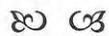
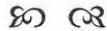


## AMERICAN JOURNEYS COLLECTION



Letter Written by  
Don Juan de Oñate  
from New Mexico,  
1599

DOCUMENT NO. AJ-010



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## INTRODUCTION

THE expeditions of Rodríguez and Espejo stirred up an enthusiasm for northern exploration much like that which had preceded the expedition of Coronado. There were now dreams, not only of conquering and settling New Mexico, but of going beyond the Llanos del Cibolo and Quivira to plant settlements on the Strait of Anian, and soon there was a crowd of competitors for the position of adelantado of New Mexico.

First among the applicants was Cristóbal Martín. In October, 1583, he proposed to conquer and colonize the region, leading thither an expedition of two or three hundred men, in exchange for titles of honor and extensive privileges, among them being the right to explore and settle one thousand leagues beyond the first pueblos of New Mexico and to establish ports on either ocean.

Espejo, soon after his return, addressed a memorial to the king asking permission to undertake at his own expense the conquest and settlement of New Mexico. He proposed taking four hundred soldiers, one hundred with their families, and a large outfit of live-stock. He recommended making the new province dependent directly on Spain rather than on the viceroy; and as a means to this end he proposed looking for a port on the North Sea as a base of communication and supplies. He would thus be master of another viceroyalty.

About the same time Francisco Díaz de Vargas, *alguacil mayor* and *regidor* of Puebla, asked for the title of adelantado of the north country. He gave the opinion that all the region seen by Coronado, Ibarra, Chamuscado, and Espejo was poor in provisions and minerals; but beyond, it was said, was a

great salt river, and lakes where the people used gold and silver. He presumed that the river was the northern strait, or an arm of either the North Sea or the South Sea; and he offered to take at his own expense sixty or seventy men, and pass two hundred leagues beyond New Mexico, to explore, and, if desirable, to settle the country.

Five years later (in 1589) Juan Bautista de Lomas y Colmenares, a wealthy resident of Nueva Galicia, proposed to undertake the task, asking for the right to exclude all other adventurers from territory beyond his own conquests. A contract with Lomas was made by the viceroy on March 11, 1589, but it was not approved by the king, and the new viceroy made an agreement with Francisco de Urdiñola; but before he could fulfil it Urdiñola was arrested on a criminal charge. In 1592 and again in 1595 Lomas attempted to have his contract renewed, but without avail.

While these men were seeking to secure contracts with the king, others entered the coveted field without governmental sanction. In 1590 Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, lieutenant-governor in Nuevo León, hearing of the excitement regarding New Mexico, formed his mining camp of Nuevo Almadén, now Monclova, into a colony and started north with more than one hundred and seventy persons.

Crossing the Nadadores, Sabinas, and Rio Grande, he ascended the Salado or Pecos. Reaching a pueblo, probably Pecos, he captured it after a battle, and from there continued his conquest through the Tehua, Queres, and Tiguas towns, having also ascended to Taos. In the midst of his successes he was arrested by Captain Juan Morlete, sent for the purpose from Saltillo by the viceroy.

Some three years later Francisco Leyva de Bonilla and Antonio Gutiérrez de Humaña led an unauthorized expedition from Nueva Vizcaya to New Mexico. They spent about a year among the pueblos, making Bove, later San Ildefonso,

their principal headquarters. Setting out from there they went far to the northeastward, entered a large Indian settlement on the Arkansas, in eastern Kansas, and continued to a still larger stream some twelve days' journey beyond. The stream would seem to have been the Platte. On the way Humaña murdered Leyva and took command, but later he and nearly all his party were destroyed by Indians.<sup>1</sup>

The contract for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico was finally awarded in 1595 to Juan de Oñate, a member of a family which had taken a prominent part in the conquest of New Spain. His wife was granddaughter of Cortés and great-granddaughter of Montezuma. His father, Cristóbal de Oñate, had been prominent among the conquerors of Nueva Galicia and one of the founders of Zacatecas; he himself was one of the wealthy citizens of that place.

By his contract Oñate was made governor, adelantado, and captain-general of the new conquests, and was granted a government subsidy and extensive privileges, while the usual

<sup>1</sup> Much new light is thrown on the Humaña expedition by the now accessible declaration of the Indian Jusephe (Joseph) who had been with Humaña and returned to New Mexico. The declaration was made at San Juan, February 16, 1599. Jusephe stated that Humaña went through Pecos and a great pueblo of the Vaqueros. At the end of a month of leisurely wandering from side to side, crossing many streams, they reached great herds of buffalo. Going northward now fifteen days, they reached two large rivers, beyond which were rancherías, and, farther ahead, a very large pueblo in a great plain ten leagues long, which they crossed in two days. Through the pueblo flowed one of the rivers, both of which they had crossed. The houses were grass lodges and the Indians had plentiful crops. Humaña continued three days to a most amazing buffalo herd. Going still farther, they found no Indian rancherías, and only ordinary buffalo herds. Three days after having left the large pueblo Humaña murdered Leyba. Ten days from the pueblo they came to a large river about a quarter of a league wide. Upon reaching the river, Jusephe and five other Indians fled and returned toward New Mexico. On the way four were lost, and a fifth was killed. Jusephe was taken prisoner by the Apaches and kept for a year. At the end of that time he heard that there were Spaniards in New Mexico and made his way to one of the Pecos pueblos, and was later found by Oñate at Picuries ("Relacion que dió un indio de la salida que hicieron Umaña y Leyba del Nuevo Mexico," MS.). It is clear that the large pueblo reached by Humaña was the one north of the Arkansas reached by Oñate in 1601 (see p. 260, below).

privileges and exemptions of first settlers (*primeros pobladores*) were promised to his colonists. Captain Vicente de Zaldívar, Oñate's nephew, was made recruiting officer. The lists were opened with great pomp and ceremony at the viceroy's palace, and the enterprise was popular. Spiritual charge of the conquests was assigned to the Franciscans, and Fray Rodrigo Durán was made commissary.

