fifteen horses and mules, some servants, and a quantity of arms, munitions, and provisions, we set out directly north.

After two days' march of five leagues each we found in some rancherías a large number of Indians of the Conchos nation, many of whom, to the number of more than a thousand, came out to meet us along the road we were travelling. We found that they live on rabbits, hares, and deer, which they hunt and which are abundant, and on some crops of maize, gourds, Castilian melons, and watermelons, like winter melons, which they plant and cultivate, and on fish, *mascales*, which are the leaves of *lechuguilla*, a plant half a *vara*<sup>4</sup> in height, the stalks of which have green leaves. They cook the stocks of this plant and make a preserve like quince jam. It is very sweet, and they call it *mascale*.<sup>5</sup> They go about naked, have

<sup>1</sup> Regarding this place see p. 163, above.

<sup>2</sup> B gives this name as "Barrero" (p. 166).

<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere Espejo says that he supplied all of them.

<sup>4</sup> The *vara* was equivalent to about thirty-three inches.

<sup>5</sup> The maguay plant. "The fleshy leaf bases and trunk of various species of agave. It was roasted in pit ovens and became a sweet and nutritious food among the Indians of the states on both sides of the Mexican boundary" (Walter

grass huts for houses, use bows and arrows for arms, and have caciques whom they obey. We did not find that they have idols, nor that they offer any sacrifices. We assembled as many of them as we could, erected crosses for them in the rancherías, and by interpreters of their own tongue whom we had with us the meaning of the crosses and something about our holy Catholic faith was explained to them. They went with us six days beyond their rancherías, which must have been a journey of twenty-four leagues to the north. All this distance is settled by Indians of the same nation, who came out to receive us in peace, one cacique reporting our coming to another. All of them fondled us and our horses, touching us and the horses with their hands, and with great friendliness giving us some of their food.

At the end of these six days we found another nation of Indians called Pazaguantes,<sup>1</sup> who have rancherías, huts, and food like the Conchos. They were dealt with as had been those of the Conchos nation, and they continued with us four days' march, which must have been fourteen leagues, one cacique informing another, so that they might come out to receive us, which they did. In places during these four days' travel we found many mines<sup>2</sup> of silver which, in the opinion of those who know, were rich.

We left this nation, and on the first day's march we found another people called Jobosos.<sup>3</sup> They were shy, and therefore they fled from all the settlements through which we passed, where they lived in huts, for as it was said some soldiers had been there and carried away some of them as slaves. But we called some of them, making them presents, and some of them came to the camp. We gave some things to the caciques, and through interpreters gave them to understand that we had not come to capture them or to injure them in any manner. Thereupon they were reassured, and we erected crosses for

Hough, in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I. 845, *q. v.* for further data.) See p. 321, below, note 5.

<sup>1</sup> B says Pazaguante (p. 167).

<sup>2</sup> "Minas de plata." B says "barras de plata" (bars of silver), which is probably a misprint (p. 167).

<sup>3</sup> Probably a misprint for Tobosos, as it appears in B, and as the name is commonly known.

them in their rancherías and explained to them something about<sup>1</sup> God our Lord. They appeared pleased, and being so, some of them went on with us till they had taken us beyond their territory. They live on the same things as the Pazaguates, use bows and arrows, and go about without clothing. We passed through this nation, which seemed to have few Indians, in three days, which must have been a distance of eleven leagues.

Having left this nation we came to another who call themselves the Jumanos,<sup>2</sup> and whom the Spaniards call, for another name, Patarabueyes. This nation appeared to be very numerous, and had large permanent pueblos. In it we saw five pueblos with more than ten thousand Indians, and flat-roofed houses, low and well arranged into pueblos. The people of this nation have their faces streaked, and are large; they have maize, gourds, beans, game of foot and wing, and fish of many kinds from two rivers that carry much water. One of them, which must be about half the size of the Guadalquivir,<sup>3</sup> flows directly from the north and empties into the Conchos River. The Conchos, which must be about the size of the Guadalquivir, flows into the North Sea. They have salines consisting of lagoons of salt water, which at certain times of the year solidifies and forms salt like that of the sea. The first night, when we pitched camp near a small pueblo of this nation, they killed five of our horses with arrows and wounded as many more, notwithstanding the fact that watch was kept. They retired to a mountain range, where six of us went next morning with Pedro, the interpreter,<sup>4</sup> a native of their nation, and found them, quieted them, made peace with them, and took them to their own pueblo. We told them what we had told the others, and that they should inform the people of their nation not to flee nor hide, but to come out to see us. To some of the caciques I gave beads, hats, and other

<sup>1</sup> "Algunas cosas de Dios Nuestro Señor." B says "Algunas cosas de la ley de Dios Nuestro Señor" (p. 168).

<sup>2</sup> B reads "Xumarías" (p. 168), evidently a misprint. For the Jumano Indians, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 636; Hodge, "The Jumano Indians," in *Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc.*, April, 1909; Bolton, "The Jumano Indians in Texas," in the *Texas State Hist. Assoc. Quarterly*, XV. 66-84.

<sup>3</sup> B reads "Guadalquibí" (p. 168).

<sup>4</sup> *Naguatato*.

things, so that they would bring them in peace, which they did; and from these pueblos they accompanied us, informing one another that we came as friends and not to injure them; and thus great numbers of them went with us and showed us a river from the north, which has been mentioned above.

On the banks of this river Indians of this nation are settled for a distance of twelve days' journey. Some of them have flat-roofed houses, and others live in grass huts. The caciques came out to receive us, each with his people, without bows or arrows, giving us portions of their food, while some gave us *gamuzas* (buckskins) and buffalo hides, very well tanned. The *gamuzas* they make of the hides of deer; they also are tanned, as it is done in Flanders. The hides are from the humpbacked cows which they call *civola*, and whose hair is like that of cows of Ireland. The natives dress the hides<sup>1</sup> of these cows as hides are dressed in Flanders, and make shoes of them. Others they dress in different ways, some of the natives using them for clothes. These Indians appear to have some knowledge of our holy Catholic faith, because they point to God our Lord, looking up to the heavens. They call him Apalito in their tongue, and say that it is He whom they recognize as their Lord and who gives them what they have. Many of them, men, women, and children, came to have the religious and us Spaniards bless them, which made them appear very happy. They told us and gave us to understand through interpreters that three Christians and a negro had passed through there, and by the indications they gave they appeared to have been Alonso<sup>2</sup> Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes Castillo Maldonado, and a negro, who had all escaped from the fleet with which Pánfilo Narvaez entered Florida. They were left friendly and very peaceful and satisfied, and some of them went with us up the Río del Norte, serving and accompanying us.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Antas" (p. 107). B (p. 169) reads "cintas," evidently a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> A mistake for "Alvar." It is the same in B.