A change of viceroys and jealousy of Oñate on the part of his rivals caused long delays and a modification of his contract. Early in 1596, however, he began his march north from Mexico City, but underwent inspections and suffered long delays at Zacatecas, Caxco, San Bartolomé, San Gerónimo, and Río de Conchos. After having spent nearly two years on the way, on February 7, 1598, the start was made from the last-named place. The colony now consisted of four hundred men, of whom one hundred and thirty had their families. For carrying baggage there were eighty-three wagons and carts, and a herd of more than seven thousand head of stock was driven on foot. At Río de San Pedro Oñate was joined by a new commissary, Father Martínez, with a band of new missionaries, Father Durán having been recalled.

Previous expeditions had followed the Conchos, but Vicente de Zaldívar opened up a new trail direct to the upper Río Grande, leaving the Conchos on the right. Early in April the party reached the Médanos, those great sand-dunes lying south of El Paso. Here the party was divided, and on April 19 a little over half of the wagons began the passage of the sand-dunes, leaving the rest to await reinforcements of oxen. On the 26th the caravan was reunited on the Río Grande, and on the 30th Oñate took formal possession "of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico, on the Río del Norte, in the name of our Lord King Philip. There was a sermon, a great religious and secular celebration, a great

salute, and much rejoicing. In the afternoon a comedy was presented and the royal standard was blessed."

Continuing five and one-half leagues up-stream, on May 4 they reached El Paso, the ford, a place ever since important in the history of the Southwest. A short distance after crossing over, Oñate took sixty men and went ahead with the commissary "to pacify the land" and to prepare for settlement. Passing through the pueblo region, on July 7, at Santo Domingo, Oñate received the submission of the chiefs of seven provinces. Continuing north, on July 11 he reached the pueblo of Caypa, christened San Juan, where he made his headquarters which were established a few years later at Santa Fé.<sup>1</sup> The caravan, which had been met above El Paso by Vicente de Zaldívar, arrived at San Juan on August 18, and thus the colony reached its destination. Oñate had already begun to visit the surrounding pueblos, and on August 11 work had been begun at San Juan on an irrigating ditch for "the city of San Francisco," the Spaniards being assisted by fifteen hundred Indians. On August 23 a church was begun and its completion was celebrated on September 8. Next day a general assembly was held of representatives from all the country thus far explored; rods of office were given to the chiefs, and the various pueblos were assigned to eight Franciscan missionaries, who soon afterward departed for their respective charges. Thus was the province of New Mexico founded.

The colony having been established and the pueblos having been placed under the friars, Oñate turned his attention to the search for more attractive fields beyond, which was an

<sup>1</sup> Until as late as March, 1599, Oñate's headquarters were at Pueblo de San Juan. In June, 1601, and also in December of the same year, they were at Pueblo de San Gabriel. The contemporary map of Oñate's journey to Quivira, which is of unquestioned authenticity, shows San Gabriel to be west of the Rio Grande, below the junction with the Chama. In April, 1605, Oñate's headquarters were still at San Gabriel. See p. 280, below.

essential part of his task. In the middle of September he sent Vicente de Zaldívar, accompanied by sixty men and guided by an Indian who had been with Humaña, to hunt buffalo on the plains to the northeast. Going through Pecos, where they left two missionaries, they continued to a point seventy leagues from San Juan. Though they failed in their attempt to capture buffalo alive, they secured a large supply of hides and meat, and made the acquaintance of the Vaquero Apaches and of a large stretch of country.

While Zaldívar was away Oñate went southeast and visited the great salines and the Jumano pueblos, then turned west with the intention of going to the South Sea, where he hoped to find wealth in pearls. He made his way to Zuñi, where a rich saline was discovered, and to the Moqui towns, whence he sent Captain Marcos Farfán with a party to find the mines discovered by Espejo. Farfán made the journey to Bill Williams Fork, found rich veins, staked out claims, and brought back detailed reports. In the course of the journey he visited Jumanos near San Francisco Mountains, and the Cruzados, further southwest.

In November Juan de Zaldívar followed Oñate, intending to join him in his expedition to the South Sea, but at Acoma he was killed, with fourteen companions, by the Indians. News of this misfortune reached Oñate while on his way back to San Juan, in December, and in January he sent Vicente de Zaldívar to avenge his brother's death. After a two days' assault, with hand-to-hand fighting, the Indians surrendered. The diary laconically adds: "Most of them were killed and punished by fire and bloodshed, and the pueblo was completely laid waste and burned."

In 1599 Vicente de Zaldívar, with twenty-five companions, made a three months' journey in an attempt to reach the South Sea. On the way he had difficulty with the Jumanos, and Oñate went in person with fifty soldiers to punish the

offenders. Zaldívar continued his journey till he reached impassable mountains and a hostile tribe, at a point which he was told was three days from the sea.<sup>1</sup> So interested was Oñate in the project of reaching the South Sea that he now planned to go in person with a hundred men and prepared to build boats. In April, 1601, he was all ready to start, but he changed his plans and went northeast instead.

In June, 1601, Oñate set out to see the country traversed by Humaña. He was accompanied by two friars and more than seventy picked men; he had in his caravan more than seven hundred horses and mules, eight carts, four cannon, and a retinue of servants to carry the baggage. His guide was the Indian Joseph who had led Zaldívar to the Llanos del Cíbolo. Going by way of Galisteo, he crossed the Pecos to the Rio de la Madalena (Canadian River). Descending that stream to a great bend one hundred and eleven leagues from the pueblo of San Gabriel, he continued northeast to a point on the Arkansas more than two hundred and twenty leagues from the starting-point. Before crossing the stream he had dealings with a roving tribe called the Escanjaques. Forging the Arkansas, Oñate visited the extensive settlement called Quivira, through which Humaña had passed. It was evidently at Wichita, Kansas. The Quiviras appearing hostile, the journey was now discontinued. On starting homeward a battle was fought with the Escanjaques.

Before Oñate had set out for the northeast he had engendered hostility, and when he returned he found that most of the colonists and friars had deserted to Santa Bárbara;

<sup>1</sup>The principal source at my command regarding the Zaldívar expedition to the west has not been known before. It is a manuscript in the Archivo de Indias consisting of an abstract of reports sent by Oñate, March 22, 1601 (see p. 209, doc. c.). In an investigation regarding the work of Zaldívar, December, 1601, this expedition is recorded briefly. *Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 219. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, evidently overlooked this source, for he rejects a statement by Peñalosa that Zaldívar made such an expedition.

Zaldívar was accordingly sent to recover them. In 1602 Zaldívar went to Spain to secure a confirmation of Oñate's titles and a force of three hundred men with whom to continue explorations beyond Quivira.

Oñate still planned for reaching the South Sea, and in 1604 he carried out his intention. Setting out in October with thirty men, he followed in the footsteps of Espejo and Farfán to Bill Williams Fork. Descending that stream to the Colorado he followed its left bank to the Gulf of California, returning to New Mexico in 1605, where he ruled till 1608. He had now re-explored practically all of the ground covered by the Coronado and Espejo expeditions and opened new trails.

The principal printed original sources for the work of Oñate are those in Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Documentos Inéditos*, XVI. 38-66, 88-141, 228-322. These, given in order, consist of:

1. "Treslado de la posesion que en nombre de Su Magestad tomó Don Juan de Oñate, de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva Mexico; y de las obediencias y vassalaje que los Judios [Indios] de algunos pueblos de los dichos Reynos y provincias le dieron en el dicho nombre, Año de 1598" (pp. 88-141). This contains the act of possession proclaimed on the Rio Grande April 30, 1598; acts of "obedience and vassalage" by the pueblos of Santo Domingo, San Juan Baptista, Aclocú, Cuelóce, Ácoma, Aguscobi, and Mohoquí; and the assignment of pueblos to the different friars. The act of possession is also printed in Villagrà, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, fols. 114-132.

2. "Discurso de las jornadas que hizo el Campo de Su Magestad desde la Nueva España á la provincia de la Nueva Mexico, Año de 1526 [1596]." The subtitle, by which it will be cited, is "Ytinerario de las minas del Caxco . . . hasta el Nuevo México," etc. (pp. 228-276). It is a brief diary, based on the official documents, of all the operations of Oñate, from

November 1, 1596, to December 20, 1598. It was written by one of the friars.

3. "Copia de Carta escripta Al Virrey Conde de Monterrey, Don Juan de Oñate, de la Nueva México, á 2 de Marzo de 1599 Años: Corresponde al Capítulo Primero de Materia de Guerra, fecha en Mexico á 4 de Octubre de 1599" (pp. 302-315). Printed hereinafter, pp. 212-222. The letter is a summary of events after leaving Río del Nombre de Diós. With this letter were sent, evidently, nos. 1 and 2 above, besides other documents noted below. They were carried to Mexico by Father Alonso Martínez, Gaspar Pérez de Villagran, and companions.

4. "Don Alonso de Oñate pide se confirme la capitulacion que hizo el Virrey con Don Joan de Oñate sobre el Nuevo México: y que se declare aber cumplido las capitulaciones y se le dé título de Adelantado y otras cosas, en orden al cumplimiento de lo que al principio se asentó con él: Mayo de 1600" (pp. 316-319).

5. "Don Alonso de Oñate, á 5 de Mayo de 1600.—Al Presidente del Consejo de Yndias" (pp. 320-322). This document and no. 4 are requests by Oñate's brother that the conqueror's titles and privileges be confirmed.

6. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento del Nuevo México y sus acontecimientos, Años desde 1595 á 1602" (pp. 188-227). This is a memorial presented by Vicente de Zaldívar in 1602 requesting that Oñate be equipped with three hundred men to continue explorations left off at the Arkansas River in 1601, followed by a summary of Oñate's negotiations and of investigations made in Mexico in 1602 regarding Oñate's work.

7. "Discurso y Proposicion que se hace á Vuestra Magestad de lo tocante á los descubrimientos del Nuevo México por sus capítulos de puntos diferentes" (pp. 38-66). This is a discussion by the viceroy of the negotiations with and the

work of Oñate, written at the time when Zaldívar went to Spain to present his petition. It is in four parts. Part I. is a statement of reasons why Oñate should not be granted the concessions which the viceroy had withheld. Part II. tells of investigations made to determine whether Oñate had fulfilled his contract. Part III. discusses what he has accomplished in New Mexico and the advantages and difficulties of maintaining the province. Part IV. is a brief account ("Breve relación") of Oñate's expedition to the Arkansas, based on the correspondence, and a discussion of the importance of the expedition.