<sup>3</sup> Luxán, in his *Entrada*, gives a day-by-day diary of the expedition, which clears up many of Espejo's very general statements. The Río del Norte was reached on December 9 after twenty-one days, or seventy-two leagues, of actual travel. On November 15 they passed the junction of the Florida with the

Continuing up that river, always to the north, there came out to receive us a great number of Indians, men, women, and children, dressed or covered with buckskins; but we did not learn of what nation they were,<sup>1</sup> through lack of interpreters. They brought us many things made of feathers of different colors, and some small cotton *mantas*, striped with blue and white, like some of those they bring from China; and they gave us to understand by signs that another nation that adjoined theirs, towards the west, brought those things to barter with them for other goods which these had and which appeared from what they told us by signs to be dressed hides of cows and deer; and showing them shining ores, which in other places usually bear silver, and others of the same kind which we carried, they pointed towards the west five days' journey, saying they were taking us to where there was an immense quantity of those metals and many people of that nation. They went forth with us four days' journey, which must have been a distance of twenty-two leagues.

Conchos; on the 23d they reached Rio de San Pedro, and next day crossed the Conchos at El Xacal, forty leagues from San Gregorio, where Lope de Ariste had built a hut during a slave-hunting expedition. Here Chamuscado had been buried the year before. December 4, twenty-three leagues further on, they left the Conchos tribe and entered that of the Pasaguates, friends of the Conchos and Patarabueyes, and speaking all three languages. Four leagues beyond, on December 6, they reached the first ranchería of the Patarabueyes. This name, Luxán tells us, was made up by the soldiers of Mateo González during a previous slaving expedition to this ranchería. The Indians called themselves Otomoacos. It was at this ranchería that the Indians killed Espejo's horses. On the ninth the expedition reached the Rio del Norte, five leagues above the junction. The Indians here and at the junction were called Abriaches, and spoke a language different from the Otomoacos, though related to them. By the Spaniards both tribes were called Patarabueyes. Here and at the junction eight days were spent awaiting Father Heredia and resting the horses. At the junction they visited the village of chief Baysibiye, on the south side, and across the river those of chief Casicamoyo and head-chief Qbisise. The previous year Luxán's brother, Gaspár, had been at this point on a slaving expedition for Juan de la Parra, of Indeche (Indé). Hearing while here through the Indians that Father López and his companion were still alive, Father Beltrán insisted on hurrying on, without awaiting Father Heredia. As yet no captain had been formally elected, as Heredia was to name one. Accordingly, Espejo was chosen captain and *justicia mayor*, and the march was continued.

<sup>1</sup> Later the Spaniards found the Suma and Manso tribes settled between El Paso and the Jumanos. It may have been these whom Espejo saw. See p. 176, note 4, below.

These Indians having stopped, and we having travelled four days more up the said river, we found a great number of people living near some lagoons<sup>1</sup> through the midst of which the Río del Norte flows. These people, who must have numbered more than a thousand men and women, and who were settled in their rancherías and grass huts, came out to receive us, men, women, and children. Each one brought us his present of *mesquital*,<sup>2</sup> which is made of a fruit like the carob bean,<sup>3</sup> fish of many kinds, which are very plentiful in those lagoons, and other kinds of their food in such quantity that the greater part spoiled because the amount they gave us was so great. During the three days and nights we were there they continually performed *mitotes*, balls, and dances, in their fashion, as well as after the manner of the Mexicans. They gave us to understand that there were many people of this nation at a distance from there, but we did not learn of what nation they were, for lack of interpreters. Among them we found an Indian of the Concho nation who gave us to understand, pointing to the west, that fifteen days' journey from there there was a very large lake, where there were many settlements, with houses of many stories, and that there were Indians of the Concho nation settled there, people wearing clothes and having plentiful supplies of maize and turkeys and other provisions in great quantity, and he offered to take us there. But because our course led us north to give succor to the religious and those who remained with them, we did not go to the lake. In this ranchería and district the land and the climate are very good; and nearby there are cows and native cattle, plentiful game of foot and wing, mines, many forests, pasture lands, water, salines of very rich salt, and other advantages.

Travelling up the same river, we followed it fifteen days from the place of the lagoons mentioned above without finding any people, going through country with mesquite groves, prickly pears, mountains with pine groves having pines and pine-nuts like those of Castile, sables, and cedars. At the

<sup>1</sup> From note 4, p. 176, below, this place would seem to have been some distance below El Paso.

<sup>2</sup> B, p. 171, reads "Mezquitama," obviously a misprint.

<sup>3</sup> The mesquite bean.

end of this time<sup>1</sup> we found a ranchería, of few people but containing many grass huts, many deer skins, also dressed like those they bring from Flanders, a quantity of very good and white salt, jerked venison, and other kinds of food. These Indians received us<sup>2</sup> and went with us, taking us two days' journey<sup>3</sup> from that place, to the settlements, always following the Río del Norte. From the time when we first came to it we always followed this river up stream, with a mountain chain on each side of it, both of which were without timber throughout the entire distance until we came near the settlements which they call New Mexico, although along the banks of the river there are many groves of white poplars, the groves being in places four leagues wide. We did not leave the river from the time when we came to it up to the time of reaching the said provinces which they call New Mexico. Along the banks of the river, in many parts of the road, we found thickets of grape vines and Castilian walnut trees.<sup>4</sup>

After we reached the said settlements, continuing up the river, in the course of two days we found ten inhabited pueblos<sup>5</sup> on the banks of this river, close to it and on all sides, be-

<sup>1</sup> B adds, p. 171, "in which we had travelled about eighty leagues." This is important, for it helps to interpret the accounts of the Rodríguez expedition. It would seem that the eighty leagues mentioned by Bustamante and the rest after leaving the first Indians encountered on the Guadalquivir, refer to the distance travelled after leaving the settlements, rather than to that travelled after reaching the Guadalquivir. This being the case, the accounts of the two expeditions tally at these points.

<sup>2</sup> B adds "bien" (p. 172).

<sup>3</sup> B adds "about twelve leagues from there" (p. 172).

<sup>4</sup> Luxán gives the following account of the journey from the camp five leagues above the junction to the first pueblos. The pueblos were reached on February 1, after twenty-nine days, or one hundred and twenty-three leagues, of actual travel. Otomoacos Indians were met all the way up for forty-five leagues, till January 2, when the Caguates were met. They were related to the Otomoacos and spoke nearly the same language. Eleven leagues farther up they encountered large marshes and pools (*charcos*). Three leagues up, in this lake country, they met the Tampachoas, people similar to the Otomoacos. Thirty-seven leagues up, on January 26, they crossed the river and from that point went straight north. Twenty-one leagues from here they reached the first inhabited pueblos, thirteen days of actual travel after reaching the great marshes.

<sup>5</sup> These towns were in the general region of Socorro and above. Twitchell thinks the group began about at San Marcial (*Leading Facts*, I. 274-275).



sides other pueblos which appeared off the highway, and which in passing seemed to contain more than twelve thousand persons, men, women, and children. As we were going through this province, from each pueblo the people came out to receive us, taking us to their pueblos and giving us a great quantity of turkeys, maize, beans, tortillas, and other kinds of bread, which they make with more nicety than the Mexicans. They grind on very large stones. Five or six women together grind raw corn in a single mill, and from this flour they make many different kinds of bread. They have houses of two, three, and four stories, with many rooms in each house. In many of their houses they have their *estufas*<sup>1</sup> for winter, and in each plaza of the towns they have two *estufas*, which are houses built underground, very well sheltered and closed, with seats of stone against the walls to sit on. Likewise, they have at the door of each *estufa* a ladder on which to descend, and a great quantity of community wood, so that the strangers may gather there.

In this province some of the natives wear cotton, cow hides, and dressed deerskin.<sup>2</sup> The *mantas* they wear after the fashion of the Mexicans, except that over their private parts they wear cloths of colored cotton. Some of them wear shirts. The women wear cotton skirts, many of them being embroidered with colored thread, and on top a *manta* like those worn by the Mexican Indians, tied around the waist with a cloth like an embroidered towel with a tassel. The skirts, lying next to the skin, serve as flaps of the shirts. This costume each one wears as best he can, and all, men as well as women, dress their feet in shoes and boots, the soles being of cowhide and the uppers of dressed deerskin. The women wear their hair carefully combed and nicely kept in place by the moulds that they wear on their heads, one on each side, on which the hair is arranged very neatly, though they wear no headdress. In each pueblo they have their caciques, the number differing according to the number of people. These caciques have under them caciques, I mean *tequitatos*, who

<sup>1</sup> These were *kivas*, or ceremonial chambers. See Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 710-711.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the ancient dress of the Pueblo Indians see Hodge, *Handbook*, II. 322-323.

are like *alguaciles*, and who execute in the pueblo the cacique's orders, just exactly like the Mexican people. And when the Spaniards ask the caciques of the pueblos for anything, they call the *tequitatos*, who cry it through the pueblo in a loud voice, whereupon they bring with great haste what is ordered.

The painting of their houses, and the things which they have for balls and dancing, both as regards the music and the rest, are all very much like those of the Mexicans. They drink toasted *pinole*, which is corn toasted and ground and mixed with water. It is not known that they have any other drink or anything with which to become intoxicated. In each one of these pueblos they have a house to which they carry food for the devil, and they have small stone idols which they worship. Just as the Spaniards have crosses along the roads, they have between the pueblos, in the middle of the road, small caves or grottoes, like shrines, built of stones, where they place painted sticks and feathers, saying that the devil goes there to rest<sup>1</sup> and speak with them.

They have fields of maize, beans, gourds, and *piciete*<sup>2</sup> in large quantities, which they cultivate like the Mexicans. Some of the fields are under irrigation,<sup>3</sup> possessing very good diverting ditches, while others are dependent upon the weather. Each one has in his field a canopy with four stakes and covered on top, where they take him food daily at noon and where he takes his siesta, for ordinarily they are in their fields from morning until night, after the Castilian custom. In this province are many pine forests which bear pine-nuts<sup>4</sup> like those of Castile, and many salines on both sides of the river. On each bank there are sandy flats more than a league wide, of soil naturally well adapted to the raising of corn. Their arms consist of bows and arrows, *macanas* and *chimales*; the arrows have fire-hardened shafts, the heads being of pointed flint, with which they easily pass through a

<sup>1</sup> A reads "Va alli ha de poxar" (p. 111). This is a corruption. B reads, "Va alli a reposar" (p. 174), which is obviously correct.

<sup>2</sup> B reads "*piciere*, which is a good and healthy herb" (p. 174).

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of pueblo irrigation before the coming of the Spaniards, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 620-621, and works cited therein.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the range of the *piñon*, see Ponton and McFarland, in the Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, I. 180-181.

coat of mail. The *chimales* are made of cowhide, like leather shields; and the *macanas* consist of rods half a vara long, with very thick heads. With them they defend themselves within their houses. It was not learned that they were at war with any other province. They respect their boundaries.<sup>1</sup> Here they told us of another province of the same kind which is farther up the same river.

After a stay of four days in this province we set out, and half a league from its boundary we found another, which is called the province of the Tiguas. It comprises sixteen pueblos, one of which is called Pualas.<sup>2</sup> Here we found that the Indians of this province had killed Fray Francisco Lopez and Fray Augustin Ruiz,<sup>3</sup> three boys, and a half-breed, whom we were going to succor and take back. Here we secured a very correct report that Francisco Vasquez Coronado had been in the province, and that they had killed nine of his soldiers and forty horses, and that because of this he had completely destroyed the people of one pueblo of the province.<sup>4</sup> Of all this the natives of these pueblos informed us by signs which we understood. Believing that we were going there to punish them because they had killed the friars, before we reached the province they fled to a mountain two leagues from the river. We tried to bring them back peacefully, making great efforts to that end, but they refused to return. In their houses we found a large quantity of maize, beans, gourds, many turkeys, and many ores of different colors. Some of the pueblos in this province, as also the houses, were larger than those of the province we had passed, but the fields and character of the land appeared to be just the same. We were unable to ascertain the number of people in this province, for they had fled.