Besides the above printed official sources, there are unprinted documents of the same class in the Archivo de Indias, of even greater importance. Of these the following are represented by transcripts in the Lowery Collection at the Library of Congress, while transcripts of several others are in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library in Chicago:

a. "Relacion de como los Padres de San Francisco se encargaron de las Provincias de la Nueva Mexico, con testimonio autorizado. Sep're 8" (Nuevo Mexico, 1598). This is the act of possession given by Oñate to the friars. It contains important data not contained in no. 1 above.

b. "Relaciones que envió Don Juan de Oñate de algunas jornadas descubrimientos y ensayos que se hicieron en Nuevo Mexico" (Nuevo Mexico, 1599). These documents consist of first-hand accounts, hitherto unused by modern scholars, of Oñate's explorations and of the Humaña expedition. They include (1) "Relacion del descubrimiento de las Vacas de cibola" (printed hereinafter, pp. 223-232). This is the original report of Zaldívar's expedition to the buffalo plains in 1598. (2) "Relacion de la jornada que hicieron á la Mar y la visita de salinas y Xumanas" (printed hereinafter, pp. 233-238). This is the original account of Oñate's expedition in 1598 to the Salines, the Jumanos, and the Moqui. (3) "Relacion

del descubrimiento de las salinas de cuni." This is the declaration of Farfán and others regarding the saline discovered near Zuñi in 1598. (4) "Relacion é informacion del descubrimiento de minas" (printed hereinafter, pp. 239-249). This is the declaration of Farfán and his companions regarding their journey to the mines of Arizona in 1598. (5) "Relacion que dió un indio de la salida que hicieron Umana y Leyba del Nuevo Mexico." This contains the declaration of the Indian Jusephe (Joseph) and of Zaldívar regarding the Humaña expedition. (6) "Relacion de los ensayes que se hicieron de ciertas minas." This is the testimony given in 1599 regarding the assays of ores brought from Arizona by the Farfán party.

c. "Relacion sacada de las cartas que envia Don Juan de Oñate Gobernador de las provincias de la Nueva Megico. Vino con carta de veinte y dos de Marzo de 1601" (Nuevo Mexico, 1601). This document tells of events of 1599-1600 not recounted elsewhere, among them being the unknown journey of Zaldívar to discover the South Sea in 1599.

d. "Relacion Verdadera de los sucesos de la entrada que hizo el gobernador D. Juan de Oñate en las poblaciones de Nueva Megico hacia el norte" (printed hereinafter, pp. 250-267). This is the original account of Oñate's expedition to the Arkansas in 1601.

e. "Parecer de la Audiencia de Mexico cerca de la proposicion de la conquista y descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico." This is a part of the documents of which no. 6 above ("Memorial sobre el descubrimiento") is a summary. It is the document summarized in Pacheco and Cárdenas, XVI. 200, last paragraph.

Among the contemporary histories three are especially important: (1) In 1610 there was published at Alcalá, Spain, the *Historia de la Nueva Mexico, del Capitan Gaspar de Villagrà* (24 + 287 folios). This work, while written in verse, is in reality an important source based upon the author's per-

sonal experience and documentary data. The account is especially important for the preparation of the expedition and the march to New Mexico, and for the revolt and the punishment of Ácoma. Incorporated in it are several official documents, some of which are not elsewhere available (fols. 55-60, 119-132, 208-212). A reprint of this work was published in Mexico in 1900 by Sr. Don Luis González Obregón. As appendices it contains important documents regarding Villagrà's personal history, besides other documents relating to the history of New Mexico. (2) Father Zárate-Salmerón, "Relaciones de Todas las cosas que en el Nuevo-Mexico se han visto y Savido, asi por mar como por tierra, desde el año de 1538 hasta el de 1626" (printed in *Documentos para la Historia de México*, tercera série, Mexico, 1856) gives a chapter on the "Entrada de D. Juan de Oñate al Nuevo Mexico" (paragraphs 33-36); one on the "Jornada de D. Juan de Oñate a la Gran Ciudad de Quivira" (paragraphs 37-43) and another on the "Jornada de D. Juan de Oñate a la California por tierra" (paragraphs 44-57). The account of the Quivira expedition contains many details not accessible elsewhere, while that of the expedition of 1604-1605 is practically our sole reliance. It was evidently based on full first-hand reports. When Father Zárate wrote, in 1626, he had spent eight years as missionary in New Mexico. A translation of the Zárate "Relaciones" was published by Charles F. Lummis in 1899 and 1900, in *Land of Sunshine*, vols. XI. and XII. The translation published hereinafter, though made independently, owes much to that one. (3) Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, which was finished just after the Oñate conquest, contains (tomo I., libro V., caps. XXXVI.-XL.) a brief account of events to 1608, in which is incorporated a letter by Fray Juan de Escalona to the commissary, San Gabriel, October 1, 1601, and a letter by Fray Francisco de San Miguel to the provincial, Fray Diego Muñoz, Santa Bárbara, February 29, 1602.

A map of Oñate's route from Mexico to Quivira in the Archivo de Indias, hitherto unpublished, is reproduced opposite p. 212. A map, or drawing, by an Indian named Miguel captured by Oñate on the Arkansas, is also in the Archivo de Indias, and a copy is in the editor's possession.