Having arrived at this province of the Tiguas and found that the religious in quest of whom we had come, and the half-breed and the Indians who had remained with them, were dead, we were tempted to return to Nueva Vizcaya, whence we had started. But since while we were there the

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is lacking in B.

<sup>2</sup> B gives this name as "Paula" (p. 175).

<sup>3</sup> This should be *Rodríguez*.

<sup>4</sup> For the revolt of the Tiguex and their punishment by the Spaniards under Coronado, see Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, p. 497.

Indians informed us of another province to the east which they said was near, and as it seemed to me that all that country was well peopled, and that the farther we penetrated into the region the larger the settlements we found, and as they received us peacefully, I deemed this a good opportunity for me to serve his Majesty by visiting and discovering those lands so new and so remote, in order to give a report of them to his Majesty, with no expense to him in their discovery. I therefore determined to proceed as long as my strength would permit. Having communicated my intention to the religious and soldiers, and they having approved my decision, we continued our journey and discovery in the same way as heretofore.

In this place we heard of another province,<sup>1</sup> called Maguas, which lay two days' journey to the east.<sup>2</sup> Leaving the camp in this province I set out with two companions for the place, where I arrived in two days. I found there eleven pueblos, inhabited by a great number of people. It seemed to me they must comprise more than forty thousand souls, between men, women, and children. They have here no running arroyos or springs to use, but they have an abundance of turkeys, provisions, and other things, just as in the foregoing province. This one adjoined the region of the cows called *cibola*. They clothe themselves with the hides of these cows, with cotton *mantas*, and with deerskins. They govern themselves as do the preceding provinces, and like the rest have idols which they worship. They have advan-

<sup>1</sup> "Tubimos noticia de otra provincia" (p. 114). B, evidently corrupt, reads, "tubimos noticia como el dicho, otra provincia," etc. (p. 176).

<sup>2</sup> In Espejo's memorial (*Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 156) Maguas (Magrias) is said to join the Tiguas on the northeast. Bancroft notes a difficulty regarding the location (*Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 85, foot-note). Obregón and Luxán state that the Indians in San Felipe, on the border of the Tiguas, told Espejo of the death of the two friars at Puaray, and that the Tiguas, knowing of Espejo's coming, were preparing to destroy his party. Thereupon a division arose in Espejo's camp, some, led by Fray Bernaldino, Miguel Sánchez, and Gregorio de Hernández, desiring to go back; but the rest, led by Espejo and Diego Pérez de Luxán, voted to continue. From this point they went to visit the Magrias (Maguas) pueblos, behind the sierra, returning thence to the river, which they ascended fifteen leagues to Puara. This statement clarifies Espejo's narrative in regard to the location of the Maguas. They were southeast of Puara. The party reached Puara February 17.

tages for mines in the mountains of this province, for as we travelled toward<sup>1</sup> them we found much antimony<sup>2</sup> along the route, and wherever this is found there are usually ores rich in silver. In this province we found ores in the houses of the Indians. We likewise discovered that here they had killed one of the religious, called Fray Jhoan de Santa Maria, who had entered with the other religious, Francisco Chamuscado, and the soldiers. They killed him before the said Francisco Chamuscado went to the pacified country.<sup>3</sup> However, we made friends of them, saying nothing of these murders. They gave us food, and having noted the nature of the country, we departed from it. It is a land of many pine forests, with Castilian pine-nuts and sables. We returned to the camp and the Río del Norte, whence we had come.

Having reached the camp we heard of another province called Quires<sup>4</sup> up the Río del Norte one day's journey, a distance of about six leagues from where we had our camp. With the entire force we set out for the province of the Quires, and one league before reaching it many Indians came out to greet us peacefully, and begged us to go to their pueblos. We went therefore and they received us very well, and gave us some cotton *mantas*, many turkeys, maize, and portions of all else which they had. This province has five pueblos, containing a great number of people, it appearing to us that there were fifteen thousand souls. Their food and clothing were the same as those of the preceding province. They are idolatrous, and have many fields of maize and other things. Here we found a parrot in a cage, just like those of Castile, and sunflowers like those of China, decorated with the sun, moon, and stars. Here the latitude was taken, and we found ourselves to be in exactly  $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  north. We heard of another province two days' journey to the west.

Leaving this province, after two days' march, which is fourteen leagues, we found another, called Los Pumames,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "La Ví á ella" (p. 115); B reads "hacia ella" (p. 177); the former is doubtless a corruption, and the latter correct.

<sup>2</sup> *Artimonia*. B adds, "ques una quemazon de metales de plata" (p. 177).

<sup>3</sup> *Tierra de paz*. Frequently used in this sense in these documents.

<sup>4</sup> For a brief discussion of the Keresan family, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 675.

<sup>5</sup> "Punames" in B, p. 178.

consisting of five pueblos, the chief pueblo being called Sia.<sup>1</sup> It is a very large pueblo, and I and my companions went through it; it had eight plazas, and better houses than those previously mentioned, most of them being whitewashed and painted with colors and pictures after the Mexican custom. This pueblo is built near a medium-sized river which comes from the north and flows into the Río del Norte, and near a mountain. In this province there are many people, apparently more than twenty thousand souls. They gave us cotton *mantas*, and much food consisting of maize, hens, and bread made from corn flour, the food being nicely prepared, like everything else. They were a more deft people than those we had seen up to this point, but were dressed and governed like the others. Here we heard of another province to the northwest and arranged to go to it. In this pueblo they told us of mines nearby in the mountains, and they showed us rich ores from them.

Having travelled one day's journey to the northwest, a distance of about six leagues, we found a province, with seven pueblos, called the Province of the Emexes,<sup>2</sup> where there are very many people, apparently about thirty thousand souls. The natives indicated to us that one of the pueblos was very large and in the mountains, but it appeared to Fray Bernardino Beltran and some of the soldiers that our numbers were too small to go to so large a settlement and so we did not visit it, in order not to become divided into two parties.<sup>3</sup> It consists of people like those already passed, with the same provisions, apparel, and government. They have idols, bows and arrows, and other arms, as the provinces heretofore mentioned.

We set out from this province towards the west, and after going three days, or about fifteen leagues, we found a pueblo called Acoma,<sup>4</sup> where it appeared to us there must

<sup>1</sup> "Siay" in A, a misprint for "Sia a," as it is in B, p. 178. Sia is now a Keresan tribe on the north side of the Jemez River, about sixteen miles northwest of Bernalillo (Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 562).