LETTER WRITTEN BY DON JUAN DE OÑATE  
FROM NEW MEXICO, 1599

*Copy of a letter written by Don Juan de Oñate from New Mexico to the Viceroy, the Count of Monterey, on the second day of March, 1599.*<sup>1</sup>

FROM Rio de Nombre de Dios<sup>2</sup> I last wrote to you, Illustrious Sir, giving you an account of my departure, and of the discovery of a wagon road to the Rio del Norte,<sup>3</sup> and of my certain hopes of the successful outcome of my journey, which hopes God has been pleased to grant, may He be forever praised; for greatly to His advantage and that of his royal Majesty, they have acquired a possession so good that none other of his Majesty in these Indies excels it, judging it solely by what I have seen, by things told of in reliable reports, and by things almost a matter of experience, from having been seen by people in my camp and known by me at present.

This does not include the vastness of the settlements or the riches of the West which the natives praise, or the certainty of pearls promised by the South Sea from the many shells containing them possessed by these Indians, or the many settlements called the seven caves,<sup>4</sup> which the Indians report at the head of this river, which is the Rio del Norte; but includes only the provinces which I have seen and traversed, the people of this eastern country, the Apaches, the nation of the Cocoyes,<sup>5</sup> and many others which are daily being dis-

<sup>1</sup> Pacheco and Cárdenas, *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI. 302-315.

<sup>2</sup> Nombre de Dios was reached March 12, 1598, and was left on the 14th. See Ytinerario, entries for those days, pp. 234-235.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the exploration made by Vicente de Zaldívar. See Ytinerario, p. 234; Villagrà, *Historia*, cantos XI.-XII.

<sup>4</sup> This may be a survival of the older tradition regarding the Seven Caves existing somewhere to the northward of Mexico. The text is evidently corrupt at this point. It reads, "ni las muchas poblazones que el nacimiento destes indios, que es el del Rio del Norte, llamada las siete quebas."

<sup>5</sup> Cicuyé, or Pecos.





covered in this district and neighborhood, as I shall specify in this letter. I wish to begin by giving your Lordship an account of it, because it is the first since I left New Spain.

I departed, Illustrious Sir, from Rio de Nombre de Dios on the sixteenth<sup>1</sup> of March, with the great multitude of wagons, women, and children, which your Lordship very well knows, freed from all my opponents, but with a multitude of evil predictions conforming to their desires and not to the goodness of God. His Majesty was pleased to accede to my desires, and to take pity on my great hardships, afflictions, and expenses, bringing me to these provinces of New Mexico with all his Majesty's army enjoying perfect health.

Although I reached these provinces on the twenty-eighth day of May (going ahead with as many as sixty soldiers to pacify the land and free it from traitors, if in it there should be any, seizing Humaña and his followers,<sup>2</sup> to obtain full information, by seeing with my own eyes, regarding the location and nature of the land, and regarding the nature and customs of the people, so as to order what might be best for the army, which I left about twenty-two leagues from the first pueblos,<sup>3</sup> after having crossed the Rio del Norte, at which river I took possession,<sup>4</sup> in the name of his Majesty, of all these kingdoms and pueblos<sup>5</sup> which I discovered before departing from it with scouts), the army did not overtake me at the place where I established it and where I now have it established, in this province of the Teguas, until the nineteenth<sup>6</sup> day of August of the past year. During that time I travelled through settlements sixty-one leagues in extent toward the north, and thirty-five in width from east to west. All this district is filled with pueblos, large and small, very continuous and close together.

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> It was not yet known that Humaña had been slaughtered by the Indians of the plains.

<sup>3</sup> He refers here to reaching the first pueblos above El Paso, having left the caravan at El Sepulcro de Robledo. See Ytinerario, pp. 247-250; Villagrà, *Historia*, canto XV.

<sup>4</sup> April 30, 1598. See Ytinerario, p. 242; Villagrà, *Historia*, canto XIII., where the formal act of possession is printed.

<sup>5</sup> The text reads *pueblo*, but *pueblos* seems required to convey the sense.

<sup>6</sup> The Ytinerario in two places says they reached San Juan on the 18th.

At the end of August I began to prepare the people of my camp for the severe winter<sup>1</sup> with which both the Indians and the nature of the land threatened me; and the devil, who has ever tried to make good his great loss occasioned by our coming, plotted, as is his wont, exciting a rebellion among more than forty-five soldiers and captains,<sup>2</sup> who under pretext of not finding immediately whole plates of silver lying on the ground, and offended because I would not permit them to maltreat these natives, either in their persons or in their goods, became disgusted with the country, or to be more exact, with me, and endeavored to form a gang in order to flee to that New Spain, as they proclaimed, although judging from what has since come to light their intention was directed more to stealing slaves and clothing and to other acts of effrontery not permitted. I arrested two captains and a soldier, who they said were guilty, in order to garrote them on this charge, but ascertaining that their guilt was not so great, and on account of my situation and of the importunate pleadings of the religious and of the entire army, I was forced to forego the punishment and let bygones be bygones.

Although by the middle of September I succeeded in completely calming and pacifying my camp, from this great conflagration a spark was bound to remain hidden underneath the ashes of the dissembling countenances of four<sup>3</sup> of the soldiers of the said coterie. These fled from me at that time, stealing from me part of the horses, thereby violating not only one but many proclamations which, regarding this matter and others, I had posted for the good of the land in the name of his Majesty.

Since they had violated his royal orders, it appeared to me that they should not go unpunished; therefore I immediately sent post-haste the captain and procurator-general Gaspar Perez de Villagran and the captain of artillery Geronimo Marques, with an express order to follow and overtake them and give them due punishment. They left in the middle of September, as I have said, thinking that they would

<sup>1</sup> See Ytinerario, pp. 262-264. For the establishment of headquarters at San Juan, see Villagr , *Historia*, canto XVI.

<sup>2</sup> See Ytinerario, entries for August 20-21; Villagr , *Historia*, canto XVI.

<sup>3</sup> For the names of those who fled, see Ytinerario, entry for September 12.

overtake them at once, but their journey was prolonged more than they or I had anticipated, with the result to two of the offenders<sup>1</sup> which your Lordship already knows from the letter which they tell me they wrote from Sancta Barbara. The other two who fled from them will have received the same at your Lordship's hands, as is just.

I awaited their return and the outcome for some days, during which time I sent my *sargento mayor* to find and utilize the buffalo to the east, where he found an infinite multitude of them, and had the experience which he set forth in a special report.<sup>2</sup> Both he and the others were so long delayed that, in order to lose no time, at the beginning of October, this first church having been founded, wherein the first mass was celebrated on the 8th of September, and the religious having been distributed<sup>3</sup> in various provinces and *doctrinas*, I went in person to the province of Abo and to that of the Xumanas and to the large and famous salines of this country, which must be about twenty leagues east of here.<sup>4</sup>

From there I crossed over to the west through the province of Puaray to discover the South Sea, so that I might be able to report to your Lordship. When Captain Villagran arrived I took him for this purpose.<sup>5</sup>

What more in good time it was possible to accomplish through human efforts is in substance what I shall set forth in the following chapter. For this purpose it shall be day by day, and event by event,<sup>6</sup> especially regarding the death of my nephew and *maese de campo*, who, as my rear-guard, was following me to the South Sea. His process,<sup>7</sup> along with

<sup>1</sup> They were beheaded. See Ytinerario, p. 265; Villagr , *Historia*, canto XVI.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to Zald var's report printed hereinafter. See pp. 223-232. Villagr  treats this expedition in his *Historia*, canto XVII.

<sup>3</sup> The pueblos were assigned to the friars on the 9th, and the missionaries went to their new posts within the next few days (Ytinerario, pp. 264-266).

<sup>4</sup> A special account of the journey is printed hereinafter, pp. 233-238. See also Ytinerario, pp. 266-267; Villagr , *Historia*, canto XVII.

<sup>5</sup> See Ytinerario, entry for December 5; Villagr , *Historia*, canto XIX.

<sup>6</sup> The reference here is apparently to the Ytinerario.

<sup>7</sup> Villagr , *Historia*, canto XXV., recounts the *proceso*. A transcript of it is in the Ayer Collection.

many other papers, I am sending to your Lordship. To despatch them earlier has been impossible. I have, then, discovered and seen up to the present the following provinces:

The province of the Piguis,<sup>1</sup> which is the one encountered in coming from that New Spain; the province of the Xumanás; the province of the Cheguas, which we Spaniards call Puaray; the province of the Cheres; the province of the Trias; the province of the Emmes; the province of the Teguas; the province of the Picuries; the province of the Taos; the province of the Peccos; the province of Abbo and the salines;<sup>2</sup> the province of Juni; and the province of Mochoce.

These last two are somewhat apart from the rest, towards the west, and are the places where we recently discovered the rich mines, as is attested by the papers which your Lordship will see there. I could not<sup>3</sup> work or improve these mines because of the death of my *maese de campo*, Joan de Zaldivar, and of the rectification of the results of it, which I completed at the end of last month.<sup>4</sup> Nor could I complete my journey to the South Sea, which was the purpose with which I went to the said provinces, leaving my camp in this province of the Teguas, whence I am now writing.

There must be in this province and in the others above-mentioned, to make a conservative estimate, seventy thousand<sup>5</sup> Indians, settled after our custom, house adjoining house, with square plazas. They have no streets, and in the pueblos, which contain many plazas or wards, one goes from one plaza to the other through alleys. They are of two and three stories, of an *estado*<sup>6</sup> and a half or an *estado* and a third

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what tribe this was. For each of the other tribes listed in this paragraph, see Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, under the following names: Jumano, Tigua, Keres, Sia, Jemez, Tewa, Picuris, Taos, Pecos, Abo, Zuñi, Moqui (or Hopi).

<sup>2</sup> See Oñate's relation, pp. 233-238.

<sup>3</sup> The text here reads "puede," which seems to be a misprint for "pude."

<sup>4</sup> He refers to the punishment of the pueblo and the investigation of the uprising. See Villagrà, *Historia*, cantos XXV., XXVII., XXXIII.; *Ytinerario*, pp. 270-272.

<sup>5</sup> An exaggerated estimate, no doubt. For actual figures at different dates see Hodge, *Handbook*, II. 325.

<sup>6</sup> An *estado* is a unit equivalent to the height of a man.

each, which latter is not so common; and some houses are of four, five, six, and seven stories. Even whole pueblos dress in very highly colored cotton *mantas*, white or black, and some of thread—very good clothes. Others wear buffalo hides, of which there is a great abundance. They have most excellent wool, of whose value I am sending a small example.