<sup>2</sup> Jemez, now a pueblo on the Jemez River, about twenty miles northwest of Bernalillo (Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 629).

<sup>3</sup> That is, in order not to disagree.

<sup>4</sup> Acoma is situated about sixty miles west of the Rio Grande, in Valencia County. The rock on which it is built is 357 feet above the plateau (Hodge,

be more than six thousand souls. It is situated on a high rock more than fifty *estados*<sup>1</sup> in height. In the very rock stairs are built by which they ascend to and descend from the town, which is very strong. They have cisterns of water at the top, and many provisions stored within the pueblo. Here they gave us many *mantas*, deerskins, and strips of buffalo-hide, tanned as they tan them in Flanders, and many provisions, consisting of maize and turkeys. These people have their fields<sup>2</sup> two leagues from the pueblo on a river of medium size, whose water they intercept for irrigating purposes, as they water their fields with many partitions of the water near this river, in a marsh. Near the fields we found many bushes of Castilian roses. We also found Castilian onions, which grow in the country by themselves, without planting or cultivation. The mountains thereabout apparently give promise of mines and other riches, but we did not go to see them as the people from there were many and warlike. The mountain people come to aid those of the settlements, who call the mountain people Querechos.<sup>3</sup> They carry on trade with those of the settlements, taking to them salt, game, such as deer, rabbits, and hares, tanned deerskins, and other things, to trade for cotton *mantas* and other things with which the government pays them.

In other respects they are like those of the other provinces. In our honor they performed a very ceremonious *mitote* and dance, the people coming out in fine array. They performed many juggling feats, some of them very clever, with live snakes.<sup>4</sup> Both of these things were well worth see-

*Handbook*, I. 10). The native name of the town is Áco and of the people, Acóme. For Castañeda's description of Ácoma see Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, p. 491.

<sup>1</sup> An *estado* is the height of a man, *i. e.*, between five and six feet.

<sup>2</sup> Hodge says that these fields were "probably those still tilled at Acomita (Tichuna) and Pueblito (Titsiap), their two summer, or farming, villages, 15 m. distant" (*Handbook*, I. 10).

<sup>3</sup> Querecho was a Pueblo name for the buffalo-hunting Apache Indians east of New Mexico (Hodge, *Handbook*, II. 338).

<sup>4</sup> The snake dance is now characteristically a Hopi (Moqui) ceremony, where it is primarily a prayer for rain. It was formerly widespread among the Pueblo tribes, and traces of it are still found at Ácoma and other places (Walter Hough, in Hodge, *Handbook*, II. 605-606, *q. v.* for a bibliography of writings on the subject).

ing. They gave us liberally of food and of all else which they had. And thus, after three days, we left this province.

We continued our march toward the west four days, or twenty-four leagues, when we found a province comprising six pueblos, which they call Amí,<sup>1</sup> or by another name Cibola. It contains a great many Indians, who appeared to number more than twenty thousand. We learned that Francisco Vazquez Coronado and some of the captains he had with him had been there. In this province near the pueblos we found crosses erected; and here we found three Christian Indians, who said their names were Andrés of Cuyuacan, Gaspar of Mexico, and Anton of Guadalajara, and stated that they had come with the said governor Francisco Vasquez. We instructed them again in the Mexican tongue, which they had almost forgotten. From them we learned that the said Francisco Vazquez Coronado and his captains had been there, and that Don Pedro de Tobar had gone in from there, having heard of a large lake where these natives said there were many settlements. They told us that there was gold in that country, and that the people were clothed and wore bracelets and earrings of gold; that these people were sixty days' march from there; that the men of the said Coronado had gone twelve days beyond this province and then had returned, not being able to find water and the supply of water they had carried being exhausted. They gave us very clear signs regarding that lake and the riches of the Indians who live there. Although I and some of my companions desired to go to that lake, others did not wish to assist.

In this province we found a great quantity of Castilian flax, which appears to grow in the fields without being planted. They gave us extended accounts of what there was in the provinces where the large lake is, and of how here they had

<sup>1</sup>"Zuñi" in B, p. 180. Perhaps "Amí" is a misprint. At any rate, there can be no doubt of its identity with Zuñi. Zuñi is situated in Valencia County, near the western border of New Mexico. It was first visited by Spaniards in 1539. The only remaining pueblo of the province is on the Zuñi River. Obregón writes that by the time they left Acuco (Acoma) for Ciboro (Zuñi) the party was seriously divided over the matter of returning to Santa Bárbara, and that Gregorio Hernández Gallegos was elected *alférez* to appease the malcontents. Luxán gives the names of the Zuñi pueblos visited as Malaque, Cuaquema, Agrisco, Oloná, Cuaquina, and Cana.



given to Francisco Vazquez Coronado and his companions many ores, which they had not smelted for lack of the necessary equipment. In this province of Cibola, in a town they call Aquico, the said Father Fray Bernaldino, Miguel Sanchez Valenciano, his wife Casilda de Amaya, Lázaro Sanchez and Miguel Sanchez Nevado, his sons, Gregorio Hernandez, Cristóbal Sanchez, and Juan de Frias, who were in our company, said that they wished to return to Nueva Vizcaya, whence we had set out, because they had learned that Francisco Vazquez Coronado had found neither gold nor silver and had returned, and that they desired to do likewise, which they did.<sup>1</sup> The customs and rites here are similar to those of the provinces passed. They have much game, and dress in cotton *mantas* and others that resemble coarse linen. Here we heard of other provinces<sup>2</sup> to the west.

We went on to the said provinces toward the west, a four days' journey of seven leagues per day. At the end of this time we found another province called Mohoce, of five pueblos, in which, it seemed to us, there are over fifty thousand souls. Before reaching it they sent us messengers to warn us not to go there, lest they should kill us. I and nine companions who had remained with me, namely: Joan Lopez de Ibarra, Bernardo de Cuna,<sup>3</sup> Diego Perez de Luxan, Francisco Barroto, Gaspar de Luxan, Pedro Fernandez de Almansa, Alonso de Miranda, Gregorio Fernandez, and Joan Hernandez, went to the said province of Mohoce, taking with us one hundred and fifty Indians of the province whence we started and the said three Mexican Indians. A league before we reached the province over two thousand Indians, loaded down with provisions, came forth to meet us. We gave them some presents of little value, which we carried, thereby assuring them that we would not harm them, but told them that the horses which we had with us might kill them because they were very bad, and that they should make a stockade where we could keep the animals, which they did. A great multitude of Indians came out to receive us, accompanied by the chiefs of a pueblo of this province called

<sup>1</sup> They did not do so immediately, however, as appears later.