It is a land abounding in flesh of buffalo, goats with hideous horns, and turkeys; and in Mohoce there is game of all kinds. There are many wild and ferocious beasts, lions, bears, wolves, tigers, *penicas*, ferrets, porcupines, and other animals, whose hides they tan and use. Towards the west there are bees and very white honey, of which I am sending a sample. Besides, there are vegetables, a great abundance of the best and greatest salines in the world, and a very great many kinds of very rich ores, as I stated above. Some discovered near here do not appear so, although we have hardly begun to see anything of the much there is to be seen. There are very fine grape vines, rivers, forests of many oaks, and some cork trees, fruits, melons, grapes, watermelons, Castilian plums, *capuli*, pine-nuts, acorns, ground-nuts, and *coralejo*, which is a delicious fruit, and other wild fruits. There are many and very good fish in this Rio del Norte, and in others. From the ores here are made all the colors which we use, and they are very fine.

The people are in general very comely; their color is like those of that land, and they are much like them in manner and dress, in their grinding, in their food, dancing, singing, and many other things, except in their languages, which are many, and different from those there. Their religion consists in worshipping idols, of which they have many; and in their temples, after their own manner, they worship them with fire, painted reeds, feathers, and universal offering of almost everything they get, such as small animals, birds, vegetables, etc. In their government they are free, for although they have some petty captains, they obey them badly and in very few things.

We have seen other nations such as the Querechos,<sup>1</sup> or herdsmen, who live in tents of tanned hides, among the buf-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 183, note 3, above.

falo. The Apaches, of whom we have also seen some, are innumerable, and although I heard that they lived in rancherías, a few days ago I ascertained that they live like these in pueblos, one of which, eighteen leagues from here, contains fifteen plazas.<sup>1</sup> They are a people whom I have compelled to render obedience to His Majesty, although not by means of legal instruments like the rest of the provinces. This has caused me much labor, diligence, and care, long journeys, with arms on the shoulders, and not a little watching and circumspection; indeed, because my *maese de campo* was not as cautious as he should have been, they killed him with twelve companions in a great pueblo and fortress called Acóma, which must contain about three thousand Indians. As punishment for its crime and its treason against his Majesty, to whom it had already rendered submission by a public instrument, and as a warning to the rest, I razed and burned it completely, in the way in which your Lordship will see by the process of this cause. All these provinces, pueblos, and peoples, I have seen with my own eyes.

There is another nation, that of the Cocóyes,<sup>2</sup> an innumerable people with huts and agriculture. Of this nation and of the large settlements at the source of the Rio del Norte and of those to the northwest and west and towards the South Sea, I have numberless reports, and pearls of remarkable size from the said sea, and assurance that there is an infinite number of them on the coast of this country.<sup>3</sup> And as to the east, a person in my camp, an Indian who speaks Spanish and is one of those who came with Humaña, has been in the pueblo of the said herdsmen.<sup>4</sup> It is nine contin-

<sup>1</sup> I know of no permanent Apache settlement which would correspond to the one here described.

<sup>2</sup> Cicuyé, or Pecos.

<sup>3</sup> Extended notice of pearls in the South Sea was brought back from Arizona by Farfán. See *post*, pp. 245-246.

<sup>4</sup> The Indian Jusephe, who had been with Humaña and had made his way back to New Mexico, declared among other things that he had been in the pueblo of the Vaqueros. He did not give the distance from Pecos to the pueblo ("Relacion que dió un indio de la salida que hicieron Umaña y leyba del Nuevo Mexico," MS.). The next statement might be taken to mean that Zaldívar had been to the pueblo described by Jusephe. See Zaldívar's account of his journey to the buffalo country, p. 224, below.

uous leagues in length and two in width, with streets and houses consisting of huts.<sup>1</sup> It is situated in the midst of the multitude of buffalo, which are so numerous that my *sargento mayor*, who hunted them and brought back their hides, meat, tallow, and suet, asserts that in one herd alone he saw more than there are of our cattle in the combined three ranches of Rodrigo del Rio,<sup>2</sup> Salvago, and Jeronimo Lopez, which are famed in those regions.

I should never cease were I to recount individually all of the many things which occur to me. I can only say that with God's help I shall see them all, and give new worlds, new, peaceful, and grand,<sup>3</sup> to his Majesty, greater than the good Marquis<sup>4</sup> gave to him, although he did so much, if you, Illustrious Sir, will give to me the aid, the protection, and the help which I expect from such a hand. And although I confess that I am crushed at having been so out of favor when I left that country, and although a soul frightened by disfavor usually loses hope and despairs of success, it is nevertheless true that I never have and never shall lose hope of receiving many and very great favors at the hand of your Lordship, especially in matters of such importance to his Majesty. And in order that you, Illustrious Sir, may be inclined to render them to me, I beg that you take note of the great increase which the royal crown and the rents of his Majesty have and will have in this land, with so many and such a variety of things, each one of which promises very great treasures. I shall only note these four, omitting the rest as being well known and common:

First, the great wealth which the mines have begun to reveal and the great number of them in this land, whence proceed the royal fifths and profits. Second, the certainty of the proximity<sup>5</sup> of the South Sea, whose trade with Pirú, New Spain, and China is not to be depreciated, for it will give birth in time to advantageous and continuous duties, because of its close proximity, particularly to China and to that land. And what I emphasize in this matter as worthy

<sup>1</sup> *Xacales*.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently the official by this name mentioned on p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> The word in the text is "ganados," which must be a miscopy for "grandes."

<sup>4</sup> Cortés, the Marquis of the Valley.