<sup>2</sup> B says "another province," p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> B gives this name as Bernardo de Luna, p. 182.

Aguato.<sup>1</sup> They gave us a great reception, throwing much maize flour where we were to pass, so that we might walk thereon. All being very happy, they begged us to go to see the pueblo of Aguato. There I made presents to the chiefs, giving them some things that I carried for this purpose.

The chiefs of this pueblo immediately sent word to the other pueblos of the province, from which the chiefs came with a great number of people, and begged that we go to see and visit their pueblos,<sup>2</sup> because it would give them much pleasure. We did so, and the chiefs and *tequitatos* of the province, seeing the good treatment and the gifts that I gave, assembled between them more than four thousand cotton *mantas*,<sup>3</sup> some colored and some white, towels with tassels at the ends, blue and green ones, which they use<sup>4</sup> to color the *mantas*, and many other things. In spite of all these gifts they thought that they were doing little for us, and asked if we were satisfied. Their food is similar to that of the other provinces mentioned, except that here we found no turkeys. A chief and some other Indians told us here that they had heard of the lake where the gold treasure is and declared that it was neither greater nor less than what those of the preceding provinces had said. During the six days that we remained there we visited the pueblos of the province.

Thinking that these Indians were friendly toward us, I left five of my companions with them in their pueblos, in order

<sup>1</sup> This was Awatobi, a now extinct Hopi pueblo, about nine miles southeast of Walpi, in northeastern Arizona. It was visited by Tobar and Cárdenas in 1540, and by Oñate in 1598. Later it was the seat of a Christian mission (Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 119).

<sup>2</sup> From Zuñi to the Moqui pueblos Luxán gives the following itinerary: April 11, six leagues to Laguna de los Ojuelos; April 12, five leagues to El Cazadero; April 13, five leagues to a marsh; April 16, six leagues to Ojo Hediondo; April 17, six leagues to a Moqui pueblo destroyed by Coronado, a league from Aguato; April 18, a fort was built near Aguato; April 19, to Aguato; April 21, to pueblo of Gaspé, very high up; April 22, to two pueblos called Comupani and Majanani; April 24, three leagues to Olallay, the largest of the province. Obregón gives the names of the pueblos: Aguato, Oalpes, Moxanany, Xornupa, and Oloxao.

<sup>3</sup> The raising of cotton was widespread among the ancient Pueblos, but especially among the Hopi (Moqui), who to-day are the only ones among whom the industry survives (Walter Hough, in Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 352).

<sup>4</sup> A reads "que buscan dellos," p. 120. B reads "que usan dellos," "which they use," p. 183. The latter reading is more probably the correct one.

that they might return to the province of Amí<sup>1</sup> with the baggage. With the four others whom I took with me I went directly west for forty-five leagues, in search of some rich mines there of which they told me, with guides whom they furnished me in this province to take me to them. I found them, and with my own hands I extracted ore from them, said by those who know to be very rich and to contain much silver. The region where these mines are is for the most part mountainous, as is also the road leading to them.<sup>2</sup> There are some pueblos of mountain Indians, who came forth to receive us in some places, with small crosses on their heads.<sup>3</sup> They gave us some of their food and I presented them with some gifts. Where the mines are located the country is good, having rivers, marshes, and forests; on the banks of the river are many Castilian grapes, walnuts, flax, blackberries,<sup>4</sup> maguey plants, and prickly pears. The Indians of that region plant fields of maize, and have good houses. They told us by signs that behind those mountains, at a distance we were unable to understand clearly, flowed a very large river which, according to the signs they made, was more than eight leagues in width and flowed towards the North Sea;<sup>5</sup> that on the banks of this river on both sides are large settlements; that the

<sup>1</sup> "Zufi" in B, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Luxán gives the following itinerary from the Moqui province to the mines: From Olallay they returned to Aguato. Leaving Aguato that day they went five leagues to Ojo Triste; May 1, ten leagues to a fine river; May 2, six leagues through cedars and past pools and marshes, to a large marsh, near a pine and cedar forest; May 6, seven leagues through a rough and difficult forest, and down a steep slope to a fine river running south, called Río de las Parras; May 7, six leagues, part of the time along Río de las Parras, to a marsh, called Cienega de San Gregorio; May 8, four leagues to a marsh. On the way a fine river running south was crossed, and named Río de los Reyes. At the marsh they met Indians with crosses on their heads. Near the marsh were the mines in a rough mountain. Finding no silver and only a little copper, they returned to Zufi. Espejo probably reached the region of Bill Williams Fork, west of Prescott, Arizona. See Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 88, for a somewhat different opinion. It seems clear that Farfán, in 1598, went over essentially Espejo's ground.

<sup>3</sup> They were tied to the hair. See p. 242, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Xorales" in A, a misprint for "morales," as it is in B, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> It is to be presumed that it was the Colorado River of which Espejo was told, but if so he evidently misunderstood what they said about the direction of the current, or else the text is defective.

river was crossed in canoes; that in comparison with those provinces and settlements on the river, the province where we were then was nothing; and that in that land were many grapes, nuts, and blackberries. From this place we returned to the one whither I had sent my companions, it being about sixty leagues from the said mines to Amí.<sup>1</sup> We endeavored to return by a different route so as to better observe and understand the nature of the country, and I found a more level road than the one I had followed in going to the mines.

Upon arriving at the province of Amí, I found my five companions whom I had left there,<sup>2</sup> and also Father Fray Bernaldino, who had not yet gone back with his companions. The Indians of that province had supplied them all they needed to eat, and he<sup>3</sup> with all of us greatly rejoiced. The caciques came forth to receive me and my companions and gave us plentiful food, and Indians for guides and to carry the loads. When we bade them adieu they made us many promises, saying that we must return again and bring many "Castillos," as they call the Spaniards, and that with this in view they were planting a great deal of maize that year so that there would be ample food for all. From this province Fray Bernaldino and the others who had remained with him returned, and with them Gregorio Hernandez, who had accompanied me as ensign, although I urged them not to leave, but to remain and search for mines and other treasures, in the service of his Majesty.

Fray Bernaldino and his companions having departed, with eight soldiers I returned, determined to go up the Rio del Norte, by which we had entered. After having travelled ten days, or about sixty leagues, to the province of the Quires, we went east from there two days' journey of six leagues each, and reached a province of Indians called the Ubates,<sup>4</sup> having five pueblos. The Indians received us peacefully and gave us much food, turkeys, maize,<sup>5</sup> and other things. From there

<sup>1</sup> "Zuñi" in B, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> He had left them in the Moqui country.

<sup>3</sup> A reads, "y él con todos nosotros, se holgaron mucho," p. 122. B reads, "y con todos nosotros se holgaron mucho," p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> This was evidently a Tano settlement north of Santa Fé. This being the case, Espejo went northeast instead of east from the Queres (Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, I. 282).

<sup>5</sup> B omits "maiz," p. 185.

we went in quest of some mines<sup>1</sup> of which we had heard and found them in two days, travelling from one place to another. We secured shining ore and returned to the settlement from which we had set out. The number of people in these pueblos is great, seeming to us to be about twenty thousand souls. They dress in white and colored *mantas*, and tanned deer and buffalo hides. They govern themselves as do the neighboring provinces. There are no rivers here, but they utilize springs and marshes. They have many forests of pine, cedar, and sabinas.<sup>2</sup> Their houses are three, four, and five stories in height.

Learning that at one day's journey from this province there was another, we went to it. It consists of three very large pueblos, which seemed to us to contain more than forty thousand souls. It is called the province of the Tamos.<sup>3</sup> Here they did not wish to give us food or admit us. Because of this, and of the illness of some of my companions, and of the great number of people,<sup>4</sup> and because we were unable to subsist, we decided to leave the country,<sup>5</sup> and, at the beginning of July, 1583, taking an Indian from the said pueblo as a guide, we left by a different route from that by which we had entered. At a distance of half a league from a town of the said province, named Ciquique,<sup>6</sup> we came to a river which I named Rio de las Vacas,<sup>7</sup> for, travelling along its banks for six days, a distance of about thirty leagues,<sup>8</sup> we found a great number of the cows of that country. After travelling along this river one hundred and twenty leagues toward the east we found three Indians hunting. They were of the Jumana nation. From them we learned through an interpreter whom

<sup>1</sup> B reads "ruinas," obviously misprint for "minas," p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> B reads "salinas," evidently a misprint for "sabinas," p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Tanos. See Hodge, *Handbook*, II. 686-687.

<sup>4</sup> *I. e.*, the Indians. <sup>5</sup> The last clause is omitted from B, p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> Cicuye, or Pecos, a Tanoan settlement, now extinct, but formerly the largest pueblo of New Mexico. It was situated on the Pecos River, about thirty miles southeast of Santa Fé (Hodge, *Handbook*, II. 220-221).

<sup>7</sup> The Pecos.

<sup>8</sup> Alvarado had gone over the same route in 1540, and Coronado in 1541. In the eighteenth century it was followed in opening a highway to San Antonio, Texas (manuscript diaries of Pedro Vial, 1786-1789, Santiago Fernández, 1788, and Francisco Xavier Fragoso, 1788).

we had that we were twelve days' journey from the Conchas River, a distance which we thought must be a little over forty leagues. We crossed over to this river,<sup>1</sup> passing many watering places in creeks and marshes on the way, and found there many of the Cumano<sup>2</sup> nation, who brought us fish of many kinds, prickly pears and other fruits, and gave us buffalo hides and tanned deerskins. From there we came out to the Valley of San Bartolomé, whence Fray Bernaldino Beltran and I, with the companions named herein, had started. We found that the said Father Fray Bernaldino and his companions had arrived many days before at the province of San Bartolomé, and had gone to the Villa of Guadiana.<sup>3</sup>

Everything narrated herein I saw with my own eyes, and is true, for I was present at everything. Sometimes I set out from the camp with a number of companions, sometimes with but one, to observe the nature of that country, in order to report everything to his Majesty, that he may order what is best for the exploration and pacification of those provinces and for the service of God our Lord and the increase of His holy Catholic faith; and that those barbarians may come to know of it and to enter into it. My companions and I have employed in this narrative, as also in the *autos* and *diligencias*<sup>4</sup> which we drew up on the way, all possible and necessary care, as is shown by testimony as authoritative as we were able to procure there. Not all that occurred could be written, nor can I give an account of it in writing, for it would be too long, for the lands and provinces through which we travelled on this journey were many and large.

By the direct course which we took from the Valley of San Bartolomé until we reached the borders of the provinces we visited, it is over two hundred and fifty leagues, and by the route over which we returned it is more than two hundred

<sup>1</sup>The route followed must have been approximately that of Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, almost exactly a century later. Mendoza was thirteen days in going from the mouth of the Conchos to the Pecos, and estimated the distance at seventy leagues. See *post*, pp. 325-328, and Bolton, "The Jumano Indians," in the Texas State Historical Association *Quarterly*, XV. 73-74.

<sup>2</sup>Evidently a misprint for "Jumano." B reads "Jumanas," p. 186.

<sup>3</sup>Guadiana, an early name for Durango.

<sup>4</sup>The *autos* and *diligencias* were the authenticated records of their acts, drawn up on the spot.

leagues. Besides this, we travelled more than three hundred<sup>1</sup> more leagues in the exploration of the said provinces and in going through them from one part to another, over both rough and level lands, over lagoons, marshes, and rivers, with great dangers and many difficulties. We found many different tongues among the natives of those provinces, different modes of dress, and different customs. That which we saw and of which I write gives but an inkling of what actually exists in those provinces, for in travelling through them we heard of large settlements, very fertile lands, silver mines, gold, and better governed peoples.

As we saw, dealt with, and heard of large settlements, and as our numbers were few, and as some of my companions were afraid to continue further, we did not explore more than what I have stated. But even to accomplish this much has required of us great courage, which we mustered because we realized that thereby we were serving God our Lord and his Majesty, and that thereby the Indians might obtain some light, and in order that we might not lose our opportunity. We therefore endeavored by all means at our disposal to see and understand everything, learning the facts through interpreters where there were any, or by signs where there were none, the Indians of those provinces showing us by lines which they made on the ground and by their hands the number of days' journey from one province to another, and the number of pueblos in each province, or by the best means at our command for understanding.