<sup>5</sup> The text reads "cercana," which seems to be a miscopy for "cercanía."

of esteem is the traffic in pearls, reports of which are so certain, as I have stated, and of which we have had ocular experience from the shells. Third, the increase of vassals and tributes, which will increase not only the rents, but his renown and dominion as well, if it be possible that for our king these can increase. Fourth, the wealth of the abundant salines, and of the mountains of brimstone,<sup>1</sup> of which there is a greater quantity than in any other province. Salt is the universal article of traffic of all these barbarians and their regular food, for they even eat or suck it alone as we do sugar. These four things appear as if dedicated solely to his Majesty. I will not mention the founding of so many republics, the many offices, their quittances, vacancies, provisions, etc., the wealth of the wool and hides of buffalo, and many other things, clearly and well known, or, judging from the general nature of the land, the certainty of wines and oils.

In view, then, Illustrious Sir, of things of such honor, profit, and value, and of the great prudence, magnanimity, and nobility of your Lordship, who in all matters is bound to prosper me and overcome the ill fortune of my disgrace, I humbly beg and supplicate, since it is of such importance to the service of God and of his Majesty, that the greatest aid possible be sent to me, both for settling and pacifying, your Lordship giving<sup>2</sup> your favor, mind, zeal, and life for the conservation, progress, and increase of this land, through the preaching of the holy gospel and the founding of this republic, giving liberty and favor to all, opening wide the door to them, and, if it should be necessary, even ordering them to come to serve their king in so honorable and profitable a matter, in a land so abundant and of such great beginnings of riches. I call them beginnings, for although we have seen much, we have not yet made a beginning in comparison with what there is to see and enjoy. And if the number should exceed five hundred men, they all would be needed, especially married men, who are the solid rock on which new republics are permanently founded; and noble people, of whom

<sup>1</sup> The Itinerary mentions deposits of *pedra azufre* at Xemez. It is perhaps to these that Oñate refers.

<sup>2</sup> The participle "dando" is ambiguous, but from what follows the subject seems to be "your Lordship."

there is such a surplus there. Particularly do I beg your Lordship to give a license to my daughter Mariquita, for whom I am sending, and to those of my relatives who may wish so honorably to end their lives.

For my part, I have sunk my ships and have furnished an example to all as to how they ought to spend their wealth and their lives and those of their children and relatives in the service of their king and lord, on whose account and in whose name I beg your Lordship to order sent to me six small cannon<sup>1</sup> and some powder, all of which will always be at the service of his Majesty, as is this and everything else. Although on such occasions the necessities increase, and although under such circumstances as those in which I now find myself others are wont to exaggerate,<sup>2</sup> I prefer to suffer from lack of necessities rather than to be a burden to his Majesty or to your Lordship, feeling assured that I shall provide them for many poor people who may look to me if your Lordship will grant the favor, which I ask, of sending them to me.

To make this request of you, Illustrious Sir, I am sending the best qualified persons whom I have in my camp, for it is but reasonable that such should go on an errand of such importance to the service of God and his Majesty, in which they risk their health and life, looking lightly upon the great hardships which they must suffer and have suffered. Father Fray Alonso Martinez, apostolic commissary of these provinces of New Mexico, is the most meritorious person with whom I have had any dealings, and of the kind needed by such great kingdoms for their spiritual government. Concerning this I am writing to his Majesty, and I shall be greatly favored if your Lordship will do the same. I believe your Lordship is under a loving obligation to do this, both because the said Father Commissary is your client as well as because of the authority of his person and of the merits of his worthy life, of which I am sending to his Majesty a special report, which your Lordship will see if you desire, and to which I refer. In his company<sup>3</sup> goes my cousin, Father

<sup>1</sup> "Pieczuelas pequeñas ó esmerilejos."

<sup>2</sup> The text has "muchos los," where "muchas las" seems to be required.

<sup>3</sup> "En su compañero" evidently should be "en su compañía."

Fray Cristobal de Salazar, concerning whom testimony can be given by his prelate, for in order not to appear an interested witness in my own cause I refrain from saying what I could say with much reason and truth. For all spiritual matters I refer you to the said fathers, whom I beg your Lordship to credit in every respect as you would credit me in person. I say but little to your Lordship as to your crediting them as true priests of my father Saint Francis. With such as these may your Lordship swell these your kingdoms, for there is plenty for them to do.

For temporal matters go such honorable persons as Captain and Procurator-general Gaspar Perez de Villagran, captain of the guard, Marcos Farfan de los Godos, and Captain Joan Pintero, to whom I refer you, as also to the many papers which they carry.<sup>1</sup> In them your Lordship will find authentic information regarding all that you may desire to learn of this country of yours.

I remain as faithful to you, Illustrious Sir, as those who most protest. Your interests will always be mine, for the assurance and confidence which my faithfulness gives me is an evidence that in past undertakings I have found in your Lordship true help and love; for although when I left I did not deserve to receive the *cédula* from my king dated April 2, I shall deserve to receive it now that I know that I have served him so well.

And in order to satisfy his royal conscience and for the safety of the creatures who were preserved at Acóma, I send them to your Lordship with the holy purpose which the Father Commissary will explain, for I know it is so great a service to God that I consider very well employed the work and expense which I have spent in the matter. And I do not expect a lesser reward for your Lordship on account of the prayers of those few days. Honor it, Illustrious Sir, for it redounds to the service of God. May He prosper and exalt you to greater offices. In His divine service, which is the highest and greatest I can name, I again beg for the aid requested, much, good, and speedy—priests as well as settlers and soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> The papers clearly were those printed hereinafter, pp. 223-249.