The people of all those provinces are large and more vigorous than the Mexicans, and are healthy, for no illness was heard of among them. The women are whiter skinned than the Mexican women. They are an intelligent and well-governed people, with pueblos well formed and houses well arranged, and from what we could understand from them, anything regarding good government they will learn quickly. In the greater part of those provinces there is much game of foot and wing, rabbits, hares, deer, native cows, ducks, geese, cranes, pheasants, and other birds, good mountains with all

<sup>1</sup> For a general estimate of distances travelled, see Espejo's letter to the viceroy, p. 193. B (p. 187) gives the figure as fifty, "cincuenta," obviously a misprint.

kinds of trees, salines and rivers, and many kinds of fish. In the greater portion of this country carts and wagons can be used; there are very good pastures for cattle, lands suitable for fields and gardens, with or without irrigation, and many rich mines,<sup>1</sup> from which I brought ores to assay and ascertain their quality. I also brought an Indian from the province of Tamos<sup>2</sup> and a woman from the province of Mohoce, so that if in the service of his Majesty return were to be made to undertake the exploration and settlement of those provinces they might furnish us with information regarding them and of the route to be travelled, and in order that for this purpose they might learn the Mexican and other tongues. For all of this I refer to the *autos* and *diligencias* which are made in the matter, from which will be seen more clearly the good intentions and good-will with which I and my companions served his Majesty in this journey, and the good opportunity there was for doing so in order to report to his Majesty, in whose service I desire to spend my life and my fortune.

I wrote this narrative at the mines of Santa Bárbola, of the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya, at the end of October, 1583, having arrived at the Valle of San Bartolomé, in the said jurisdiction, on the 20th of September of the said year, the day we arrived from the said journey.

ANTONIO DESPEJO.

(Between two rubrics.)

<sup>1</sup> A reads "muchas ánimas ricas," literally "many rich souls." This obviously is a misprint for "muchas minas ricas," as given by B, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the person referred to in Zaldívar's account of his journey to the buffalo, p. 223, below.



## LETTER OF ESPEJO TO THE VICEROY, 1583<sup>1</sup>

*Very illustrious Sir :*

Some twenty-five days ago I reached these mines of Santa Bálbola,<sup>2</sup> of this jurisdiction, very much wearied and fatigued from having travelled, within the past year and over, more than eight hundred leagues,<sup>3</sup> visiting and exploring the provinces of New Mexico, to which I gave the name of Nueva Andalucia, as I was born in the district of Cordoba. I entered those lands with a pious purpose, as your Lordship, if you so desire, may see from the account of my entire journey which I transmit. I trust in God that therefrom great results will accrue to your service, to that of his Majesty, and to the exaltation of the Catholic faith. For, besides the lands and settlements which I traversed, and the great number of pueblos and people which I saw, I heard of many more, larger and richer, beyond and on the borders of the others; but our numbers being few and provisions being already consumed, we did not go further.

I would have been glad to go and kiss the hands of your Lordship as soon as I learned in Santa Bálbola that his Majesty had entrusted to your Lordship the inspection<sup>4</sup> of that Royal Audiencia. But not until I shall have proved my innocence of the charge against me,<sup>5</sup> which I hope in God will be soon, shall I venture to appear before your Lordship. I am determined however to send a suitable person,<sup>6</sup> who in my name

<sup>1</sup> Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 162-163.

<sup>2</sup> Santa Bárbara.

<sup>3</sup> See Espejo's relation, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> The word is *visita*, which was more than a mere inspection. It involved wide powers of instituting reforms.

<sup>5</sup> When Espejo returned to Santa Bárbara the *alcalde mayor* confiscated his papers, and the Indians and three thousand blankets which he had brought. Later, at the order of the Real Audiencia, they were restored (Obregón, *Relacion*, pt. II., cap. IX.).

<sup>6</sup> On April 23, 1584, Espejo named Pedro González de Mendoza, his son-in-law, his representative before the court, and stated that González was about to start for Spain. Espejo, "Memorial," April 23, 1584, in Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 189.

shall give a report to his Majesty of my wanderings, and beg him to favor me by entrusting to me the exploration and settlement of these lands and of the others which I may discover, for I shall not be satisfied until I reach the coasts of the North and South seas. Although they have attached part of my estate, I shall not lack the necessary means to accomplish the journey with a sufficient number of men, provisions, arms, and ammunition, should his Majesty grant me the favor, as one has a right to expect from his most Christian and generous hand. I would not dare to write to your Lordship if this undertaking were not of such importance to God and his Majesty, in whose name your Lordship acts. May our Lord guard and preserve the illustrious person and state of your Lordship many years, as we all, your humble servants, desire. From the Valley of San Bartholomé, of Nueva Vizcaya, at the end of October, 1583.

*Most Illustrious Sir:* Your servant kisses the hands of your most Illustrious Lordship.

ANTONIO DE ESPEJO.

[Superscription]: To the illustrious Archbishop of Mexico,<sup>1</sup> Visitor-general of New Spain, my lord.

<sup>1</sup>This was Pedro Moya de Contreras.

## LETTER OF ESPEJO TO THE KING, 1584<sup>1</sup>

*His Very Catholic Royal Majesty:*

Since from the relation which accompanies this letter your Majesty will be informed of the lands and provinces which, by God's favor, and with the desire to serve your Majesty and increase the royal crown, like a loyal and faithful vassal, I have discovered and traversed since the month of November, 1582, when I set out from the government of Nueva Vizcaya with a religious and fourteen soldiers whom I took with me, moved and compelled by a very pious and charitable occasion, I will omit telling of them now; but I beg your Majesty to please be assured of my zeal, so dedicated to the service of your Majesty, and consider it well that I should finish my life in the continuation of these discoveries and settlements; for with the estate, prominence, and friends which I possess, I promise to serve your Majesty with greater advantage than any others who are attempting to make a contract with you regarding this enterprise. I beg your Lordship to please order that it be made with me, your Majesty granting me the mercy, honor, and favor corresponding to my very great desire to increase the realms of your Majesty and the Catholic faith, by the conversion of millions of souls who lack the true knowledge, and to elevate my name and my memory the better to serve and to merit the favor of your Majesty, whom God our Lord exalt and preserve many years, as the vassals of your Majesty have need. San Salvador, April 23, 1584.—His Very Catholic Royal Majesty.—Your Majesty's most humble vassal,

ANTONIO ESPEJO (two rubrics).

<sup>1</sup> Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XV. 100-101.

